

## Pedro Cerone (1566–1625): Impostor or Defender of the Faith

I Cerone's Vilifiers: Eximeno y Pujades to Pedrell  
II Cerone Vindicated against his defamers III Cerone's biography: 1566–1592 IV Cerone at Madrid: 1593–1608; at Naples: 1608–1625 V Cerone in international dictionaries VI Cerone's resonance in philharmonic literature before 1800 VII Twentieth-century allegiances VIII The Future of Cerone research

### I CERONE'S VILIFIERS: EXIMENO Y PUJADES TO PEDRELL

In his satirical novel written at Valencia and Rome between 1798 and 1802, *Don Lazarillo Vizcardi. Sus investigaciones músicas con ocasión del concurso á un magisterio de capilla vacante*,<sup>1</sup> Antonio Eximeno y Pujades led the procession of Spaniards who thereafter spewed contempt on Pedro Cerone's *El Me-lopeo y Maestro. Tractado de música theórica y práctica: en que se pone por extenso, lo que uno para hazerse perfecto Músico ha menester saber: y por mayor facilidad, comodidad, y claridad del Lector, está repartido en xxii Libros* (Naples: Iuan Bautista Gargano y Lucrecio Nucci, M.DC.XIII).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Published with a *Preliminar* at pages v–lxi by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri dated at Madrid July 25, 1872, as number 10 in the *Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles* series (Madrid, 1872; 300 copies).

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the copy reproduced in two volumes with an introduction by F. Alberto Gallo, see below, notes 15 and 50. Concerning the *Seconda parte dell'Artusi* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1603) containing the documentation disproving F.-J. Fétis's plagiarism charge, see note 45.

Born at Valencia September 26, 1729, Eximeno had already long before returning home at age 69 (after a 32-year Italian exile) made an international







name with his prospectus (Rome, 1771) in which he promised to annihilate the opinions of Pierre-Jean Burette (1665–1747), Rameau, Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770), Leonhard Euler (1707–1783), and all other theorists of Pythagorean persuasion<sup>3</sup>—a prospectus that was followed by *Dell'origine e delle regole della musica, colla storia del suo progresso, decadenza, e rinovazione* (Rome: Michel Angelo Babiellini, 1774).<sup>4</sup> In the three-year interim between prospectus and publication of his 486-page book, Eximeno's egoism had been ridiculed by a castrato who quipped: "Spaniards may teach Africans music, but not Italians."<sup>5</sup>

Himself a professor of mathematics and director of studies at the Real Academia del Cuerpo de Artillería in Segovia from May 1764 to the expulsion of the Jesuits three years later, Eximeno the mathematician spurned all attempts from Greek antiquity onward, to enroll music as a mathematical science. His more extreme apothegms collected by Felipe Pedrell in *P. Antonio Eximeno Glosario de la gran remoción de ideas que para mejoramiento de la técnica y estética del arte músico ejerció el insigne jesuita valenciano* (Madrid: Unión Musical Española, 1920) included the following pithy remarks (none of them, however, credited to a specific Eximeno opus—thus making it necessary for the reader to take all of them on faith):<sup>6</sup>

The distinctions of genera called diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic, of tones and semitones (as major or minor) are in practice completely imaginary, based mostly on the fallacious numerical division of intervals.

We must constantly bear in mind that all attempts to force classification of plainchant and figural music within the so-called diatonic, chromatic, enharmonic, and mixed

<sup>3</sup> Barbieri's *Preliminar*, p. xxv. Unless otherwise credited, all further data in the present article that concern Eximeno's career and publications derive from Barbieri's 56-page *Preliminar*.

<sup>4</sup> Translation: *Del origen y reglas de la música...* by Francisco Gutiérrez, chapelmaster of Encarnación convent (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1796; 3 volumes). Abbreviated version republished in the Biblioteca de la literatura y pensamiento hispánicos, no. 36 (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1978, 312 pp.), Francisco Otero, editor. Pedrell, *P. Antonio Eximeno*, p. 28, warned against Gutiérrez's translation, which contains "muy notables modificaciones."

<sup>5</sup> "A los africanos y no á los italianos, pueden ir los españoles á enseñar la música" (Barbieri, p. xxvi). To answer this quip, Eximeno conceived the idea of the satirical novel (modeled after *Don Quixote*) that much later he wrote between 1798 and 1802.

<sup>6</sup> Pedrell, pp. 8–16. The Eximeno entry in his aborted *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico* (1897), 619–633, resounds with a similar gaggle of unlocated citations.

genera—with the notion of deriving harmonies from various tonics, are vain, imaginary, and even ridiculous gestures. The only musical genera that Nature inspires can be reduced to major and minor modes; both major and minor acknowledge three chords founded on first, fourth, and fifth degrees.

What I wish to show is that Pythagoras and his followers erred in supposing that musical intervals can be [mathematically] calculated. Just and true temperament is achieved in singing and playing—one interval sounding stronger, another weaker. The intervals called perfect and tempered that are so called for numerical reasons, are in practice discordant.

The musical treatises of the Greeks contain no practical rules, but instead a tedious and fastidious philology burdened with numbers, reasons, and proportions.

Euler's first error in his *Tentamen novae Theoriae Musicae* [St. Petersburg, 1739] consisted in attributing what we hear as sweetness to string divisions. . . . [His] different levels of sweetness are absolutely imaginary. Pleasure given by music derives from the contrast of simplicity with variety, a pleasure not determined by numbers but by naturalness. Mathematics always errs when the lengths of strings are made to determine degrees of sweetness. Euler's treatise is pure fallacy.

Counterpoint, an extravagant invention designed to unite many voices, each pursuing its separate way, one descending while the other ascends, one scurrying, the other going slower . . . is very appropriate for stirring the overheated fantasies of Goths; and amongst them originated the sect of contrapuntists who class as theatrical everything that they do not understand, and who praise only ligatures, preparations, and resolutions, replicas and replies, contrary motion and other similar artifices.

Eximeno himself confessed having not begun systematically studying music until 1768, the year after his arrival at Rome,<sup>7</sup> where according to Luigi Antonio Sabbatini he studied with Felice Masi (who ended his career as maestro di cappella at the Church of the Holy Apostles, dying April 5, 1772).<sup>8</sup> Annoyed by the inconsistencies that he ran into while

<sup>7</sup> Barbieri, *Preliminar*, p. xxii, quoting Eximeno, who anticipated quickly mastering the science of music, because of its alliance with mathematics:

que debía serle tanto más fácil, cuanto que se encontraba suficientemente provisto de los principios de matemáticas, de los cuales se supone derivase la música.

<sup>8</sup> Anne Schnoebelen, *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civic Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna. An Annotated Index* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1979), p. 547, item 4642. In his letter dated November 29, 1775, at Rome, Sabbatini advises Martini not to "waste time with this madman, who had studied with Masi." In his letter of December 6, 1775, Sabbatini





studying with Masi—whom he himself never identified by name—he desisted from any music studies for a year. However, one day while visiting St. Peter's basilica he heard Nicolò Jommelli's Pentecost sequence, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*.<sup>9</sup> Greatly moved, Eximeno decided to return to his music studies, and in 1771 published the previously mentioned prospectus foretelling *Dell'origine* that appeared three years later with the name as author, not Eximeno, but rather that of Aristosseno Megareo (Aristoxenus being the sole Greek theorist whom he respected and Aristosseno Megareo being the name chosen by him when elected to the Arcadian Academy).<sup>10</sup> Dedicated to Maria Antonia Waldburg, widow of the Elector of Saxony, *Dell'origine* foreshadows Eximeno's revulsion against counterpoint, a bias that became even more pronounced in his attack on Padre Martini, published at Rome in 1775, *Dubbio di D. Antonio Eximeno sopra il Saggio Fondamentale Pratico di Contrappunto del Reverendissimo Padre Maestro Giambattista Martini*.

Following in Eximeno's footsteps, José Teixidor Barceló—named vicemaestro of the Royal Chapel at Madrid on July 22, 1778—trounced Cerone with equal vigor. Teixidor's credentials for doing so included a *Discurso sobre la historia universal* published at Madrid in 1804 and an unpublished first history of Spanish music.<sup>11</sup> All-encompassing Mar-

identifies the persons who have written against Eximeno as Ferdinando Mazzanti and Angelo Bianconi (who was minister of the Electress of Saxony at Rome). Bertolucci, aged 35, who is "a good mathematician and an expert in music" has also written about Eximeno's *Dell'origine*.

<sup>9</sup>Composed by Jommelli (1714–1774) for St. Peter's, Rome, the same year that he wrote the sequence *Victimae paschali* for St. Peter's. His sacred works for St. Peter's center in 1751 and 1752. Jommelli remained in Italy, especially at Naples, from 1769 to his death there August 25, 1774, when he was approaching his 60th birthday.

<sup>10</sup>In 1753 Jommelli joined the same Arcadian Academy under the name of Anfione Eteoclido. Eximeno's admiration jousts with his forthcoming attack on Padre Martini, Jommelli's teacher at Bologna in 1741.

<sup>11</sup>According to José Teixidor's *Apuntes curiosos*, folio 20, in the Biblioteca Arús at Barcelona—extracted in Emilio Moreno's "Aspectos técnicos del Tratado de Violín de José Herrando (1756)," *Revista de Musicología*, xi (1988), 556 (note 1): "Culpa a Cerone de los grandes males de la música española y sus atrasos más que a todos los desastres ocasionados por las guerras con franceses, portugueses, flamencos y catalanes en vida de su Padre [de Carlos II] Felipe cuarto."

Cerone is more to blame for the overwhelming badness [of Spanish

music] and its backwardnesses during the lifetime of Philip IV (Charles II's father) than all the disasters caused by the wars with the French, Portuguese, Flemish, and Catalonians.

celino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856–1912) added his adverse judgment to the nineteenth-century chorus of disapproval.<sup>12</sup> Pedrell, the most influential Iberian music scholar of his generation,<sup>13</sup> arrived at age 79 as eager as a youthful David to slay the giant Goliath. Not one projectile but 27 chapters in his cited last book, *P. Antonio Eximeno*, are taken up with denunciations of the *monstruo fiero*. He entitles his climactic chapter 50, "Cerone, Impostor."

But how imperfectly Pedrell himself comprehended Cerone manifests itself in his chapter 43, "Estocada al maestro Nicasio Zorita," in which he attributes to Cerone an attack on Zorita. Samuel Rubio rescued Zorita from what Pedrell conceived was Cerone's accusation by showing that *El Melopeo* contains no such imputations against Zorita as Pedrell falsely pretended.<sup>14</sup>

## II CERONE VINDICATED AGAINST HIS DEFAMERS

The first full-scale attempt in a Spanish publication to vindicate Cerone had to await Ramón Baselga Esteve's serialized 1971–1972 monograph, "Pedro

music] and its backwardnesses during the lifetime of Philip IV (Charles II's father) than all the disasters caused by the wars with the French, Portuguese, Flemish, and Catalonians.

<sup>12</sup>Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, segunda edición, iv (Madrid: "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra," 1901), pp. 209–210. "Justly flagellated by Eximeno, Cerone was the true legislator of bad taste" (*el verdadero legislador del mal gusto*).

His *canones enigmáticos y secretos* attest his supreme delirium (*mayores delirios*). The *Melopeo* is a veritable farrago, the only good parts being copied from previous treatises. His pedantic erudition overflows in chapters in which he condemns laziness, ingratitude, too much idle conversation, false friendships, and excessive use of wine.

Whether Menéndez y Pelayo ever himself examined *El Melopeo* remains problematical. He certainly erred when asserting that Andrés Lorente's *El porqué de la música* (Alcalá de Henares, 1672) treats chiefly of *fabordones*.

<sup>13</sup>On the 50th anniversary of his death, *Anuario Musical*, 27 (1972) commemorated him with nine encomiastic articles in an issue headed "Al ilustre compositor y musicólogo insigne Felipe Pedrell, fundador del nacionalismo musical español y padre de la musicología española, en el quincuagésimo aniversario de su muerte." *Recerca musicològica*, xi–xii (1996) followed suit with a double issue containing twelve glowing articles and nine communications apostrophising him.

<sup>14</sup>"De lo mal que se leen y entienden nuestros teóricos y tratadistas musicales antiguos," *Revista de Musicología*, v/2 (1982), pp. 363–367.





Cerone de Bergamo: Estudio bio-bibliográfico, published in six instalments beginning in *Tesoro sacro-musical*, 1971, año 54, número 615, continuing through 618, and concluding in 1972, año 55, with números 619 and 620. Because Pedrell continues being incensed with whole numbers of *Anuario Musical* and *Recerca musicològica* that promote his deification, and meanwhile Baselga Esteve remains thus far not cited in any encyclopedia bibliography, his monograph deserves recall here, in tandem with other Cerone scholarship published in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxiv/3 (Fall 1971), 477-485.<sup>15</sup>

Pedro Cerone's parents were poor, if his growing up in a *pobre casa* where *honestá pobreza* was not a cause for shame, was a truthful confession (*El Mellopeo*, 117). Almost to satiety he cites as his birthplace Bergamo, where his family name spelled in different ways (Cerone, Ceroni, Cerroni, Cerrono) was ubiquitous—so much so that homonyms plague any biographer of the theorist. A priest who was a *cantor tenorista* named Pietro Cerroni (also spelled Cerone) maintained a private school at Bergamo from 1594 to 1596; and from December 18, 1597, to August 6, 1627, a Petrus Cironus, possibly the same *cantor tenorista*, was a canon in Bergamo Cathedral (*Archivio Capitulare di Bergamo*, ms. 159, Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo).

Another "M. R. D. Pietro Cerone" who in September of 1626 was Canonico Priore of Sant' Alessandro in Colonna (a church in a Renaissance suburb of Bergamo) died shortly before February 20, 1627 (*Libro delle Parti*, ms., fols. 233 and 235, Archivio S. Alessandro in Colonna). But none of these can have been the theorist, whose death at Naples in May 1625 was certified by Ulisse Prota-Giurleo (1886-1966) in *La Musica a Napoli nel Seicento*, published in *Semnum* (Benevento), 1 (1928/iv), 80.

In the article on Cerone published in his *Biographie universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie*

<sup>15</sup> Robert Stevenson, "Pedro Cerone. *El Mellopeo Tractado de Musica Theorica y Practica*. Facsimile reproduction in two volumes of *El Mellopeo y Maestro*. Introduction by F. Alberto Gallo. (Biblioteca Musica Bononiensis. Sezione II, N. 25.) Bologna: Forni, 1969. xx, (16), 1161 pp.," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxiv/3 (Fall, 1971), pp. 477-485 (review).

*générale de la Musique*, 2d ed., II (Paris, 1861), 236, F.-J. Fétis originated the erroneous expansion of the "D." that precedes "Pedro" on the title page of *El Mellopeo* to read Domingo (Dominique-Pierre). "D." stands for "Don." All the priests' names in the documentation of the Annunziata church at Naples are preceded with "D." In the poetical tribute at prefatory folio vi in *El Mellopeo*, Cerone's pupil Antonio Malaver heads it "El alabança de su Maestro, el R. Don Pedro Cerone."

Both Prota-Giurleo and Guido Pannain (1891-1977), the latter in *L'oratorio dei filippini e la Scuola Musicale di Napoli* (Istituzioni Monumenti dell'Arte Italiana, v, Milan, 1934, p. xx), suggested 1561 as the year of Cerone's birth. His portrait on unnumbered folio iv at the outset of *El Mellopeo* is circled with the following legend: "D. Petrus Ceronus Bergomen. [Bergomensis]. Anno aetatis suae xxxvii." Subtracting 47 from 1613, the year of publication, yields 1566 for his birth year. The year 1561 arrived







at by Prota-Giurleo, Pannain, and more recently by F. Alberto Gallo in his introduction to the facsimile edition, depends on the assumption that Cerone's portrait was engraved the five years before 1613 that he spent getting *El Melopeo* through the press. However, Cerone's two-page list of errata (many of them mere inconsequentialities) that precedes his *preambulo* does not mention his portrait. All recent encyclopedias, from *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II (1952), 969, to *the New Grove*, IV (1980), 79, accept 1566 as his year of birth. Similarly, do both Karl Gustav Fellerer in "Zu Cerones musikalischen Quellen" in *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, Zweite Reihe: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* (Münster, 1955/1), 171, and José López-Caló in "La Contre-Réforme en Italie: Palestrina et le Concile de Trente," *Encyclopédie des musiques sacrées*, II (Paris, 1969), 403.

### III CERONE'S BIOGRAPHY, 1566–1592

The chief church at Bergamo, S Maria Maggiore, had an organ built as early as 1455; and began employing instrumentalists no later than 1527. The post of *maestro di cappella* was held from January 17, 1565, to January 3, 1568, by Pietro Pontio (Poncio, Ponzio). In *El Melopeo*, page 336, Cerone classes Pedro Poncio as an author who, like Francisco de Montanos, addressed the practitioner—listing as his two publications *Ragionamento di musica* (Parma, 1588) and *Dialogo* (Parma, 1593). Lewis Lockwood pioneered in citing chapter and verse to prove Cerone's frequent recourse to Pontio ("On 'Parody' as term and concept in 16th-century Music," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music* [New York, 1966], pp. 570–572). A further chain of parallelisms turns up at Cerone's pages 884–891 and 896–898—which derive from the *Ragionamento*, pages 102–110 and 116–118. In defense of such borrowings, it must be of course noted that at page 884 (left margin) Cerone cites Pontio's *Ragionamento* as source of what follows.

Pontio's successors at Bergamo included Pietro Vinci, May 15, 1568, to April 18 [July 28], 1580; Ippolito C[h]amaterò, November 24, 1580, to March 17, 1581; Giulio Scala from November 27, 1582, to February 21, 1583; Bartolomeo Muzio returning for a second term February 21, 1583, to December 17,

1584, Bartolomeo Spontano from December 17, 1584, to July 5, 1586; and Giovanni Florio from August 16, 1586, to his death between June 3, 1597, and June 25, 1598. The short tenure of all of these maestros, except the last, inhibits accepting any as a likely prime personal mentor. What influence they exerted on Cerone must therefore be proved through his citation of their publications.

The Sicilian Pietro Vinci (c1535–1584)—favorably mentioned in *El Melopeo* at pages 2, 89, and 688—published his *Missarum . . . liber primus* at Venice in 1575, his first book of four-voice motets there in 1578, and in the secular sphere some four books of madrigals (1571, 1571, 1573, 1579).<sup>16</sup> His immediate successor at Bergamo, C[h]amaterò ranked as one of the first to follow the injunctions of the Council of Trent (Carlo Schmidl, *Dizionario Universale*, I, 279) and in company with Palestrina was among the first to give special care to clear phrase structure and intelligibility of the text. A native of Rome, C[h]amaterò arrived at Bergamo with a long list of already published sacred works, among them a collection of eight-voice *Salmi corista* specifically composed *secondo l'ordine del Concilio di Trento*. Whatever else Cerone remembered he did recall C[h]amaterò's *Missa Elasmenera* (at p. 1104 of *El Melopeo* he cites a cancrizans in the Agnus Dei); and whatever the allegiances C[h]amaterò shared with Palestrina, Cerone did learn from him or another to extol Palestrina as his supreme model: going so far as to devote his entire twentieth book to an analysis of Palestrina's five-voice *L'Homme armé* Mass (1570).

Such ready familiarity with Palestrina's entire repertory did Cerone somewhere acquire that at page 614 of *El Melopeo* he could risk calling a licentious progression of quintus and bassus in similar motion to a unison—spotted in the *Vestiva i colli* madrigal "near the beginning"—as Palestrina's sole such lapse in a lifetime. His idolizing of Palestrina from his youth onward had of course become old hat by the time he settled at Naples, where on his own admission (p. 676) the local musicians much preferred the sound of an accompanied solo voice to the

<sup>16</sup>Luigi Torchi published the Kyrie of Vinci's *Missa a 6*, titled *la sol fa mi re ut* in *L'Arte musicale in Italia seculo XVI*, I (1897), 317–324. His source: *Petri Vincii Siculi Nicosiensis Capellae S. Mariae Maioris Bergami Magistri Missarum cum quinque, sex & octo vocibus. Liber Primus*. Venetiis Apud Haeredem Hieronymi Scotti, 1575. Cerone, p. 688, mentions hexachord masses by Pontio, Vinci and Morales.





gravity of Palestrina. He also was obliged to confess (p. 309) that Palestrina outside Rome was deemed passé during his last decade. Already during Cerone's years preceding 1592 spent at Oristano (west coast of Sardinia)—years during which two books of masses (1590, 1591 [reprint]), and a *liber primus* of magnificats in the eight tones had been published at Rome, Palestrina's very name had fallen into such obloquy among Cerone's fellow Sardinian singers that to get one of the master's works performed he had to trick them. According to his story at page 309, he was obliged to copy the parts of a Palestrina *Ave Regina coelorum* anew—Marenzio's name replacing the true composer's—merely to get the work sung.

But even in a specialty that Marenzio had made so much his own as eye-music, Palestrina could compete advantageously, insisted Cerone. For in 1584, had not Palestrina matched the word *longa* in the five voice motet *Laetus Hyperboream* that opens his *Liber quintus* (1584) dedicated to the Polish king's nephew Andrew Báthori (created a cardinal July 4, 1584) with longs in every voice part (*El Melopeo*, p. 666 [Palestrina, *Werke*, iv, 94])? And in *Rex Melchior* of the same collection, had he not responded to the word *ut* that begins the phrase *ut compati-mini* with the lowest note of the natural and hard hexachords in all but the top voice-part [*Werke*, iv, 55]? Marenzio's word-painting only carried to foolish extremes what Palestrina showed how to do with noble restraint, decreed Cerone.

Although such fidelity to a fading figure as Palestrina gave Eximeno his repeated justification for

Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix, Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix! Sa - cu - la  
 pó - te] Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix, Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix! Sa - cu - la  
 pó - te] Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix, Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix! Sa - cu - la  
 pó - te] Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix, Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix! Sa - cu - la  
 pó - te Po - ló - ni - a fe - lix! Sa - cu - la

lon - ga ti - bi ser - vet u - trum - que De -  
 lon - ga ti - bi ser - vet u - trum - que De - us, De -  
 lon - ga ti - bi ser - vet u - trum - que De -  
 lon - ga ti - bi ser - vet u - trum - que De -  
 lon - ga ti - bi ser - vet u - trum - que De - us!

calling Cerone a Miniver Cheevy, Knud Jeppesen countered by claiming that Cerone's "quick eye for details" enabled him to see correspondences that eluded all other writers of his epoch (*The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance* [London, 1946], pp. 127 and 173). Elsewhere (p. 5) Jeppesen commented:

While he was not endowed with Zarlino's reflective gifts, and therefore seldom attempts to explain his reasons for his rules, he compensated for this lack by not falling into the temptation to remodel these rules in their practice, which Zarlino very often does. He had a fine sense of realities, and is able to perceive and reproduce shades of expression that escaped the other theorists of his time. When it is remembered that he treats especially of Palestrina's compositions, it will be readily understood that his work is of unusual value to investigators of style in later 16th-century music.

None of the Bergamo maestros de capilla during Cerone's salad days was a Fleming. But the teacher after his leaving Bergamo whom he recalls as his nonpareil guide was an imported Fleming. At page 92 of *El Melopeo* he cites a four-year fast friendship cemented with *Iuan Verio*—whom he identifies as Margaret of Austria's chapelmaster. Edmond vander Straeten (1826–1895) identified Verio as the Jean Van Verre who served Marguerite de Parme = Marguerite d'Autriche (1522–1586), half-sister to Philip II of Spain.<sup>17</sup> Upon her return to Italy in 1583, she made Aquila of the Abruzzi her residence; and it was during 1584–1588, while Cerone was a fledgling musician in the Abruzzi bishopric chapel that he profited daily from Van Verre's Flemish brand of learning.

Cerone (p. 92) expatiates on the necessity of studying with a patient, generous teacher, in these terms:

I know all this [the value of having a good teacher] from experience, especially from having had a very strong friendship with *Iuan Verio*, a Fleming who was Margaret of Austria's chapelmaster. During the four years that I served in the bishop's chapel at Civita-Ducale in Abruzzi, I studied with him.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vi (Brussels: G. A. Van Trigt, 1882), 482–484. Howard Mayer Brown credited five chansons to Van Veere = Verio = Verius (*New Grove*, 1980, xix, 670): "some of which appeared in French and Flemish anthologies, or in lute intabulations, *RISM*, 1568<sup>1</sup>, 1571<sup>6</sup>, 1578<sup>6</sup>, and 1578<sup>13</sup>."

<sup>18</sup> *El Melopeo*, 92 (modernized spelling):

Yo tambien he sabido, por experiencia, todo esto, particularmente por haber tenido muy estrecha amistad con Iuan Verio, de nacion Flamenco





Margaret, who had resided (with interruptions) at Civita-Ducale from December 1567 to 1580 and who continued at Ortona on the coast from 1584 to her death on January 18, 1586, made no demands on Verio = Van Verre during her last years, thus leaving him free to guide his most talented and eager pupil, Cerone.

When I was in doubt, I asked his opinion. In any extremity, I delighted in talking from time to time with him, because never did I listen to his words without profiting from his advice. He was always revealing things unknown to many, and worthy of being known. Without caviling, I delighted in hearing him discuss our profession, and being at times relieved of my doubts. The more delightful things he told me, the more I wanted him to tell me more and more—newly inspired as I was to know more. For just as the miser never stops wanting more money (the saying *Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit* being very true), so also I coveted knowing more, never wearying of knowing the secrets and subtleties that he revealed. As a result, I recognized as more than true the proverb: *Mendici pera non impletur*.<sup>19</sup>

The years immediately preceding 1592 spent by Cerone at Oristano on the west coast of Sardinia can be calculated by subtracting 25 from the year in which *El Melopeco* was finally published. At page 116 he had said that he began traveling twenty years earlier—which would have been correct, had *El Melopeco* been published in 1608, the year in which he began delivering copy to his printers. But when at last published in 1613, he inserted on two pages preceding the *preambulo* a list of errata. On folio

113r, he corrects the “twenty” years ago when he began traveling to “twenty-five.”

Sardinia, an Aragonese possession from 1323 to 1708 (with various interludes during which forces from Genoa and internal uprisings disputed Aragonese suzerainty), offered Cerone at Oristano an opportunity to make some headway with the Spanish language. So far as chronology goes, Cerone claims to have made the acquaintance in 1590 of a German chapelmaster of Savona (near Genoa), named “Sixto Bergenoreo” (*El Melopeco*, p. 173). Cerone nowhere reveals who brought him to Oristano nor who was chapelmaster, but he did meet the chapelmaster of Cagliari Cathedral, Antonio de Loch, who invited him to show how consecutive fifths (A-e followed by B-f) can be correctly managed between the inner parts of a Lenten plainchant harmonized *a 4* (*El Melopeco*, p. 726).

The archbishop of Oristano during Cerone’s years there was Antonio Canopolo.<sup>20</sup> According to Pasquale Tola’s *Dizionario Biografico degli uomini illustri di Sardegna* (Turin, 1851), 1, 168, Canopolo founded a local seminary in 1588, Oristano having previously lacked one. Son of a native of Corsica, Canopolo was born and died at Sassari (Sardinia), but the Spanish crown by virtue of a concordat negotiated in 1530 enjoyed the same *patronato* that prevailed in territory recovered from the Moors. In *La chiesa in Sardegna dalle origini a oggi* (Cagliari: Vert Sardegna Editrice, 1981), page 55, Lorenzo Manconi summarizes the situation, so far as Spanish supervision was concerned:

The cultural ambience within the Sardinian church during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remained always Spanish. The most promising youthful clergy were always sent to study in Spain, and in ecclesiastical circles, the clergy spoke and wrote in Castilian.

After his Oristano sojourn, Cerone therefore arrived on mainland Spain at the close of 1592 inured to the language. Probably he disembarked at Tarragona, the conjecture being reinforced by his mentioning his immediate friendship with Nicasio Zorita (appointed maestro de capilla of Tarragona Cathedral September 9, 1578; author of a book of motets

y Maestro de Capilla, que ha sido de Madama Margarita de Austria, que esta en el cielo. Con quien, en el tiempo de cuatro años, que me traxue en Ciuita ducal de Abruazo en servicio de la Capilla del Obispado, conferia mis estudios.

Civita Ducale = Cittaducale lies five miles east of Rieti. The bishopric of Cittaducale erected in 1502 was suppressed in 1818 (Gams, *Series episcoporum*, 876); see note 20 below.

<sup>19</sup> *El Melopeco*, 92:

A quien pedia parecer en mis dudas. En extremo me holgaba platicar con el de cuando en cuando; por quanto nunca oia sus palabras, que no sacase provecho y aviso dellas; porque siempre iba descubriendo cosas encubiertas a muchos, y dignas de no cubrirse a nadie. Sin duda tomaba placer de oirle tratar de mi profesion, y que a veces me sacase de las dudas que tenia; y quanto mas me decia cosas de gusto, tanto mas deseaba me dijese otras y otras: teniendo siempre un nuevo deseo de saber mas. Porque asi como el avariento nunca se harta de dineros (siendo mas que verdadero el dicho: *Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*), así yo, codicioso de saber, nunca me hurtaba del conocimiento de los secretos y subtilizas, que me descubria; y entonces conoci ser mas que verdadero el proverbio: *Mendici pera non impletur*.

<sup>20</sup> Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Regensburg: Verlag Josef Manz, 1873–1876; facsimile reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957), p. 839.





published at Barcelona in 1584). At all events, he knew Zorita's works sufficiently well to detect a plagiarism effected by a maestro (mercifully left unnamed) in a nearby locale.

During the first six months of 1593 he visited different towns. But by the time he reached Santiago de Compostela for the July 25 festival year celebration, the funds brought from Oristano were exhausted. In utter misery he had to beg his way to Madrid, his clothes were in tatters, and his spirits at their nadir. His miseries did at last induce him to stop singing profane songs, and henceforth to sing only *canciones espirituales*.

#### IV CERONE AT MADRID, 1593-1608; AT NAPLES, 1608-1625

His savior at Madrid was a native of Modena known in Spain as Jacobo Gratii (1517-1619) or as the Caballero de Gracia. Born September 24, 1517, into a wealthy family at Modena, he was baptized with the name Jacopo Trenci. Reared by tutors after his parents' decease in his childhood, he studied first at Rome, then at Florence. In the latter city he met his lifetime protector, Giambattista Castagna (1521-1590), doctor of canon and civil laws, and nephew of Girolamo Verallo whom he followed as archbishop of Rossano 1553-1573. Trenci's fluency in both modern and ancient languages recommended him immediately to Castagna who took him as personal secretary to the last sessions of the Council of Trent, 1562-1563, and continued using him as such to 1580.

Because Trenci's patronage was to become as crucial to Cerone as was Castagna's patronage to Trenci, the remainder of Trenci's career deserves summary. Commissioned to translate into Italian the proceedings of the Holy Office against Bartolomé Carranza y Miranda (1503-1576), archbishop of Toledo, Trenci accompanied the five high prelates (including Castagna) whom Pope Paul IV chose to review the case. Arriving with them in November 1565, Trenci sent his first translations to arrive at Rome in May 1567. Enamored of Madrid, he so pleased Juana, sister of Philip II and mother of the ill-fated Sebastião, that she obtained for him the Portuguese Order of Christ. Remaining at Madrid with Castagna, now papal nuncio 1570-1577, Trenci

came to know the city so intimately that he wrote a traveler's guide to the city streets.<sup>21</sup>

Next, Trenci accompanied Castagna to Venice and to Cologne, continuing his secretary until 1580 (Castagna was elected pope in 1590, taking Urban VII as his name). Known for his Spanish expertise, Trenci was appointed a papal delegate at Madrid 1580 to 1582, in which latter year he retired from papal diplomacy. Remaining thereafter at his beloved Madrid, he himself became a priest at age 75. His influence, abetted by his immense personal wealth, continued vast—although he did not lack enemies, especially among local authorities who resented his favoring Italians.

His zeal in Italians' behalf took such forms as his welcoming Francesco Caracciolo (1563-1608), who was bent on establishing at the Spanish capital, already surfeited with religious houses, the new order of *clérigos menores*. Not content with finding a church for them at Madrid, he also intervened for them at Naples, their home base. To cap his beneficences to Italians, he endowed a hospital specifically for them, at Madrid. Significantly from Cerone's vantage was his addiction to music.

His Academia de Música<sup>22</sup> meeting regularly at his sumptuous Madrid residence welcomed Cerone's tenor voice. But proof is lacking that Cerone in his same year of arrival joined the Royal Chapel Choir directed by Philippe Rogier from 1586 to 1596 (d February 29) and by Matheo Romero (Mathieu Ros-

<sup>21</sup> *Guía importante para los forasteros que vienen á esta corte á negociar ó pretender, para que no se distraigan, ni anden ociosos, ni caigan en los peligros en que suelen los que se dejan llevar de los vicios y libertades de esta corte.*

See Francisco Javier García Rodrigo, *El Caballero de Gracia: historia imparcial y vindicación crítica de este venerable y ejemplar sacerdote* (Madrid: Junta Provincial de la Asociación de Católicos de Madrid, 1880), pp. 173-174. García Rodrigo cites among Trenci's other literary remains (p. 177) some pious poetry that he paid *personas devotas y de buena voz* to sing throughout the streets of Madrid; he himself taught the chosen singers. Cerone, *El Mellopeo*, p. 151, cites his protector and maecenas as *Jacobo Gratij, Italiano, aficionado a Musica*, without however making him a music teacher.

<sup>22</sup> The sole highborn Spaniard whom Cerone credited with maintaining an Academia de Música in his house, Juan de Borja, was Empress María de Austria's majordomo, during her residence in Descalzas Reales convent. Sired by the future saint Francisco de Borja (third general of the Society of Jesus), Juan de Borja (b 1533) while Spanish ambassador at Prague accepted the dedication of *Las Ensaladas de Flecha*. Nephew Matheo





marin) thereafter to 1634. During Romero's tenure Cerone revisited Italy at least once, before finally settling at Naples in 1608. At page 551 he mentions having heard a singer whom he calls Paulone decorate his solos with extreme virtuosity during Circumcision vespers, 1600, at S John Lateran, Rome.

From February 11, 1601, to 1606 the Spanish court resided at Valladolid, but with regular excursions to Alcalá, Aranjuez, El Escorial, and Toledo. Among any private pupils whom he taught in Spain, at least one, Antonio Malaver, saluted him from afar when joining the nineteen poetasters who contributed laudatory poems published in the unnumbered folios that precede page 1 of *El Melopeo*. Malaver's sonnet "En alabanza de su Maestro, el R. Don Pedro Cerone" identifies him as "Racionero y Maestro de Capilla en la Yglesia mayor de Villafranca."

Flecha cited him as not only a music lover, but an expert practitioner (*en el exercitio della es tan acabado*).

**LAS EN SALADAS DE FLECHA, MAESTRO DE CAPILLA QUE FVE DE las Serenissimas Infantas de Castilla, Recopiladas por F. Matheo Flecha su sobrino, Abad de Tyhan, y Capellan de las Magestades Cesareas, con algunas luyas y de otros authores, por el mesmo corregidas y echas a stampa. Dedicadas al Illustrissimo Señor Don Juan de Borja del conjeio de la Magestad Catholica y su Embaxador a cerca de la Cesarea &c.**

BA



XO

IMPRESSAS EN LA CIVDAD DE PRAGA  
en casa de Jorge Neggino año 1581

Fol. Aij : «Al Illustrissimo scnyor Don Juan de Borja del Consejo de la Magestad Catholica e su embaxador acerca de la Cesarea &c. mi Señor.

Entendiendo yo, illustrissimo Señor, que la raíz y fundamento sobre que los escriptores en dedicar sus trabajos se fundauan, y hasta el presente se han fundado; era, o es el valor, ser y merecimientos para que las illustrassen y amparassen, o en la doctrina y scientia de a quien las dedicavan para que las emmendassen : y queriendo buscar un termigistro Mercurio en quien ambas qualidades cupessen por ver la neçessidad que la presente obra de todos dos tenia, no hallé a quien más dignamente competessen que a V. S. Illustrissima : pues si al valor de que los hombres se precian y se jactan de sus antepassados, considerar y mirar queremos, todo el mundo sabe, ser su stirpe y descendencia de aquella Illustrissima casa [f. Aij v.] de Gandia, tan antigua y celebrada como tras cada passo los libros nos testifican, y si a los merecimientos por los quilates de su valerosa persona en paz y en guerra, en Armas y en letras, en gouerno de politira y consejo, y finalmente en todo género de virtud adquiridos, ni yo los podría explicar aun que quisiese, ni en ningún entendimiento humano caber podrían, aunque para ello se desielase. Sólo diré que en el sujeto de Música, no sólo en la delectación que es común a todos los mortales, pero en el exercitio della es tan acabado, que quando el don fuera mucho más subido, no deseará de conseguir el efecto deseado. Todo lo qual me ha más ençendido el ánimo y abinado el deseo a sacar en luz las presentes Ensaladas de mi tío, con algunas de otros autores y mías, las quales aunque son viejas, ninguno antes del las compuso, ni después, (con preiarise todos de tenellas) nadie las ha recopilado ni echo a stampa. Dos solas (la vna llamada el *Jubilate*, la qual no he podido hauer, y la otra, el *Cantate*, o *Danza despadada*, la qual por ser algo larga y prolixa he querido dexar) no van aquí. Recibirá V. S. las demás con el Amor y afición que yo se las ofrezco amparándolas como a las demás cosas más á echo hasta aquí, perdonando los yerros de la Estampa, por que aun que con mucho cuydado y diligencia haya yo mismo assistido a la corrección de ellas, por ser nuestro jliuma muy diferente y contrario al de estas partes, y el Estampador no muy perito en la Música, no [f. Aijj] podrá dexar de hauer muchos. Dios nuestro señor la Illustrissima persona de V. S. guarde y prospere como ella merece y sus acudidores deseamos, &c. D. V. S. Illustrissima servidor y Capellan. F. Matheo Flecha, Abad de Tyhan.

**DE ALONSO MALAVER,  
Racionero y Maestro de Capilla en la Yglesia mayor de Villafranca.**

**En alabanza de su Maestro, el R. DON PEDRO CERONE.**

**H**Elicon, Parnaso, Cabalino,  
Sacros templos à Mufas dedicados ;  
Si aueys sido continuo celebrados  
De la Lira de Febo alto y diuino :  
Y si vuestros Museos de cristalino,  
Por las Nueue los veys tan adornados ;  
No menos soys agora sublimados  
Por el docto CERON, y peregrino.  
Mirad à vuestro alumno reluziendo,  
Como entre tocas piedras esmeralda,  
La Musica moderna ennoblescendo .  
Pues, vos sus muy queridas, ya excedo  
De flores, cadaqual vna guirnalda ;  
Y con dulce cancion se la yd poniendo.

The year in which Cerone ceased all teaching duties in Spain, departed from Madrid encumbrances, and located at Naples cannot be later than 1608. Ruled from 1504 to 1707 by Spanish viceroys, Naples was crowded throughout the second half of the sixteenth century with composers that included Spanish directors of the viceregal chapel Diego Ortiz (1555–1570) and Francisco Martínez de Lorcos (1570–1583). After the Burgundian Bartolomeo Le Roy (1593–1598) came the Fleming Jean de Macque (1599–1614). At the Chiesa dell'Annunziata, Giovanni Domenico del Giovane da Nola (1563–1588) was succeeded by Camillo Lambardi (1592–1634). Giovanni Maria Trabaci, who served as viceregal chapel organist 1601–1614, succeeded Jean de Macque as viceregal chapelmaster 1614–1647. The membership of the viceregal chapel included during Macque's epoch 25 singers (7 sopranos, 4 altos, 3 countertenors, 5 tenors, 6 basses), 6 violinists, 1 cornettist, 1 trombonist, 1 harpist, 1 lutenist, and 2 organists.<sup>23</sup>

Cerone's first publication at Naples, *Le Regole più necessarie per l'introduittione del canto fermo*.

<sup>23</sup> *Dizionario della musica e dei musicisti. Il lessico*, III (1988), 312.





*Nuovamente date in luce dal Rever. D. Pietro Cerone Berg.*—a booklet of 39 leaves (Gio. Battista Gargano, e Lucretio Nucci, 1609), certifies his being a priest, and at the close directs the user to his *Melopeo*, already being printed: especially to the third and fifth among the 22 books (“these offer more diffuse information concerning the rules most necessary for an introduction to plainchant”).<sup>24</sup>

At Naples Cerone's name first surfaces in the *Deliberazioni dei Governatori della Reale Casa Santa dell'Annunziata di Napoli* in the act of January 28, 1609, naming him the maestro to teach the clergy (*Diaconi*) of the said church how to sing *canto fermo*.<sup>25</sup> His predecessor, Don Martino Garofano, had been forced to quit the previous autumn for health reasons. Cerone had been recommended for the post by a high ranking Annunziata priest, Don Francesco Antonio Falco, and it was to Falco that he dedicated *Le Regole*. In the dedication he attributed to Falco the impetus to write and publish his booklet.

Doue considerato l'ottimo ed honesto desiderio vostro (non ostante ch'oghi vostra essortazione; à me sia sommo commandamento) hò composto questo picciolo libretto; qual al presente mando à la stampa sotto la protettione de la R. V. per segno di gratitudine de' continui fauori, che si degna farmi.

<sup>24</sup> *Le regole*, 37:

Sappi (discreto lettore) che quivi non hò posto tutte le regole particolari.... contuttociò se qualch'vno per gusto suo, desiderasse saperle (tenendo cognitione della lingua Spagnuola) potrà adagio e commodità sua vederle, nelli xxii. libri del l'opera mia (che si stà stampando) intitolata il *Melopeo*: spetialmente nel iij. e v. libro: che ivi si tratta assai diffusamente, si di queste come di molt'altre particolarità appartenenti al Cantofermo.

In Bonifacio Baroffio's introduction to the facsimile reprint (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1989 [Musurgiana, 4]), he compares the pithy rules in *Le regole* with their diffuse presentation in *El Melopeo*.

<sup>25</sup> *Deliberazioni dei Governatori della Reale Casa Santa dell'Annunziata di Napoli*, ms. vol. xiv, fol. 32 (= *Appontamenti*, vol. 17):

Il Reverendo Don Pietro Ceroni si assenta da noi per maestro d'insegnare a cantare il canto fermo alli Jaconi [= Diaconi] della Chiesa di questa Santa Casa in luogo del quondam Reverendo don Martino Garofano, venendoci fatta fede della sua molta habilità a tale carico; à quale precio stabilimo [= stabiliamo] per detto officio la solita provisione di Dti [= ducati] due il mese, conforme havea il suddetto suo predecessore; da corrispondergli à suo beneficio dalli 16 del presente [mese], ancorché si notti hoggi 25 de Gennago [= Gennaio] 1609.

The marginal note reads: “Maestro di canto fermo à clerici d. Pietro Cerone.”

LE REGOLE  
PIV NECESSARIE  
PER LINTRODVTTIONE  
DEL CANTO FERMO.

Nuouamente date in luce dal Reuer.  
D. PIETRO CERONE Berg.

AVE GRATIA PLENA  
Dominus tecum.



IN NAPOLI Per Gio. Battista Gargano,  
e Lucretio Nucci. 1609.

Con licenza de' Superiori.



Impelled by your most praiseworthy and seemly desire (although for me any of your exhortations is a command), I have composed this small booklet; which I now consign to the printer under your protection, as a sign of the gratitude that I owe you for the continued favors that you deign to bestow.

From May 5, 1592, until retirement in 1631, the *maestro di cappella* at the Annunziata was Camillo Lambardi (Naples, c1560–1634). A respected published composer (1600, 1609, 1613), he issued his second book of motets in 1613, the same year in which *El Melopeo* finally appeared. For accompanied duet (usually soprano and bass) with organ continuo, they differ utterly from the ecclesiastical style endorsed by Cerone.

Cerone terminated his less than fourteen-month Annunziata appointment as master of plainchant March 6, 1610. His functions were that month





divided among three priests, Vincenzo Pignatazo for mass celebrations, Giole Policastro to teach plainchant, Angelo Errichiolo to sing tenor parts. Cerone's termination coincided with the arrival of the seventh Conde de Lemos, Pedro Fernández de Castro (1576–1622), viceroy 1610–1616, who immediately assigned him a tenor's post in the viceregal chapel. The continuing good will of the Annunziata governing body took the form of a lifetime chaplaincy appointment, awarded July 9, 1610, four days before the Conde de Lemos disembarked.<sup>26</sup>

A summary conspectus of the activities in which Cerone participated during his fifteen years in the viceregal chapel can be found in Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro's "La musica a Napoli nel secolo XVII attraverso gli avvisi e i giornali," included in *Musica e Cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo*, edited by Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa (Florence: Leo. S. Olschki, 1983), 145–164. Events involving the Cappella Reale, or members of it, included the following documented happenings:

- 1) The entrance of a new archbishop, Cardinal Decio Carafa, May 24, 1615, was celebrated with a *Te Deum* (D'Alessandro, p. 154)
- 2) The Count of Lemos's successor, Pedro Téllez-Girón, duke of Osuna, who had made his solemn entry into Naples August 21, 1616, four months later gathered about him all the ranking nobility for a *commemorazione della Madonna* at the Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore; this event was celebrated December 7, 1616, by the *cappella con la musica di Palazzo* (p. 153)
- 3) Arriving at 10 p.m. for a devotion to Our Lady February 26, 1617, in the Church of the Holy Apostles, the viceroy and his wife heard first a motet (p. 157)
- 4) In celebration of a wedding, the viceroy on August 3,

1617, invited "all the famous persons of merit in Naples" to a garden party during which a play was performed and couples joined in *balli a suon di musicali strumenti* (p. 159)

- 5) On February 22, 1618, a horse-drawn car containing shepherds, whose singing was directed by singing Cupid, provided *bellissima musica* (p. 164)
- 6) At the expense of Spaniards residing at Naples, five choirs sang first vespers November 27, 1619, at the Chiesa del Gesù. On succeeding days celebrating the beatification of Francis Xavier, *la musica di Palazzo con varij instrumenti cantando l'hinno Iste Confessor* (which hymn the viceregal chapel accompanied by various instruments repeated three times during a procession to the door of the Jesuit church), provided outdoor music. Once inside the Chiesa del Gesù, the members of the procession were joined by the viceroy and his wife together with all his court. Four choirs then united in beginning a solemn mass. At the moment before the Credo, trumpets, bells, and organs burst the silence. The interposition of motets prolonged the solemnity to 9 p.m. (pp. 157–158)

Burdened with charges of malfeasance in office and personal misconduct, Téllez-Girón was forced to leave Naples June 4, 1620. Upon his return to Spain he was imprisoned, dying disgraced September 24, 1624. Philip III's death March 31, 1621, after numerous bouts of ill health effectively removed all royal confidants on whom Téllez-Girón had counted for help.

Ironically, the sole warranty for Téllez-Girón's present-day remembrance is the published *Breve Racconto della Festa a Ballo Fattasi in Napoli per l'allegrezza della salute acquistata della Maestà Catholica di Filippo III. d'Austria, Rè delle Spagne* ("Brief Report of the Dance Festival at Naples for the happiness caused by the recovery to health of His Catholic Majesty, Philip III of Austria, King of the Spains") (Naples: Constantino Vitale, 1620 [sole copy preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris]). Edited by Roland Jackson with the title *A Neapolitan Festa a Ballo and selected instrumental ensemble pieces* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1978 [Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, Volume xxv]), this highly exceptional *Breve Racconto* contains twelve musical selections. Four are by Andrea Ansalone, identified by Jackson as member of a Neapolitan family of wind performers, three are by Francesco Lambardi, court organist, two each are by Giovanni Maria Trabaci, court maestro di cappella, two by Giacomo Spiardo, dancing master

<sup>26</sup>For events during the tenures of early 17th-century viceroys at Naples, see Pietro Giannine, *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli* (Milan: Nicolò Bettoni, 1822), ix, 16–72. Lemos patronized the Accademia degli Oziosi. A detailed account of Lemos's activities while viceroy at Naples given by Alfonso Pardo Manuel de Villena, marqués de Rafal (Madrid: Jaime Ratés Martín, 1911), in *El Conde de Lemos. Noticia de su vida y de sus relaciones con Cervantes, Lope de Vega, los Argensola y demás literatos de su época*, pp. 125–175, dwells on the *fiestas brillantísimas* celebrated February 29, 1612. José Ranco's *Libro donde se triata de los Virreyes Lugartenientes del Reino de Nápoles* occupies the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. 23. Diego Duque de Estrada, *Comentarios del desengañado*, Memorial Histórico Español, vol. 12, served the Marqués de Rafal for extensive reportage on Lemos's career at Naples. All these viceregal data provide valuable background for the comprehension of Cerone's final Neapolitan years.





who designed the choreography, and one by Pietro Antonio Giramo. All the vocal numbers are in lilting ternary meter (designated  $\Phi_3$  or  $\mathbb{C}_3$  in the source). Trabaci's *Arie di tre sirene* ("Arias of the three sirens"), reaching 192 bars in Jackson's transcription, sets a panegyric deifying Téllez-Girón. The text of this masque is headed *Delizie di Posilipo Boscarece, e Maritime* ("The Sylvan and Oceanic Delights of Posilipo"). Nonetheless, the entertainment took place on the indicated day, Carnival Sunday, March 1, 1620, not at Posilipo—site of the viceroy's vacation residence—but *Alla presenza dell'Illustriss. & Excellentiss. Sig. Duca d'Ossuna Viceré del Regno, nella Real Sala di Palazzo* ("in the presence of the viceroy in the Royal Hall of the Palace").

After Téllez-Girón's forced departure, two stop-gap cardinals held sway until the arrival of Antonio Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, viceroy from his arrival December 14, 1622, to his replacement by Fernando Alba de Ribera, duke of Alcalá, who entered Naples August 17, 1629.

On July 30, 1623, several vessels off the coast of Posilipo formed a stage on which was recited a Spanish play fol-

lowed by *balli i musica* lasting until midnight (D'Alessandro, p. 160). On Saturday June 23, 1624, St. John Baptist's vigil was celebrated in Francesca street with angels whose playing of flutes and other instruments recalled the angels' chorus. After prime, the semblance of a cloud opened from which fell other angels, similarly singing and playing. The viceroy with his attendants delighted in the continually changing music (p. 158)

Only 59 at his death in Naples, Cerone could not escape being thrown into contact with such painters as José Ribera ("Spagnoletto"), Giovanni Battista Caracciolo ("Battistello"), and Massimo Stanzione; and with architects that included Giulio Cesare Fontana, builder of what became the National Museum.

Printers of music at Naples ranged from Giovanni Giacomo Carlino (1579–1616), Giovanni Battista Gargano and Lucrezio Nucci (pair active 1609–1617), Antonio Pace (1602–1603), and Giovanni Battista Sottile (1603–1608), to Constantino Vitale (1603–1623).<sup>27</sup> Although Milan enrolled members of the Tini and Tradate families, along with Filippo Lomazzo (active 1600–1630), members of the Colonna and Rolla families, and three other individuals as music printers between 1583 and 1627—all of whom are profiled in Mariangela Donà's *La stampa musicale a Milano fino all'anno 1700* (Florence: Leo

THE SYLVAN AND OCEANIC DELIGHTS OF POSILIPO (1620)  
DELIZIE DI POSILIPO BOSCARRECCE E MARITIME

- [1] \*Sinfonia antica (Anon.)  
cornett, trumpet, 3 sackbuts, 2 violins, 2 viols, violone, 2 harps, archlute, theorbo, organ
- [2] Canzonetta delle Ninfe e il Pastore (Pietro Antonio Giramo)  
soprano I, soprano II, alto, baritone  
lira da braccio, bass viol, 2 harps, 2 guitars
- [3] \*Spagnoletta (Hettore della Marra, arr. Tom Finucane)  
2 lutes
- [4] Canto di Fortuna, Tempo, Fama e Invidia (Francesco Lambardi)  
soprano II, alto, tenor I, baritone  
theorbo, organ
- [5] \*Gagliarda (Anon.)  
2 cornetts, 4 sackbuts, 2 violins, 2 viols, violone, 7 recorders, curtal, organ, regal, harpsichord, spinet, 2 harps, 2 lutes, lirone, tabors
- [6] Canto delle Sirene (Giovanni Maria Trabaci)  
soprano I, soprano II, alto  
3 flutes, 2 lutes, harp
- [7] \*Gagliarda (?Arpa)  
3 shawms, curtal, regal, tabor
- [8] Ballo de' Selvaggi e delle Simie (Giacomo Spiaro)  
bagpipes
- [9] La scesa de' Pastori dal Monte (Andrea Ansalone)  
2 cornetts, 4 sackbuts, 2 violins, 2 viols, violone, 7 recorders, curtal, organ, regal, harpsichord, spinet, 2 harps, 2 guitars, lirone
- [10] Canto di Venere (Giovanni Maria Trabaci)  
soprano I  
harp, archlute, organ
- [11] Fanfare (Philip Pickett after Girolamo Fantini)  
4 trumpets, 4 sackbuts, timpani
- [12] Ballo de' Cigni (Giacomo Spiaro)  
2 violins, 2 viols, violone, harp, 2 lutes
- [13] Canto del Dio Pane e i suoi Silvani (Francesco Lambardi)  
alto, tenor I, tenor II, baritone  
4 crumhorns, regal
- [14] Ballo de' Selvaggi e delle Simie (Giacomo Spiaro)  
4 shawms, 2 cornetts, 4 sackbuts, 3 recorders, regal, side drum
- [15] \*Gagliarda falsa (Don Giovanni Maria Sabini)  
2 violins, 2 viols, violone, 2 harps, 2 lutes, harpsichord
- [16] Canto d'Amore (Francesco Lambardi)  
soprano II  
harp, guitar, lirone
- [17] Le tre arie del Ballo Cavalieri (Andrea Ansalone)  
2 cornetts, 4 sackbuts, 2 violins, 2 viols, violone, 7 recorders, curtal, organ, regal, harpsichord, spinet, 2 harps, 2 guitars, lirone, tabors, tambourine

<sup>27</sup> Claudio Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani (Tipografi, incisor, librai-editori)* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1958), provides these data.

Philip II's musical patronage rivaled that of any European monarch. Grandson Philip IV was a composer and a keyboardist. Less written about, Philip III was a patron and amateur whose musical abilities signaled in *Le Passetemps de Jehan Lhermite* (Antwerp, 1890, 1896), included excellence as a vihuela player and in singing madrigals (C. Pérez Bustamante, *Felipe III, Semblanza de un monarca y perfíles de una privanza* [Madrid, 1950], pp. 37, 242–243). In 1591 the Caballero de Gracia loaned or gave the 13-year-old prince five vihuelas. His gamba teacher was the Venetian Mateo Troilo (Luis Robledo, "Vihuelas de arco y violones en la corte de Felipe III," *Actas del Congreso Internacional "España en la Música de Occidente,"* Madrid, 1987, II, 66).

While still a 16-year-old prince, he accepted the dedication of Giovan Domenico Montella's madrigals published at Naples. Married March 21, 1599, to then 14-year-old Margarita (b Graz, Christmas Day 1584), he lived a life of exemplary faithfulness to his wife and of devotion to his religious duties. Cerone rightly called him the world's supreme "Defender of the Faith" (*Fidei Defensor*).





PRIMO LIBRO  
DE MADRIGALI  
A CINQUE VOCI

DI GIOVAN DOMENICO MONTELLA NAPOLITANO



AL SERENISSIMO  
FILIPPO D'AVSTRIA  
PRINCIPE DI SPAGNA.

**A**LLA SERENISS. ALTEZZA V., in cui riluce la grandezza di tanti Re, assicurato dalla Real benignità dell'animo suo, con la maggior humiltà, che mi si consiue, dedico le primitive delle mie fatiche, composte da che mi ritrovouo nella Real Cappella di Napoli, oue indegnamente seruo la MAESTÀ dell'Inuittiss. suo PADRE per Musico di Liuto. Riceuale Sereniss. Signore con quella prontezza, con che uole degnar di riceuer, l'opre uirtuose de' suoi serui, acciuche, come da felice nume riceuendo lo spirito, à fatiche maggiori mi accinga, rendendomi sicuro, che sotto il suo glorioso nome uiueranno con la uita del mondo. Con ciò facendo à V. A. Sereniss. riuerenz.a. & preganciole dal cielo lunga. & feliciss. uita me inchino à baciare i piedi. Di Napoli à 28 di Giugno 1594.

Di V. A. Sereniss.

Deuotiss. Seruo

Giovan Domenico Montella.  
N. 3



<b>N</b> in se gioconde e liete	fol. 1	Amateus ben mio	12
Non più saette Amore	2	Già la candida mano	13
Perche tentate o Donna	3	Ben mio pirche bramate	14
Auenturoso uelo	4	Chiare & dolci fauille	15
Fago e tranquillo fonte	5	Se gliatti i Donna	16
Poiche per darlo a uos	6	O miracè d'Amore	17
Io son già morto	7	Donna qual meraviglia	18
Allettana gli amanti	8	Siam piucruo Amore	19
Donne d'Amor con buria	9	Donne gattili e belle	20
Se i lami uofri	10	Non sù perude Amore	21
Adadonna io ben porrei	11	Non già on freddo core.	22.



22 QVINTO

**N**on già O Donna se uole te L'acce  
se fiammie spegner po tre  
te Ma per uirtù d'An ore y  
E stinger l'ardor mio col uostr'ar do re y  
col uostr'ardore Ma per uirtù d'Amore Estinger l'ar dor  
mio col uostr'ardore col uostr'ardore y

Imprimatur Ar die, Biandra Vic. Gen. Neap.

Mag. Cherub. Veron. August. Theol. Archiep. uidit  
In Napoli Nella Stamperia dello Stiglioà à Porta  
Regale M. D. LXXXIV.





S. Olschki, 1961)—Naples obviously provided the optimum site among Italian centers under Spanish dominion, for Cerone's behemoth publication. The exhaustive coverage of Neapolitan music printing and printers in Angelo Pompilio's *Editoria musicale a Napoli e in Italia nel cinque-seicento* and Keith A. Larson and Angelo Pompilio's *Cronologia della edizioni musicali napoletane del cinque-seicento* (*Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo*, 79–139) provides the illuminating background needed by anyone questioning Cerone's reasons for locating at Naples.

During the five years that *El Melopeo* was being printed, Gargano and Nucci also printed on commission from Scipione Riccio an anthology of five-voice madrigals (1609), and at the instance of Pietro Paulo Riccio, Girolamo Montesardo's *I lieti giorni di Napoli. Concertini e madrigaletti italiani in aria spagnuola, a due, e tre voci con le lettere dell'alfabeto per la chitarra* (1612). The latter (copy in the University of Glasgow, Euing Music Library) ranks as the sole music publication dedicated to Viceroy Pedro Fernández de Castro; Téllez-Girón, duke of Osuna, and viceroy 1616–1620, accepted the dedication of Giuseppe Palazzotto-Tagliavia's five-voice madrigals (Vitale, 1617). While still heir to the throne, the future Philip III accepted the dedication of Giovan Domenico Montella's five-voice madrigals (Naples: Nella Stamparia dello Stiglioa à Porta Regale, 1594) but as sovereign only *El Melopeo*. In every other respect, *El Melopeo* stands out as a unique Neapolitan publication—by reason of its girth, what must have been its costliness to produce, its Spanish language, and the length of time required to print it.

The authority to whom the Naples Consejo Colateral sent *El Melopeo* for examination and approval before publication was Macque, *dignissimo Maestro de la Capilla Real de Napoles, Musico y Organista singular y muy ecelente* (*El Melopeo*, p. 757), whose *cedula de aprobacion* preceded its emergence from the press.<sup>28</sup> What kind of contract Cerone

<sup>28</sup> A boy chorister in the imperial chapel at Vienna, Macque (b c1550 at Valenciennes; d Naples in September 1614) studied with Philippe de Monte before locating in Italy—first at Rome when about 24 years of age, then in about 1585 at Naples where in 1594 he became organist in the viceregal chapel and in 1599 its *maestro di cappella*. His taste for elaborate canons reveals itself at p. 758 of *El Melopeo* with a five-in-one, each successive entry commencing a third lower than the previous. Set to

wrote with the printers, how they were paid, how Cerone marketed it, at what price, and by what distributors, remain topics for future research.

## V CERONE IN INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIAS

F.-J. Fétis, the still most influential lexicographer to have profiled Cerone with a long article (*Biographie universelle des musiciens*, II, 237–239) launched the erroneous expansion of the “D.” preceding Pedro Cerone on the title page to read “Dominique” (= Domingo = Domenico). Unfortunately, he laced his article with numerous other misstatements. According to him, Cerone says “not one word of boleros, tiranas, seguidillas, villancicos, and other Spanish pieces.”<sup>29</sup> Quite apart from the anachronism of calling into question *boleros* (“invented by Sebastián Cereso [Cerezo] c1780,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [MGG], II, 82) and *tiranas* (dance-song type popularized near the close of the eighteenth century), Fétis erred in claiming that Cerone “said not one word” concerning villancicos (to compound his mistake, Fétis gave the word its Portuguese, not Spanish, spelling). Cerone does mention villancicos: witness page 513, where he occupied himself with principles of text-application in madrigals and villancicos. At pages 196–197 he animadverts at length against villancicos—ubiquitous in Spanish churches, but not as stimulating to devotion as a Latin motet.

I don't wish to say that the use of villancicos is always bad, because all the churches in Spain receive them, and to such a degree that it seems as if no solemnity is complete without them. But at the same time I do not wish to say that their use is always good. Not only do they fail to promote devotion but instead they distract from it, especially those villancicos exhibiting a great variety of

the *De profundis* text, Macque's pyrotechnical five-in-one canon speaks eloquently in Cerone's defense against not only Eximeno but also Rafael Mitjana y Gordón and other like-minded detractors who would pillory Cerone for “pedantry.”

Macque, who obviously enjoyed such “Flemish” displays of learning as fatten Book xxii, having been appointed by the Naples Consejo Colateral to be *El Melopeo's* censor, Cerone can hardly be blamed for flattering Macque's taste.

<sup>29</sup> *Biographie universelle* [1875], II, 239:

Cerone n'ait pas dit un mot des *boleros*, *tirannus*, *seguediles*, *vilhancicos*, et autres pièces espagnoles.





No quiero dezir que el vfo de los Vilancicos fea malo, pues esta recebido de todas las Yglesias de España: y de tal manera, que parece no se pueda hazer aquella cumplida solennidad que conuiene, si no los ay. Mas tampoco quiero dezir que sea siempre bueno; pues no solamente no nos combida à deuocion, mas nos destrea della: particularmente aquellos Vilancicos que tienen mucha diuersidad de lenguajes. Entre los Italianos acostumbrafe el catar Canciones con diuersidad de personajes y variedad de lenguajes (à las quales llaman *Mascherate*) en las Musicas de recreacion, hechas en tiempo de Carnestolendas y Bacanerias, para reyr y holgarfe. Porque el oyr agora vn Portugues y agora vn Byzcaino, quando vn Italiano, y quando vn Tudesco; primero vn gitano y luego vn negro, que effeto puede hazer semejante Musica si no forçar los oyentes (aun no quieran) à reyrse y à burlarse? y hazer de la Yglesia de Dios, vn auditorio de comedias: y de casa de Oracion, sala de recreacion? Que todo esto sea verdad, hallanse personas tan indeuotas, que (por modo de hablar) non entran en la Yglesia vna vez el año; y las quales (quiza) muchas vezes pierden Missa los dias de precepto, solo por pereza, por no se leuantar de la cama; y en sabiendo que ay Vilancicos, no ay personas mas deuotas en todo el lugar, ni mas vigilantes, que estas. Pues no dexan Yglesia, Oratorio, ni Humilladero que no anden; ni les pesa el leuantarse a media noche por mucho frio que haga, solo para cyrlos. Quando algun aficionado à ellos quisiesse defenderse diziendo, que la S. Madre Yglesia nos combida regozijarse en las fiestas principales, y no quiere que estemos tristes si no alegres, cantando: *Hæc dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus, & letemur in ea*. Yo tambien digo y dirè siempre, que es bien y muy conueniente, que todo Christiano solennize las fiestas con mucha alegria y mucho regozijo: mas aduerto que este regozijo ha de ser de otra manera; conuien à sauèr, honesto, deuoto y espiritual. Que si atentamente consideramos, hallaremos que hablando la Escritura de los Santos y de sus virtuosos exercicios, dize: *Laudemus viros gloriosos, requirentes modos musicos*: que es alabamos, las personas gloriosas que van buscando los modos musicos; entendiendo pero de la Musica espiritual y no de la artizada. Parece ser impossible que la Musica pueda tener cumplidamente las dichas tres partes, siendo la letra en romance, y menos siendo compuesta con tanta diuersidad de lenguajes. Por donde vemos que en la Yglesia Vaticana y Capilla Pontificia, no se cantan palabras vulgares, si no latinas: lo mesmo digo se guarda en todas las demas Yglesias: en las quales (quando mucho) se canta vn motete proprio, el dia de la fiesta del Santo Patron y Protector de la Ciudad, pero en latin: siendo su Musica modesta, graue y deuota: y las palabras aprobadas estan del Ordinario. El que ora con algunas Oraciones latinas aprobadas por la Yglesia, aunque no las entienda, tenga por auiso de encaminar su desseo à la intencion de la Yglesia: que el Espiritu Santo suple la inteligencia con la deuocion que nos da. Y esto vemos por la experiencia, que algunos sin letras, y sin entender las Oraciones que dizen, oran con mayor feruor y se allegan mas à Dios, que los letrados. Origenes, para consolacion de los que cantan y leen los salmos y no los entienden, pone vno exemplo de grande vtilidad. *Sabeys, dize, que tales son los hombres que para amor de Dios cantan y no lo entienden; son como los que tienen dineros de oro aprobados por buenos, pero ellos no conocen el valor* Si el que assi tuuiesse los dineros aprobados, aunque no supiesse que vale cadauno, y les diese à vn sieruo fiel, paraque en su seruicio los gastasse por lo que valen, con gran fruto y prouecho daria los dineros el tal Señor. Desta manera el que ora con las Oraciones aprobadas de la Yglesia, si no las entiende, que otra cosa es si no ponerlas en las manos del Angel Custodio, que nos le diò nuestro Señor, paraque en esto, y en otras cosas nos siruiesse? El Angel que sabe el valor de las Oraciones, las presenta delante el diuino acatamiento, paraque por ellas nos sea dada la deuocion, el merecimiento, las virtudes, la gracia y perseuerancia hasta la final gloria. Bien se que esto que escriuo no es leydo de buena gana da los ya del todo aficionados à los Vilancicos, por ser contrario à lo que ellos con demasiado plazer gustan de cantar, y de oyr cantar.

*Los vilancicos causan in-deuocion.*

*Ma; querata es una vñsta compuesta de diuersas le-guas, para cã-tar en tiempo de Carnaual.*

*Defensa de los aficionados à los vilancicos.*

*Que tal ha de ser el rego-zijo.*

*Capilla Pont:*

*Los motetes antojadicos ban de ser aprobados en lo que es pala-bra del Ordinario.*

*Pub. ad Rom. cap. 8.*

*A los que re-xan Crocio nes latinas, y no entienden latin.*

*Angel Custodio.*





languages. Italians are accustomed to singing songs involving a diversity of persons and languages (these they call *mascherate*) as an incitement to mirth and enjoyment on such occasions as carnival and at wine-bibbing times. Because hearing now a Portuguese, now a Basque, now an Italian, now a German, first a Gypsy then a Black—what effect does such music have except to force hearers (even against their will) to laugh and joke, all this tomfoolery turning the House of God into an auditorium for plays? To prove that all of what I say is true: you will find persons so lacking in devotion, as not to enter a church (figuratively speaking) once a year, and who perhaps even many times miss Mass on days of obligation solely for their laziness, and unwillingness to get out of bed, who when they learn that there are villancicos, become the most devout in the land, and the most observant. Not a church, oratory, or chapel exists to which they will not rush, even if they must arise at midnight in the worst cold, simply to hear them. Some addicts will defend them, saying that Mother Church wishes us to rejoice at her greatest festivals, and does not wish us to be sad, but rather glad, saying: "This is the day that the Lord hath made; let us exult and be glad in it."<sup>30</sup>

Instead of villancicos, he cites Latin as the only language in which any singing occurs in the papal chapel. He concludes with the example of Philip II, who (according to him) in 1596 forbade any further singing of villancicos in the Spanish royal chapel.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from villancicos, Cerone extensively discusses chanzonetas (p. 693). In Book XII, chapter 19, he counsels singing them from memory, confining

<sup>30</sup> *El Melopeo*, pp. 196–197.

<sup>31</sup> The import of Philip's decree dated June 11, 1596, read thus (according to an 18th-century compiler):

Mando que en mi Real Capilla no se canten villancicos, ni cosa alguna de romance, sino todo en latin como lo tiene dispuesto la Iglesia. Yo el Rey. A García de Loaysa, mi capellán mayor.

But see Jaime Moll, "Los villancicos cantados en la Capilla Real a fines del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII," *Anuario Musical*, xxv (1970 [1971]), 82. Relying on receipts paid Royal Chapel copyists, Moll documents 38 villancicos copied (and presumably sung) in 1594, 24 in 1596, 15 in 1597. In 1605 Claudio de la Sablonara copied 16, all composed by Mateo Romero, and in addition two twelve-voice Latin motets by him. Two of the villancicos included separate parts for instrumentalists (*menestriles*), two were qualified as *ensaladas*, five villancicos called for 7 voices, four for 8 voices, two for 9, two for 6, one for 12.

Had he belonged to the Spanish Royal Chapel, Cerone would have sung villancicos by Philippe Rogier, Romero, Alonso Lobo (in 1594), Adrián Capi (1597), Turlur, Jean de Namur, and Philippe du Boys (1597).

them to three voices (two high, one bass), eschewing counterpoint (imitation at the outset, only), cultivating homophony, and staying away from tied dissonances demanding resolution.

A dance ignored by Fétis but indeed current when Cerone entered Spain in 1592 was the sarabande (*zarabanda*). In *El celoso extremeño*, Cervantes classed the *endemoniado son de la zarabanda* as still new in Spain around 1600. Cerone alludes to the *çarabanda* = sarabande at page 65. He there protests against all those guitar strummers who know how to play and sing nothing better than *Guardame las vacas* and the *çarabanda*, but at the same time preen themselves on being musicians.<sup>32</sup>

But Fétis by no means contented himself with having rebuked Cerone for omitting the discussion of dances not even invented until the late eighteenth century, meanwhile overlooking Cerone's lengthy discussions of villancicos, chanzonetas, and his allusions to *vacas* and *çarabanda*. He next indicts Cerone for supposedly knowing the music of only three Spaniards—Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria.<sup>33</sup> It is indeed true that Cerone knew Morales best, especially the Magnificats. At page 756 he flatly decrees that no other Spaniard within his ken surpassed Morales.<sup>34</sup> To buttress this evaluation, Cerone at page 144 also quotes Diego Ortiz's eulogy likening Morales to Thucydides.<sup>35</sup> But the list of authorities

<sup>32</sup> *El Melopeo*, p. 65:

Quien duda que oy dia los que no saben cantar mas que vnas tonadas en la guitarra destemplada, y todos los que no saben tañer otra cosa mas que las vacas y la çarabanda, quieren ser llamados Musicos? Y es porque los vanagloriosos por tañer estas y otras semejantes niñerías, y por cantar mil suciedades y torpeças, piensan cantar y tañer cosas musicales.

<sup>33</sup> *Biographie universelle*, II, 239:

Enfin, dans le nombre considerable de compositeurs italiens, français et flamands, dont il a indiqué les noms, ou qui lui ont fourni des exemples, on ne trouve que trois Espagnols, Christophe Moralès, François Guerrero et Thomas de Vittoria.

<sup>34</sup> *El Melopeo*, p. 756:

el vuestro famoso Morales, à cuyas obras (por lo que son) no se yo qual obra de Compositor Español compuesta, se deue preferir.

<sup>35</sup> *El Melopeo*, p. 144:

Confieso que Diego Ortiz fue el vno de los mejores Compositores de su tiempo, y que trabajo quanto fue posible para imitar a Morales, de cuyas obras toda España tiene grande opinion; mas sobre todo esto afirmo que quedò tan atras del, que se puede dezir por el aquello que Pindaro dezia por Thimeo el Historico; que queriendo seguir al gran Thucydides, era como hombre que yendo a pie con sus vagorosos passos, presumia seguir el velocissimo curso del ligero carro de Lydia: y assi vsando del prouerbio digo: *Iuxta Lydium currum cucurrit*.





at pages 335–336 of *El Mellopeo* includes another twenty-two peninsular theorists and practitioners—some of whom he quotes extensively: Juan Bermudo via Tapia<sup>36</sup> and Tomás de Santa María,<sup>37</sup> for instance. Francisco de Salinas gave Cerone his first music example on page 319 and the preceding paragraph.<sup>38</sup>

Although probably more familiar with the reputation than the writings of Guillermo de Podio = Despuig (cited at pp. 281, 283, 285) and similarly with Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui (whom he variously cites as Bizcarguy, Gonçalo Martínez, and as Vizcargui at pp. 281, 335–336), he did know at first hand Pedro de Loyola Guevara (p. 281). At page 725 he casts retrospective glances at Tristano de Silva, Dom Affonso V's chapelmaster from Tarragona, and at the controversial Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja, identified in the right margin as *Españolo*. At page 90 he praises the Cordovan Don Fernando de las Infantas (1543–c1610) not for his nennia honoring Charles V nor his motet celebrating the naval victory of Lepanto but rather for the contrapuntal

wizardry vaunted in Infantas's *Plura modulationum genera quae vulgo contrapuncta appellantur super excelso Gregoriano cantu* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1579).<sup>39</sup>

Among court organists active during his sojourn at Madrid, he names both Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo<sup>40</sup> and the now forgotten Antonio Ratia (*El Mellopeo*, p. 2). Alonso Lobo, native of Osuna, also wins mention as early as page 2, but not Duarte Lobo—perhaps because Cerone visited Lisbon (p. 64) a year or two prior to the latter's appointment to Lisbon Cathedral. He does mention at page 232 a Portuguese panegyrist of Tapia, Simão de Acuña de Ribeira. At page 284 he brackets Vicente Lusitano,<sup>41</sup> the supreme Portuguese theorist of the sixteenth century, with Marchettus of Padua and Pietro Aaron, all three of whom classified the sung semitone as comprised of four, rather than five, commas.

Apart from falsely claiming that Cerone cited only three Spaniards,<sup>42</sup> Fétis also indicted Cerone for omitting any discussion of Mozarabic chant,

<sup>36</sup>At page 414 Cerone copies folio 52<sup>r</sup> of the *Vergel de música* (Burgo de Osma: Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1570), which in turn Martín de Tapia cribbed from Juan Bermudo (*Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, 1555, fol. 17<sup>r</sup>). The borrowing from Bermudo, via his plagiarist Tapia, continues into Cerone's chapter 19 of book 5 (pp. 419–421 of *El Mellopeo* = chapter 7 [fols. 19<sup>r</sup>–21] of Tapia = chapter 6 [fols. 5<sup>r</sup>–6] of Bermudo.)

At the close of paragraph 2 on page 421, Cerone refers the reader to Zarlino's *Sopplimenti musicali* (1588), chapter 13 of book 8, for a discussion of the three types of accent—grammatical, rhetorical, and musical.

<sup>37</sup>Beginning at page 551, line 19, with "para glosar bien vna obra," Cerone borrows from Tomás de Santa María's *Arte de tañer fantasía* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1565), parte primera, page 58, last paragraph: "Para biẽ glosar vna obra...."

<sup>38</sup>*El Mellopeo*, p. 319, enlarges on *De musica libri septem* (Salamanca: Mathias Gastius, 1577), p. 56:

Postremò Iodocus Pratenſis, inter Symphonetas ſui temporis facilè princeps, Diateſſaron vsus eſt in principio cantilenae duarum vocum, ea in Miſſa, quam ſuper L'homme armé ſexti toni còpoſuit, in ea parte, quae incipit Reſurrexit; quod non vtique feciſſet, ſi diſſonantiam eſſe iudicaſſet.

However, Salinas did not provide the music example. In his prefatory Errata list, Cerone corrects the placement of the flats in the signature, each of which should be a step higher. Albert Smijers edited the *Miſſa L'Homme armé ſexti toni* in *Werken van Joſquin des Prés*, vol. 14 (Leipzig: Fr. Kistner & F. W. Siegel, 1931).

<sup>39</sup>Concerning Infantas's *Plura modulationum*, see Rafael Mitjana y Gordón, *Don Fernando de la Infantas Teólogo y Músico* (Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1918), pp. 81–91.

<sup>40</sup>Concerning Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo, see Robert Stevenson, *La música en las catedrales españolas del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Alianza, 1993), 346–349. His *Motecta ad canendum cum quattuor, quinque, sex, & octo vocibus, quam cum instrumentis composita* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1588) contains 17 motets—five *a 4*, six *a 5*, five *a 6*, and one *a 8*, the latter, *Super flumina Babylonis*, having been published in Mapa Mundi's Spanish Church Music series, no. 29A (1979), edited by Bruno Turner. He reconstructed a tenor part missing from the set of what should have been six partbooks at Valladolid Cathedral. As Turner remarked, *RISM (Répertoire international des sources musicales)*, II (1972), C2641, incorrectly called the Valladolid set of partbooks complete.

<sup>41</sup>Celebrated in textbooks for having vanquished Vicentino in a debate at Rome June 4, 1551, on the genera, Lusitano excelled as a theorist—both in his publications at Rome and Venice, and in a manuscript treatise at the Paris Bibliothèque nationale (esp. 219) published in 1913 by Henri Collet with the title *Un tratado de Canto de Organo* (Siglo XVI). See Robert Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano. New Light on his career," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xv/1 (Spring, 1962), 72–77; and "The First Black Published Composer," *Inter-American Music Review*, v/1 (Fall, 1982) 79–103.

<sup>42</sup>To disprove Fétis's charge that Cerone knew only three Spaniards, his having quoted from the nonmusical publications of Pedro Mexia (Seville, 1540 [*El Mellopeo*, p. 233]) and Martín Fernández de Figueroa (Salamanca, 1512 [*El Mellopeo*, p. 1107]) should also be acknowledged.





“widely sung in his time, especially in Andalusia.

Fétis could not have shot wider of the mark. After the eleventh century Mozarabic chant survived in only a few isolated parishes at Toledo. Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros’s antiquarian attempt at reviving and perpetuating it in a privileged chapel in Toledo Cathedral attracted the attention of no native-born Spanish Renaissance theorist.<sup>44</sup>

Having erred so flagrantly in essentials, Fétis hypothesized that Cerone misappropriated an unpublished Latin *Melopeo* or *Musico perfetto* by Cerone’s acknowledged hero, Gioseffo Zarlino<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Biographie universelle*, II, 239:

Il n’est pas moins singulier qu’il ait gardé un silence absolu sur le chant mozarabique, dont les formes sont si remarquables, et qui était en usage de son temps dans beaucoup d’églises de l’Espagne, particulièrement de l’Andalousie.

<sup>44</sup> Information that could not have been known to Cerone and that corrects Fétis’s egregious errors includes the following data:

Taking advantage of internal strife between the Moslem ruler Alcádir and an intruder, Alfonso VI (1040–1109), King of León and Castile, entered retaken Toledo May 25, 1085, with promises of clemency to all factions. However, the Mozarab Count Sisnando Davidez whom Alfonso VI placed in charge of Toledo could not prevent Alfonso VI’s French queen Constanza and French Bernardo, brought from the monastery at Sahagún to become archbishop of Toledo 1085–1124, from turning the mezquita back to a Christian cathedral, and establishment of the Roman rite in place of the Mozarabic. Of the six parish churches at Toledo allowed to continue using the Mozarabic rite, the eldest was Santas Justa y Rufina, the next was Santa Eulalia dating from 559, the youngest was San Sebastián dating from perhaps 601.

Once elected archbishop of Toledo in 1495, Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436–1517) took an immediate interest among such other projects as the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, in encouraging the publication of a Mozarabic missal in 1500 and of a Mozarabic breviary in 1502. From a musical vantage point, the *Missale mixtum secundū regulam beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes* (469 folios, plus 8 at beginning and 3 at end, 32 lines to the folio) deserves recognition granted it in *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague, 1960), pp. 116–119. Aiding Toledo Canon Alfonso Ortiz in compiling the missal were the parish priests of Santas Justa and Rufina, Santa Eulalia, and San Lucas. Brother of Francisco Ortiz, who in addition to being a Toledo canon was a papal legate, Alfonso Ortiz attracted the attention of Cisneros’s delegate, Antonio García de Villalpando, whose remarks concerning him occupy pages 296–297 in José García Oro’s *Cisneros y la reforma del clero español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1971).

After pushing publication of the Mozarabic missal and breviary, Cisneros next endowed a chapel within Toledo Cathedral where thirteen chaplains headed by a dignitary were assigned to celebrate a Mozarabic mass and office every day, with assistance of a beneficed choir.

<sup>45</sup>F. Alberto Gallo, in his introduction to the previously mentioned anastatic reproduction of *El Melopeo*, page xvi, absolves Cerone completely from Fétis’s imputation that Cerone stole Zarlino’s *Libri De Re Musica, fatti in lingua Latina*.

While Cerone was in Spain writing *El Melopeo*, Zarlino’s manuscript

(*Sopplimenti musicali* [1588], p. 330). In the introduction to the facsimile reprint of *El Melopeo* put out in 1969 by Forni Editore at Bologna, F. Alberto Gallo proved that the *Venticinque Libri De Re Musica, fatti in lingua Latina; con quello ch’io nomino Melopeo, ò Musico Perfetto* alluded to by Zarlino in his *Sopplimenti musicali* could not have been plagiarized by Cerone, because Zarlino’s unpublished manuscript remained all the time that Cerone was in Spain awaiting publication by Giovanni Maria Artusi. Documenting this assertion that completely absolves Cerone of Fétis’s invidious hypothesis, Gallo cited the 1603 testimony of Zarlino’s pupil and most devoted defender, Artusi. In Gallo’s words (and with his footnote numbers):

La citazione di Zarlino con il riferimento non solo alle tre opere stampate, ma anche al lavoro che il teorico veneziano stava preparando, ma non fece in tempo a pubblicare (56), merita qualche considerazione particolare, dato che sul Cerone pesa il sospetto di aver realizzato il *Melopeo* utilizzando appunto il materiale lasciato inedito dallo Zarlino (57).

Innanzitutto va osservato che, durante il periodo in cui il Cerone scriveva in Spagna il *Melopeo*, il manoscritto zarlinoiano *De re musica* si trovava in Italia in possesso di Giovanni Maria Artusi, il quale stava ordinandolo con l’intenzione di darlo alle stampe (58).

The damage done Cerone’s reputation by Fétis’s now completely demolished hypothesis continued rampant in Lavignac’s *Encyclopédie* article [1920] in which Rafael Mitjana y Gordón calls *El Melopeo* “Zarlino’s stolen property,” but in the next section of the same article suddenly hits on a native-born theorist whom he can vehemently approve: Fray Pedro de Urueña, who “in 1620 invented a system of solmization through the entire octave.” Urueña’s

*De Re Musica* remained in Italy, in Giovanni Maria Artusi’s hands, while Artusi was readying it for publication.

Gallo’s authority: the *Seconda parte dell’Artusi ovvero delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (Venice, 1603), “A gl’amici lettori,” pp. 24, 53. Fétis’s baseless charge of plagiarism deserves all the more censure when Cerone’s constant praise of Zarlino is remembered. For Cerone, Zarlino was the supreme theorist. At page 935 he typically writes:

Y esta orden propone y mete en consideracion el R. Señor Zarlino, hombre muy experimentado en la Musica, y no tiene ninguno en ella que emendar, ni que dezir: porque à la doctrina que va al niuel de juyzio de vn experto, no tiene licencia de echarle el plomo, el juyzio de vn simple Practico, y menos siendo nueuo en la profession.

El fundamento de la doctrina contenida en este xvi. lib., es el sobredicho eminente Musico: aquel de quien muchos se pueden admirar, y pocos le pueden imitar. Por causa de que los Maestros modernos le dieron el primer lugar entre los escriptores de Musica: y no sin causa, porque en ella es tan científico, y de tanta eloquencia y gracia, que a mi me falta para declararla.





seventh syllable, *bi* [or *ni*], joined Guido's *ut re mi fa sol la* to make a "new system" that before 1656 had already attracted followers "so far afield as Bohemia and Austria," Mitjana assures us. After this and more praise of Urueña's invention, it turns out that Urueña [Ureña] was no innovator whatsoever in 1620—the year assigned his unpublished treatise by fellow Cistercian Juan Caramuel de Lobkowitz (Madrid 1606; Milan 1682) in Caramuel's *Arte nueva de musica . . . restituida a su primera perfeccion anno 1620 por Fr. Pedro de Ureña* (Rome, 1669). Instead, it was in reality Cerone who was the first writer in Spanish to advocate solfaing through seven syllables—with *bi* as the seventh solmization syllable (*El Melopeo*, p. 514).<sup>46</sup>

In both the *Diccionario de la música Labor* (1954), I, 501, and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II (1952), 969–973, Cerone emerges with the fictitious first name fabricated by Fétis. In both, the author bewails Cerone for having denominated only Juan de Borja, the Dowager Empress María's majordomo, as sponsor of a musical academy at Madrid (*El Melopeo*, p. 151). Anglés, the author of both articles, does mention Cerone's having equated the Spanish *tiento* with the Italian *ricercar* (*El Melopeo*, p. 691), but however without crediting Cerone with having made such pertinent observations as these:

(1) Two types are permissible, polythematic or monothematic; (2) but in either type breves and semibreves should be broken into repeated notes and the piece should be playable at the keyboard; (3) cadences should befit the chosen mode (at pp. 880–907 he analyzes and exemplifies the twelve tones = modes, the numbering rising from D to A, then C and their plagals; but at pp. 932–935 he counters by accepting Zarlino's different numbering scheme); (4) only if both voices enter with contrasting subjects later exploited in the body of the *tiento* may it begin with a duet (the voices of which must be kept far apart at the outset); (5) a solo voice *initium* is the rule, not a duet—with six semibreves as the maximum wait before the second voice enters imitatively (p. 674).<sup>47</sup>

No less superficial than the articles in *Labor* and *MGG* is Francesca Angelini's one-column Cerone article (again with the false first name, Domenico) in the *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti. Le Biografie*, II (1985), 176, the sole benefit being the author's assurance that "recent investigation" disproves Fétis's canard, that Cerone plagiarized a lost Zarlino Latin opus.

## VI CERONE'S RESONANCE IN PHILHARMONIC LITERATURE BEFORE 1800

Only a year after *El Melopeo* appeared at Naples, Andrés de Monserrate published at Valencia an *Arte Breve, y Compendiosa de las dificultades que se ofrecen en la musica practica del canto llano* in which at page 15 the Catalan author listed "Don Pedro Cerone de Bergamo" as an ultimate authority. If this deference was shown him in 1614, not surprisingly his reputation increased rapidly further away than Valencia. A copy that emigrated to Mexico provided the native-born Francisco López Capillas, chapmaster of Mexico City Cathedral 1654–1674, with the data excerpted in the six paragraphs of his *Declaracion de la Missa* that prefaces Mexico City Cathedral Choirbook VII. Appealing to the example given in *El Melopeo*, pages 974–975 to illustrate time-values of notes under  $\Phi\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\Phi$  mensuration signs, López Capillas cites the Osanna and Agnus of Lupus Hellinck's *Missa peccata mea*, Pedro Manchicourt's motet *Hic est panis*, the Osanna of Morales's *Missa L'Homme armé a 5*, Palestrina's *Gaude, quia meruisti* (part 2 of Palestrina's *Gaude Barbara*, a 5 [1572], [measures 90–93 in the altus part]), and a motet credited to Richafort, *Beati omnes*.

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648/51–1695) annotated her copy of *El Melopeo*, signing it on page 285, *su discipula*.<sup>48</sup> *Inter-American Music Review*, xv/1 (Winter–Spring 1996), 11–13, contains an assessment of her indebtedness, together with a facsimile of Ce-

parently his favorite (p. 1066). Both Luys Venegas de Henestrosa and Antonio de Cabezón escaped his lists, not to mention earlier masters of the vihuela *tiento* beginning with Luys de Milan.

<sup>48</sup>Facsimile of this opening was first published in Ermilo Abreu Gómez, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Bibliografía y Biblioteca* (México: Monografías bibliográficas Mexicanas Número 29, 1934), pp. 447–448. See also p. 341, note 8.

<sup>46</sup>Lib. VI, cap. lx: *De vna nueva manera de solfear, adonde no ay necesidad de hazer Mutança*. In his Errata list, Cerone corrects the clef for the *Exemplo por bmo* to C on the middle line.

<sup>47</sup>At page 90 Cerone listed the Italian *ricercar* masters Andrea Gabrieli, Claudio Merulo, Luzzasco Luzzaschi—the latter ap-





rone's pages annotated by her.<sup>49</sup> According to one oft-repeated legend, all but thirteen copies destined for Cartagena, South American port of entry, were lost at sea.<sup>50</sup>

At Cartagena (Colombia) the Spanish-born Juan Pérez Materano anticipated Cerone with a music treatise licensed for printing December 19, 1559, at Valladolid.<sup>51</sup>

Cerone would obviously have made an especially welcome South American entry through such a port city. That not all copies intended for South America did actually founder at sea can be inferred from Pedro José Bermúdez de la Torre's admiring allusion to Cerone in *Triunfos del Santo Oficio Peruano* (Lima: Imprenta Real, 1737), folio 53.

In Portugal, the most meticulous seventeenth-century reader of *El Melopeo* was João Alvares Frouvo (1608–1682), royal librarian. In his *Discursos*

<sup>49</sup> Her volume, encountered by Mexico City bookseller Demetrio García in 1930 (together with her autographed copy of Octavio della Mirandola's anthology of Latin poets published at Lyons in 1590), survived in 1988 at the Biblioteca del Congreso in Mexico City.

<sup>50</sup> Jacques-Ch. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire. Supplément. Tome Deuxième N–Z* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie., 1880), col. 998:

L'édition, paraît-il, perit presque entière sur un bâtiment que se rendait à Carthagène; il n'en reste que treize exempl. à Naples, qui furent donnés aux bibl. publiques; c'est M. Fétis qui parle....

The copy reproduced in the Forni 1969 reprint (see note 15 above) was sent Padre Martini from Lisbon by Gaetano M. Schiassi (1698–1754) in 1752. For the entire history of Martini's attempts at purchasing a copy of *El Melopeo*, see Anne Schnobelen, *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1979). On August 28, 1736, Schiassi reported from Lisbon his having written to Madrid, asking where a copy might be found (letter 4989). On September 14, 1744, he was still searching everywhere (letter 4990).

In a letter from Nicolo Fabi dated at Naples January 27, 1744, Martini learns that a copy there in private hands can be bought for 100 Neapolitan ducats (letter 1927). This price being beyond Martini's means, he awaits better news from some other Neapolitan friend.

On May 6, 1751, Schiassi regrets that all his continuing efforts have still met with no success (letter 4997). At last on August 6, 1752 (letter 5003) he has found a copy, and on August 14, 1752, sends it.

RISM, Bvi' (*Écrits imprimés concernant la musique*, I [1971]), p. 216, lists 44 extant copies of *El Melopeo* (Mexico City omitted).

<sup>51</sup> Juan Friede, "El primer libro colombiano," *Banco de la República. Biblioteca Luis-Angel Arango. Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico*, IV/12 (December, 1961), p. 1182.

*sobre a perfeiçam do Diathesaron, & louvores do numero quaternario* (Lisbon: Antonio Crasbeeck de Mello, 1662), pages 67–68, he rightly reprehended Cerone for miscalling Josquin's Latin name at the bottom of page 319, for trying to make a five-voice example, and for failing to consult the *editio princeps* of Josquin's *Missa Fortuna desperata*.

The names of subsequent seventeenth- and eighteenth-century peninsular authorities who united in referencing Cerone that can be picked up by consulting the indexes of the Pedrell *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona* or the Anglés-Subirá *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* need not be rehearsed here. But for one example missed by both Pedrell and Anglés, Jorge de Guzmán's *Cvriosidades de Cantollano sacadas de las obras del Reverendo Don Pedro Cerone de Bergamo* (Madrid: Imprenta de Música, 1709) extols him in paragraphs shown in facsimile on the next page-and-a-half. To summarize Guzmán's panegyric:

Everything from Cerone I have personally verified in the Antiphonaries and Psalters that he cites. Fortunately Cádiz Cathedral, where I serve, owns all the liturgical books quoted by him. In every instance, I have found his citations accurate and complete. This is the reason that I esteem him above all other theorists. I only regret that I cannot reprint everything that he published on plain-song, because what he writes is so clear and cogent. . . . Among his observations that have pleased me most, and that other authors whom I have consulted fail to duplicate, are (1) his rules for distinguishing tones (2) his numbering of the notes in plainchant (3) his treatment of tritones (4) his examples of irregular tones (5) his tabulation of the possible cadences in all tones, and his distinction between principal, secondary, mixed, and accidental cadences.

From the entire repertory of Spanish language treatises, both Sir John Hawkins and his rival Charles Burney selected only *El Melopeo* as a text sufficiently important for analysis in their monumental histories. In J. N. Forkel's *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik* (Leipzig, 1792) J. S. Bach's advocate went to the trouble of listing all Cerone's chapter headings. In Spain itself, Tomás de Yriarte = Iriarte (1750–1790) but echoed current international opinion when, in his often re-edited and translated five-canto *La Música*, he also limited the seven pillars of theoretical wisdom to Zarlino, Salinas, Cerone, Kircher, Tartini, Rameau, and Martini—





## AL QUE LEYERE.

**A** Migo Lector, ay en esta Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Cadiz costumbre, de que el que es Sochantre Principal en ella enseñe el Cantollano à los Niños Colegiales del Colegio Seminario del Señor San Bartolomé Apostol; y aviendome tocado à mi esta suerte ( aunque indigno ) discurrì imprimir este Tratado de Cantollano à mi costa, para redimirme con él la molestia de escribirles ( à los dichos Niños ) las lecciones por mi mano. Y aviendo de seguir para esto à algunos Autores aprobados, que le diessen alguna aprobacion à este Tratado, hize eleccion ( entre otros ) del Reverendo Don Pedro Cerone de Bergamo, el qual escribió vn Libro muy copioso de Musica; y juntamente de Cantollano, impresso en Napoles año 1613, por Juan Baptista Gargano y Lucrecio, Nucci Impressores. Y aviendo tambien visto à otros Autores, y deseando el acierto como todos, y discurriendo en que podria ser este Tratado acceptable, me pareció el que ya que no fuese la mas principal la materia de

los

los Seculorum, ò EVOVAE, à lo menos fuese muy vtil, è importante, y aun necesaria para todos los de mi Profesion, para que sepa el que gustare de ello el por que aya de aver tantos, y tan diversos Seculorum en las Antiphonas, que comunmente se cantan en el Oficio Divino. Para saber esta curiosidad, confieso, que hize muchas diligencias rebolviendo Libros, pero en vano, porque no la pude hallar escrita en ninguno de los Autores que he visto, quiero dezir, que tratasse de esta curiosidad con toda individualidad, y de la razon que ay para tanta diversidad, y diferencia de ellos. Verdad es, que algunos los traen puntados, pero ninguno trata, ni del numero, ni de la razon, porque ayan de ser tantos, y tan diversos. Y deseando salir de esta confusion, tuve la fortuna de ver à Cerone, en el qual no solo hallè el numero de ellos, pero tambien la razon, y explicacion de ellos ( como adelante se veràn ) la qual si atentamente la considerare el Lector aficionado, créo, que le dexará muy gustoso por no ser esta curiosidad tan comun à todos, pues son las Obras de Cerone muy contadas, y

raras,

raras, y tanto, que si he puesto aqui algunas cosas de sus Obras, es porque vn Amigo mio que las tiene me las prestó, que yo no las he podido conseguir, ni alcanzar en toda mi vida.

Demás de los Seculorum hallè en él otras curiosidades, que no he visto en otros Autores de los que he leído, las quales me agradaron tanto, que no me sufrió el animo disimular el no valerme de ellas, pues su Autor para el bien comun las escribió, y siendo yo en algo parte del bien comun, como miembro del me valí de ellas con este permiso, y licencia, no para mí solo, sino que tambien como su Autor las quise franquear à mi costa, como ya he referido.

Y por abreviar pondré sucintamente, y por mayor, y de antemano algunas cosas, aunque saltadas en el discurso de este Tratado, las quales para el que fuere curioso tanto le importará el hallarlas con mas, ò con menos prolixidad en el orden que debieran tener, pues por no ser yo dueño del tiempo, no he cuidado mucho de esto, sino que como mas presto las hallava, así las he puesto.

Po-

Ponese vn modo extraño de conocer, y juzgar los tonos, quando entre ellos ay alguna duda con varios exemplos, el qual adviertalo el curioso que muy gustoso le dexará.

Trae tambien el numero de notas, que comunmente vsa el Cantollano, es muy importante para los que componen Cantollano, y para los que lo escriben, pues ay en esto mucho descuydo.

Ponese la renida question de las dos especies incantables, que son el Semidiapente, y Tritono con muchos exemplos que declaran las razones que ay de ambas partes, para que se sepa qual se ha de observar, y qual no conforme el caso sucediere.

Ponense aunque con brevedad exemplos de tonos irregulares, para que tambien se tenga alguna noticia de esto, y por ceñirme à la Impression no se dilatò mas esta materia.

Ponense tambien las clausulas de todos los tonos, y explicase quales sean principales, quales secundarias, ò expresas, y quales mixtas, ò accidentales, ò por elegancia que es lo mismo.

Po-





Ponense finalmente otras cosas, que no refiero por evitar prolixidad. Mas advierto, que todo quanto fuere de Cerone lo tengo verificado; pues alegando el Antiphonarios Romanos, y Psalterios, tuve tan buena fortuna que los ay en esta Santa Iglesia, en donde consta todo, segun, y como Cerone lo cita, y refiere; como lo verá quien quisiere, y el Antiphonario Romano que digo tiene la cita de donde se imprimió así:

VENETIJS APVD IVNTAS  
M. DCVII.

De licencia Superiorum.

Los psalterios discurso son de la misma impresión, aunque no tienen la cita que el Antiphonario, por faltarles las primeras hojas de puro servir, y manusearlos continuamente; y aunque esto es así no embaraza, pues de lo puntado nada les falta, en los cuales he verificado lo mismo que Cerone testifica, lo qual es gran causa para que yo aya hecho tanto aprecio de lo que él dize.

Solo

Solo siento no tener mucho caudal para reimprimir à lo menos sus tres libros de Cantollano para los de mi Profesion, pero reciban esto poco con la buena voluntad que yo lo ofrezco.

Intencion tenia de no poner nada de los principios de la mano, y lo que à ella pertenece, pero me acuerdo que lei en las obras del Bachiller Juan Perez de Moya, que avia escrito antes que salieran sus obras mayores à luz vn tratado de la misma facultad, que son sus obras mayores, pero sucinta; y dize que quando avian de salir sus obras mayores à luz, tratò de incertar el dicho tratado de sus obras mayores para escusar con esto de que quien comprase sus obras mayores, no se viera obligado à comprar juntamente el tratado que avia hecho à parte, por no meterlo en mas costa de dinero al comprador. La razon por que yo queria escusar poner los principio de la mano, es por ser cosa tan comun, que no ay quien no lo ponga, y aviendo tanto de esto me pareció tambien que seria superfluo el ponerlo yo, pero acordandome de lo de Moya, me valí de su dictamen para el mismo

mo

Cerone being the unique writer in Spanish to have given music her "reglas inmortales."

## VII TWENTIETH-CENTURY ALLEGATIONS

For more attentive studies of *El Melopeo* in our century that antedate 1971, foreigners' rather than Spaniards' names must be invoked. Ruth Hannas contributed two perceptive essays ("Cerone, Philosopher and Teacher," *Musical Quarterly*, October 1935, and "Cerone's Approach to the teaching of counterpoint," *Papers of the American Musicological Society*, 1937). Alfred Reiff's "Pedro Cerone, der grösste Musiktheoretiker des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Neue Musik-Zeitung*, XLIV/1 (Stuttgart, 1923), pages 5-6, correctly assesses Cerone's stature; and Oliver Strunk honored *El Melopeo* by choosing it as the unique work in Spanish—opposed to 86 sources in other tongues—sufficiently important for excerpt and annotation in *Source Readings in Music History*. Alfred Einstein found Cerone still eager for the aspiring singer to cut his teeth on Arcadelt's madri-

gals, still lauding Dominique Phinot as Palestrina's model, and still citing Willaert's *Musica nova* of 1559 as an incomparable collection; but also invoked Cerone's authority on more up-to-date problems: for example, the differences between a chorus singer and a chamber vocalist who exhibits his artistry in an *accademia*.

In the previously cited "Zu Ceronen musiktheoretischen Quellen," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens, II. Band* (Münster i/W: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955), Karl Gustav Fellerer writes thus at page 158 concerning the blind Salamanca professor: "Salinas ist eine wichtige Quelle für Ceronen Traktat, aus dem er einen grossen Teil von Quellen zitieren konnte."

Lewis Lockwood conveniently summarized Cerone's "prescriptions for the practice of borrowing" under six headings (*Aspects*, pp. 572-573). Not the mere transfer of a whole polyphonic complex from source to parody but rather the recombination, realignment, and development of motives (*passos*) from the source defines the parody procedure, as understood by Cerone (*El Melopeo*, p. 687).





Enigma del Sol, que se escurece. Num. XIII.

CANTUS.

OBTENEBRATVS EST IN ORTVSVO.



IJa. Cap. 13.

Cantus. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Altus. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Tenor. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Tenor. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Tenor. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Tenor. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Tenor. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Tenor. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Cantus. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Cantus. Musical staff with notes and rests.

Declaracion. La inteligencia deste Tiple enigmatico, es harto facil; pues todo consiste solamente en advertir de cantar la figura Sol, como si fuera escurecida y toda negra; que por esto dize su regla: Obtenebratus est Sol in ortu suo. La qual por ser debaxo de Compas binario, viene a diminuir la quarta parte de su valor: como aueriguar se puede de lo que queda declarado en el Cap. 6. del vij. Lib. à planas 522. De modo, que los cinco Soles blancos, que ay en la parte del Canto ò Tiple, se han de entender por negros: cuyos valores seran en esta manera; pontendolos digo, debaxo de vn mesmo Tiempo.

En lugar de ellos, estos otros: los quales así valen.

Cantus. Resolucion para gente moza.

Enigma

Large musical score for Vado and other parts, including lyrics: A L T U S V O C I B V S T R I B V S V O C I B V S. CVM

Pedro Cerone (1566-1625): Impostor or Defender of the Faith

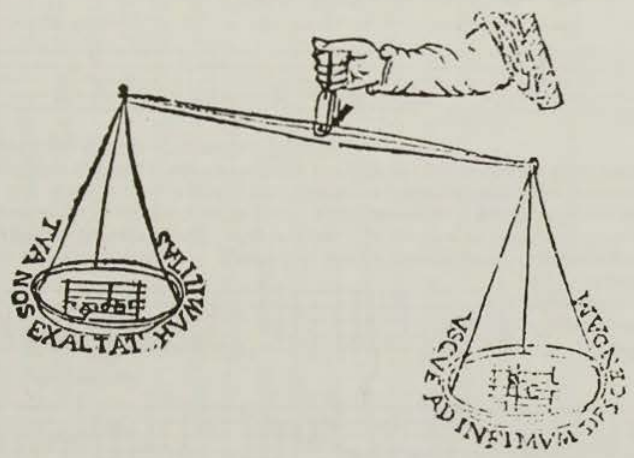


Que es de los Enigmas musicales.

Enigma de la Balanza. Num. XXII.

TENOR.

NOTATE VERBA, SIGNATE MYSTERIA.



CVM ALPHA, IN DIAPASON OMEGA.



*Declaration.* Aquí ay solamente el Tenor, que tiene menester de vna particular declaracion. Con cuyo letrero, que dize: *Notate verba, signate mysteria*, nos adierte, que nos liuemos de guiar, segun vemos el efecto que hazen las balanzas: las quales descenden de la parte, que tiene la Claué; y de la otra que tiene las notas, suben: de manera que con el abaxar la Claué, se suben los puntos ó notas; que por esto dize su dicho: (hablando las notas con la Claué,) *Tua nos exaltat humilitas*: Y es, q̄ quanto mas abaxa la Claué, tanto mas suben las notas. Y porque la Claué, que esta en la quarta linea, descende en la tercera, luego en la segunda, y finalmente en la primera, que es la mas baxa (pues dize allí, *Vsque ad infimum descendim*;) por esto los puntos vienen à hazer efecto contrario; es a saber, vienen à subir en cada Repetition otro tanto, quanto abaxa la Claué; que es cada vez el intervalo de vna Tercera. Y allí la pri-

Z z z z z z z      meia

Que es de los Enigmas musicales.

Enigma, adonde las Notas blancas, se cantan por negras; y las negras, por blancas. Num. XXVIII.

EN In que es inuencion, no es para dexar el exemplo de otro Canon enigmatico y secreto; al qual ordeno en esta manera.

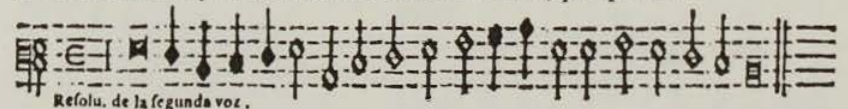
Duo: in Diapente, post duo Tempora.

Instructus quidam Dappus conscripsit: at illi  
Sint atri dentes, tergora & alba, canet.



A dos: y voz primera.

*Declaration.* Para satisfacer à la gente moça, aduerto que la parte Principal ha de cantar todo puntualmente, como escrito esta: *mas la Conseguinte, subentra después de quatro Compases, vna Quinta en baxo; y cantando, à todas las notas blancas dales el valor de negras; y al contrario, à las negras dales el valor de blancas: passa, digo, las figuras blancas por negras, y las negras por blancas: cuya Resolucion viene à fer en esta manera, que aqui vemos.*



Resolu. de la segunda voz.

Mas queriendo el letrero mas facil, diremos en esta ò en otra semejante manera.

*Qui prior canit, & canat ut ipse videt:  
Posterior vero pro nigris, albis; & contra.*

Acompañando la inuencion con mas voces, hará vn gracioso cantar; pues assi en dos, parece la cosa muy pobre; por quanto van cantando à nota contra nota, sin vna ligadura, ni especie dissonante.

P. nius, reffe Muriano, scribit quendam Elephantem grecarum literarum ductus didiciff; atque hac scripsiff: *Q̄sto hac ego scripsiff, ut ipse canit dicam. Ten. in suo offic. de Aleph.*

Aunque esto cerca de algunos tiene del imposible, acerca de mi (sino en todo, en parte) tiene del creyble: porque he leydo muchas propiedades extraordinarias, y muchas maravillas de estos animales. en diuersos escriptores; particularmente en Martin Fernandez de Figueroa, tit. 47. en la Historia que hizo de la conquista de las Indias de Persia y Arabia, llamadas vulgarmente

A a a a a a a      mente





In Francisco García's Northwestern University 1978 Ph.D. dissertation, "Pietro Cerone's *El Melopeo y Maestro*: a synthesis of sixteenth-century musical theory," he treated *El Melopeo* as a mosaic. Distinguished Northwestern University alumnus, Enrique Alberto Arias tackled the most abused of Cerone's 22 books, the last, in his article "Cerone and his enigmas," *Anuario Musical*, 44 (1989), 85–114. For his defense of Cerone's enigmas, Arias could cite Antonio Soler, who in his *Llave de la modulación* (1762), chapter VII, both embraced and exemplified enigmas. Sir John Hawkins concluded the first English-language exposition of *El Melopeo* with this assessment of chapter 22.

The twenty-second and last book is affectedly mysterious; it consists of a great variety of musical enigmas, as he calls them, that is to say, canons in the form of a cross, a key, and a sword, in allusion to the apostles Peter and Paul; others that have reference to the figure of a balance, a piece of Spanish coin, a speculum, a chess-board, and one resolvable by the throwing of dice. (*A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], pp. 587–588.)

To quote Arias, who, going beyond Soler and Hawkins, solved four of Cerone's enigmas:<sup>52</sup>

It is easy to start thinking of Cerone as a Spaniard and as somehow separate from the Italian theory of his period. To do so would be a mistake. After all, Cerone was educated in Italy and often drew upon Italian theorists and canonic musical examples from Italian composers. Also, in the Jesuit Rome of the seventeenth century a number of treatises contained canonic prodigies. For instance, in 1631 Pier Francesco Valentini published his *Canone nel modo Salomonis* for 96 voices which could be multiplied to as many as 144,000 (at different speeds and in different meters)—as many as the singers in the Apocalypse.

The Italian contemporary of Cerone's, Scipio Cerreto, published his *Della Pratica Musica* at Naples in 1601. Towards the end of the book there is a series of canons over the same cantus firmus, somewhat in the style of

<sup>52</sup> Arias chose for solution Cerone's enigmas 14 (Enigma del sol, que se escorece), 20 (Enigma de la Cruz), 22 (Enigma de la Balança), and 28 (Enigma, adonde las Notas blancas, se cantan por negras, y las negras, por blancas).

On Arias's page 109, the second note in the top voice should read A, not G. On page 111, the middle note of the three in the tenor should be a step, not a third above the first note. On page 112, the last note should read E, resolving to D. On page 114 the seventh note in the lower voice should read C, not D.

Infantas's *Plura Modulationum Genera*. These canons of Cerreto are given in clear notation and were apparently intended to act as models for those who wished to learn how to improvise canons over a cantus—a practice that was common in Italy at the time.

That canons continued to be a sign of learning in Italy through the eighteenth century is well-known and cannot be discussed here. Also well-known is the rigorous requirements in canon for those who wished entry into the *Accademia Filarmonica* in Bologna. How much any of this has to do with Cerone is an open question, but it does show the general Italian interest in canonic sophistication.

Arias concludes thus:

Cerone must be considered one of the great synthesizers in the history of musical theory. His originality lay not so much in his thoughts as in their thorough presentation. Almost like a writer of a parody mass, he took the materials of the major theorists of his day and transformed and developed them. The *El Melopeo* represents a confluence of the finest Italian and Spanish theory of the later Renaissance together with the elaborations and elucidations of a man deeply experienced in the music of his time.

## VIII THE FUTURE OF CERONE RESEARCH

Now that Cerone has been rehabilitated, the future of Cerone research remains wide open territory. Among topics that cry out for impartial investigation can be enumerated the following.

1. Musical life in Oristano Cathedral during the last two decades of the sixteenth century. In 1987 Gian Nicola Maria Spanu presented a thesis to the Facoltà di Lettere dell'Università di Cagliari entitled: *Documenti e ipotesi sull'attività musicale a Cagliari nei secoli XVI e XVII* and in 1995 announced a forthcoming publication, *La musica a Cagliari tra Rinascimento e Barocco*. An equivalent publication devoted to Oristano musical history might clarify the terms that brought Cerone to Oristano, his specific dates and duties, his earnings and his creative activity there.
2. His relationship with the Real Capilla at Madrid, the extent of Trenci's financial support, the circumstances of his ordination to the priesthood, and his contacts with Philip III.
3. The reasons for choosing Giambattista Gargano and Lucretio Nucci for publishers of *El Melopeo*, the method of payment (times and amounts), the character of the paper chosen, the transmittal of funds from the dedicatee, and the precise number of copies printed.





4. The way in which published copies were distributed, how payment for copies was effected, to whom and at what price (or prices), how many still extant copies have been compared with each other, what divergences are encountered in the surviving copies—more corrections having been made in some copies than in others.
5. The retrieval of all passages in *El Mellopeo* devoted to fifteenth-century composers and theorists. In *The Journal of Musicology*, III/4 (Fall 1984), pages 363–396, Leeman L. Perkins published “The L’Homme Armé Masses of Busnoys and Okeghem: A Comparison.” He concluded thus (p. 391):

It may not be too bold to suggest then, that Busnoys may have been the author of the earliest *L’homme armé* mass, followed—almost immediately—by Okeghem since his treatment of the borrowed materials is in some ways more sophisticated than Busnoys’. Or that the two composers wrote their respective settings of the famous melody more or less simultaneously, vying, as it were, in that spirit of artistic emulation that was such an essential element of the rhetorical *imitatio*. . . . The future may yet bring new discoveries to alter the historical picture, but from the present viewpoint, these two appear to stand at the fountainhead of one of the most extraordinary and long-lived traditions in the development of western polyphony.

Cerone devoted the whole of his Book xx (*El Mellopeo*, 1028–1036) to an analysis and resolution of the difficult notation in Palestrina’s *L’Homme armé a 5*—fifth among his eight masses published in his *Missarum Liber tertius* (Rome: Heirs of the Dorico brothers, 1570), with dedication to Philip II. So intricate were the notational conundrums that even Franz Xaver Haberl, editor for Breitkopf und Härtel of the *Liber Tertius* (preface dated at Regensburg, December 6, 1881) erred in transcribing the Quintus rhythms throughout the last Kyrie (*Werke*, XII, 77–78)—as Raffaele Casimiri demonstrated,<sup>53</sup> rectifying Haberl’s error in *Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, VI (Rome, 1939), 100–101.

Cerone introduced his Book xx thus:

One of the chief masses and of greatest consideration composed by Palestrina (speaking of those for five voices) is that one entitled *L’homme armé*, although it is the least performed of those composed by him; and the reason is because it is ordered with diverse tempi and a variety of proportions not easily understood by the majority of professors.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> “Il ‘Kyrie’ della Messa ‘l’Homme armé’ di Giov. Pierluigi da Palestrina e una trascrizione errata,” *Note d’Archivio per la Storia Musicale* [Rome: Edizioni Psalterium], x/2 (1933), 101–108.

<sup>54</sup> *El Mellopeo*, p. 1028:

Vna de las principales Missas y de mayor consideracion que ha com-

With so exalted an opinion of Palestrina’s five-voice *L’Homme armé*—an opinion shared more than two centuries later by Baini<sup>55</sup> and in 1939 by Casimiri who rated it “superior to all other composers’ *L’Homme armé* masses not only in its complicated artifice, but also by reason of its geniality and vivacious freshness,”<sup>56</sup> a new study of Book xx recommends itself.

Led on by his idolizing of Palestrina’s five-voice published in the 1570 collection dedicated to Philip II, Cerone sought the name of the earliest composer of a *L’Homme armé* mass—still the question tackled by Perkins in 1984. At Cerone’s page 756, he observed:

The learned composer mixes slow and heavy movements in one or two voices simultaneously with light and swift movements in the other voices, so that the heavy and slow are adorned with the swift and light, and the one and the other will together excite delight: as we see that Palestrina did in his *L’Homme armé* Mass; a very old subject found by Busnoys according to Pietro Aaron in chapter 8 of Book I of his *Toscanello*; on which subject a contemporary of Busnoys, Josquin’s teacher named Ockeghem, was the first to compose a mass. Afterwards his pupil [Josquin] wrote two *L’Homme armé* Masses, one “Sexti toni,” the other “Super voces musicales,” works which crown all other five-voice masses by Josquin.<sup>57</sup>

6. To retrieve all Cerone’s allusions to predecessors of such continuing musicological relevance as Binchois,

puesto Prenestina (hablando de las de à cinco voces) es aquella que tiene el titulo Lomme armé, aunq̄ sea la menos vsada de quantas compuesto tiene: y esto à causa, que esta ordenada con diuersos Tiempos, y con variedad de Proporciones, no tan facilmente de todos los profesores conocidos.

<sup>55</sup> *Memorie storico-critiche... di Gio. Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome: 1828), I, 359.

<sup>56</sup> *Le opere complete*, VI, xi:

ma certamente il Pierluigi tutti li superò, non solo per il complicato artificio dei tempi, ma anche per vigore di genialità, e vivace freschezza.

<sup>57</sup> Pues entre los mouimientos ligeros y prestos, ponga el docto Componedor vna parte ò dos, con movimientos tardos y pesados: afin que los pesados y tardos, sean adornados de los prestos y ligeros; y que el vno por el otro haya de deleytar: como vemos auer hecho Prenestina en su *Missa del Lomme armé: subiecto muy antiguo*, hallado (por quanto escriue D. Pedro Aron en le Cap. 38. del prim. lib. del *Toscanello*) de Busnoys; sobre del qual, el primero que compusiesse Missa, fue vn contemporaneo suyo y Maestro de Iusquin. llamado Ocheghen: despues su discipulo se quiso señalar en hazer dos dellas, la vna intitulada, *Missa Lôme armé Sexti toni*; y la otra *Missa Lomme armé super voces musicales*; obras que lleuan la corona entre todas las Missas q̄ compuso à cinco voces.

On page 319 Cerone remarks on Ockeghem’s interest in “consonant fourths,” and again makes him Josquin’s teacher. Among other notables addicted to consonant fourths Cerone signals [Mathieu] Gascogne and Jean Mouton.





Brumel, Crecquillon, Gascogne, Gombert, Hellinck, Isaac, Josquin, Manchicourt, Ockeghem, Phinot, Richafort, Rore, Vaet, Willaert, and Zarlino, an analytical index of *El Melopeo* takes precedence over all other demands. Every dense page of *El Melopeo* bristles with names, titles, and topics. A comprehensive index modelled on the index to Gustave Reese's *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959),

pages 947–1022, will require full-time effort of a musicologist over a period of weeks or even months. Marginalia must also be scooped into the indexer's net.

7. The riches thereby fully revealed will elevate Cerone to the empyrean. No theorist writing in Spanish has ever come close to equalling him as Defender of the Faith embraced by all "true believers" in the values that Reese and his successors made their lifetime creed.