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Arde Fillis / Isti sunt: a contrafactum by Gustav Düben, based on a madrigal by Stefano Landi, and previously attributed to Giacomo Carissimi

Among the roughly three thousand manuscripts in the Düben collection, there are a number of odd and intriguing items. They are odd, because they deviate from the standard appearance of more typical Düben collection manuscripts; and intriguing, since even though diverging, they always have something interesting to reveal about the history of the collection and about seventeenth-century musical practices in general.

One such item puzzled me for a long time. It is a set of parts in manuscript with the Uppsala University library call number Vmhs 11:2.¹ The set consists of seven part-books, five for voices (SSATB) and two for basso continuo. According to the title pages of the part-books, the set presents two madrigals: one *Arde Fillis* (or *Arde filis*), and one *Io amo*. The title page of the part designated *Bassus pro Organo* also provides the composers: “1: Arde filis de Carissimi”, and “2: Io amo di Galeazzo Sabbatini” (see figure 1).

The vocal parts do not present the full text of the two madrigals, only the first two words. Instead, in the first piece – the one ascribed to Carissimi – the

¹ The acronym Vmhs of S-Uu (Uppsala University library) stands for Vocal music in manuscript (*Vokalmusik i handskrift*). The reader can find scanned reproductions of all the Düben collection manuscripts online at the *Düben Collection Database Catalogue*, eds. Lars Berglund – Kia Hedell – Erik Kjellberg – Maria Schildt – Kerala J. Snyder: <https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/>.

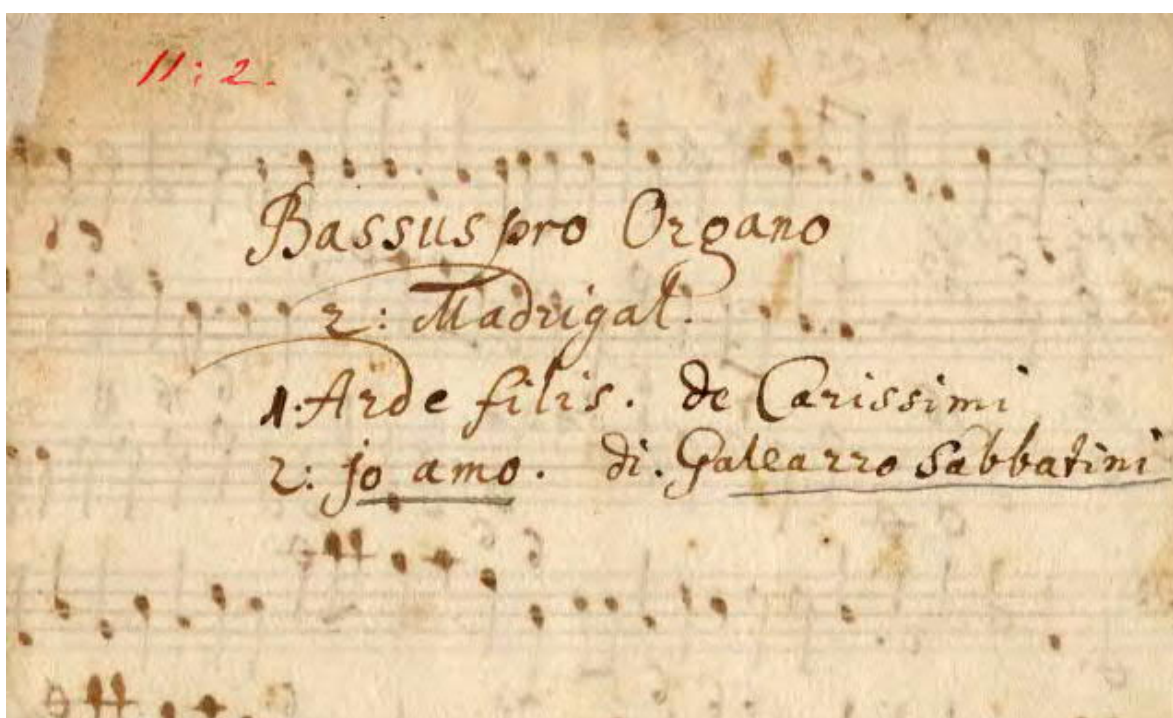


Figure 1. Bc part of S-Uu, Vmhs 11:2, with title inscription by Gustav Düben

first thirty-seven bars of the canto primo part present a Latin, sacred text: “Isti sunt triumphatores sancti et veri amici Dei”.

Until today, this work has been attributed to Carissimi, albeit with some reservations. Andrew Jones discussed the composition in his study on the motets of Carissimi. He characterised the piece as a “puzzling *unicum*” and provided it with a question mark in his thematic catalogue, thus designating it as a “motet possibly or probably not by Carissimi”.² I quote the full passage on the manuscript in Jones’ book, since it is the only treatment of the work and the manuscript in previous literature:³

“Isti sunt triumphatores” is a rather puzzling *unicum*. In the manuscript (Vok.mus.i hdskr Caps 11:2) it is called “Arde filis” (or “fillis”) on the front cover of each of the part books. It is paired with a piece entitled “Io amo”, and both are headed “Madrigal” (or “Madrigalia”) on the front cover of each part book, and “Madrigal” at the head of the music text. On the front cover of the *basso continuo* part book the composers are named as Carissimi and Galeazzo Sabbatini respectively. All of these inscriptions on front covers are in the hand of a scribe who wrote out the music. In his attribution of

² Andrew JONES, *The motets of Carissimi*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982, vol. 2, pp. 1 and 57.

³ JONES, *The motets of Carissimi*, vol. 1, pp. 101–102.

“Io amo” to Sabbatini he was correct: it was included in that composer’s third book of madrigals (Venice, 1634). No other source is known for the Carissimi work. In the music text only a verbal incipit (“Arde filis”) is given in S2, A, T, B, and bc. In S1 a *different* scribe has erased the incipit and replaced it with a Latin text under the first two of the five lines of music: “Isti sunt triumphatores sancti et veri amici Dei”. It is by no means impossible that “Isti sunt triumphatores” / “Arde filis” could be an authentic composition by Carissimi’s, but before accepting it as such a number of problematical matters must be taken into account. In each of the part books “Io amo” follows immediately (that is, beginning on the next stave of the same page) after “Isti sunt”; such juxtaposition of a sacred and a secular piece is rather unusual. Presumably, since it appears in *all* the parts and since it has been erased in S1, “Arde filis” was the original textual incipit; but why did the original scribe not complete the text? (The words “Isti sunt”, as already mentioned, were added by a different scribe). The description “Madrigal”, which is in the hand of the original scribe, is not one which is normally associated with a sacred and/or Latin text in the mid to late seventeenth century. And, finally, although the piece ends clearly in A minor, it begins with a strong suggestion of the Phrygian mode, as can be seen from the incipit in appendix A. None of the definitely authentic motets has such a distinctive and pronounced modal flavor. It is probably safer, in view of the problems associated with “Isti sunt”, to regard it at present as of uncertain authenticity.

In spite of his own reservations in the thesis, Jones decided to include the piece in the list of works in the Grove article on Carissimi, this time without a question mark.⁴ The work is currently also attributed to Carissimi in the RISM A/II catalogue.⁵

Jones makes some accurate observations in this passage, and others that are more debatable. He is correct in that the blatantly Phrygian opening melody of the piece is very uncharacteristic of Carissimi. He could also have added that the piece is generally written in an older style, seemingly predating Carissimi’s music by almost a generation, and that the musical style is much more typical for the genre of the secular madrigal than for an Italian motet. He is also correct in pointing out that the madrigal genre was not primarily associated with sacred topics, and particularly not with liturgical texts in Latin. What he overlooks, however, is that the piece could be a *contrafactum*: a piece originally composed to an Italian secular text, but re-texted with a Latin sacred one. This is somewhat surprising, since the madrigal by Galeazzo Sabbatini should have provided a clue.

⁴ Andrew JONES, “Carissimi”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed in June 2019.

⁵ RISM online catalogue: <https://opac.rism.info> (accessed in June 2019). In the MGG article on Carissimi, Günter Massenkiel has excluded the works that Jones classified as spurious, which means that *Arde Fillis / Isti sunt* is left out.

The scribe whom Jones refers to, who wrote both the title pages and the music, is well known in the research on the Düben collection. The hand belongs to the original owner of the collection, Gustav Düben Sr. (1628/29–1690). However, Jones was mistaken in claiming that the Latin text was entered by another scribe. Comparison with the large number of manuscripts copied by Gustav Düben confirms that the entire set of parts were written by him, including the Latin text, the title inscriptions and the music. As we shall see, there is a possible explanation for the slight differences in handwriting between the titles and the text that Jones rightly observed.

Regarding text and genre, it was probably the text incipit that confused Jones. He consistently refers to the piece as “Arde filis”, and seems to interpret this as a Latin incipit, which is perhaps linguistically possible, but not very comprehensible. Out of the thirteen cases where the incipit occurs, however, on title pages and in the parts, in eleven cases the text incipit is indicated as “Arde fillis”, whereas the pseudo-Latin variant “filis” only occurs twice. This suggests that the text is in Italian rather than in Latin, and should be interpreted as “Arde Fillis” or “Arde Phyllis” – Phyllis (or Fillide) being a name appearing in classical Greek mythology.

All previous observers seem to have overlooked that one of the part-books provides additional information about the original text. The extra basso continuo part has, in fact, a title inscription containing four words of the original incipit: *Arde fillis d'un viso*. Provided with this longer title, it was possible to search for the text in the RePIM database, and find the original composition.⁶ As it turns out, the piece is not by Carissimi. It is a madrigal composed by Stefano Landi (1587–1639), included in his first book of madrigals, *Madrigali a cinque voci libro primo. Con basso per sonare*, published in Venice in 1619.⁷ The actual text of the madrigal is “Arde Filli, d'un viso”.

⁶ *Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica, 1500–1700*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, <http://repim.muspe.unibo.it/> (accessed in May 2019).

⁷ According to the present update of RISM A/I L 529, this music print is preserved in two complete sets, one in the Padre Martini collection at *Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica* in Bologna, and one at the library of the *Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini* in Florence. There is also one basso continuo part-book at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. For this study, the digitised online version of the Bologna source was consulted: <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=7445> (accessed May 2019).

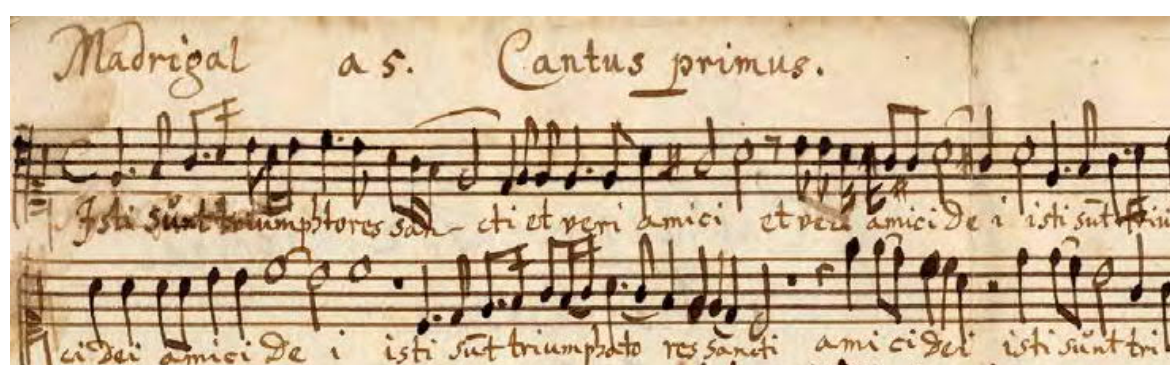


Figure 2. Comparison between the opening soprano parts of the 1619 Landi publication and the Düben collection manuscript

It thus appears that Gustav Düben used this part-book set to produce performance material for two Italian madrigals, by Stefano Landi and Galeazzo Sabbatini. As we could see in the quotation above, Andrew Jones identified the Sabbatini madrigal with a piece published in the composer's third book of madrigals. Jones seems to have used the 1634 reprint of the copy preserved at the British Library for reference. The composition is also included in the first edition of Sabbatini's third madrigal book, *Madrigali concertati a cinque voci* op. 4, published in Venice in 1627.⁸

The title pages of the seven part-books in the Düben collection, providing short titles of the two madrigals, suggest that they were intended as performance material for the original versions of the Italian madrigals. However, the voice parts were never provided with the text. At some point Düben decided to

⁸ I would like to thank Dr. Claudia Adami at the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona for providing me with scans of the music print.

make a *contrafactum* out of Landi's madrigal with a Latin liturgical text, using the same part-books. He never completed the project. The Latin text is only entered for thirty-seven out of one hundred and four bars of the first soprano part, and for eleven bars of the alto part.

To gain an understanding of the background and possible purpose of this *contrafactum*, we first need to take a look at the date and original context of this manuscript.

The major part of the Düben collection comprises music acquired by Gustav Düben, and prepared for performances at the Royal court and the German Church during Düben's tenure as *Hofkapellmeister* and organist at the German congregation, 1663–1690. After his death, it was passed on to his sons Gustav Jr. and Anders. In 1732, Anders von Düben donated it to Uppsala University.

The manuscript in question, Vmhs 11:2, belongs to the earliest layers of the collection. The chronology of the items in the collection can be established with some accuracy, much thanks to Jan Olof Rudén's comprehensive study of papers in the collection containing watermarks with the fool's cap and bell motive.⁹ The Vmhs 11:2 set contains the watermark variant "Narr / 5 typ I", according to Rudén's nomenclature, and he indicates 1651–1655 as the likely period. Rudén's dating is based on two observations linked to the reference material:

1) The instrumental parts of Gustav Düben's early composition *Veni sancte spiritus* are written on the same paper, and that composition is explicitly dated 16 May 1651.¹⁰

2) Rudén was able to find the very same watermark in official documents in the Regional State Archive in Uppsala. In all, he found nine such instances, dated between December 1651 and December 1652.¹¹ Düben generally used papers purchased by the Government Offices in this way, and Rudén was able to find much reference material in archives of the royal administration.

In his dating of the Düben collection manuscripts, Rudén used a standard consumption time of four years from the earliest occurrence, a margin of

⁹ Jan Olof RUDÉN, *Vattenmärken och musikforskning: presentation och tillämpning av en dateringsmetod på musikalier i handskrift i Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks Dübensamling*, Licentiate dissertation, Uppsala University, 1968. The study is available online at <http://www.ordom-musik.se/duben/>.

¹⁰ S-Uu, Vhms 19:13.

¹¹ RUDÉN, *Vattenmärken*, Appendix I; one of the documents is in the Stockholm Municipal Archive (Stockholms stadsarkiv).

error established by Theodor Gerardy.¹² The experience from working with the Düben collection suggests that most of the papers were used during the first year or the first two years.¹³ This suggests that the parts were most likely copied sometime between late 1651 and 1653.

At this point Gustav Düben's father Andreas was still the *Hofkapellmeister*, and Gustav himself a young musician and member of the court ensemble. All items in the Düben collection dating from before he was appointed *Kapellmeister* in 1663 seem to emanate either from his early studies,¹⁴ from his European journey around 1645–1649,¹⁵ or from specific musical activities at court where he was somehow involved.¹⁶ These included the activities of a French violin band, recruited to Sweden at the Embassy to Paris in 1646,¹⁷ and the visit of an Italian ensemble of singers and musicians to the court of Queen Christina in 1652–1654.¹⁸ Some of the manuscripts in the collection containing this particular watermark are associated with that Italian ensemble: one set of part-books with twenty-six Italian motets,¹⁹ and Giacomo Carissimi's polychoral setting of *Salve Regina*, preserved in Uppsala in a unique source.²⁰

As already pointed out, the vocal part-books do not contain the entire text of the Latin *contrafactum*. The *cantus primus* only presents the first eight words, *Isti sunt triumphatores sancti et veri amici Dei*, composed out over thirty-seven bars.

¹² Theodor GERARDY, *Datieren mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen: Beispielhaft dargestellt an der Gesamtproduktion der Schaumburgischen Papiermühle Arensburg von 1604–1650*, Bückeburg: Grimme, 1964 (Schaumburger Studien, 4).

¹³ This is also consistent with Gerardy's observations regarding the Arensburg paper mill.

¹⁴ Such as the tablature book S-Uu, Imhs 408.

¹⁵ Such as, for example, the wedding music for Count Robert Douglas and Hedvig Mörner from Leipzig 1645; see Peter WOLLNY, "Eine anonyme Leipziger Hochzeitsmusik aus dem 17. Jahrhundert", in *Über Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke. Aspekte musikalischer Biographie*, ed. Christian Wolff, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999, pp. 46–60.

¹⁶ For a more comprehensive discussion, see Maria SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work: Musical Repertory and Practice of Swedish Court Musicians, 1663–1690* (PhD dissertation), Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2014, pp. 87–116.

¹⁷ For example the tablature book S-Uu, Imhs 409, mainly containing French ball music.

¹⁸ There are about fifty manuscripts in the collection associated with Christina's Italian musicians. This material will be dealt with in a forthcoming study by the author in collaboration with Maria Schildt.

¹⁹ S-Uu, Vhms 53:10.

²⁰ S-Uu, Vmhs 11:19.

Jones was right in observing that the handwriting of the Latin text in the *cantus primus* is slightly different from the handwriting of the titles; for example, the letter “p” is written in different ways. This does not reflect different copyists, as Jones assumed, but rather different stages of Gustav Düben’s handwriting. In his youth, he seems to have experimented with different calligraphic styles, which he no longer used after he became *Hofkapellmeister* in 1663.²¹ Examples of this are the ways in which “p” and “g” are written. In a contemporary manuscript, Giacomo Carissimi’s *Omnes gentes gaudete* (S-Uu, Vmhs 53:10 no. 1, Vox1), we find examples of how Düben tries out different shapes of “p” and “g”, e.g. in the fifth system, “plaudentibus”, including the shape found in the title inscription in Vmhs 11:2 (see figure 3).

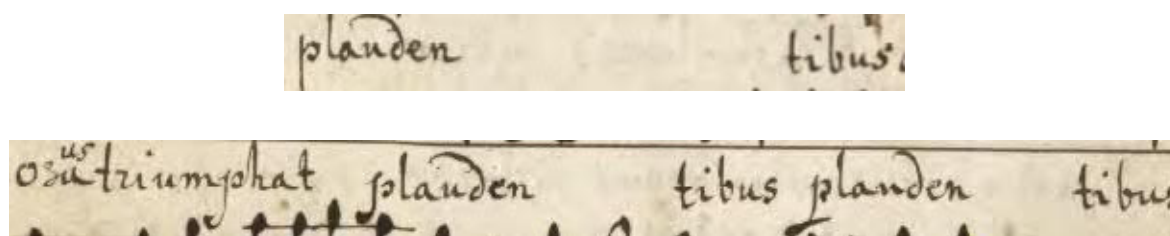


Figure 3. Gustav Düben’s early handwriting: variations of the letter “p” in S-Uu, Vmhs 53:10 no. 1, Vox 1

The Latin text written in the *cantus primus* part does not reveal any of these calligraphic traits. It is more regular and more consistent with manuscripts that Düben prepared in the 1660s and later.

Apart from this passage in the *cantus primus*, we also find a short fragment added to the bottom of the *altus* part. It appears as if someone has made an attempt to figure out the text underlay and the modifications to the music necessary for the Latin *contrafactum*. This passage is eleven bars long, presenting the same eight words of the text (see figure 4). We also find the complete Latin text written on the title page of the extra basso continuo part (see figure 5). This text and the short fragment in the alto part are written by one and the same copyist. This is not Gustav Düben, but most probably some other musician active at the royal court, or possibly at the German church.

²¹ I am grateful to Maria Schildt, who pointed this out to me.

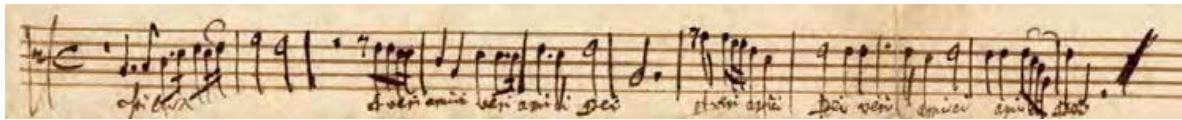


Figure 4. S-Uu, Vmhs 11:2, fragment at the bottom of the alto part

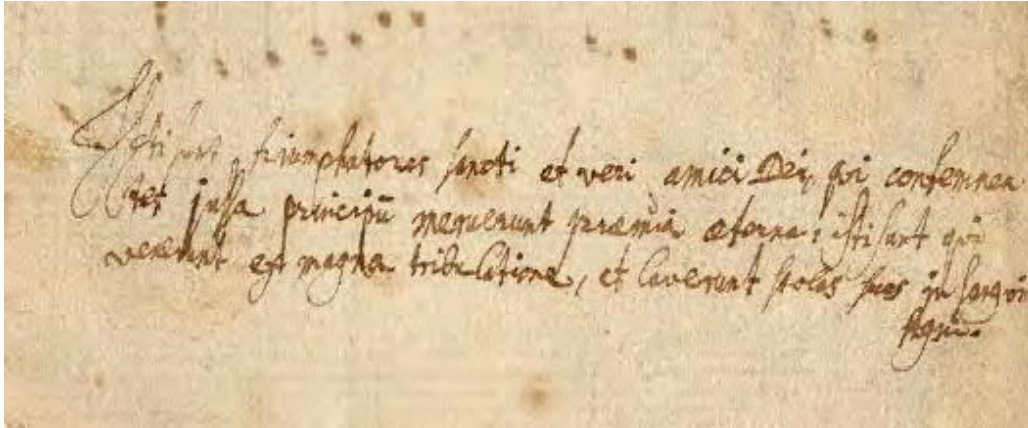


Figure 5. S-Uu, Vmhs 11:2, title page of basso continuo

It has not been possible to identify this copyist so far.²² I will return to the question about the dating and possible circumstances of the *contrafactum* at the end of this essay.

The text in question is compiled from two closely associated liturgical songs: the Responsory and Responsory verse for the Common of Apostles. The text in the Düben collection source display some slight deviations from the liturgical text found in the plain chant repertoire. This is the text as represented on the extra b.c. part in Vmhs 11:2:

Isti sunt triumphatores sancti et veri amici Dei	These are the victors and true friends of God
qui contempnentes iussa principum	who, disdainning the rule of princes
meruerunt praemia aeterna	earned eternal rewards
Isti sunt qui venerunt ex magna tribulatione	These are they which came out of great tribulation
et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni.	and have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb.

²² The music handwriting bears some resemblance to that of the court musician Christian Geist, who was active in Stockholm 1670–1679. However, the writing of the text is not consistent with his hand.

Compared to the most common liturgical original, the text has the following deviations:²³

Contrafactum IN S-UU VMHS 11:2

LITURGICAL TEXT

Isti sunt triumphatores **sancti et veri** amici Dei
qui contemnentes jussa principum
meruerunt praemia aeterna.

Isti sunt triumphatores et amici Dei
qui contemnentes jussa principum
meruerunt praemia aeterna **modo
coronantur et accipiunt palmam.**

What, then, is the origin of this particular reading of the text? In general, composers active in regions embracing the Lutheran confession did not take their texts from liturgical books. It seems they rather took them from prayer books, for example,²⁴ or arguably more commonly copied them from previous musical settings, not seldom by Italian composers. Therefore, it makes sense to search for that particular text variant in other polyphonic settings.

There are a number of compositions to that text preserved, for instance by Andrea Gabrieli,²⁵ Ruggiero Giovannelli,²⁶ Asprilio Pacelli,²⁷ Carlo Berti,²⁸ and Antonio Bertali.²⁹ All of these are settings of the regular liturgical text, without the insertion of the words *sancti et veri*, and including the last five words of the Responsory text, *modo coronantur et accipiunt palmam*. Moreover, none of these cases represent music that Gustav Düben had access to.³⁰

There is one case, however, that seems a likely copy text for Gustav Düben and his helpers. Gasparo Casati composed a motet to the text *Isti sunt triumphatores*, published in *Il terzo libro de sacri concerti*, Venice 1640. This

²³ According to a large number of hits in the *Cantus Manuscript database*: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca> (accessed in May 2019).

²⁴ See e.g. Olga GERO, *Dietrich Buxtehudes geistliche Vokalwerke: Text, Formen, Gattungen*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017 (Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia, 26), pp. 30–34.

²⁵ Published in *Concerti di Andrea, e di Gio: Gabrieli*, Venice, 1587 (RISM B/I 1587¹⁶).

²⁶ *Sacrarum modulationum [...] liber primus*, Rome, 1593 (RISM A/I G 2446).

²⁷ *Promptuarium musicum, Pars Tertia*, ed. Abraham Schadaeus, Strassbourg, 1613 (RISM B/I 1613²).

²⁸ *Florilegii musici Portensis sacras harmonias sive motetas [...] pars altera*, ed. Erhard Bodenschatz, Leipzig, 1621 (RISM B/I 1621²).

²⁹ MS. PL-Wu.

³⁰ See the list prepared by Maria SCHILDT, “Concordances between MSS in the Düben Collection and printed collections & anthologies”: <https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Concordances.pdf> (accessed May 2019).

motet uses precisely the same reading of the text that appears on the title page of the extra basso continuo part of the Düben collection manuscript, S-Uu Vmhs 11:2.

Casati's publication appeared in several editions. It was reprinted in Venice several times,³¹ but was also published in 1644 in Antwerp, in an edition issued by the so-called "héritiers du Pierre Phalèse", that is, the two sisters Madeleine and Marie Phalèse, who took over the printing shop after their father in 1629. Their trademark was reprints of Italian prints, especially from Venice, publications immensely important for the dissemination of Italian sacred music to Northern Europe.

A copy of the Phalèse 1644 edition of Casati's publication is preserved in Uppsala, and very likely belongs to the Düben collection.³² This strongly suggests that Casati's motet, published in the 1644 Phalèse edition, provided the source for the text which Gustav Düben intended to use for the *contrafactum*.

The task of adapting the Latin Responsory text borrowed from Casati's motet to the madrigal by Stefano Landi was not an easy one. The texts are quite different, not only because of the differing languages, but also the metrical design and the content.

The text used for Stefano Landi's 1619 madrigal was published in at least two different books of poetry: *Rime de i tre concordi*, printed in Vicenza in 1600, and *Le imagini overo madrigali morali*, printed in Venice in 1611.³³ In the latter volume, the poem is ascribed to Matteo Piacentini.

³¹ There are reprints from 1642, 1644, 1650 and 1654.

³² The manuscripts and prints of Anders von Düben's donation in 1732 was later separated by the library and the provenance was unfortunately not documented. Maria Schildt was able to establish a list of music prints originating from the Düben collection; see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work* pp. 50–52 and 116–130. The list is published on the website of the *Düben Collection Database Catalogue*.

³³ See *Rime de i tre concordi* Valerio Buratini d'Agort, Mattheo Piacentini da Castelfranco, & Pietro Bonfadio da Salo. *Dedicate all'illustriss.[...] Federico Cornaro*, Vicenza: per Francesco Bolzetta libraro in Padova, 1600, p. 44; *Le imagini overo madrigali morali, & heroici de' più illustri, e celebri poeti italiani; parte terza del gareggiamento poetico: del Confuso Accademico Ordito* [Carlo Fiamma], In Vinegia [Venice]: appresso Barezzo Barezzi, 1611, p. 187.

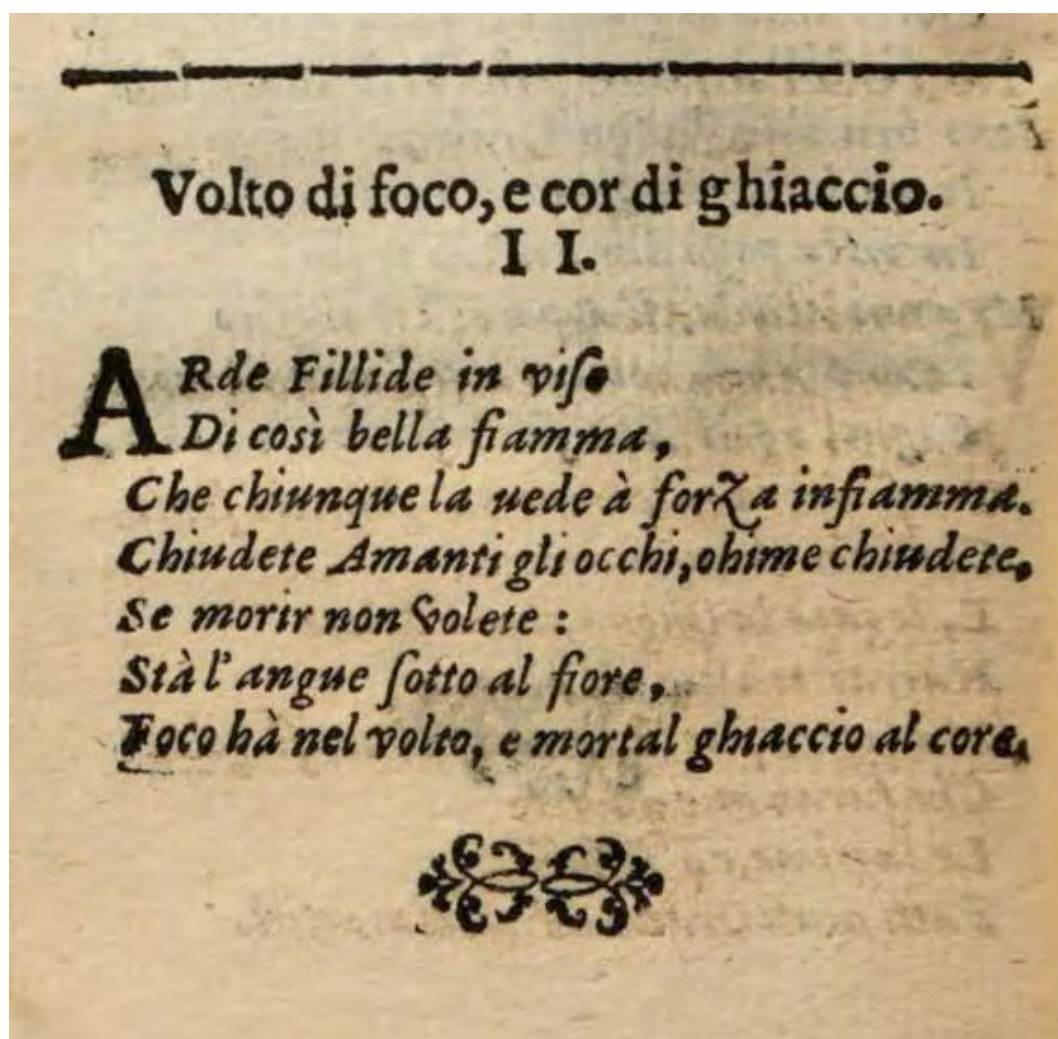


Figure 6. The poem in *Rime de i tre concordi*, Vicenza: per Francesco Bolzetta, 1600

The reading of the text in these two publications is identical. It consists in a single stanza of seven lines, set in *verso sciolto*, i.e., a free alternation between lines of seven and eleven syllables (*settenari* and *endecasillabi*). The text used in Landi's madrigal deviates slightly, in the very first line. The version set to music by Landi is slightly odd, and results from a misreading of the text. The mistake suggests that the text could have been transcribed from memory, or via oral transmission.

MATTEO PIACENTINI'S POEM

Arde Fillide in viso
di così bella fiamma [...]

STEFANO LANDI'S MADRIGAL

Arde Filli d'un viso
di così bella fiamma [...]

There are some structural similarities between the poem set to music by Landi and the Latin motet text chosen for the *contrafactum*. They are of similar length, and it is technically possible to divide the Latin responsory prose text into sections very roughly corresponding to the madrigal text. Such an arrangement could look something like this; the number of syllables are indicated at the end of each line:

LANDI'S MADRIGAL

LATIN RESPONSORY

Arde Filli d'un viso (7)	Isti sunt triumphatores (8)
di così bella fiamma (7)	sancti et veri amici Dei (10)
che chiunque la vede a forza infiamma (11)	qui contemnentes jussa principum (10)
chiudete Amanti gl'occhi ohime, chiudete (11)	meruerunt praemia aeterna (10)
se morir non volete (7)	isti sunt qui venerunt (7)
sta l'angue sotto al fiore (7)	ex magna tribulatione (8)
foco ha nel volto e mortal giaccio al core (11)	et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni (14)

The differences in the number of syllables in each line or prose segment could principally be handled by adapting the music: splitting notes into smaller note values, or tying the notes together, i.e., using melismas to fit one syllable to several notes, or on the contrary setting melismas in the original piece syllabically. Still, the number of syllables are not the only challenge for adapting the text to the music. Other challenges are differences in the stress patterns, and not least, the fact that Landi's madrigal is typically not set to music so that each line of the poem corresponds to a musical phrase. Instead, in the madrigal the text has been cut into smaller units, something that makes it much more problematic to directly adapt the Latin text to the music. The segmentation of the text according to musical phrases in Landi's madrigal in reality looks like this:

Arde	(2)	gl'occhi, ohimè chiudete	(6)
Filli d'un viso	(5)	se morir	(3)
di così bella	(5)	non volete	(4)
fiamma	(2)	sta l'angue sotto al fiore	(7)
che chiunque la vede	(7)	foco ha nel volto	(5)
a forza infiamma	(5)	e mortal giaccio al core.	(7)
chiudete Amanti	(5)		

An interesting effect of such a segmentation is that the *sinalefe* in the original verses are in several cases annihilated. The *versi sciolti* patterns are not followed in the musical setting, and thus, the number of syllables increases – for instance *la vede_a forza infiamma*, and *nel volto_e mortal giacco* [sic!], where the verses have been divided precisely where the *sinalefe* is located.

It only takes a few experiments of comparison to figure out that the combination of segmentation of the text into musical phrases and the diverging stress patterns makes it more or less impossible to directly adapt the Latin text to the music. Such an adaptation requires some manipulations. Let us now turn our attention to how that challenge is approached in this particular case.

The longest re-texted section is found at the beginning of the *cantus primus* part of the *contrafactum* (see figure 2). This corresponds to the *quintus* part in Landi's original madrigal.

To begin with, it appears that before the text “Isti sunt” was entered, the words “Arde Filli” was written into the beginning of the part, and then later scratched out. This text incipit also appears in the other four vocal parts, but in those cases they are clearly not intended as text underlay, but rather as titles or headings. They are not written under the corresponding notes, but before them. Moreover, the *canto* part in Landi's madrigal, which in Düben's manuscript is designated *cantus secundus*, does not start with the words “Arde Filli”, but with “Filli d'un viso”, and the entries of the other parts consist in a long melisma on the syllable “Ar-”, and not the full incipit.

This suggests that Düben might have had a different purpose for these parts when he first prepared them in the 1650s. In fact, it indicates that these parts could originally have been prepared for instrumental performance.

In contrast to the long melisma on the syllable “Ar-”, opening the madrigal, Düben (or his helper) chose to set the opening phrase syllabically. Thus, the fourteen notes long melisma presenting the word “Arde” in the opening phrase of Landi's *quinto*, presents the ten syllables of the text line “Isti sunt triumphatores sancti”, with a short melisma at the end on “sancti”.



Example 1. Comparison between the beginning of the madrigal and the *contrafactum*

The adaptation of the music for the new Latin text uses the techniques described previously (see music example 2 a and b). Longer note values are split into two shorter ones, to accommodate two syllables instead of one (e.g. bar 5), and notes that are syllabically set in the madrigal have been joined into short melismas in the *contrafactum* (bars 24 and 26).

Example 2 consists of two musical examples, a and b, each showing a comparison between the original madrigal melody and an adapted melody for a new Latin text. Example a shows bars 5-7, and example b shows bars 24-27. In both examples, the original melody is on the top staff and the adapted melody is on the bottom staff. The adapted melody uses shorter note values to accommodate two syllables instead of one, and notes that are syllabically set in the madrigal have been joined into short melismas in the *contrafactum*.

a

5

-ci et ve-ri a - mi-ci De - i,
-so dico-si bel-la fiam - ma,

b

24

a - mi - ci De - i, is - ti — sunt tri -
di co-si bel - la, di co-si bel - la

Example 2. Comparison between the original madrigal and the adaptation
(a: bb. 5–7; b: bb. 24–27)

In some places, syncopated rhythms in the original madrigal have been modified to follow a more regular metric pattern – see for example bars 24–25 in music example 2b, and bar 9 in music example 3. Such modifications were apparently not just motivated by the metrical demands of adaption to the new text, but also by taste and habit. Especially in bars 24–25, it would have been possible to keep the syncopation together with the new text, and the result would arguably be rhythmically more interesting. In the repertoire of sacred vocal music that Gustav Düben and his associates most commonly performed, that kind of rhythmical sophistication is, however, unusual. Perhaps they were also deemed to be too secular, and inappropriate in an adaptation intended for the church.

Example 3 shows a comparison between the original madrigal melody and an adapted melody for a new Latin text, specifically bars 7–10. The original melody is on the top staff and the adapted melody is on the bottom staff. The adapted melody uses shorter note values to accommodate two syllables instead of one, and notes that are syllabically set in the madrigal have been joined into short melismas in the *contrafactum*.

7

is - ti sunt tri-um - pha - to-res sanc - ti et ve - ri,
ar - - - de Fil - li d'un vi - so,

Example 3. Comparison between original madrigal and the adaptation, bb. 7–10

In bars 24–27, the adapter has chosen to change the text when a motive is repeated in melodic sequence, something that seems musically slightly insensitive, and is not motivated by any practical considerations (see example 2b).

In accordance with the tradition of the genre, Stefano Landi's madrigal contains some instances of word painting. These effects are irrevocably lost in the *contrafactum*, simply because there are no corresponding words in the liturgical text at the relevant places. For example, in the opening of the madrigal, the word *arde* (burns) is illustrated by an ascending melisma in punctuated rhythms, imitating a flickering flame. The same figure is later used to illustrate the word *flamma* (flame). In the *contrafactum*, these phrases instead syllabically present the words *Isti sunt triumphatores*.

It is not obvious why the project to produce a *contrafactum* from Landi's madrigal was aborted. A practical attempt to reconstruct the entire adaptation, accommodating the whole text for all the parts demonstrates that this is at some places tricky, but far from impossible.³⁴ The remaining part of the piece does not present any more considerable challenges than the completed first section. Moreover, with one vocal part of the adaptation completed, it is a relatively easy task to finish the other parts, since the modifications of the musical phrases can be reused for the corresponding words of the text.

Of course, we cannot know for sure that the task was aborted. Düben or his helper could have decided that it was more feasible to start afresh, copying out new part-books for the *contrafactum*. However, no such set of parts is preserved in the Düben collection. Considering the small number of losses in the collection in general, this does not seem very plausible.³⁵ Instead, it seems more likely that the undertaking was actually aborted, perhaps because Düben did not find the result good enough, or because he realized that it was not needed, or for some other reason – on this we can only speculate.

When, and for what purpose was the attempt begun to produce this *contrafactum*, and by whom? Also in this case, it is difficult to reach any definitive conclusions, but there are indications enough to attempt a hypothesis.

The set of parts containing the two madrigals by Landi and Sabbatini was most certainly prepared by Gustav Düben himself in the 1650s. At this point,

³⁴ I would like to thank the participants of the international spring school *Contrafacta. Music with new texts for new contexts* (Vicenza, 25–29 March 2019) for the enthusiastic way they took on this challenge, in many cases coming up with better solutions than mine.

³⁵ See SCHILDT, *Düben at Work*, pp. 64–74.

he was not yet *Hofkapellmeister*, but served as a musician at court, probably mostly from the organ or harpsichord. It is not clear which originals were used as copy texts. The printed madrigal collections of Landi and Sabbatini are not preserved in the Düben collection, or elsewhere in Sweden. It is clear though, that similar publications of madrigals were owned by the court or by court musicians. For example, the 1637 reprint of Sabbatini's fourth collection of madrigals (op. 5) is preserved in the Düben collection.³⁶ Moreover, preserved inventories reveal that printed madrigal collections of a similar kind were bought for the court music in the 1620s and 1630s.³⁷ It appears likely that the Landi and Sabbatini publications used by Düben could have been part of his father's music library, which was later lost, possibly in the fire at the royal castle in 1697.

There are two other possibilities; the prints could have been bought by Düben during his study trip in the mid-1640s. However, the publication dates seem too early for that; moreover, this does not explain why they are not preserved in the Düben collection; a second possibility is that they were brought by the Italian musicians visiting Sweden in the 1650s; still, the printing dates seem too late for this, and in addition, polyphonic madrigals do not appear to have been part of their repertoire.

The original part-books prepared by Düben in the 1650s lacked text underlay, and as we have seen, their design suggests that they could have been intended for instruments rather than voices. In this context, there is still one more enigma to take into consideration. The extra part-book for basso continuo is transposed a fifth (or actually a fourth downwards), from e to b. This is also indicated on the title page, by the inscription: *Basso Continuo / transpositia per Quintam / Arde fillis*. This b.c. part only contains the Landi madrigal, not Sabbatini's piece. The paper has the same 1650s watermark as the other parts, and Düben's handwriting on the title page reveals the calligraphic traits typical of his early years. This suggests that the transposed part-book was prepared together with the other parts. The purpose of this transposed part is not clear.

³⁶ S-Uu, Uvmtr 418–423; Maria SCHILDT, "Printed music in the Düben collection": https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Printed_Music.pdf (accessed in June 2019).

³⁷ Erik KJELLBERG, *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden: studier kring deras organisation, verksamheter och status ca 1620–ca 1720*, vol. 1, PhD dissertation, Uppsala University, 1979, pp. 290–296; for instance, an inventory dated 1626 includes madrigal collections by Ruggiero Giovannelli, Orazio Angelini and Allegro Porto, as well as madrigal collections by "various authors" (*Madrigalien variorum Authorum*).

The fact that the transposed b.c. part only contains the Landi piece could suggest that it was somehow connected with the Latin *contrafactum*. There are, however, quite strong evidences that the *contrafactum* is of a later date than the original set of part-books.

One evidence is Düben's handwriting in the Latin text underlay. As already pointed out, it seems more consistent with his later handwriting, lacking the calligraphic variations found in sources from the 1650s. There are also other grounds to assume that the *contrafactum* was produced much later than the original set of parts. As Maria Schildt has demonstrated, Gustav Düben started to make this kind of alteration to pre-existing music in the 1660s, and there is reason to presume that he got the idea and models during his visits to Lübeck in these years, and his contact with the organist in the *Marienkirche* there, Franz Tunder.³⁸ It was also not until his appointment as *Hofkapellmeister* and organist in the German church that he would have had use for a reworking of this kind, converting an erotic madrigal into a piece of figural music for the church service.

The Latin text, *Isti sunt triumphalis*, is a modified version of the Responsory for the Common of Apostles, or in some liturgical sources the Common of Evangelists. Even though the Lutheran churches in Sweden did not follow the Roman Catholic liturgy, Latin sacred texts were often used for similar occasions as the one prescribed in the Roman Catholic liturgy.³⁹ This would suggest that the re-texted version of the madrigal was intended for a church service on an Apostle's Day.

The reduction of Holidays resulting from the reformation in Sweden in the sixteenth century notwithstanding, many of the old feasts were held onto well into the eighteenth century.⁴⁰ Among them were the ten to thirteen Apostle's Days,⁴¹ and they were traditionally celebrated with some degree of solemnity. This would suggest that our *contrafactum* could have been intended for one of the feasts of the Apostles, the most important of which were Matthew,

³⁸ See SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 365–366.

³⁹ See for example Lars BERGLUND, *Studier i Christian Geists vokalmusik*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2002 (*Studia musicologica Upsaliensia*, 21), pp. 81–88.

⁴⁰ Göran MALMSTEDT, *Helgdagsreduktionen: övergången från ett medeltida till ett modernt år i Sverige 1500–1800*, PhD dissertation, University of Gothenburg, 1994; a far-reaching reform was carried through in 1772, but until then most of the old holidays were still celebrated.

⁴¹ The number varied between different dioceses; in the archdiocese of Uppsala, thirteen such Apostle's Days were celebrated.

or *matsmäss* (24 February), Peter and Paul, or *persmäss* (29 June) and Bartholomeus, or *barsmäss* (24 August).⁴²

This suggests the German church of St Gertrude in Stockholm as a likely location for the planned performance of the piece. Gustav Düben was the organist there from 1663 and until his death in 1690. During his first ten years in the double position as *Hofkapellmeister* and organist in St Gertrude's, the King was of minor age, and the realm was ruled by a regency. This meant that festive church services at court were relatively sparse, and figural music seems to have been used mainly for major feast days such as Easter, Christmas and Pentecost.⁴³ At the German church, however, Düben was expected to supply music on a more regular basis. For such occasions he often engaged some of the court musicians. A considerable part of the manuscripts in the Düben collection were most likely prepared for performances at the German church.⁴⁴

The music performed in St Gertrude's was generally for relatively small scorings. This raises the question as to whether Düben's arrangement was planned for five voices, or perhaps rather for a reduced scoring of two to three voices, the organ filling in for the other parts.

The *contrafactum* *Arde Fillis / Isti sunt* is a rare case in many ways. It is a re-texting that was never completed, but for unknown reasons aborted. The project was odd from the beginning. It is the only example of a secular madrigal re-texted with a sacred text in the entire Düben collection, and the attempt was made at a time when this procedure already more or less belonged to history. I have used the term *contrafactum* here, even though it is usually associated with much earlier artifacts, precisely because it stands out as a relic of the past. Unfortunately, many things still remain obscure, and must wait to be illuminated by future research, if this is even possible. Therefore, some concluding remarks can be made with more certainty, whereas others must remain more tentative.

There is no doubt that the attribution to Carissimi can be decidedly refuted. The composer is Stefano Landi, and the madrigal was originally published in

⁴² *Mattismäss*, *persmäss* and *barsmäss* are the old Swedish names for these days, which were of importance in popular notions, since they marked the beginning of spring, summer and autumn; in ancient folklore, weather signs and other omens on those days gave important indications about the weather of the upcoming season.

⁴³ BERGLUND, *Christian Geist*, pp. 80–100.

⁴⁴ On this issue, see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 221–250.

1619, and set to a poem by Matteo Piacentini, even though the first line of the madrigal text contains a misreading of the poem.

The Latin text used for the *contrafactum* was doubtlessly borrowed from a motet by Gasparo Casati, and copied from the Phalèse reprint of Casati's collection, published in Antwerp 1644, a music print that Gustav Düben had in his possession. This is clear from the deviations from the more common version of the liturgical original that was usually set to music.

It is also clear that Gustav Düben himself prepared the set of part-books containing the madrigals by Landi and Sabbatini in the 1650s. The original purpose is not entirely clear, but it seems likely that it was intended for instrumental performance. It has not been possible to establish who wrote out the text on the additional basso continuo part, and wrote the fragment at the bottom of the alto part. Therefore, we do not know what relation that copyist had to Düben. It could have been one of the court musicians in Stockholm, who regularly helped him with copying music. The odd thing is that this copyist wrote out the full text on the transposed basso continuo part. This, in combination with the short fragment sketching out the adaptation of the opening bars of the alto part, suggests that the impetus to produce the *contrafactum* could have come from this musician, rather than from Düben himself. This would suggest that the fragment in the alto part is an instruction or suggestion to Düben about how the adaptation could be carried out. Until this particular copyist is identified, this enigma must remain open.

The transposed b.c. part is puzzling. It was prepared already in the 1650s, together with the other part-books. It could arguably be connected to an instrumental performance. This could mean that the soprano parts were raised a fifth to suit two violins, the range being changed from g'-f'' in the original *cantus* to d'-c''', and from a-f'' in the original *quintus* to e'-c'''. However, there are no transposed instrumental parts preserved, and moreover the range seems unusually high for violins. The transposition also does not really make sense if intended for voices. Another hypothesis is that the part could be intended for a transposed accompaniment instrument, but it is not clear what it could be, and there are no similar cases preserved in the collection.

Finally, the ascription to Carissimi is intriguing. It is written by Gustav Düben on the title page of the part-book designated *Basso pro Organo*, i.e., the regular, untransposed basso continuo part. This could possibly reflect the fact that this set of parts was prepared in the 1650s, when an ensemble of Italian

musicians were present at court. The Italians brought a large number of compositions by Carissimi from Rome. Eighteenth pieces by him are preserved in the Düben collection, dating from this time. Several of them are copied on the same paper as the manuscript under scrutiny here, a paper which as we have seen is associated with the stay of the Italian ensemble.

The title inscription “Bassus pro Organo” uses the calligraphic “p” and “g” typical of Düben’s early handwriting. At least judging from the color of the ink, the ascriptions to Carissimi and Sabbatini seem to have been entered at the same time – in that case during the 1650s. It seems that Düben for some reason confused Landi’s madrigal with the many pieces by Carissimi brought to Sweden by the Italians. This could also suggest that Landi’s madrigal was brought to Sweden by the Italians, even though this appears less likely, since their repertoire was more up-to-date and consisted mainly of sacred music and secular arias by composers active in Rome.

As pointed out at the beginning, the case presented here is in several ways odd and rare for the Düben collection. Still, it also exemplifies many characteristics of Gustav Düben’s practices: his copying out of music in preparation for different performances, his preferences for Italian composers and his relentless way of adapting and arranging music with new specific occasions and uses in mind. Even though this particular case of recycling may have been a failure, it still gives an interesting insight into such practices, as well as into the complex, detailed and sometimes seemingly contradictory information that a music manuscript can hide.

Summary

A Düben collection manuscript with the shelf number Vmhs 11:2 contains a composition ascribed to Giacomo Carissimi, with the text incipit *Isti sunt triumphatores*. The attribution to Carissimi has been regarded as uncertain, but it is still included in several work catalogues. This article shows that the attribution is certainly false. The piece is a re-texted version of a madrigal composed by Stefano Landi, included in his first collection of madrigals, printed in Venice 1619. The title of the original madrigal is “Arde Filli d’un viso”. The text is a poem by Matteo Piacentini published first in Vicenza in 1600, and then again in Venice in 1611, but in Landi’s madrigal the text is modified, or likely misread; the title of the original poem is “Arde Fillide in viso”.

The Vmhs 11:2 manuscript in Uppsala contains a complete set of partbooks of two madrigals for five voices, the one by Stefano Landi, and Galeazzo Sabbatini’s “Io amo che tanto basta”. They were prepared by the young Gustav Düben in the early 1650s, perhaps originally intended for instrumental performance. At a later moment, probably after 1663, Düben started to prepare a *contrafactum* of Landi’s madrigal, using a Latin liturgical text, *Isti sunt triumphatores*. The text appears to have been borrowed from a printed collection of motets by Gasparo Casati, in that case most likely from the Antwerp reprint published by Marie and Madeleine Phalèse. Liturgically, the text is associated with the Feasts of Apostles, and the *contrafactum* could possibly have been intended for such a service in the German Church in Stockholm, where Gustav Düben was the organist. It was most likely at this point that Düben misattributed the piece to Carissimi, perhaps associating the manuscript with the time when an ensemble of Italian singers visited the Swedish court between 1652 and 1654, bringing with them a large number of works by Carissimi.

The *contrafactum* is not completed. Only the first thirty-seven bars of the canto primo part have text underlay, and eleven bars of the alto. Since the Latin text was very different than the Italian madrigal text, both regarding meter and content, the re-texting involved a number of challenges. In the preserved part, a number of modifications have been made to the music, which is typical of re-texting practices. The melismatic passage opening the madrigal has been set syllabically in the *contrafactum*, thus annihilating the word painting in the original. Notes have been split in two to accommodate the text, or on the contrary joined in melismas. The attempt at a re-texting does not seem very successful, and it is possible that Düben abandoned the task for this reason, even though such an assumption must remain tentative.

Keywords: Giacomo Carissimi, Stefano Landi, Gustav Düben, *contrafactum*, Düben collection.