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**The Early Compositional Style of Madalena Casulana:
A Reassessment of the Current Known Sources of Casulana's Life and
an Analysis of her Four Madrigals in *Il Desiderio*, 1566**

von

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Preface

In 2019, while researching for a concert programme, I came across the name of Madalena Casulana and was astounded that I had not known of her before. I asked my colleagues and teachers and discovered that they didn't know of her either. How could we not have heard of the first woman in Europe to have published entire collections of compositions in her own name? After testing out some of her works with my renaissance traverso and friends on the organ and lute, I knew that Casulana was not only special because of her achievements as a woman, but that she carefully used her skills to speak through her music. I soon became passionate about finding any research that had already been done about her and any opportunity to play her music. When it came time to find a thesis topic, the choice was easy.

To echo the sentiment of Casulana herself in her dedication to her first book of madrigals for four voices: I hope that this small offering of my research into her life and compositions can show, at least in some capacity, the high quality and cleverness of her works, and that the fact that she was a rare female composer in the sixteenth century is not the only interesting thing about her. I also hope that others with more abilities than I have may be inspired to do further analysis of her compositions and – more importantly – perform them.

I believe she deserves to be known based on the quality and content of her music, and that this music deserves to be heard.

I would like to thank Florian Vogt for his patience and knowledge when advising me through this thesis. Without his advice, it would not have been possible.

Additional huge thanks to Eleonora Bišćević for her assistance in translating several texts from Italian to English and in underlaying the texts to Casulana's madrigals. The many hours of discussion led to a much deeper understanding of Casulana's works from a linguistic perspective.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family and friends for their support.

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Abstract

This study reassesses the primary sources which trace the life of Madalena Casulana (c. 1540 – c. 1590), including in-depth analyses of her first four madrigals which were published in the anthology *Il Desiderio* in 1566. As the first European woman to have published collections of music in her own name, her early works are seminal in the history of music, and yet widely unknown by the public and largely neglected even by music historians and early music specialists. Through examining her context and life in addition to the historical composition techniques used in these four works, this study aims to better understand Casulana's early compositional style.

Introduction

In 1568, Madalena Casulana became the first woman in Europe to publish an entire collection of compositions under her own name. This was the *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci*, published by Girolamo Scotto in Venice.¹ Sadly, only the Canto and Tenore part-books from this collection survive and so we do not have a full picture of what these works were.

However, only two years before, in 1566, four of her madrigals were included in the anthology *Il Desiderio*,² alongside other popular composers of the day, including Cipriano de Rore and Orlando di Lasso. These four madrigals – *Morir non puo*; *Sculpito nell'alm Almore*; *Vedesti Amor giamai*, and *Se scior si ved'il laccio*, were reprinted in her *Primo libro* of 1568, and all four part-books survive (from 1566), thus offering a glimpse into her compositional style of the 1560s.

In the dedication to her 1568 collection, Casulana boldly stated, “I would like [...] to show the world (as far as I am permitted in this profession of music) the vain error of men, who believe themselves to be such patrons of the high gifts of intellect, that it seems to them that they cannot be equally common to women.”³ Yet despite being the first woman to publish such a collection and her publicly stated wish to prove that women were capable of composing too, she continued to be highly sexualised (and therefore belittled) by her male peers. Today is barely known by the general public and, until very recently, has been largely neglected in academic musical studies.

Nevertheless, some crucial studies have been made about Casulana in recent years. Beatrice Pescerelli has done extensive research into Casulana, collecting the majority of primary sources which inform us of her life, and creating an edition of her remaining complete works.⁴ Thomasin LaMay, through relying on such primary sources, has made efforts to understand Casulana through a feminist lens, openly confronting many of the assumptions

¹ Madalena Casulana, *Di Madalena Casulana Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci, Novamente Posti in Luce, e Con Ogni Diligentia Corretti.*, RISM C 1516; Nuovo Vogel No. 513 (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568).

² Giulio Bonagionta, ed., *Primo Libro de Diversi Eccellentissimi Auttori a Quattro Voci Intitolato Il Desiderio. Novamente Posti in Luce, per Giulio Bonagionta Da S. Genesi, Musico Dell'Illustriss. Sig. Di Vineggia.*, RISM1566/2 (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1566).

³ Casulana, *Di Madalena Casulana Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci, Novamente Posti in Luce, e Con Ogni Diligentia Corretti.* Translated with the assistance of Eleonora Bišćević.

⁴ Beatrice Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, Studi e Testi per La Storia Della Musica 1 (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1979).

and sexualisations of musical woman during the sixteenth century which affected Casulana's career.⁵ Though these efforts are relevant and significant, they sometimes tend to lean towards personal empathy, and a search for specific feminist angles in Casulana's works which are out of place with her time (feminism being a concept that did not exist in the sixteenth century). Several further studies, such as those of Samantha Heere-Beyer⁶ and Hannah Wunsch Ryan⁷ have approached Casulana from a similar angle, but relied heavily on secondary sources for information, in addition to studying some of her later works from her 1570 collection of four-voice madrigals from a modern musical perspective. Further studies into one of her works from the 1570 collection has been done by Peter Schubert with a detailed understanding of historical composition techniques and a favourable appraisal.⁸ Meanwhile, a general review of her madrigals by Thomas W. Bridges was scathing – citing some of her “flaws” as using too much chromaticism and overusing homophony.⁹

This criticism is interesting when considering reviews of the music of her male colleagues. For example, Philippe de Monte (1521-1603), one of the most prolific and respected composers of the 16th century, is often defined by his use of chromaticism to express text, and heavy use of homophonic textures.¹⁰ Another colleague of hers, Giuseppe Caimo (1545-1584), also favoured the use of homophony and chromaticism during the 1560s.¹¹ One cannot help but question why these mannerisms are praised when used by male composers, yet criticised when used by Casulana in the same era as them.

⁵ Thomasin K. LaMay, ‘Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana’s Primo Libro de Madrigali, 1568’, in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women : Many-Headed Melodies* (London: Routledge, 2016) 365-397; and Thomasin K. LaMay, ‘Madalena Casulana: “My Body Knows Unheard of Songs”’, in *Gender, Sexuality, and Early Music*, ed. Todd M. Borgerding (New York London : Routledge, 2002), 41–71.

⁶ Samantha Heere-Beyer, ‘Claiming Voice: Madalena Casulana and the Sixteenth-Century Italian Madrigal’ (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh, 2009).

⁷ Hannah Wunsch Ryan, ‘Madalena Casulana: Her Life and Works’, *The Choral Scholar & American Choral Review* 59, no. 1 (2021): 31–48.

⁸ Peter Schubert, ‘Maddalena Casulana, “Per Lei Pos’ in Obio” from Cinta Di Fior (1570)’, in *Analytical Essays on Music by Women Composers : Secular & Sacred Music to 1900*, ed. Laurel Parsons and Brenda Ravenscroft (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018) 47-73.

⁹ Thomas W. Bridges, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers*, n.d., 110.

¹⁰ Robert Lindell, ‘Philippe de Monte’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 18–19.

¹¹ Leta. E Miller, in *Madrigali and Canzoni for Four and Five Voices*, by Giuseppe Caimo, ed. Leta E. Miller (Madison: A-R Editions, 1990), x–xi.

Among the studies of her music, her first four madrigals have in fact been largely neglected. While several sources have now contributed analyses of *Morir non puo*, they have mostly been done from a modern musical perspective, largely ignoring historical practices.¹² Joseph Willimann has offered textual analyses of her four madrigals from *Il Desiderio*,¹³ and Anthony Newcomb has also offered a theory connecting *Morir* and *Sculpito nell 'alm' Amore* based on their texts, which has also been supported by Leta E. Miller.¹⁴ However, analyses of *Sculpito*, *Vedesti Amor giamai*, and *Se scior si ved'il laccio* are severely lacking, if not non-existent (the author has not yet come across any such analyses).

The aim of this study is, through returning to the primary sources where possible – including Casulana's own compositions, to reassess Casulana's music within her context and understand her compositional style from her early career. Analyses of her first four published madrigals – *Morir non puo*; *Sculpito nell 'alm' Amore*; *Vedesti Amor giamai*, and *Se scior si ved'il laccio* – will be made, with a focus on historical composition techniques, in order to get a glimpse of this early compositional style. Madrigal settings of the same texts by contemporary composers of her time will help to understand how Casulana measured up to her colleagues, and whether her techniques truly warrant criticism and neglect, or whether she was really composing in the style of her context.

¹² See Heere-Beyer, 'Claiming Voice: Madalena Casulana and the Sixteenth-Century Italian Madrigal'; Schubert, 'Maddalena Casulana, "Per Lei Pos' in Obio" from *Cinta Di Fior* (1570)'; LaMay, 'Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana's *Primo Libro de Madrigali*, 1568'.

¹³ Joseph Willimann, '»Indi Non Più Desio«: Vom Verzichten und Begehren', *Musik & Ästhetik* 10, no. 37 (2006): 71–97.

¹⁴ Miller, x–xi; Anthony Newcomb, 'Giovanni Maria Nanino's Early Patrons in Rome', *The Journal of Musicology* 30, no. 1 (2013): 103–27, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2013.30.1.103>.

Putting Madalena Casulana into Context

In order to understand the early compositional style of Madalena Casulana, it is crucial to contextualise her life and works. What was happening in the musical world in the areas she worked – cities in Northern Italy like Florence, Verona, Vicenza, and Venice? Furthermore, how were women viewed as musicians? What was their role in the musical world, and what was expected of them? Understanding the answers to these questions will assist in evaluating Casulana's life and early compositions.

The Musical World of Casulana's Lifetime

Since Casulana exclusively wrote madrigals, it is worth understanding the development and role of the madrigal both before and during her lifetime.

The madrigal flourished in sixteenth century Italy, primarily in Florence (widely considered the “birthplace” of the madrigal) Rome, and Venice.¹⁵ By the 1560s, composers such as Adrian Willaert and Cipriano de Rore had developed the madrigal form to be defined by its text-based use of contrapuntal polyphony and word-painting devices. Rore, in particular, became a model for great madrigal writers of the later sixteenth century, including Orlando di Lasso, Philippe de Monte, and Giaches de Wert.¹⁶ In the 1550s, Rore had significantly developed his style, leaving behind the predominantly contrapuntal and melismatic trends of the previous decades, and turned to “declamatory homophony and harmonic colour, [...] imbued with a new rhetorical urgency and harmonic richness.”¹⁷

Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594), one of the most popular and prolific composers of the sixteenth century who was widely considered to have mastered the madrigal form, also began publishing his madrigals in Venice, Italy, with his *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* in 1555. Philippe de Monte (1521-1603), another of the most prolific composers of his time, published his first book of four-voice madrigals in 1562 – *Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci*, Venice, printed by Gardano. These show a heavy influence from Rore's four-

¹⁵ Philippe Canguilhem, ‘Lorenzo Corsini’s “Libri Di Canzone” and the Madrigal in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Florence’, *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 1.

¹⁶ Howard Mayer Brown and Louise K Stein, *Music in the Renaissance*, 2nd ed., Prentice Hall History of Music Series (Upper Saddle River (N.J.): Prentice Hall, 1999), 202.

¹⁷ Brian Richard Mann, ‘The Secular Madrigals of Filippo Di Monte 1521-1603’ (Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1983), 103.

voice works of the 1550s, seen in his “newly acquired techniques” of “extravagant word-painting, unusual dissonance treatment, splashes of harmonic color [*sic*], and contrasts of tempo.”¹⁸ Giaches de Wert (1535-1596), too, was influenced by Rore, as evidenced by his use of chromaticism, word-painting, and a strive for intense expressivity; additionally showing a preference for homophonic textures.¹⁹

While madrigals were sometimes composed for professional singers to perform at courts, they were usually composed with groups of courtiers in mind to sing together and perform for each other,²⁰ such as at academy meetings or informal salon settings. They could be purchased in printed part-books at a relatively affordable price and shared amongst friends. Madrigals were fundamentally secular, and in informal settings were freely intertwined with discussions and debates – often around the topic of sex. Not mere musical diversions, these interspersed madrigals were integral to the conversations, exploring the topic deeply with further wit and poetic metaphors explored through music.²¹ Thus, madrigals had the potential to influence the conversation.

Given this topic, madrigals used a lot of metaphor and symbolism to embed the intense sexual tension within them. Some of the most popular of these were: death for orgasm (by far the most common), tears and weeping representing ejaculation, “icy fire” representing a sexually excited woman,²² and flowers for female sexual organs and sexuality (in particular virginity) – especially roses, lilies, and the goddess Flora.²³ This language was enhanced in madrigals through musical devices such as word-painting, and various theoretical decisions such as choice of mode, texture (polyphonic vs homophonic, number of voices), counterpoint, chromaticism, motifs, and more. These techniques will be explored in depth in the analyses of Casulana’s works.

Madrigal texts were often lifted from pre-existing poetry, including the original poetry form called “madrigal,” as well as canzone, sestinas, sonnets, and more. It was highly common for

¹⁸ Mann, 103, 105.

¹⁹ Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, vol. 2, Princeton Legacy Library; 5601 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), 514–15

²⁰ Brown and Stein, *Music in the Renaissance*, 200.

²¹ Laura Macy, ‘Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal’, *The Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 1 (1996): 7–8, <https://doi.org/10.2307/763955>.

²² Macy, 4.

²³ LaMay, ‘Madalena Casulana: “My Body Knows Unheard of Songs”’, 54.

composers to use poetry by Francesco Petrarch (1304-1384), or poets who wrote in a similar style which was inspired by him. Casulana herself used texts by Petrarch, in addition to Bernard Tasso, Annibale Caro, Serafino Aquilano, Luigi Tansillo, Vincenzo Quirino, Giulio Strozzi, Jacopo Sannazaro, as well as texts by herself or as yet unknown poets.²⁴ She was using texts by many of the same poets that her male contemporaries were also using.

Like Casulana, most major composers of the time were publishing their works in the printing houses of Venice, such as those of Scotto and Gardano. Venice was an ideal location for this due to its well-established networks and routes for trade, which could reach not only throughout Italy, but also to further parts of Europe²⁵ - there is evidence of Scotto and Gardano's prints reaching as far as Germany and Austria, as well as other areas of central Europe.²⁶ Additionally, Venice and its surrounding cities had a strong tradition of hosting academies and salons, at which madrigals were regularly sung.²⁷ This made Casulana's location, Vicenza, a clever choice. Due to its close proximity to Venice and its other nearby cities, it would have been the perfect place for her to circulate her works.

Composers either relied on a patron to cover the expenses of printing their works, or had to cover the costs themselves – particularly in the case of single-composer editions, which became increasingly popular in the second half of the sixteenth century (in the case of anthologies, composers were usually paid nothing, although these were the collections that printing presses would sell commercially).²⁸ Outside of a special contract with a publishing house, the benefit of publishing meant composers could sell their works themselves.²⁹ The academies and salons would have been the perfect places to do this. There are accounts of Casulana performing at various academies and salons in northern Italy, including one which praises her composition above her performance. This account by musician Niccolò Tagliaferro from 1570 in Milan lists her among several female performers, noting that she was “not as [good] at singing gracefully as those mentioned above; instead, in composition

²⁴ Bridges, 110.

²⁵ Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611*, Eastman Studies in Music [11] (Rochester N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 31.

²⁶ Agee, 44–47.

²⁷ Laura Macy, ‘Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal’, *The Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 1 (1996): 6

²⁸ Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611*, 34.

²⁹ Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, 1539-1572*, Scotto Press, 1539-1572 (New York; Oxford University Press, 1998), 140–42.

she delighted greatly.”³⁰ These performances may have provided financial compensation, as well as helping her to advertise her compositions. It is worth considering that if Casulana was able to use these academies and salons (at which madrigals were integral to the discussions) to sell her works, it means she found a subtle way to include a female voice in conversations which were often about women but dictated by men, and in spaces where women’s voices were systemically excluded.

Attitudes Towards Musical Women in the Sixteenth Century

In sixteenth-century Europe, people understood gender to be directly related to anatomical development, and anatomy was understood to be something rather fluid. The idea was that a man was a fully-formed human, and everybody else fell short. Women and children were not fully-formed humans, and so therefore physically and intellectually inferior. Similarly, as old men began to lose physical strength and virility, they were also considered to be in decline and therefore inferior. This understanding stemmed from the ancient Greek anatomist Galen, and integrated the ancient theory of the four humours - warm, cold, wet, and dry. Men were supposedly hot and dry, which made them “bold, courageous, innovative, reasoning, and active,” while women were cold and wet, which made them “weaker and inferior.”³¹ These considerations were taken for granted, and informed the worldview of most people of the time. Thus, the arts, which were considered to be intellectual pursuits, were seen as unachievable for women as intellectually inferior beings – this included musical composition. Women who tried to do things like composition were viewed as going against nature, and either an “overly ambitious woman or inadequate male impersonator.”³² Only as rare exceptions would they manage to balance an artistic life with the expectations of womanhood (marriage, motherhood, societal anonymity) which had been thrust upon them, and these were considered very rare exceptions to the assumed “rule of female inferiority.”³³

³⁰ Original in *Atti dell’ Accademia Olimpica*, libri 10,11,12,13, housed in the Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana in Vicenza, Prot.n.582/L-1. Translation found in LaMay, ‘Madalena Casulana: “My Body Knows Unheard of Songs”’, 47.

³¹ Heere-Beyer, ‘Claiming Voice: Madalena Casulana and the Sixteenth-Century Italian Madrigal’, 9.

³² Heere-Beyer, 1.

³³ Karin Pendle, ‘Musical Women in Early Modern Europe’, in *Women & Music: A History*, ed. Karin Pendle, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2001), 59.

Moreover, everything about a woman performing music, particularly singing, was hypersexualised in society.³⁴ This created a moral dilemma in highly religious northern Italy. Noblewomen could make music in the privacy of their homes, but absolutely not in public; and though they may have been able to improvise melodies and accompaniments for themselves, composing and publishing musical works would have been unacceptable.³⁵ In the salons and academies of the aristocracy, the noblewomen were often excluded, particularly when the topic turned to sex – which was more often than not – since it was deemed “inappropriate” for them,³⁶ limiting their access to the latest madrigal trends. However, noblewomen proved to be some of the greatest benefactors and patrons of music during the sixteenth century.³⁷ Indeed, Isabella de Medici (1542-1576) was the patron of Casulana’s *Il primo libro de madrigali* in 1568.

Meanwhile, high numbers of young, aristocratic women were sent to convents in Italy, and these convents often became important centres of music as well as religion for the communities that surrounded them. These nuns performed (and often composed) music as part of worship, but left few records about exactly what music was performed. In fact, during services in which they made music, they were sectioned off from the congregation so that they could not be seen.³⁸ These women had to remain invisible in order to allow their music-making to be acceptable.

The Italian middle-class, too, took pleasure in music-making, as well as patronage – though the latter to a certain lesser extent than the nobility. There is much iconography from the sixteenth century showing middle-class women taking part in music making, from singing to playing instruments.³⁹

While it was officially unacceptable for a woman, particularly of noble birth, to make music professionally, there are still instances of women doing just that. It was often the middle-class women, especially ones connected to already established male musicians, who had more access to the musical profession - family members of male musicians were often unofficially

³⁴ LaMay, ‘Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana’s Primo Libro de Madrigali, 1568’, 367.

³⁵ Pendle, ‘Musical Women in Early Modern Europe’, 61.

³⁶ Macy, ‘Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal’, 7.

³⁷ Pendle, ‘Musical Women in Early Modern Europe’, 63–65.

³⁸ Pendle, 68.

³⁹ Pendle, 66.

hired in courts to provide their musical services.⁴⁰ In order to hire professional female musicians in court settings, they were often employed as ladies-in-waiting to give them a socially accepted position while allowing them to carry out their professional activities.⁴¹ We know that Casulana even travelled to France in 1572 to take up such a role.⁴² Many of these women ended their musical careers upon entering marriage, as would have been expected. As we shall see, Casulana may have been one of the exceptions to this norm.

Often in the courts, women fulfilled the role of the courtesan – for which singing and playing the lute was an indispensable skill.⁴³ Of course, as sex workers, their music-making was linked to their jobs, which for society further affirmed the link between women making music and sexuality. Many middle-class women also gained access to some of the academies and salons through singing and self-accompanied on the lute. In the mid-sixteenth century, Domenico Venier hosted many influential academies in Venice, which had an interest in women improvising singing and self-accompanied; some of these women even composed (though we have no record of their works).⁴⁴ One of the most notable of these women at Venier's academies was Gaspara Stampa (1523-1545), known today for her poetry. This style of improvisation was most likely executed by weaving together melodic and harmonic formulas of the time with poetry – possibly similar in style to frottole seen earlier in the century in northern Italy.⁴⁵ As seen in the above-mentioned document describing Casulana's performance in Milan in 1570, she was also one of several female performers at this event (although she stands out as the only one mentioned in particular for her compositions, and not only for performing).

Later, in 1580, the *Concerto della donna* was created in Ferrara, a group of young female singers and instrumentalists from upper-middle-class backgrounds, who specialised in virtuosic singing, and were given positions at the court in order to carry out music

⁴⁰ Pendle, 79.

⁴¹ Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 202; Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597*, vol. 1 (Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 1980), 7.

⁴² Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France*, 201.

⁴³ Pendle, 'Musical Women in Early Modern Europe', 77.

⁴⁴ Martha Feldman, 'The Academy of Domenico Venier, Music's Literary Muse in Mid-Cinquecento Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1991): 499–500, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2862594>.

⁴⁵ Feldman, 501.

professionally.⁴⁶ They were often hired officially as ladies-in-waiting, but there was no doubt that they were really there in order to perform.⁴⁷ These women were so renowned that they were highly-paid and rewarded with places at court and other compensations, as well as inspiring numerous groups to form in imitation of them around Italy. However, they were also required to be married and managed by their husbands, and sometimes even had to “prove” their virginity before marrying in order to separate them from courtesans,⁴⁸ making their existence as female musicians morally more acceptable. These performances by groups of professional women, instead of groups of noblemen, turned madrigal performance into an act of socially acceptable voyeurism, rather than an activity in which men exclusively participated.

The theme of female sexuality has always been present in all art forms, often used to confirm already-held notions about them, and as reasoning to dismiss women’s contributions. Catherine McCormack, in her work “*Women in the Picture: Women, Art and the Power of Looking*” sums it up succinctly when she says, “The problem here is not that erotically charged [works] can’t also be seen as culturally valuable expressions (they can), but that woman’s highest cultural expression has been as a passive sex object, and not as an artist or creator of culture herself. This has limited what women have been able to achieve in a patriarchal society that cannot separate women’s value and worth from a very fixed idea of their sexuality.”⁴⁹ When considering the madrigal form and Casulana’s contribution to the genre, it is worth keeping this in mind.

The hyper-sexualisation of female musicians noticeably impacted the perceptions of Casulana and her music during her lifetime, an impact which has lasted until today. As seen above in the description of her academy performance in 1570, the conclusion was that “in composition she delighted greatly; in fact, *more than it becomes a woman’s occupation.*”⁵⁰ The impressive composition skills she displayed were considered inappropriate for her status as a

⁴⁶ Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597*, 1:7.

⁴⁷ Pendle, ‘Musical Women in Early Modern Europe’, 80.

⁴⁸ Pendle, 82–83; Anthony Newcomb, ‘Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians?: Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy’, in *Women Making Music*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 98–99.

⁴⁹ Catherine McCormack, *Women in the Picture : Women, Art and the Power of Looking* (London: Icon Books, 2021), 37–38.

⁵⁰ Italics added for emphasis

woman. In poetry written about her, and dedications written to her, we see further evidence that, despite her renown and skills, her peers were still unable to separate her from the pervasive views on musical women of the time. These will be explored in detail in the examination of her life below.

Madalena Casulana's Life

Not a great deal is known about Casulana's life. However, some documentation remains which is crucial to understanding anything about her life and music, while some speculation has been put forward to fill in the gaps. The following section is a timeline consisting of the known facts about her, as found in records and documentation, presenting a basic overview of her activities. These will then be examined in closer detail in order to better understand Casulana in the context of her time, and therefore better understand her compositions.

Exact dates have been listed chronologically, while events and accounts where the day and month are unknown are simply listed under the year in which they happened.

Timeline

1566

Four madrigals for four voices published in *Primo libro de diversi eccellentissimi auttori a quattro voci intitolato Il desiderio*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto

Vedesti Amor giamai

Sculpio nell 'alm'Amore

Morir non puo

Se scior si ved'il laccio

All four part-books survive (Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso)

1567

One madrigal for four voices published in *Terzo libro del Desiderio. Madrigali a quattro voci di Orlando di Lasso e d'altri eccellenti musici*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto

Amorosetto fiore

All four part-books survive

One madrigal for three voices published in *Il Gaudio, Primo libro de madrigali a tre voci*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto

Stavasi il mio bel Sol

All three part-books survive (Canto, Alto, Tenore)

1568

28 February – Orlando di Lasso has her five-voice motet *Nil mage iucundum* performed in Munich at the wedding celebrations of Archduke Wilhelm V and Renee of Lorraine

10 April – First collection of madrigals published: *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a quattro voci, novamente posti in luce, e con ogni diligentia corretti*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto

25 madrigals in four parts. 20 new madrigals, in addition to the 5 previously published

Only the Tenore part-book survives

Dedicated to Isabella de' Medici Orsini

Antonio Molino (c.1495-7-c.1571) published his first collection of madrigals, dedicated to Casulana, and described her in several of the works

Il dilettevoli madrigali a quattro voci, Venice, Claudio Merulo

1569

Casulana edited and wrote the dedication to Antonio Molino's *Il Secondo libro de Madrigali a quarto voci, con una Dialogo a ottl...* Venice, Antonio Gardano

Giambattista Maganza (c.1513-1586), under his penname Magagnò, published a poem about Casulana, describing a performance in which she sang and accompanied herself on the lute

1570

1 May – Second collection of madrigals published: *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a quattro voci, novamente posti in luce*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto

Twenty madrigals in four parts by Casulana, plus one by Leandro Mira

All four part-books survive (Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso)

Dedicated to Antonio Londonio, Milano

An account by musician Niccolò Tagliaferro of Casulana performing at an academy in Milan, praising her composition skills in particular

1572

9 August - Record of payment made to Casulana by Elisabeth d'Autriche in France

1582

20 August – Publisher Angelo Gardano dedicated Philippe de Monte’s first book of 3-part madrigals to “Madalena Casulana di Mezarii”

Giambattista Crispolti, in his *Chronicle of Perugia from 1578 to 1586*, noted Casulana’s performance at a banquet in Perugia.

1583

18 January – Performed at the Accademia Olimpico in Vicenza.

12 May – Third collection of madrigals published: *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci, novamente composti, et dati in luce*, Venice, Gardano

21 madrigals in five parts. One of them, *Io d’odorate fronde*, was taken from the second collection of madrigals and remains in its original four-voice setting, here it appears as the third part of a four-part Canzone

All part-books survive (Canto, Alto, Quinto, Tenore, Basso)

Dedicated to Mario Bevilacqua, Verona

Published under the name Madalena Mezari detta Casulana Vicentina

Reprint of the 1568 collection, *Il primo libro de’ madrigali a quattro voci novamente ristampati e con ogni diligenza ricorretti*, Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio, and Milan, Francesco and Simon Tini

Only the Canto and Tenore part-books survive

Dedication to Isabella de’Medici Orsini remains

Maganza’s 1569 poem about Casulana was republished in Venice in longer form in his *Rime rustiche, 3 parte*, titled *L’ava de magagno all S. Madalena Casulana Vicentina*.

1586

Reprint of madrigal for three voices published in *Il Gaudio. Primo libro de madrigali de diversi eccellenti musici a tre voci novamente ristampati*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto
Stavasi il mio bel Sol

All three part-books survive

1591

Catalogue of Venetian publishers Giacomo Vincenti and Angelo Gardano, listed under four-part works “Casulana, Spirituali, Primo e Secondo”

1627

Adriano Banchieri referenced her as being an example of what a woman can achieve in the arts in his *Trastulli della villa*, Bologna, Maschieroni

A Deeper Look into Casulana’s Life

When examining these sources which trace her life, Casulana can be understood through two distinct lenses: things she said herself – in the form of compositions and their dedications, and things said about her – reports of her performances, and descriptions of her by her peers. Through exploring these within their context, it is possible to begin to paint a picture of her.

It is generally assumed that Madalena (sometimes spelt “Maddalena”) Casulana was born around 1540. From her surname it is often surmised that she was born in the town of what is now Casole d’Elsa (then called Casulae), near Siena in Tuscany, Italy.⁵¹ The name Casulana may have been a reference to her birth town – artists of this time often used their place of origin to refer to themselves. For example, Leonardo Morelli, from the same town, was a musician at the cathedral of Volterra from 1586-1604; he published his music under the name “Leonardus Casulanus,” and taught the composer and music theorist Francesco Bianciardi – also a native of Casole d’Elsa.⁵² Madalena Casulana may have received her musical training in nearby Florence, owing to it being a huge musical centre at the time.⁵³ This, however, is speculation. A reference to the city of Vicenza was also often added to the end of her name, beginning in 1569 (see Figure 4 on page 39), also implying she was based there for most of her career.

There is no official record of her until four of her four-voice madrigals appeared in an anthology in 1566. This was the *Primo libro de diversi eccellentissimi auttori a quattro voci*

⁵¹ Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 6.

⁵² Pescerelli, 6.

⁵³ Pescerelli, 6.

intitolato Il desiderio, printed in Venice by the publishing house of Girolamo Scotto.⁵⁴ These madrigals - *Vedesti Amor giamai*, *Sculpito nell 'alm'Amore*, *Morir non puo*, and *Se scior si vede il laccio* – appear alongside twenty-three other madrigals by several of her male contemporaries. This includes Cipriano de Rore's *Il desiderio* (incidentally the first piece and namesake of the collection, and which the first three of Casulana's madrigals directly follow), and a six-part canzone setting by Orlando di Lasso. Fortunately, all four of the part-books survive, meaning the first works by Casulana to appear in print remain complete.⁵⁵

Assuming the generally accepted estimate of her birth in around 1540, by 1566 Casulana would have been roughly in her mid-twenties. At this age, she would have garnered a fair amount of experience of life and the musical profession – particularly through the lens of being a woman in the sixteenth century. And so by this stage, she also would have developed a sophisticated “voice” as both a performer and composer, which would sustain a longer career beyond the first publication of her works. We see tangible evidence of this voice in the following publications of her compositions.

The next publication of hers was another of her four-voice madrigals, *Amorosetto fiore*, being published in *Terzo libro del Desiderio. Madrigali a quattro voci di Orlando di Lasso e d'altri eccellenti musici* – the third in the *Desiderio* series of anthologies published in Venice by Scotto.⁵⁶ The first of these, as noted above, included works by both Cipriano de Rore and Orlando di Lasso. The 1567 anthology even includes the widely popular Lasso in its title – making full use of his marketability. Since publishers, taking on the entirety of the printing costs themselves, carefully curated the selections of music in their anthologies in order to maximise their salability, these anthologies are very telling of the prevailing musical tastes of the time.⁵⁷ Casulana's inclusion in such collections implies there was a real interest in her works by the public. Indeed, that she was printed at least twice alongside such popular

⁵⁴ Bonagionta, *Primo Libro de Diversi Eccellentissimi Autori a Quattro Voci Intitolato Il Desiderio. Novamente Posti in Luce, per Giulio Bonagionta Da S. Genesi, Musico Dell' Illustriss. Sig. Di Vineggia*.

⁵⁵ Modern editions of these four madrigals can be found in Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*.

⁵⁶ Giulio Bonagionta, ed., *Terzo Libro Del Desiderio. Madrigali a Quattro Voci Di Orlando Di Lasso e d'altri Eccellenti Musici Con Un Dialogo a Otto. Di Novo Posti Luce per Giulio Bonagionta Da San Genesi Musico Della Illustriss. Signoria Di Venetia in S. Marco & Con Ogni Dilignetia Coretti., RISM 1567/16 (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1567)*.

⁵⁷ Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611*, 30.

composition giants of the sixteenth century also attests to the success of her own works. All part-books survive and are accessible at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Also in 1567, in an anthology of three-voice madrigals, *Il gaudio*,⁵⁸ Casulana's work *Stavasi il mio bel Sol* was featured, once again appearing in print again alongside Orlando di Lasso. This collection was reprinted in 1586, from which all three part-books survive.⁵⁹

Perhaps these 1566 and 1567 anthologies are how Casulana came to the attention of Orlando di Lasso, since they were printed alongside each other. Another possibility is that he came into contact with her when he went to Venice in 1567, where he travelled specially to oversee the printing of his *Libro Quarto de Madrigali a cinque voci*, being published there by Gardano.⁶⁰ There is no record of their meeting, however it may be possible that he met her, or attended a performance of hers and heard her works.

In any case, Lasso held Casulana's works in high enough esteem that he organised the commission of a work by her to be performed at the wedding celebrations of Archduke Wilhelm V and Renée of Lorraine in Munich in 1568. The wedding itself took place on 22 February, but the celebrations lasted a total of eighteen days. Massimo Troiano, in his detailed account of the festivities, described the "sumptuous" dinner of the evening of 28 February. During this dinner, Lasso had many pieces of music performed, including a five-voice work by Casulana which was enjoyed with "great attention" by the listeners. He took care to describe her as being widely known for her virtuous nature, and printed the song's text, written by Nicolò Stopio:

Nil mage iucundum, mortalibus alma potestas
Concessit, stabili, dulci in amore, fide;
Inclyta praecipue virtus ubi iunxit amantes,
Coniugio illustri, maxima dono Dei;
Omnia quae possunt, connubia reddere data,

⁵⁸ *Il Gaudio Primo Libro de Madrigali de Diversi Eccellen. Musici a Tre Voci Novamente Ristampati.*, RISM B/I: 1586-12 (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1586).

⁵⁹ A modern edition of this work can be found in Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*.

⁶⁰ James Haar and Kate van Orden, 'Orlando Di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur', in *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 128.

Summa ut nobilitas, gratia, forma, decor;
Sunt in Renea Lotharinga, ut lumina in orbe
Bina, et Guilhelmo Principe Bavariae.⁶¹

It is interesting to note that he emphasises her virtue in particular, since it implies virginity, particularly when describing a woman. This was perhaps a careful inclusion to ensure it was not thought that a sexually immoral woman was part of the official wedding celebrations of such an important couple in the aristocracy, as per the social code of the time. Sadly, the music for this work hasn't survived.

Following Troiano's description of Casulana's character and work, he mentioned that Catarina Willaert, the daughter of the "famous" Adrian Williaert, had a five-voice work of her own performed as well.⁶² He also included the text of this work, but no further description of the music or her character. It seems that Casulana clearly stood out this evening amongst her male peers who were present, as well as her female peer – even if she was the daughter of such a famous composer.

On 10 April of the same year, 1568, Casulana published her first complete collection of madrigals, titled *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a quattro voci, novamente posti in luce, e con ogni diligentia corretti*.⁶³ This was published in Venice by Girolamo Scotto – the same publisher of the previous anthologies. This collection consisted of a total of twenty-five works – with twenty new madrigals, and the five four-voice works from the two previous anthologies also included. Unfortunately, only the Tenore part-book survives from this collection, which is held at the Biblioteca della musica di Bologna. However, both the Canto and Tenore books survive from the collection's 1583 reprint, which can be found at the Biblioteca Estense. This republication of the collection was done by Vincenzo Sabbia in Brescia.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Massimo Troiano, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568 : Massimo Troiano: Dialoge italienisch/deutsch : Zwiegespräche über die Festlichkeiten bei der Hochzeit des bayerischen Erbherzogs Wilhelm V. mit Renata von Lothringen, in München, im Februar 1568*, trans. Horst Leuchtmann, *Studien Zur Landes- Und Sozialgeschichte Der Musik* Bd. 4 (München: E. Katzbichler, 1980), 262–64.

⁶² Troiano, 264.

⁶³ Casulana, *Di Madalena Casulana Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci, Novamente Posti in Luce, e Con Ogni Diligentia Corretti*.

⁶⁴ Madalena Casulana, *Di Maddalena Casulana Il Primo Libro de' Madrigali a Quattro Voci Novamente Ristampati e Con Ogni Diligenza Ricorretti*, (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbia, 1583).

DI MADALENA CASVLANA
IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI
A QVATTRO VOCI,

Nouamente posti in luce, e con ogni diligentia cōrretti.



IN VINEZIA,
APPRESSO GIROLAMO SCOTTO.

M D LXVIII.



Figure 1 – The title page of the surviving Tenore part-book of Casulana's *Primo libro* of 1568⁶⁵

The list of works are as follows:

1. Tant'alto s'erger
2. Novo amor
3. Leggiadra pastorella
4. Se voi sete il mio cor
5. Clori gnetil e bella
6. S'ogni mio ben
7. Amorosetto fiore*
8. Morir non puo il mio core*
9. Sculpio ne l'alma amore*
10. Vedest'amor giamai*
11. Si chiar'e dolce fiamma
12. Va liet'a morte
13. Freda è la donna mia
14. Donna bella e gentile
15. A caso un giorno (Canzone part 1)
16. Vaga d'udir (Canzone part 2)
17. Con quel poco (Canzone part 3)
18. Mentre ch'ella (Canzone part 4)
19. Eran Teti e Giunon
20. Quando altra aurora
21. Come esser puo
22. Se scior si vede il laccio**
23. L'auer l'aurora

⁶⁵ Casulana, *Di Madalena Casulana Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci, Novamente Posti in Luce, e Con Ogni Diligentia Corretti*. Accessed through digitisation by the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna.

24. Occhi dolci occhi cari

25. Ahi lassa

*Works which had already appeared in the previous anthologies

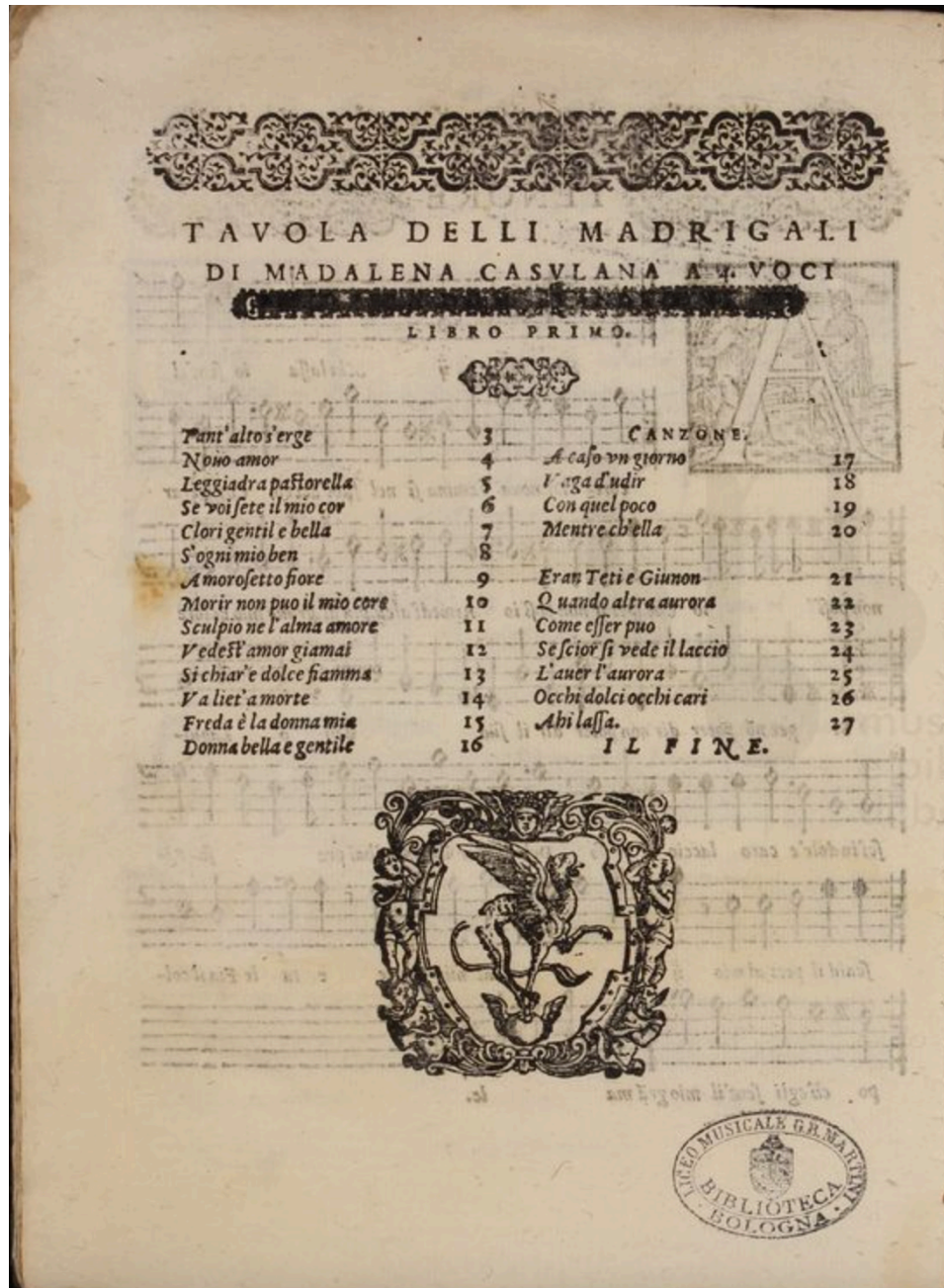


TAVOLA DELLI MADRIGALI
DI MADALENA CASULANA A 4 VOCI
LIBRO PRIMO.

<i>Pant' alto s'erge</i>	3	CANZONE.	
<i>Nono amor</i>	4	<i>A caso vn giorno</i>	17
<i>Leggiadra pastorella</i>	5	<i>V'aga d'udir</i>	18
<i>Se voi sete il mio cor</i>	6	<i>Con quel poco</i>	19
<i>Clori gentil e bella</i>	7	<i>Mentre ch'ella</i>	20
<i>S'ogni mio ben</i>	8		
<i>Amorosetto fiore</i>	9	<i>Eran Teti e Giunon</i>	21
<i>Morir non puo il mio core</i>	10	<i>Quando altra aurora</i>	22
<i>Sculpion ne l'alma amore</i>	11	<i>Come esser puo</i>	23
<i>V'edest' amor giamai</i>	12	<i>Se scior si vede il laccio</i>	24
<i>Si chiar' e dolce fiamma</i>	13	<i>L'auer l'aurora</i>	25
<i>V'a lier' a morte</i>	14	<i>Occhi dolci occhi cari</i>	26
<i>Freda è la donna mia</i>	15	<i>Ahi lassa.</i>	27
<i>Donna bella e gentile</i>	16	IL FINE.	




Figure 2 – The contents page from the surviving Tenore part-book of Casulana's *Primo libro* of 1568⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Casulana, *Di Madalena Casulana Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci, Novamente Posti in Luce, e Con Ogni Diligentia Corretti*. Accessed through digitisation by the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna.

The *Primo libro* is dedicated to Isabella Medici. It is unknown how Casulana came into contact with Isabella de Medici as a patron. One possibility is that Casulana came to the attention of the court during her formative years in Florence, if that is indeed where she received her musical training and began her career. Another possibility is that she connected with composer Stefano Rossetti (fl. 1560-1580) through the Scotto printing shop, as they had both had works featured in the anthologies *Terzo libro del Desidero* (1567) and *Il Gaudio* (1567).⁶⁷ Rossetti was already under the patronage of Isabella de Medici, and perhaps it was through him that Casulana was introduced to her.

⁶⁷ Newcomb, 'Giovanni Maria Nanino's Early Patrons in Rome', 124.

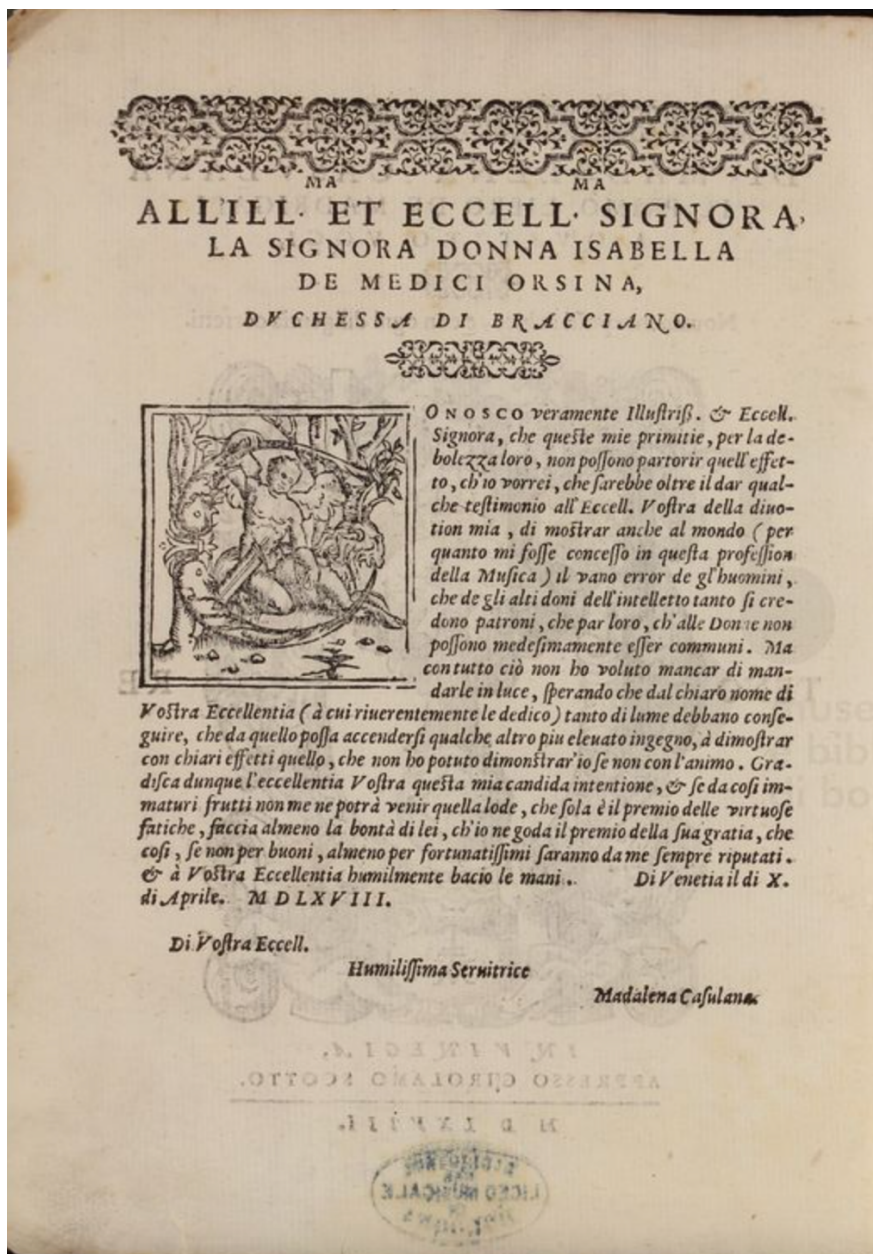


Figure 3 – The dedication page from the surviving Tenore part-book of Casulana’s *Primo libro* of 1568⁶⁸

Casulana’s dedication to Isabella de Medici doesn’t read as a standard dedication, but from the beginning shows an astute awareness of her position in society and a desire to change that.

“To the most illustrious and most excellent Lady, Signora Donna Isabella De 'Medici Orsina, Duchess of Bracciano.

⁶⁸ Casulana, *Di Madalena Casulana Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci, Novamente Posti in Luce, e Con Ogni Diligentia Corretti*. Accessed through digitisation by the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna.

I am truly aware, Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lady, that the first fruits of my labours, because of their weakness, cannot produce the effect that I would like, which would be not only to give Your Excellency some testimony of my devotion, but also to show the world (as far as I am permitted in this profession of music) the vain error of men, who believe themselves to be such patrons of the high gifts of intellect, that it seems to them that they cannot be equally common to women. But with all this I did not wish to fail to bring them to light, hoping that from the clear name of Your Excellency (to whom I reverently dedicate them) so much light should be shed, that from it some other higher intellect may be kindled, to demonstrate with clear effects what I have not been able to demonstrate with my mind.

Therefore may Your Excellency appreciate this candid intention of mine, and if from such immature fruits I cannot receive that praise, which alone is the reward of virtuous labours, let at least the goodness of Your Excellency make me enjoy the reward of Your gratitude, so that in this way, if not as good, at least as fortunate they will always be reputed by me; and to Your Excellency I humbly kiss Your hands.

From Venice on the tenth day of April, 1568. Your Excellency's most humble servant.
Madalena Casulana.”⁶⁹

This dedication reveals several things. It is clear that she was well aware of the ideas that society held about women music-makers in her time, and through her bold statement she declares an intention to prove these ideas wrong. She doesn't stop here though, but continues to state a wish that this publication would inspire others to continue this work. She presented herself as a composer who was equal to the men around her (something that would have been

⁶⁹ Many thanks to Eleonora Bišćević for her assistance in translating this passage from Italian to English. The original dedication reads as follows, and can be found in Casulana.

“All'Illustrissima et Eccellentissima Signora, la Signora Donna Isabella De' Medici Orsina, Duchessa di Bracciano.

Conosco veramente Illustrissima et Eccellentissima Signora, che mie primitie, per la debolezza loro, non possono partorir quel- queste l'effetto, ch'io vorrei, che sarebbe oltre il dar qualche testimonio all'Eccellentia Vostra della divotion mia, di mostrar anche al mondo (per quanto mi fosse concesso in questa profession della Musica) il vano error de gl'huomini, che de gli alti doni dell'intelletto tanto si credono patroni, che par loro, ch'alle Donne non possono medesimamente esser communi. Ma con tutto ciò non ho voluto mancar di mandarle in luce, sperando che dal chiaro nome di Vostra Eccellentia (a cui riverentemente le dedico) tanto di lume debbano conseguire, che da quello possa accendersi qualche altro più elevato ingegno, a dimostrar con chiari effetti quello che non ho potuto dimostrar'io non con l'animo. Gradisca dunque l'Eccellentia Vostra questa mia candida intentione, e se da così immaturi frutti non me ne potrà ve- nir quella lode, che sola è il premio delle virtuose fatiche, faccia almeno la bontà di lei, ch'io ne goda il premio della sua gratia, che così, se non per buoni, almeno per fortunatissimi saranno da me sempre riputati; et a Vostra Eccellentia humilmente bacio le mani.

Di Venetia il di X. d'Aprile 1568. Di Vostra Eccellentia Humilissima Servitrice. Madalena Casulana.”

viewed as impossible and inappropriate), and it is reasonable to suggest that she hoped this publication would pave the way for other women to publish their own compositions too.

Notably, this dedication remained unchanged in the reprint of 1583 – fifteen years later and in the same year as her first book of five-voice madrigals (see below), and after the death of Isabella de Medici. Clearly, her message and intention to the world also remained unchanged.

A desire to send a message through her works is self-evident. If her dedication was written with such carefully considered intention, it would naturally follow that her compositions were written in a similarly intentional manner. This will be further unpacked in the analyses below.

Casulana's next publication was not until 1570, with her *Il secondo libro de madrigali a quattro voci*, published again in Venice by Girolamo Scotto.⁷⁰ This contains twenty new madrigals by Casulana, with one extra by Leandro Mira – all for four voices. Fortunately, all four part-books survive.⁷¹ This time, the collection was dedicated to Antonio Londonio, evidently an important diplomat and patron of the arts in Milan,⁷² and whose wife was noted for her singing.⁷³

⁷⁰ Madalena Casulana, *Di Madalena Casulana Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci*, RISM C 1518; Nuovo Vogel No. 515 (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1570).

⁷¹ Modern editions of these works can be found in Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana.*, or alternative modern editions as well as scans of the original part-books can be found at the International Music Score Library Project: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Madrigali_a_4_voci_Libro_2_\(Casulana,_Maddalena\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Madrigali_a_4_voci_Libro_2_(Casulana,_Maddalena))

⁷² The dedication reads as follows, and can be found in Casulana, *Di Madalena Casulana Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci*.

“Al Molto Illustre Signor Mio Osservandissimo Il Signor Don Antonio Londonio, Presidente del Magistrato ordinario, e del Consiglio segreto del Re Catolico nello stato di Milano.

Non doveranno, Illustre Signor mio, queste mie deboli fatiche esser dal mondo riputate troppo ardite, se a Vostra Signoria Illustre ch'è un chiaro raggio di virtù, vengono liberamente ad offerirsi. Percioché, quantunque elle non siano di quella eccellenza, che si converrebbe, la similitudine, che hanno, come opere virtuose, con l'animo di Vostra Signoria Illustre le assicura d'esser de lei gratiosamente ricevute, non meno che sia un piccolo tirente da un ampio, e famoso fiume. Con questa opinione adunque, nudrita dal gran testimonio, che in molte occasioni m'ha fatto il Signor Giovanbattista Cavanago della grandezza, e singolar benignità di Vostra Signoria Illustre e del diletto, ch'ella prende di questa professione; a lei (quali si siano) riverentemente le dedico, supplicandola a riceverle con quell'affetto, che da me vengono; e nel riposo, ch'ella prenderà talhora dalli gravissimi negotii suoi, goder in esse, si non l'harmonia musicale, almeno quell'harmonia, che nasce in me dalle nobilissime parti sue. Che con questo fine humilimente le bacio le mani. Di Venegia il dì primo di Maggio. 1570.

Di Vostraa Signoria Illustre. Humil Servitrice. Madalena Casulana.”

⁷³ Thomas W. Bridges, 'Casulana [Mezari], Maddalena', ed. Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel (London and Basingstroke: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1994), 110.

In terms of published compositions, Casulana doesn't appear again until 1583, when she published her third collection of madrigals – this time for five voices. This was *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, again printed in Venice, but this time by Angelo Gardano.⁷⁴ This collection consists of twenty-one madrigals. One of them, *Io d'odorate fronde*, is taken from the second collection of madrigals from 1570, and remains in four-voices, now appearing as the third part of a four-part Canzone.

This collection was dedicated to Mario Bevilacqua, a count in Verona who was an important patron of the arts – also lending patronage to the likes of Orlando di Lasso and Luca Marenzio (1553/5-1599) – and hosted regular renowned academies.⁷⁵ In this dedication dated May 12, Casulana makes reference to having just spent several months in Verona, staying at the home of a Count Leonardo Montanaro and his wife, Altilia da Porto – a noble from Vicenza,⁷⁶ and playing for Bevilacqua at his academy.⁷⁷

Until recently, the Alto part-book from this collection has been missing, however, an exciting new development has recently been made. In a newspaper article in the Guardian on 5 March 2022, Laurie Stras – professor of music at the Universities of Huddersfield and Southampton – shared how she discovered and pieced together the missing voice from parts found in the Russian State Library in Moscow and other fragments from the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences.⁷⁸ It is exciting to anticipate accessing this formerly missing part-book

⁷⁴ Madalena Casulana, *Di Madalena Mezari Detta Casulana Vicentina Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci*, RISM C 1519; Nuovo Vogel No. 516 (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1583).

⁷⁵ Marcello Castellani, 'A 1593 Veronese Inventory', *The Galpin Society Journal* 26 (1973): 15, <https://doi.org/10.2307/841109>.

⁷⁶ Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 17.

⁷⁷ The dedication reads as follows, and can be found in Casulana, *Di Madalena Mezari Detta Casulana Vicentina Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci*. Or reprinted in full in Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 17–18.

“Al Molto Illustrre Signor e Patron mio osservandissimo, il Signor Conte Mario Bevilacqua.

Io mi son mossa a dedicar questo miei componimenti di Musica a Vostra Signoria molto Illustrre, non solo dal merito suo, essendo quel compito Gentilhuomo, che si sa già per tutta Italia; ma ancora dalla gratitudine mia, havendomi così humanamente udita, e così cortesemente favorita nella sua celebre, e virtuosissima Academia; quando io i medi passati mi trattenni alquanti giorno in Verona a casa del Illustrre Signor Conte Leonardo Montanaro, con sua moglie. E son sicura, che dall'onoratissimo nome di lei, queste mie fatiche riceveranno tanto d'augumento, quanto sono per se stesse picciolo dono a paro del grand'obbligo, che le tengo; sì come anno spero, che da Vostra Signoria molto Illustrre saranno lietamente accettate, per esser non meno propria parte di lei la benignità, che sia la cognitione di questa, e d'ogn'altra scientia; et in sua buona gratia riverentemente me le raccomandando. Data a dì 12 Maggio 1583. In Venetia.

Di Vostra Signoria molto Illustrre Servitrice. Madalena Mezari detta Casulana.”

⁷⁸ Dalya Alberge, 'Groundbreaking Female Composer's Lost Madrigals to Be Heard for First Time in 400 Year', 5 March 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2022/mar/05/maddalena-casulana-missing-renaissance-madrigals-rediscovered>.

in the near future, and exploring the now complete collection of five-voice madrigals by Casulana, and also therefore her compositional style from later in her career.

The last trace of Casulana as a composer is in a 1591 catalogue by the Venetian publishers Giacomo Vincenti and Angelo Gardano. The catalogue states among a list of four-part works, “Casulana, Spirituali, Primo e Secondo,”⁷⁹ implying that she had composed either two sacred madrigals, or two sets of sacred madrigals. It is unclear whether this was in fact Madalena Casulana, or another composer using the same surname, and whether she was alive at the time of the catalogue entry.⁸⁰

Casulana’s career as a performer can also be traced throughout cities in northern Italy through several accounts of her appearances in various academies and salons.

As previously mentioned, a handwritten document kept in the Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolami in Naples, written by musician Niccolò Tagliaferro, describes a performance by Casulana at an academy in Milan in 1570. This document noted that instead of impressing him with her performance, “instead, in composition she delighted greatly.”⁸¹ As also previously noted, it was viewed as being inappropriate for her to be so skilled in this regard due to her being a woman.

On 18 January, 1582, she appeared for a performance at the Accademia Olimpico in Vicenza.⁸² The record states, “there was also music of excellent quality while, in this time, it was flourishing a lot, and especially by women from Vicenza, in the Theater, where in that the virtuosa [...] Maddalena Casulana from Vicenza greatly excelled. Then there was a lavish banquet.”⁸³ This academy apparently even owned a portrait of Casulana for a time, but this has now been lost.⁸⁴ Giambattista Crispolti also wrote in his *Chronicle of Perugia from 1578*

⁷⁹ Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 20.

⁸⁰ Willimann, ‘»Indi Non Più Desio«: Vom Verzichten und Begehren’, 76.

⁸¹ Document held at the Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolami in Naples, (c. 83 r. del ms. SM.28.1.66.) “*L'altra che segue si è Madalena Casolana ma non tango, quanto queste in cantar legiadro, ma nella compositione ella si diletto molto, anzi più di quello che a professione donnesca conviensi. E si come con le sudette di sopra io tenni strettissima conversatione in Napoli così con costei io la tenne in Milano.*” Translation found in LaMay, ‘Madalena Casulana: “My Body Knows Unheard of Songs”’, 47.

⁸² Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 19.

⁸³ As translated by Nello Barbieri in LaMay, ‘Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana’s Primo Libro de Madrigali, 1568’, 397.

⁸⁴ Bridges, 110.

to 1586 that during a banquet in Perugia in 1582, “the famous Casolana [...] sang with lute some divine music”⁸⁵

There is also evidence of Casulana officially taking on a role as a lady-in-waiting in order to carry out professional musical activities at a court. Empress Elisabeth d’Autriche may have first encountered Casulana, or at least her music, at the wedding in Munich in 1568 at the court of her uncle Albrecht V of Bavaria, and it appears that Casulana took on the position of lady-in-waiting to the empress’s mother.⁸⁶ On 9 August 1572, a payment was made to a Magdelaine Casulana de Vicentia, as reimbursement for travel costs made from Germany to France.⁸⁷ This document shows that Casulana not only travelled to France for performance work, but that she also travelled there at least once from Germany, implying she had some form of work in Germany around this time too.

Further evidence indicates she may also have been present at the court of Maximilian II at the court in Vienna in the early 1570s, potentially in a similar position, or even directly hired as a musician without the façade of being a lady-in-waiting.⁸⁸

The longest and most detailed description of Casulana as a performer comes from poet and artist Giambattista Maganza (c. 1513 - 1586), under his penname, Magagnò. In 1569, he published a poem dedicated to “Signora Madalena Casulana Vicentina.”, written in the Paduan dialect, describing a performance in which she sang and accompanied herself on the lute.

Parona, el dì ch’a fu

lialondena da vu

Mistress, the day when I was near you

to hear you singing, listening to you,

⁸⁵ The following quote can be found in the Atti dell’ Accademia Olimpica, libri 10,11,12,13, housed in the Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana in Vicenza, Prot.n.582/L-1: “*La Casolana famosa... canto al liuto di musica divinamente.*” This can be found translated in James R. Briscoe, *New Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, Updated ed. with a foreword by Susan McClary (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), 44.

⁸⁶ Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France*, 201.

⁸⁷ This receipt, signed by Casulana on August 9 1572, is found in the deeds of the French Treasury, held at the National Library of France (Paris, BNF F-Pn Clairambault 233, pp. 3471-3472) “*A damoiselle Magdelaine Casulana de Vicentia l'une des damoiselles de the empress the sum of five cents livres tom [ois]... dont ledit Seigneur luy a faict don en faveur de la Royne et pour luy donner moyen de supporter les fraiz et despences qu'elle a faicte d' allemagne in France estant venu trouver leurdits Majestez de la part de l'empereur et de l'imperatrice...*”. Sourced here in Brooks, 201.

⁸⁸ Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen - Musik - Kultur : Ein Handbuch Zum Deutschen Sprachgebiet Der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005), 567–68.

*Per sentirve a cantare,
stagandove ascoltare
tutto pin de dolzore,
"O sorte traitora,
perque drento e de fuora
no possegio muarme*

*Monben, parona, an mi
co a fosse sto così,
a g'harae per me spasso
fatto quel contrabasso
con quel me sgronzolare
al vostro sgorghezare,
che na piva sordina
suol far de rio a la schina
de quelu che la sona*

*E po', parona cara,
a serae na zolando
pur sempre sgronzolando
incima a quelle care
vostre drezze che pare
fior de pilincon
o ciribrustolon,*

*e tanto pi che vu
ghe tegnì da per su
na Bella re' ingroppà
de sea verde indorà*

pumi che 'l no s' in catta

full of sweetness,
I was saying in my heart,
"O traitor fate,
why can't I change myself
inside and out?

Mistress,
if I were like that bee,
for my pleasure,
with my buzzing
I would have made the bass
to your trilling
that kind of bass which a piva sordina⁹⁰
is wont to do in the back
of the one who plays it

And then, dear Mistress,
I would have gone flying
and still buzzing
on top of those dear
tresses of yours, which look like
flowers of pilincon
or of ciribrustolon

And even more because you
keep there
a beautiful knotted hair-net
made of green golden silk.

Apples, that two other like these

⁹⁰ A word for a type of bagpipes, here used as a phallic metaphor

*du' altri de sta fatta
In sto roesso mondo,
agnon mostra esser tondo
e fatto col compasso,
ch'al d'esperto del casso
el par ver che dagn' hora
i vuotai saltar fuori,
massemamente quando
vu, parona, cantando
a solì repigiare
la ose, e suspirare*

*a ficcar gl' uocchi e 'l muso
lialondena in tel buso
de quel argagno che,
per far piaser al me
dottor Cavra de ben,
a sonavi sì ben.*

*E così vu, parona,
e Bella e cara e bona,
fe conto che ivelò
serisi sta un bel prò.
E mi ch'a v'ascoltava
a serave sto n'ava
che da le vostre fiore
g'harae zuzzà el dolzore.*

*E l' buso on se ghe fa
la miele, serae sta
la panza del laùto.*

cannot be found
in this reverse world:
each one looks round
and drawn with compasses,
and in spite of the corset
it seems that at any time
they want to pop out,
especially when
you, Mistress, while singing,
are used to taking a breath
and sighing.

To thrust my eyes and my face
there, in the hole
of that instrument which,
to please my benefactor Dr. Capra,
you played so well.

And so you,
beautiful and dear and good Mistress,
pretend that in that place
there was a nice lawn;
and that I, who was listening to you,
was a bee
sucking the sweetness
from your flower.

And the hole in which honey
is produced would have been
the belly of your lute.

*No pi, canzoni, che 'l gargatile è sutto.*⁸⁹

No more, O song, because my throat is dry.⁹¹

This poem could initially be understood as having a purely complimentary intention. However, when contemplating its near-pornographic content, especially in the context of sixteenth-century attitudes towards female musicians, one is led to understand it in a different light. Despite the difficulty of translating such a distinct and old dialect, many of the connotations are still undeniably clear. Flowers, to name one – a classic symbol of female sexuality and sexual organs – are mentioned multiple times. Take, for example, one of the more obvious metaphors, which is all but spelt out where the writer says he wants to “thrust my eyes and my face / there, in the hole / of that instrument which, / you played so well,” then, “I, who was listening to you, / was a bee / sucking the sweetness / from your flower. / And the hole in which honey / is produced would have been / the belly of your lute.”

Consider, too, the chronological order of events. Casulana had by now established herself as a singer and lute player, and published compositions in anthologies in 1566 and 1567, already defying norms and expectations. In 1568 she pushed the limits even further by publishing a complete collection of madrigals, including her bold statements in its dedication. The following year, Maganza published the above poem about her filled with innuendos and explicit sexual references to her body and music-making. In a society where women making music were understood through a hypersexualised lens, this poem served to “put her back in her place” as it were, as a public female musical figure of her time.

Of course, it is impossible to know what Casulana may have thought about this poem. But it is nonetheless significant that just a year earlier, she had publicly declared a desire to be recognised for her intellectual musical abilities, and yet despite this was still praised for her sexuality in relation to her music-making. This poem was reprinted in January of 1583 in Maganza’s *Rime rustiche, 3 parte*, Venice, and titled *L’ava de magagno all S. Madalena Casulana Vicentina*.⁹²

⁸⁹ From *La terza parte de le rime di Magagnò, Menon e Begotto*, Venice, Bolognino Zaltieri 1569, p 177-181 and reprinted in full in Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 12–14.

⁹¹ As translated by Nello Barbiero in LaMay, ‘Madalena Casulana: “My Body Knows Unheard of Songs”’, 52.

⁹² LaMay, ‘Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana’s Primo Libro de Madrigali, 1568’, 397.

We see further traces of Casulana in descriptions of her in dedications to other madrigal collections. In 1568, Antonio Molino (1495/7-1571), an actor, poet, and musician important in the scene of Venice who also founded his own academy there,⁹³ published his first collection of madrigals for four voices, dedicating them to Casulana. Perhaps she was even connected to his academy. In his dedication, he describes her virtue as having “taught” him composition.⁹⁴ This is often interpreted as meaning she was his composition teacher,⁹⁵ however it perhaps may imply that he was inspired in his composition writing by her virtuous qualities – which makes sense because the collection contains several madrigals set to texts he wrote himself which describe her, often in a highly sexualised manner. For example, “with the mellifluous singing of a siren, you create such a sweet harmony in the mind that everyone sheds tears and would like to listen to you forever, O dear Maddalena.”⁹⁶ Sirens, along with muses, had long been symbolic of female sexuality and temptation, and women were often referred to as such – especially in the arts and in particular in music, where a woman singing was likened to a siren singing to seduce and then kill men.⁹⁷ The shedding of tears may seem innocent enough at first glance, but in the sixteenth century was often used as a metaphor for sexual ejaculation.⁹⁸ In 1569, Molino published a second collection of four-voice madrigals, for which Casulana edited the works and wrote the dedication.⁹⁹ It seems that, while

⁹³ Newcomb, ‘Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians?’, 106.

⁹⁴ Antonio Molino, *I Dilettevoli Madrigali a Quattro Voci Di M. Antonio Molino* (Venice: Claudio da Correggio, n.d.) found in full in Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 10.

“*Alla Signora Maddalena Casulana.*

Io non havrei havuto ardire, Signora mia, di mandare questi miei componimenti di Musica in luce, dovendo ben ragionevolmente credere, che in questa mia grave età non potesse dal mio debile ingegno uscire cosa che buona fosse. Ma considerando, che dalla virtù vostra, atta ad accendere ogni fredda mente a disiderio di gloria, sieno stati in me sparsi li primi ammaestramenti di questa scientia, io mi son facilmente persuaso, che da così felice seme (quantunque il terreno arido sia) possa ancora esser nato qualche buon frutto. Onde non ho dubitato di darne al mondo questo poco sagio, sì per- ché egli conosca in me la vostra singolar virtù, e si ancora per dare io a voi, col farvene dono, qualche testimonio della mia gratitudine. Ricevete adunque in questo picciol segno la grandezza dell'animo mio; e tenetemi vivo nella vostra buona gratia, che il signor Iddio vi doni felicità conforme ai meriti vostri.

Vostro. Antonio Molino”

⁹⁵ For example Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 10; Bridges, 110; LaMay, ‘Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana’s Primo Libro de Madrigali, 1568’, 377; LaMay, ‘Madalena Casulana: “My Body Knows Unheard of Songs”’, 45., among others.

⁹⁶ LaMay, ‘Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana’s Primo Libro de Madrigali, 1568’, 378.

The original poem can be found in Molino, *I Dilettevoli Madrigali a Quattro Voci Di M. Antonio Molino*. Or reprinted in full in Pescerelli, *I Madrigali Di Maddalena Casulana*, 10–11.

⁹⁷ For more on this, see Linda Phyllis Austern, “‘Sing Againe Syren’: The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (1989): 420–48, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2862078>.

⁹⁸ Macy, ‘Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal’, 32.

⁹⁹ Antonio Molino, *Di M. Antonio Molino Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro Voci Con Un Dialogo a Otto* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1569).

continuing to be sexualised by her colleagues, she was still able to maintain a working relationship with them.

In 1582, Angelo Gardano published Philippe de Monte's first book of three-voice madrigals and dedicated them to "Madalena Casulana di Mezarii."

"To Virtuossimia Signora, Madalena Casulana di Mezarii, my most observant Lady.

Seeing that the genre of three-voice madrigals was almost extinguished (a kind of music so delightful and natural, and, when it comes from a good hand, so perfect and excellent), I decided to resuscitate it and return it once again to the world. For this reason I turned to our most excellent Lord Filippo di Monte and asked him if he would wish to be of some help in fulfilling my intention. This he did most liberally, as is customary with his gentle nature, and merit Your Ladyship, who is a great connoisseur of this and all other forms of gentility. It will happen, perhaps, that seeing these [madrigals] made welcome in the world, I shall gradually turn to some other excellent musicians and ask them, by favoring me with some similar compositions of theirs, to help this honorable idea of mine, just as I already ask Your Ladyship, a woman of such estimation and reputation in things such as these. For thus did that one judge you, who in his poetry worthily called you "the Muse and Siren of this our age." Like him, I give you every reverence, kiss your hand, and recommend myself to you forever. Venice, 20 August, 1582

Your Ladyship's servant, Angelo Gardano"¹⁰⁰

It seems that Gardano was on a mission to stimulate the three-voice madrigal genre, first asking Philippe de Monte, one of the most prolific madrigal composers of the sixteenth

¹⁰⁰ The original dedication reads as follows, and can be found in Mann, 'The Secular Madrigals of Filippo Di Monte 1521-1603', 248.

"Alla Virtuossimia Signora, la Signora Madalena Casulana di Mezarii, Signora mia osservandissima. Vedendo quasi spento il seme dei Madrigali a tre voci (Musica tanto commoda, e dilettevole, e quando viene da qualche buona mano tanto eccellente, e perfetta) deliberai di suscitarla, e quasi di nuovo ritornarla al mondo, e però mi volsi al nostro Eccellentissimo Signor Filippo di Monte, e lo pregai, ch'egli volesse dar aiuto a questa mia intentione. Il che (come è solito della sua gentil natura) ha fatto liberalissimamente, e me n'ha già mandato un giusto libro: il quale stampato si dedica al molto valore, e merito di Vostra Signoria ottima conoscitrice di questa, e d'ogni altra honorata gentilezza. Averrà forse che, vedendo questi grati al mondo, mi volgerò di mano in mano a qualch'un altro di questi eccellentissimi Musici, e pregarolli, che favorendomi di qualche loro simili compositioni aiutino questo honorevol mio pensiero, come di già ne prego Vostra Signoria di tanta stima, e riputazione in cosifatte cose, di quanta la giudicò colui, che in quella sua poesia meritamente la chiamò 'Di questa nostra età Musa e Sirena,' alla quale, come tale facendo ogni maggior riverenza, bacio la mano, e mi raccomando per sempre. Di Venetia li 20 Agosto 1582. Di Vostra Signoria Servitore Angelo Gardano."

century, to contribute. It is a testament to the, as he says, “estimation and reputation” that must have been held for Casulana, that Gardano would not only dedicate a collection of works by an already prolific composer to her, but that he would also make a public show of asking her to write some of her own within this dedication. In fact, he says that he has “already” asked her – she was one of his first choices in attempting to revive the genre. Though it cannot be ignored that once again this high regard does not come without a certain innuendo. This outpouring of praise references a phrase that an unnamed poet had apparently used to describe her – “the Muse and Siren of this our age,” once again connecting her to the sexualised female-musician image.

Although Casulana’s three-voice madrigal *Stavasi il mio bel Sol* appeared again as part of the reprinting of *Il Gaudio* in 1586, this appears to have been the only three-voice piece she ever published, and that unfortunately she did not answer Gardano’s call for a collection of this type of madrigal.

The last mention of Casulana comes in 1627. The composer and music theorist Antonio Banchieri (1568-1634) wrote in his *Trastulli della villa*, that if women were able to pursue the arts, they would see great ingenuity, and mentions Lavinia Fontana (a painter) and Laura Tarazzina (a poet) along with Casulana as examples of women excelling in the arts.¹⁰¹ It seems that she made an impact that lasted well beyond the end of her period of publishing and performing.

Since little is known about Casulana’s activities during the 1570s, and her name had “Mezari” added to it in two publications in the 1580s, it has often been assumed that this meant she married at some point during the 1570s.¹⁰² Theoretically, this would not only explain the

¹⁰¹ “...se alle donne fosse permesso studio dell’arti liberali, si vedrebbero ingegno di grandissima speculativa... habbiamo... inteso dire per relazione verace che nella pittura, musica e poesia vi sono state tre donne insieme: nella pittura Lavinia Fontana Bolognese, nella musica Maddalena Casulana e nella poesia Laura Tarazzina.” From Adriano Banchieri, *Trastulli Della Villa Distinti in Sette Giornate, Doue Si Legono in Discorsi, e Ragionamenti Nouelle Morali, Motteggi Arguti, Sentenze Politiche, Hiperboli Favolose, Casi Seguiti, Vivaci Proposte & Rime Piacevoli, Proverbi Significanti, Essempi Praticati, Paradossi Faceti, Detti Filosofici, Accorte Risposte. Curiosità Drammatica Del Sig. Camillo Scaliggeri Dalla Fratta, l’Academico Vario. Con Due Tauole, Vna Delle Nouelle, e l’altra Delle Cose Più Notabili* (Venice: Antonio Giuliani, 1627), 45.

¹⁰² See for example Bridges, ‘Casulana [Mezari], Maddalena’, 110; Newcomb, ‘Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians?’, 107; Pendle, ‘Musical Women in Early Modern Europe’, 86; Beatrice Pescerelli, ‘Maddalena Casulana’, in *Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, ed. James R. Briscoe (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 18.

name change, but also explain her apparent lack of activity, since it was expected that women would retire from professional pursuits upon marriage.

As shown previously, there are in fact records of her activities in France, and possibly Vienna and Germany, in the early 1570s, although this does not rule out the possibility of marriage later in the decade where evidence of her activities is yet to be found.

LaMay has suggested that she married into a noble family in Verona named “Mezari”, due to the presence of nobleman Giacomo Mezari in Verona at the time. However, she also admits that there is no documented evidence of a marriage like this, further noting that with Casulana’s popularity, it is likely that her marriage would have been documented somewhere – particularly if it had been into a noble family.¹⁰³ Additionally, her name was still associated with Vicenza in the 1580s, implying she was still based there, while Mezari himself was in Verona. If she had indeed given up her professional pursuits upon entering a marriage at some point in the 1570s, why then did she continue in the 1580s with further publications and public performances? This certainly would not have been at all possible if she’d married into a noble family in any case. Therefore, if she had married, it must have been to someone within the middle-classes, where there was more flexibility for women to make music professionally, even while married. This would make sense socially – considering Casulana’s musical pursuits and activities, it is likely that she was from the middle classes as well. There are also cases of other middle-class women as professional musicians who continued their profession after marriage. Not only those in the *Concerto della donne*, as previously mentioned, but also the likes of Lucia Caccini, née di Filippo Gagnolanti (n.d), married to Giulio Caccini (1551-1618); and Vittoria Achilei, née Concarini (c. 1560-1645), married to Antonio Achilei (1543-1612).¹⁰⁴

Year	Document	Recorded Name
1566	<i>Il desiderio</i>	Madalena Casulana
1567	<i>Terzo libro del Desiderio</i>	Madalena Casulana
	<i>Il gaudio</i>	Madalena Casulana
1568	Troiano’s account of the wedding in Munich	Madalena Casulana
	<i>Il primo libro quattro voci</i>	Madalena Casulana

¹⁰³ LaMay, ‘Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana’s Primo Libro de Madrigali, 1568’, 376.

¹⁰⁴ Pendle, ‘Musical Women in Early Modern Europe’, 78.

	Molino's dedication	Maddalena Casulana
1569	Writes dedication for Molino	Madalena Casulana
	Maganza's poem	Madalena Casulana Vicentina
1570	<i>Il secondo libro quattro voci</i>	Madalena Casulana
	Performance in Milan	Madalena Casolana
1572	Payment record in France	Magdelaine Casulana de Vincentia
1582	Dedication in Monte's three-voice madrigals	Madalena Casulana di Mezarri
	Performance in Perugia	Casulana
1583	Maganza's poem reprinted	Madalena Casulana Vicentina
	<i>Il primo libro cinque voci</i>	Madalena Mezari detta Casulana Vicentina
	<i>Il primo libro quattro voci</i> reprint	Maddalena Casulana
	Performance in Vicenza	Madalena Casulana di Vicenza
1586	<i>Il gaudio</i> reprint	Madalena Casulana
1591	Catalogue	Casulana
1627	Adriano Banchieri	Maddalena Casulana

Figure 4 – The spellings and versions of Casulana's name in all documents pertaining to her.

Casulana's publication, *Il primo libro cinque voci*, of 1583 has the most detailed form of her name. Here, she appears as "Madalena Mezari detta Casulana Vincentina" ("detta" meaning "called" or "nicknamed"). LaMay further suggests that "Casulana" may have originally been a sort of stage name, and that with time she may have gained confidence in her profile after her many years of successful work and reflected this in her professional name.¹⁰⁵ If she established herself professionally in Vicenza at a certain point, it would make sense that people may have known her for that location too.

One possible explanation is that she was professionally known as Madalena Casulana at the beginning of her career as a performer (which could have been much earlier than her first publication in 1566) due to her birthplace, using this name to conceal her true identity for reasons of modesty – as a woman working in music during the sixteenth century. Later, she became based in Vicenza, which led to her being associated with that city too, and regularly appeared in various academies and salons there and in its neighbouring cities as a performer, as well as presenting her own compositions. Once she had established herself more confidently by the 1570s, she allowed her surname (by either birth or marriage) "Mezari" to

¹⁰⁵ LaMay, 'Composing from the Throat: Madalena Casulana's Primo Libro de Madrigali, 1568', 376.

be known, eventually incorporating it into her professional name. Thus, at some point between the first record of her in 1566 and her collection of five-voice madrigals in 1583, her public identity transformed from “Madalena Casulana” to “Madalena Mezari detta Casulana Vicentina.”

Without further documented evidence, it is impossible to move beyond speculation. However, it is worth reconsidering the assumptions of marriage and retirement commonly made about her when they seem to be rooted, not in documented facts about her own life, but perhaps in projections based on societal expectations of women, both in Casulana’s own time as well as our own.

It is noteworthy that Madalena Casulana was the first woman in Europe to have published entire collections of her own compositions. Casulana was clearly aware of this, as evidenced by her statements in her 1568 *Primo libro*, in which she made it clear that she wanted to be recognised for her work on an intellectual basis. This achievement could not have gone unnoticed by her contemporaries. However, it seems that it was difficult for the men in her sphere to understand her outside of the typical expectations of women of the time. Without being able to make sense of a woman acting outside of the expectations imposed upon her, they found ways to put her back in her place. While they could admit she was a great composer, they also felt the need to add that it was inappropriate for a woman to be that skilled, or describe her with unambiguous sexual references. As the first woman to achieve such a feat, the pressure to deliver high-quality results would have been strong – as is often the case with anyone from underrepresented groups breaking new ground.

So what did this mean in practical terms? Through analysing Casulana’s compositional techniques in her first four published madrigals, we can begin to understand how, in the early era of her career, she was able to use her metaphorical voice to speak through her music and make good on her intention to prove that women also possessed intellectual gifts.

Analyses Of Casulana's four Madrigals in *Il Desiderio*, 1566

The following analyses are of *Morir non puo*, *Sculpito nell 'alm' Amore*, *Vedesti Amorgiamai*, and *Se scior si ved' il laccio*, written for four voices (Canto, Alto, Tenore, and Basso) by Madalena Casulana, which appear in anthology *Primo libro de diversi eccellentissimi auttori a quattro voci intitulado Il desiderio*, printed in Venice by Girolamo Scotto in 1566.

These analyses have a particular focus on mode and solmisation, and regular reference is made to the soft, neutral, and hard qualities of solmisation syllables within hexachords and the effect this has on the musical expression of the text. This knowledge, in addition to discussion of other sixteenth-century composition techniques, is largely drawn from Anne Smith's comprehensive guide to sixteenth-century music theory, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*.¹⁰⁶ For further information on hexachords, and solmisation syllables and their qualities, this resource is invaluable.

Notes are referred to using English language naming conventions and International Pitch Notation (also known as Scientific Pitch Notation) – for example, middle C is referred to as C4.

The texts and their translations into English are included for context, especially matching text to compositional devices. However, detailed analysis of the poetry has been avoided in order to focus primarily on the compositional works of Casulana themselves. Since it is beyond the scope of this study, such an analysis would benefit from the attentions of a specialist in sixteenth-century Italian poetry.

Unless otherwise stated, the musical examples shown are from modern editions created by the author specifically for the purposes of this study, and all complete editions of the works discussed can be found in the appendix from page 90. Of the editions created for this study, note values have been retained, but here will be referred to in their modern form (a semibrevis becomes a whole note, a semiminima becomes a quarter note, and so on). The clefs have been altered to modern clefs. Bar lines have been inserted for purposes of easily identifying

¹⁰⁶ Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

sections for discussion, but do not exist in the original notation. *Musica ficta* have been suggested above the staves. For Casulana's madrigals, the text has been underlaid as faithfully as possible to the original parts, while also attempting to underlay it precisely and appropriately with the music.¹⁰⁷ The editions of Casulana's madrigals were created based on the part-books from the 1566 publication of *Il desiderio*, accessed through microfilm at the library of the University of Basel, and compared with the Tenore part-book of her 1568 *Primo libro*, accessed through digitisation by the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna,¹⁰⁸ as well as the Canto and Tenore part-books of the 1583 reprint of her *Primo libro*, accessed through digitisation at the Biblioteca Estense¹⁰⁹. For the edition of Philippe de Monte's *Se scior si vede il laccio*, the text has simply been underlaid as it appears in the original part-books of *Il primo libro delli madrigali à sei voci*,¹¹⁰ which were accessed through digitisation by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ The assistance of Eleonora Bišćević has been invaluable in this endeavor.

¹⁰⁸ The scans can be found at the following link:

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_R/R390/

¹⁰⁹ The scans can be found at the following link: <https://edl.beniculturali.it/beu/850109530>

¹¹⁰ Filippo di Monte, *Di Filippo Di Monte Maestro Di Capella Della S.C. Maesta Dell'Imperatore Rodolfo Secondo. Il Primo Libro Delli Madrigali à Sei Voci. Nuovamente Ristampato*. (Venice: Hieronymo Scotto, 1582).

¹¹¹ The scans can be found at the following link: <https://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00073077>

Morir non puo

The analyses begin with *Morir non puo* because it is the madrigal which has enjoyed the most attention and analysis in recent years, including studies by Anthony Newcomb, Thomasin LaMay, and Samantha Heere-Beyer. Additionally, its text was subsequently set as madrigals by other composers such as Giovanni Maria Nanino (1543/4-1607), Luzzascho Luzzaschi (c. 1545-1607), and Alfonso Fontanelli (1557-1622), which leave plenty of room for comparative analysis, helping to understand Casulana's compositional style compared to her peers.

The text of *Morir non puo* may have been written by Benedetto Pannini, since it appears in a compilation of his poems from the 1580s, although the authorship is actually uncertain due to this collection appearing twenty years after Casulana's setting.¹¹² Newcomb suggests that it was in fact a strophe excerpted from a longer poem by an unknown author, along with another of Casulana's madrigals, *Sculpione nell'alm'Amore*, and that these two madrigals may therefore be a musical pair. This is owing to the two texts sharing themes, rhyme syllables, and words, and the two madrigals furthermore sharing the same mode, clefs, and time signatures.¹¹³ In *Il desiderio* from 1566, *Sculpione nell'alm'Amore* is printed first, followed immediately by *Morir non puo* which also has a significantly smaller initial letter, implying that it could indeed follow on in connection to the first madrigal. As Willimann notes, in *Il desiderio*, the practice of sizing the madrigals' initials to denote order also applies to other paired madrigals.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Newcomb, 'Giovanni Maria Nanino's Early Patrons in Rome', 123.

¹¹³ Newcomb, 121.

¹¹⁴ Willimann, '»Indi Non Più Desio«: Vom Verzichten Und Begehren', 79.

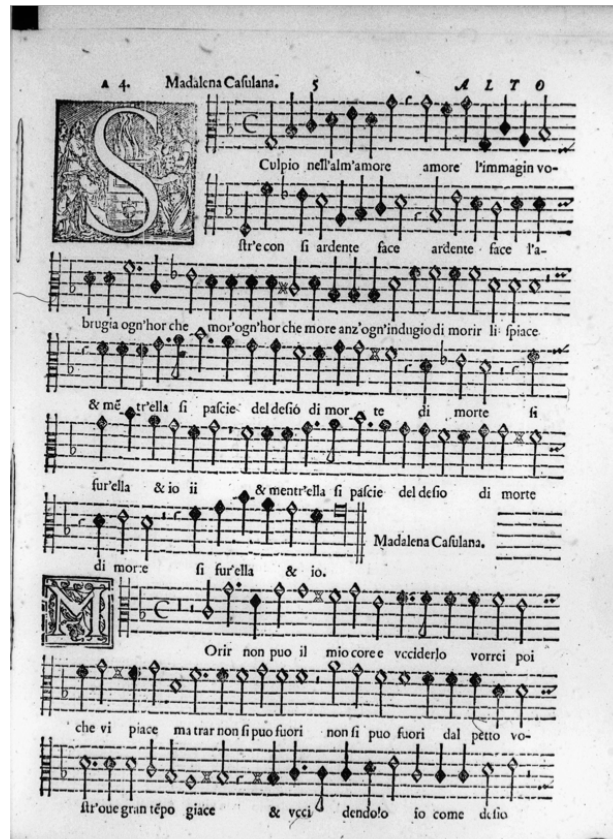


Figure 5 – The first letters of each madrigal in the Alto part of *Il Desiderio*, 1566. Scan accessed through microfilm at the University of Basel.

However, in Casulana's *Primo libro* of 1568, the two madrigals are placed the other way around, with no change in size of the first letter. This seems to undermine the perceived connection. However, they are both still placed next to each other in order. The correct order is possibly the one from 1568 and the 1583 reprint, since, due to the printing process as discussed previously, Casulana is more likely to have been able to oversee the printing of her own collection.



Figure 6 – *Morir* and *Sculpio* in Casulana's *Primo libro* of 1568. Scan accessed through the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna.

Figure 7 shows two pages of a musical score for CANTO. The left page (numbered 10) has a decorative header with the word 'CANTO.' and a large, ornate initial 'M'. The right page (numbered 11) has a similar header and a large initial 'S'. The lyrics are in Italian, with the first line on the left page reading 'Oris non puo il mio cuo re Vc-' and the first line on the right page reading 'Culpio ne l'alm'amo re'. The score consists of two staves per line of text, with various musical notations including clefs, notes, and rests.

Figure 7 – *Morir* and *Sculpio* in the 1583 reprint of Casulana's *Primo libro*. Scan accessed through the Biblioteca Estense.


Casulana was the first to set this text to music, which was also later set to music by other composers such as Nanino, Luzzaschi, and Fontanelli. It seems that other composers found

the text through Nanino and were therefore influenced by his madrigal, but that Nanino discovered the text through Casulana's work.¹¹⁵


The poem seems to describe the painful longing of a delayed "death" (in madrigal terms, orgasm).


<i>Morir non puo il mio core,</i>	My heart cannot die,
<i>e ucciderlo vorrei, poi che vi piace,</i>	and I would like to kill it, as would please you,
<i>ma trar no si puo fuore</i>	but it cannot be extracted
<i>dal petto vostr'ove gran tempo giace.</i>	from your breast, where it has long lain.
<i>Et uccidendol'io, come desio,</i>	And killing it as I desire,
<i>so che morreste voi, morrend' anch'io.</i>	I know that you would die if I, too, were to die. ¹¹⁶

Morir non puo is composed in the Dorian mode transposed to G; a common mode and transposition, with a B \flat in the key signature. The hexachords are therefore on F (soft) and C (natural).

Canto  Canto – C4-D5

Alto  Alto – G3-A4

Tenore  Tenore – E3-F4

Basso  Basso – F2-B \flat 3

In bars 1-7, polyphony is used between the Canto, Alto, and Tenore voices to create an unfurling of the 3 voices singing the first line of the poem, "*Morir non puo il mio core*" (My heart cannot die). The very first word of the piece is "*Morir*" (Death), sung first by the Canto, followed by the Tenore and then the Alto. The Canto sings it as a minor third, G to B \flat - using *re* and *fa* (neutral and soft) syllables. The Tenore interjects with G to E \flat on the syllables *re*

¹¹⁵ Newcomb, 'Giovanni Maria Nanino's Early Patrons in Rome', 118–19.

¹¹⁶ Translation found in Newcomb, 117.

and *fa super la* – neutral to soft. The *fa super la* creates a special effect due to it stretching a semitone above the hexachord, thus adding a degree of tension. Furthermore, the interval of a minor sixth lends more tension to the gesture. The Alto follows halfway through bar 3 with a fifth on C to G, using the neutral syllables *ut* to *sol*. These ascending leaps (including a minor third and a minor sixth), gesturally imitating each other on soft and neutral syllables, immediately emphasise the word “*Morir,*” and establish a dark, painful, and longing quality.

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenore, and Basso. The score is in common time (C) and has a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "Mo - rir non puo' il mio co -". The Soprano part starts with a quarter note on C4, followed by a half note on D4, a quarter note on E4, a quarter note on F4, a quarter note on G4, and a quarter note on A4. The Alto part starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note on C4, a quarter note on D4, a quarter note on E4, a quarter note on F4, a quarter note on G4, and a quarter note on A4. The Tenore part starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note on C4, a quarter note on D4, a quarter note on E4, a quarter note on F4, a quarter note on G4, and a quarter note on A4. The Basso part starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note on C3, a quarter note on D3, a quarter note on E3, a quarter note on F3, a quarter note on G3, and a quarter note on A3. There are various accidentals and dynamics markings throughout the score, including a *b* (soft) marking in the Alto part.

Figure 8 – the opening bars of Casulana’s *Morir non puo*

It is noteworthy that both the Alto and Tenore feature Ebs (*fa super la*, soft) again in bars 4 and 5, further emphasising the painful longing conveyed in the text.

Following this is the first homophonic section in bars 7-11, the Basso joining the three upper voices for the second line of poem, “*e ucciderlo vorrei, poi che vi piace*” (and I would like to kill it, as would please you). The effect here, with faster moving note values, is of more energy, reflecting a resolve to end the longing of the previous line.

7

C.
re e'uc - ci-der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce

A.
re e'uc - ci-der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce :

T.
re e'u - ci-der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce :

B.
E'u - ci-der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce

Figure 9 – Bars 7-11 of Casulana's *Morir*

Bars 11-19 return to polyphony again. This begins in the Alto and Tenore voices, the Basso joins halfway through bar 12 and the Canto joins halfway through bar 13, overall leading to a cadence on the first quarter note beat of bar 19. This corresponds to the third line of the text, “*Ma trar no si puo fuore*” (But it cannot be extracted). The voices all enter in a form of imitation, each on a minor third, harking back to the opening of the piece. This happens over the words “*ma trar*” (the drawing out). Even the minor sixth in the Tenore is referenced, this time it appears in bars 15-16, still in the Tenore, but now from A to F. This all leads towards the word “*fuori*” (extracted), which in the Canto reaches the highest note of the piece, descending through suspensions from bar 15 (literally *drawing* out the phrase), cadencing and resolving in bar 19, but on a soft, and arguably weak, cadence on B \flat (the Basso, Alto, and Canto all singing *fa*/soft syllables). The Basso also descends on the same word in stepwise motion in bar 15, literally painting the extraction as it reaches F – one tone below the normal ambitus of G-Dorian. The whole section between bars 11-19 is dominated by soft solmisation syllables (even including an E \flat in the Tenore in bar 17). The feeling of painful longing over the word “death” in the opening bars thus lingers in this new phrase, painting the pain of the drawing out of the heart in the text.

The descent doesn't stop here, but largely continues in bars 19-24. Between bar 15 and bar 24, the Canto, Alto, and Tenore all descend by an octave, covering most of the range of each voice during the piece, and further emphasising the drawn-out pain and emulating the laying down of the laying down in the heart.

Note that in bars 19-28, we are back to homophony until first quarter note beat of bar 28, moving quickly through the fourth and fifth lines of the poem, “*dal petto vostr’ove gran tempo giace. Et uccidendol’io, come desio*” (from your breast, where it has long lain. And killing it as I desire). It is this point where the textural structure is reversed, bar 24 continuing in homophony before launching into polyphony in bar 28, instead of continuing the polyphony-homophony pattern.

11

C. ce ma trar non si fuo - - -

A. ce ma trar non si puo fuo - ri non si puo fuo -

T. ce ma trar non si puo fuo - ri ma trar non si puo fuo -

B. ce ma trar non si puo fuo - ri non si puo fuo -

19

C. ri dal pet-to vo-str'o - ve gran tem-po gia - ce & uc-ci den-do - lo io co-me de -

A. ri dal pet-to vo-str'o - ve gran tem-po gia - ce & uc-ci den-do - lo io co-me de -

T. ri dal pet-to vo-str'o - ve gran tem-po gia - ce & uc-ci den-do - lo io co-me de -

B. ri dal pet-to vo-str'o - ve gran tem-po gia - ce & uc-ci den-dol - lo io co-me de -

Figure 10 – Bars 11-27 of Casulana’s *Morir*

Strong cadences in bars 11 and 24 – each to G with a major third (B \sharp) – not only serve to separate each polyphonic to homophonic section and thus make the structure of the piece clear. They also emphasise the word which is sung during the cadence. In bars 10-11 this cadence is written over the word “*piace*” (please – as in “to please you”), with G’s in all voices except the Canto which has the B \sharp . This provides a stark contrast through the unexpected major third, which is also a “hard” quality note, after the otherwise softer feeling of the G-Dorian writing so far, contrasting particularly with the repeated B \flat s in bar 8 and 9 in

the Canto. The brightness of this chord emphasises the meaning of the word “*piace*” after the preceding darker references to death. In bar 24, the chord is now further deepened with an added D. This time the cadence is over the word “*giace*” (lain – as in “where it has long lain”), lending weight to word. Furthermore, the note lengths over the words “*tempo giace*” become longer, especially over “*giace*,” before the next phrase propels forwards. This word also comes at the end of long descending lines in the three upper voices, as mentioned above. This lengthening of notes and lines over the text, which expresses a drawing out and a long period of time, further paints the meaning of the text.

The subsequent polyphony from bars 28-51 is fast moving with shorter note values in rhythmic imitation, while the polyphony in bars 1-7 and 11-19 is slow moving with longer length notes. Additionally, the first two polyphonic phrases stagger the entries of the voices, creating a sense of unfurling and a rhythmical vagueness, contrasting strongly again with the rhymical nature of the homophonic phrases as well as the polyphonic section that closes the piece. Furthermore, the latter polyphonic section is defined by the chromatic inflections it contains. Casulana used two distinct forms of polyphony to achieve contrasting and remarkable effects. The musical phrase is actually from 28-40, and then from the last quarter note of bar 30 in the Basso and the staggered entries of the Canto, Alto, and Tenore in bar 31, the section repeats from bar 40 until the end. There is slight rhythmic variation in bar 51 – a lengthening of the note values, to give more finality to the cadence. Thus ends the piece.

In bars 30-31, the Tenore cadences to G, immediately followed in the next half note beat by the Alto cadencing to C. This gives a short taste of the larger stacking-cadence pattern to come. Bars 32-33 present three accidentals which resolve to cadences in a row of half notes: in the Alto to C, then the Canto to G, followed by the Tenore to C.

Immediately in bars 34-38, the technique is used again but in a different order and with more interweaving of the cadences, the stacked cadences increasing in frequency. In bars 34-36, the Canto cadences to C, and then successively to D through chromatic movement. The Alto cadences twice to G, and the Tenore cadencing to D. The cadences then reverse order in the voices during bars 36-37, this time the Canto resolving to D, the Alto following directly resolving to G, and the Tenore to C. The Canto rounds off by cadencing to G one more time in bar 38, before all voices cadence together in bar 40 to G with the major third (B \sharp). This entire

sequence, from the staggered entries beginning in the Basso bar 30, is then repeated from the end of bar 40 until 48.

In bars 28-51, the last line of the poem “*So che morreste voi, morrend’ anch’io*” I know that you would die if I, too, were to die,” is built up through repetition of the text in ascending polyphonic lines with cadences stacked successively. This creates a striking effect of ever-ascending tensions through a unique and masterful handling of dissonances. Each of the three upper voices take turns cadencing from F# to G, B \natural to C, or to D – the ones to D standing out in particular as they move from C-C#-D in chromatic movement – unusual for the time.

28

C. sio so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor - re - ste voi so

A. sio so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor - res - ste voi so che mor -

T. - sio so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor - re - ste voi mor -

B. sio so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor -

34

C. che mor-res - te voi mor - res - te voi mor-res - te voi mo - rend' an -

A. re - ste voi mor-re - ste voi mo - rend' an -

T. re - ste voi mor - re - ste voi mo - rend' an - ch'i -

B. re - ste voi mor-re - ste voi mor - re - ste voi mo - rend' an -

Figure 11 – Bars 28-39 of Casulana’s *Morir*

The word “*morreste*” ([you would] die) is sung a total of 31 times in all the voices; 16 of those with cadences to G or C over the word, and 6 of those with chromatic movement over the word as C-C#-D. Note that these all use raised notes – B \natural , C#, and F# – which when

solmised are to be performed with “hard” qualities.¹¹⁷ This further emphasises the word “morreste” – see figure 11.

This insistent repetition and drive through continued cadences and chromaticism with “hard” notes all stacked successively, serve to heighten the intensity of the text in this section. Heere-Beyer describes Casulana’s ending as “[...]a very specific mixture of tension and release which, instead of providing one largescale ascent to climax, creates several, smaller climactic movements.”¹¹⁸ These “smaller” climaxes create an overall build-up of tension on a larger scale, which is artfully released in the cadences to G with B \sharp as the major third that end the sections in bars 40 and 51. Additionally striking is that the underlying harmonic progression is a descending 5th sequence, which contrasts to the upward motion of the accidentals and chromatic notes in the upper voices. Schubert even argues that here, the Basso acts out an ostinato bass line, obscured by the rhythms, changing text, and complex movements of the upper voices.¹¹⁹ This, combined with the faster moving rhythms, gives this passage an urgent climactic drive until the end of the piece.

¹¹⁷ Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists*, 37.

¹¹⁸ Heere-Beyer, ‘Claiming Voice: Madalena Casulana and the Sixteenth-Century Italian Madrigal’, 33.

¹¹⁹ Schubert, ‘Maddalena Casulana, “Per Lei Pos’ in Obio” from *Cinta Di Fior* (1570)’, 58–59.

40

C. ch'i - o so che mor - res - te voi so che mor-re - ste voi mor -

A. ch'i - o so che mor - res - te voi so che mor - res - te voi mor-res -

T. - o so che mor-re - ste voi mor - res - te voi mor -

B. ch'i - o so che mor-re - ste voi so che mor - re - ste voi mor-re -

46

C. res - te voi mor-re - ste voi mo - rend' an - ch'i - o.

A. - te voi mo - rend' an - ch'i - o.

T. re - ste voi mo - rend' an - ch'i - o.

B. ste voi mor - re - ste voi mo - rend' an - ch'i - o.

Figure 12 – Bars 40-51 of Casulana’s *Morir non puo*

On the other hand, the word “*morrend’*,” this time referring to the death of the narrator, is written with mostly soft or neutral syllables. In the Canto from D to F (re/neutral to fa/soft), in the Alto from G to C (re/neutral to sol/neutral), in the Tenore from A to Bb (mi/hard to fa/soft), and in the Basso from G to F (sol/neutral to fa/soft). (See bars 38-39 in figure 11.) Unlike the word “*morreste*,” this word is not repeated many times with stacked cadences, but comes after the repetitions, and clearly draws the phrase to a close each time. The softer qualities of these notes contrast greatly from the preceding hard quality chromatic notes, and moreover, the line then descends (as opposed to the constantly ascending lines from directly before). All of this gives a natural shape to the phrases and rhetorically differentiates the “death” of the subject from the “death” of the narrator.

LaMay suggests that while these repeated deaths are in the “traditional fashion” for a madrigal, the climax of the piece is in fact not at the end, but over the word “*fuori*.” She

It is interesting to briefly compare Casulana’s setting of *Morir* with three other madrigal settings of the same text which followed in the sixteenth century by Nanino (1579), Luzzaschi (1582), and Fontanelli (1595). As previously noted, it seems that Nanino may have discovered this text through Casulana’s setting, and subsequent composers followed his lead. While sharing the mode of G-Dorian, there are some key differences between the compositional styles (aside from all composers except for Casulana writing for five voices).

The opening bars, for example, are treated very differently by each composer. Casulana writes unfurling polyphonic lines in the upper three voices using intervals of a minor third, perfect fifth, and minor sixth to word-paint “*Morir*” (see figure 8). Nanino, on the other hand, begins with the Quinto singing alone on one note, and the rest of the voices respond in bar 2 in homophony, the Canto also staying on one note and the Alto moving in step-wise motion. Luzzaschi takes a slightly different approach, having the lower four voices begin in homophony, but still with many repeated notes, and repeating the text from bar 2 with the Canto joining in. Fontanelli, on the other hand, writes in three voices (Canto, Quinto, and Tenore), beginning in the Canto on an Eb, immediately setting the tension of the word through the use of *fa super la* and contrasting it with a B \natural in the fourth half-note beat of the same bar, couple with an F \sharp in the Quinto – two hard quality notes. Fontanelli, like Casulana, also follows this opening with homophony over the line, “*e ucciderlo vorrei*” in bar 2.

Figure 14 – Bars 1-3 of Nanino’s *Morir non può*¹²²

¹²² Giovanni Maria Nanino, ‘Morir Non Può Il Mio Core’, in Alfonso Fontanelli, *Complete Madrigals, Part 1: Primo Libro Di Madregali a Cinque Voci* (Ferrara, 1595), ed. Anthony Newcomb (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc, 1999), 81–83.

Figure 15 – Bars 1-3 of Luzzasco Luzzaschi's *Morir non può 'l mio core*¹²³

Figure 16 – Bars 1-3 of Alfonso Fontanelli's *Morir non può 'l mio core*¹²⁴

Interestingly, all three of these composers use the same rhythm as Casulana for the words, “*e ucciderlo vorrei*,” incorporating dotted rhythms. Both Luzzaschi and Fontanelli use homophony over this text – the same as Casulana. Nanino has smaller combinations of voices in homophony with each other, passing the phrase between the groups. Clearly this phrase naturally lends itself to a more spoken-like feel, which all four of these composers highlighted.

¹²³ Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Complete Unaccompanied Madrigals, Part 3: Terzo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci (Venice, 1582)*, ed. Anthony Newcomb, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*; 150 (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc, 2007), 27–29.

¹²⁴ Alfonso Fontanelli, *Complete Madrigals Part 1: Primo Libro Di Madregali a Cinque Voci: (Ferrara, 1595)*, ed. Anthony Newcomb, *Complete Madrigals / Alfonso Fontanelli Part 1* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc, 1999), 32–35.

Figure 17 shows a musical score for Nanino's *Morir*, bars 4-6. It consists of five staves. The lyrics are: "-ci- der-lo, E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, -ci- der-lo vor- rei, E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, poi che vi pia- E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, -ci- der-lo vor- rei, (E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei,) poi E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, (E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei,)"

Figure 17 – Bars 4-6 of Nanino's *Morir*

Figure 18 shows a musical score for Luzzaschi's *Morir*, bars 4-6. It consists of five staves. The lyrics are: "-lo vor- rei, E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei poi che vi pia- - ce. -lo vor- rei, E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei poi che vi pia- ce. -lo vor- rei, E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei poi che vi pia- ce. -lo vor- rei, E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei poi che vi pia- ce. E uc- ci- der-lo vor- rei poi che vi pia- ce."

Figure 18 – Bars 4-6 of Luzzaschi's *Morir*

Nanino, Luzzaschi, and Fontanelli continue to use this dotted rhythm motif over the words, “*ma trar no si puo fuore,*” all three also continuing to use homophony here. Meanwhile, Casulana reverts back to polyphony for this phrase.

Generally speaking, both Nanino and Luzzaschi tend to use much more homophony in their settings, retaining a feel of spoken word. Fontanelli, on the other hand, uses more a mix of both polyphony and homophony, switching and sometimes blending between the two – similarly, although in a less clearly structured way, to Casulana.

When it comes to text repetition, these three male composers seem to treat it in the opposite way to Casulana. While she particularly highlights “*so che morreste voi*” through multiple

repetitions at the end of the work; Nanino, Luzzaschi, and Fontanelli repeat smaller fragments of text consistently throughout their madrigals, yet repeat “*Et uccidendol’io, come desio, so che morreste voi, morrend’ anch’io*” in its entirety at the end, though still repeating “*so che morreste voi*” multiple times in smaller fragments throughout the voices as well.

Fontanelli is more similar to Casulana here, with these smaller fragments often ascending, although ultimately cadencing after a descent, and he also spends more than half the piece on this section – again similar to Casulana. Luzzaschi even employs homophony over these words, consistent to his style of this text-setting. These longer excerpts can be observed in full in the appendix – see bars 13-27 of Nanino, 14-33 of Luzzaschi, and 15-36 of Fontanelli.

When considering the similarities and differences in compositional techniques employed by these composers when setting the text of *Morir non puo*, it seems that Luzzaschi may have written *Morir* with Nanino’s setting in mind, however there is a possibility that Fontanelli was also aware of Casulana’s setting and took inspiration from it. All composers seem to have valued the use of homophony and dotted rhythms to mimic speech in a musical setting, however use polyphony in varying degrees. Only in Casulana’s setting is the contrast between polyphony and homophony so strong and used in such a way as to structure the piece. Casulana’s multi-climax ending and use of chromaticism is also unique, as well as the careful placing of repetition to contribute to the structure and highlight chosen moments.

In Casulana’s setting of *Morir non puo*, different forms of the word “death” hold special word-painting qualities throughout the madrigal. This is achieved through a variety of techniques such as repetition, imitation, cadences, solmisation syllables, and chromaticism. Furthermore, the structure of this madrigal is defined by its texture – namely frequent contrasts between polyphonic and homophonic passages which alternate correspondingly to the lines of the text. The first and third lines of text are set to polyphony (corresponding to bars 1-7 and 11-19 of the madrigal), and the second and fourth lines are set to homophony (corresponding to bars 7-11 and 19-24). The pattern of polyphony to homophony is established twice, before being reversed to end the piece. The fifth line of text is set homophonically (bars 24-28), leading into the dramatic setting of the sixth and final line in polyphony (bars 28-51). The use of chromaticism and stacked cadences at the end of the piece, repeating this final section, makes the work stand out for its intensely expressive ascending lines and multi-climaxes.

Sculpio nell 'alm'amore

As noted previously, *Sculpio nell 'alm'amore* and *Morir non puo* may be a musical pair, with both texts possibly being strophes coming from the same longer poem. Later, in 1584/5, Gioseppe Caimo (c. 1545-1584) published his fourth book of madrigals for five voices in Venice,¹²⁵ which opens with a madrigal set to the same poem, followed by two more poems with the same rhyming scheme and syllables, and the same metrical structure.¹²⁶ This lends further credibility to the idea that the texts of *Sculpio* and *Morir* are connected – perhaps these were also other strophes from the same longer poem.

Casulana's setting of *Sculpio* was republished in 1583 as part of the second edition of her *Primo libro*. Since Caimo published his book of five voice madrigals within the following two years, it is possible that he was inspired by her settings of the texts to write his own,¹²⁷ though the additional verses in his setting suggests the longer poem may have already been widely known.

The text of this poem is similar in subject to *Morir* as well, describing the painful longing of a delayed “death” shared by both the subject and narrator.

<i>Sculpio nell 'alm'amore</i>	Love sculpted in my soul
<i>l'immagin vostr'e con sì ardente face</i>	your image, and with such an ardent flame
<i>l'abbrugia ognor, che more,</i>	he burns it so that it dies,
<i>anz' ogn' indugio di morir li spiace</i>	indeed, every delay in dying displeases him;
<i>e mentr' ella si pascie del desio</i>	and while it [my soul] is nourished by the desire
<i>di morte, di morte si fur ell' et io.</i>	for death, yet death is robbed of both her and me. ¹²⁸

The range of *Sculpio nell 'alm'amore* is only slightly wider than that of *Morir*. The Canto reaching a tone and a half higher in its highest range; the Alto expanding in both directions –

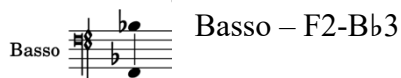
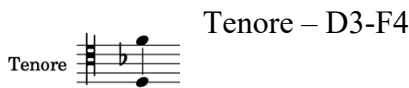
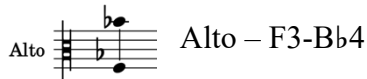
¹²⁵ Gioseppe Caimo, *Madrigali and canzoni for four and five voices*, ed. Leta E. Miller, Recent researches in the music of the Renaissance vol. 84-85 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1990).

¹²⁶ Newcomb, 'Giovanni Maria Nanino's Early Patrons in Rome', 121; Caimo, *Madrigali and canzoni for four and five voices*, xi.

¹²⁷ Caimo, *Madrigali and canzoni for four and five voices*, x.

¹²⁸ Newcomb, 'Giovanni Maria Nanino's Early Patrons in Rome', 118–19.

a tone lower and a semitone higher on each end; and the Tenore stretching a tone lower at its lowest point. The Basso stays in the same range as *Morir*.



Like *Morir*, *Sculpio nell 'alm'amore* is written in the Dorian mode, transposed into G, with Bb in the key signature. This piece, too, therefore uses F (soft) and C (natural) hexachords. Additionally, it reserves the strong cadence into G with a major third of B \sharp until the final cadence of the whole work. The rest of the cadences to G contain Bbs, creating softer cadence points and increasing the potency of the final cadence.

This madrigal uses a high number of Ebs – the note appears a total of 30 times in a relatively short piece of music. This has a drastic effect on the overall colour of the work, contributing to the predominant use of soft solmisation syllables, and adding extra tension through frequently stretching a semitone above the hexachord (*fa super la*). This is also reminiscent of Fontanelli's frequent use of Ebs – many times also as *fa super la* – in his previously discussed setting of *Morir non puo*. (See full work on pages 86-89 in the appendix).

By way of contrast, Caimo's 1584/5 setting of *Sculpio ne l'alma amore* has some key differences. It is for five voices – an added Quinto voice in the tenor range. It is also written in Dorian mode, however stays on D, rather than being transposed to G. Caimo also does not make use of the *fa super la* (in this case Bb) in the same way Casulana does. The note Bb appears five times (in contrast to 30 times in Casulana's setting), functioning harmonically, and not in fact as a *fa super la*.

Also worth noting is that Casulana only uses text repetition for the whole last two lines together at the end of the madrigal, choosing exactly which words she wants to emphasise in this way, but Caimo repeats smaller chunks of the phrases throughout.

Similarly to *Morir non puo*, this madrigal begins with a minor third from G to Bb. This time, however, the piece opens in the Alto voice, the note values are shorter (now a half note followed by quarter notes, instead of whole notes), leading to a shorter and swiftly moving opening phrase. The same gesture is immediately imitated an octave above in the Canto and then in unison in the Tenore. This is in contrast to *Morir*, in which each each voice begins in a different note and sings a different interval. In *Sculpito*, each of the three upper voices continues the imitation, ascending from Bb in a scale up to Eb and going down to D, each then separating to cadence on G into bar 4 with a minor third (Bb). The opening line of the poem, “*Sculpito ne l’alm’ Amore*,” (Love sculpted in my soul) is therefore established through imitative polyphony. In bar 3, the Canto decorates the word “*amore*” (love) with a descending scalic line, while the Alto (also employing syncopation) and Tenore join in dissonance before the cadence, thus highlighting the word further. Immediately, this madrigal has set a very different tone to that of its musical partner, it is faster-paced, and the lines weave more organically, compared to the pained expression of the slower-moving, tensely-intervaled “*Morir*” opening.

Figure 19 – Opening bars of Casulana’s *Sculpito nell’alm’amore*

The frequent use of Eb’s, with their *fa super la* colour, is notable for its special effect. Already in bars 2-3, and later 20, as well as 26-27 (in addition the repetition of this in 36-38), they

stretch the range just out of the hexachord by a semitone. This produces a pulling effect, contributing to the sense of painful longing portrayed in the text

Also similarly to *Morir*, *Sculpio* opens only in the three upper voices in polyphony, the Basso joining for the second phrase – in this case with a quarter note upbeat into bar 4 – however the texture for this phrase remains polyphonic. The addition of the Basso allows the texture to become fuller and richer and thus lend passion over the words “*l’immagin vostr’e*” (your image) in bars 4-5. The Basso’s gesture of D leaping up a fourth to G, down a third to E, and then up a semitone in bars 3-4 is imitated just two quarter note beats later in the Alto, in bar 4, starting now a fourth higher on G.

The text “*con si ardente face*” (with such an ardent flame) continue in polyphony in bars 5-10, the text repeating in a scattered manner in all voices, with the musical lines moving up and down – producing the overall effect of musically mimicking the flames.

Figure 20 – Bars 5-16 of Casulana’s *Sculpio nell’alm’amore*

In Bar 8, the Canto introduces a new motif which is later imitated in all voices. Three repeated quarter notes in succession are written over the repetition of the word “*ardente*”

(ardent). This motif is then imitated over the words "*l'abbrugia ogno*" (he burns it), first in bar 10 in the Alto on D, directly followed by the Tenore and Basso in bars 10-11 with a brief taste of homophony, playing with the motif on D. In bar 11, the Canto interjects with same motif, this time on A, a fifth above the Alto's entry. All voices then move towards a plagal cadence in bar 13 over the word "*more*" (dies). First the Alto moves over the word using Eb, then at the beginning of bar 14 the Alto cadences again to D. This does not produce a satisfying effect, due to resolving completely alone to the plagal mode (D) within G-Dorian. The "death" has not been fully reached. On "*che more*," Caimo comes to a full stop, the words are followed by a rest in all voices – a literal momentary death in the sound (bars 26-28). Casulana's choice here is less literal, and instead multilayered word-painting in its use of harmony as well as tapering texture to remain consistent with her overall expression of the text. It's a subtle and clearly carefully considered choice.

Compared to *Morir*, this madrigal is not so clear-cut in its textural structure. There are brief moments of homophony, but they are overrun by the pervasive polyphony which is almost constantly moving in quarter notes, the beat being handed between the voices. The first break in this flow is in bar 13 before directly launching into a brief two bars of homophony. Here the previous three-quarter-note motif is now sung together by all four voices, now over the words "*anz' ogn' indugio*," (indeed, every delay) continuing in homophony again, with some displacement to cadence into G in bars 16-18.

16

C. mo-ri - re li spia - ce & men-tr'el - la si pa - scie del de-si - o del de-si -

A. mo-rir li spia - ce & men-tr'el-la si pa - scie del de-si -

T. mo - rir in spia - ce & mentr' el - la si pas - cie del de-si -

B. mo-rir li spia - ce & men-tre el-la si pas - cie del de - si o del de - si -

23

C. o di mor - te di mor-te si sur' el - la & io & men-tr'el-la si pa - scie del de

A. o di mor - te di mor-te si sur-el-la & i-o & men-tr'el-

T. o di mor - te di mor-te si fur el-la & io ii & io & mentr' el -

B. o di mor - te di mor-te si fur' el - la & io & mentr' el - la si pas-cie del de -

Figure 21 – Bars 16-30 of Casulana’s *Sculpito nell’alm’amore*

This cadence, however, does not rest, but lands softly by keeping the minor third (B \flat), directly reflecting the dissatisfaction in the word “*spiace*” (displeases him). A performer may choose to alter the B \flat to a B \natural here, however since Casulana specified a B \natural at the end of this madrigal, and generally tended to notate major thirds in cadences in other works, it is not unreasonable to assume this B \flat was intentionally left alone, allowing the later cadence with B \natural to stand out by comparison. Caimo’s “*spiace*” (bars 31 and 34) leads to a plagal cadence, but specifies a major third, keeping a stronger cadence. Meanwhile, Casulana chose to keep it subdued.

Figure 22 – Bars 31-35 of Caimo’s *Sculpione a lma Amore*¹²⁹

In bar 18 of Casulana’s setting, the Canto and Basso immediately continue homorhythmically with the text “*e mentr’ ella si pascie del desio*” (and while it [my soul] is nourished by the desire). The following bars 19-23 remain polyphonic, the Alto and Tenore stagger entries in bar 19. “*Del desio*” (the desire”) is repeated by the Canto and Basso for emphasis, both taking turns to use Ebs to emphasise the unmet desire. These bars are later repeated in 28-33. This leads directly to bars 23-25 (later 33-36) and the words “*di morte*” (yet death). Again the cadential chords over these words have a dissatisfying effect. Not only that, but anti-climactic – staying true to the text.

After the flowing beat of the polyphony, these couple of bars stand out as the only true homophonic moments of the piece, which in turn lend clarity to their harmonic movements which further colour the text. In these bars, the cadences go to D with a major third on F# (bars 24 and 34), a plagal cadence, however the F# feels like an unresolved leading note to G. The following repetition of “*di morte*” then moves into a plagal cadence on G with the minor third of Bb creating a weak resolution (bars 25 and 35). In bars 23 and 33-34, Ebs appear as minor thirds in the Basso, creating soft chords with darker colours. These unsatisfying harmonies over such a highly charged word really paint the longing for this unmet metaphorical death, being “robbed of both her and me” (“*di morte si fur ell’ et io*”). Caimo

¹²⁹ Caimo, *Madrigali and canzoni for four and five voices*, 89–91.

does not repeat “*di morte*” as many times - the final line in his madrigal being only “*di morte si fur ell’ et io,*” which by contrast further emphasises the intentionality of Casulana’s writing here.

The image shows a musical score for five staves. The lyrics are: "pa- sce del de- sir Di mor- - te, si fu- i", "pa- sce) del de- sir Di mor- te, si fu- i", "pa- sce del de- sir Di mor- te,", "-sce del de- sir Di mor- - te,", and "pa- sce del de- sir Di mor- te,". A bar number "45" is written above the first staff.

Figure 23 – Bars 43-47 of Caimo’s *Sculpjo*, showing the only time the text “*di morte*” appears

In fact, it can be noted that any words in relation to death (*more, morire, morte*) are consistently given weak cadences within the context of Casulana’s setting.

Only in the final cadence is there prescribed a major third of B \sharp over G, finally releasing us from the continual dissatisfaction of the evaded “death” of the poem. This B \sharp is also in stark contrast to the two Ebs of the preceding bars. This chord, however, is missing the fifth (D), and is therefore not as full and satisfying as a typical closing cadence. This is, again, in contrast to *Morir*, which does finish with a D in the chord. This could be interpreted as further intensity in the climactic ending of *Morir non puo*, while *Sculpjo nell’alm’amore* is not afforded a fully satisfying final chord to consistently reflect the nature of the text – after the whole piece evading rich resolutions, the ending is anti-climactic.

37

C. sur'el - la & io.

A. si sur'el - la & i - o.

T. la & io ii & io.

B. fur el - la & io.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for four voices: Contralto (C), Alto (A), Tenore (T), and Basso (B). The music is in a minor key (one flat) and common time. The lyrics are in Italian. The Soprano part (C) has the lyrics 'sur'el - la & io.' The Alto part (A) has 'si sur'el - la & i - o.' The Tenor part (T) has 'la & io ii & io.' The Bass part (B) has 'fur el - la & io.' The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Figure 24 – The final bars of Casulana’s *Sculpio*


In *Sculpio nell 'alm 'amore*, the overall effect is one of dissatisfaction – clearly reflecting the unmet desire expressed in the poem. This is achieved through weak, or soft, cadences over the word “death” (as we have seen, a common metaphor for orgasm), frequent use of the *fa super la* syllable Eb to momentarily reach out of the hexachord, as well of use of this note in other places to soften the chords, and a prevailing use of beating polyphony which produces an ongoing flow, interrupted only by momentary moments of homophony, particularly noticeable on the words “*di morte*” which are in turn weakened by her harmonic choices. Casulana’s careful musical choices clearly reflect her intent and refined technical abilities to express the texts in detailed as well as overarching ways.


Vedesti Amor giamai


It appears that Casulana was the first to set this text to music, though the author of the poem is unknown. *Vedesti Amor giamai* was later also set to music by Gioseppe Caimo in 1584/5. It seems that, similarly to *Sculpio ne l'alm' Amore*, Caimo also may have also discovered this text in the re-publication of Casulana's *Primo libro* in 1583.


<i>Vedesti Amor giamai di sì bel sole,</i>	Love, have you ever seen come forth from such a lovely sun
<i>sì belle luci, e di sì bella pietra</i>	such lovely lights, and from so lovely a stone
<i>uscir sì belle fiamme e 'n quell' un core,</i>	such lovely flames, and [have you ever seen] in them a heart
<i>arder sì lieto e radopiand' il fuoco,</i>	burn so gladly and redouble the fire,
<i>si dolcemente radoppiiar il pianto</i>	so sweetly redouble the weeping,
<i>e far d' i danni suoi pietoso il cielo?</i>	and make heaven take pity on its grief? ¹³⁰

The overall range of *Vedesti* is slightly higher than *Morir* or *Sculpio*, its highest note reaching F5, and the lowest note being Bb2. The clefs correspond – the Canto stays in the C1 (or soprano) clef, while the Alto uses C2 (or mezzosoprano) clef, the Tenore moves to C3 (or alto) clef, and the Basso uses F3 (or baritone) clef. Similarly to the two previously discussed works, this madrigal is written in the Dorian mode transposed to G, with a Bb in the key signature, utilising the F (soft) and C (natural) hexachords. Casulana makes use of the note Eb a total of thirteen times, often appearing as a *fa super la* syllable, which affects the overall tone palette of the work as well as having special word-painting effects at specific moments (as will be explored below).

Canto  Canto – G4-F5

Alto  Alto – D4-C5

Tenore  Tenore – G3-A4

Basso  Basso – Bb2-D3

¹³⁰ Miller, xxxi.

Caimo's setting of *Vedesti* for five voices is, as with his setting of *Sculpito*, written in Dorian mode, without transposition. Additionally, he also makes use of the *fa super la* syllable (in this case B \flat) much more sparingly than Casulana – seven times in total.

While *Sculpito nell'alm'amore* is mostly polyphonic, with brief moments of homophony for effect, the opposite is true for *Vedesti Amor giamai*, which mostly stays homophonic while utilising polyphony in rare moments for special effect. The use of voice pairings is also notable throughout. Caimo, on the other hand, sticks to mostly tightly woven polyphony throughout his setting, passing motifs between the voices. With Casulana, poetic lines flow in and out of each other, with two major points at which all voices rest simultaneously, structurally breaking up the piece. She also preserves the enjambment of the poem, following the natural structure of the phrasing rather than composing line by line. Furthermore, Casulana only uses repetition twice. Once at the beginning, where the Canto and Alto repeat the opening words "*vedesti'amor giamai*" when the Tenore and Basso enter; as well as repeating the fourth line of text in two halves, "*arder si lieto*" and "*e radopiand'il fuoco*," for rhetorical effect. By contrast, Caimo utilises repetition throughout his setting – often repeating smaller fragments of text, and sometimes even single words (such as "*Uscir*" in bars 23-26).

Casulana begins the piece with the words "*Vedesti Amor giamai*" (Love, have you ever seen) being introduced polyphonically by imitation in voice pairings. The Canto enters in bar 1 with an ascending fifth on the notes G-D over the word "*Vedesti*," which is followed in bar 2 by the Alto in a modified imitation – an ascending fourth on the notes D-G. These perfect intervals produce a bold opening through the large intervals. In bar 4, the Tenore and Basso enter in imitation of this opening – the Basso entering slightly earlier, at the same time as the Tenore's D. This leads into a cadence in bar 4, however the cadence is a weak one with a minor third of B \flat in the Canto, which allows the voices to seamlessly flow through into the next bars, cadencing to D at the beginning of bar 8. However, this cadence is without a feeling of finality, the Alto and Tenore alone producing a lonely minor third. Although the voices enter through imitation in pairings, the pulse moves in half notes, always covered by at least one voice starting in bar 2, and thus creates a steady flow in effect close to homophony. This leads us directly into the next section.

Figure 25 shows the vocal parts for bars 1-8 of Casulana's *Vedesti Amor giamai*. The score is in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "Ve - de - sti'a - mor gia - mai ve - de - sti'a - mor gia - mai di si bel". The Canto part starts with a fermata on the first note. The Alto part has a fermata on the first note. The Tenore part has a fermata on the first note. The Basso part has a fermata on the first note. The lyrics are: "Ve - de - sti'a - mor gia - mai ve - de - sti'a - mor gia - mai di si bel".

Figure 25 – Bars 1-8 of Casulana's *Vedesti Amor giamai*

Bars 8-11 follow, the words “*di si bel sole*” (come forth from such a lovely sun) moving quickly through eighth notes in homophony, continued with contrasting slower moving homophony in half notes, with slight displacement for the cadence in bars 10-11. Eb, with its *fa super la* (soft) quality, is used in both the Canto and Basso in bars 8 and 9, seemingly emphasising the loveliness of the sun, and creating a strong contrast with the major cadence in bar 12, which gives a metaphorical brightness over the word “*luci*” (lights) through the use of B \natural (here solmised as *fa* but sung with a *mi* quality – hard). After this word, all voices pause for the length of an eight note, giving space to the splendour of the previous chord as well at the phrase that is about to follow. It is interesting that all voices come to a complete stop at this point, in the middle of line of text, but in fact following the natural flow of the phrase where a comma is placed.

Figure 26 shows the vocal parts for bars 7-13 of Casulana's *Vedesti*. The score is in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si mor gia - mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu ci e di si - i di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si". The Canto part starts with a fermata on the first note. The Alto part has a fermata on the first note. The Tenore part has a fermata on the first note. The Basso part has a fermata on the first note. The lyrics are: "mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si mor gia - mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu ci e di si - i di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si".

Figure 26 – Bars 7-13 of Casulana's *Vedesti*

Caimo does not choose to emphasise the word “*luci*” though harmonic choices or rests. Instead, the text repetition and weaving polyphony continues (see bars 11-15 in figure 27),

without referencing or deviating from the structure of the text in the way Casulana seems to have intentionally done, but rather maintaining the style established from the beginning.

Figure 27 – Bars 10-15 of Caimo's *Vedesti, Amor, giamai*¹³¹

Starting from the end of bar 12 in Casulana's setting, the words "*e di sì bella pietra*" (and from so lovely a stone) begin in homophony, again over half notes, cadencing to C over the word "*pietra*" (stone) – since this is not a strong cadence in G-Dorian mode, the tension is maintained. This then flows into the next line of the poem, respecting the enjambment, following with the words "*uscir sì belle fiamme*" (such lovely flames) from bar 16 in fusion of imitative polyphony and homophony at a quick pace over quarter notes, eighth notes, and dotted rhythms. The Alto and Tenore begin as a homophonic pair, with the Canto rhythmically imitating one quarter note later. In bar 18, the Canto also decorates the word "*fiamma*" (flames) with a descending scale in eighth notes, with two sixteenth notes on the end. For these words, the Basso is missing entirely, leaving only the upper three voices, and the Tenore disappears for the cadence in the beginning of bar 19. The effect is of a musical imitation of flames, the shorter-valued notes flickering in the higher-ranged voices. Caimo uses a cadence to the plagal mode on A with a major third (C#) in bar 27 on the word "*fiamme*," adding an open and bright feel to match the word. Casulana's word-painting of this point of the text is somewhat more detailed and poetic.

¹³¹ Caimo, *Madrigali and canzoni for four and five voices*, 101–4.

16

C. tra u - scir si bel-le fiam - me

A. tra u-scir si bel-le fiam - me

T. tra u-scir si bel-le fiam me

B. tra

Figure 28 – Bars 16-19 of Casulana’s *Vedesti*

26

C. - si bel- le fiam-me

A. si bel- le fiam- me

T. - fiam- me e'n

B. - si bel- le fiam-me e'n

B. - bel- le fiam- me,

Figure 29 – Bars 26-27 of Caimo’s *Vedesti*

Bar 19 continues with declamatory homophony, “*e ‘n quell’ un core,*” (and [have you ever seen] in them a heart). The Basso momentarily steps back in bar 21, while the upper three voices continue to sing “*arder sì lieto*” (burn so gladly) in homophony, though differing rhythmically over the word “*lieto*” (glady) – again word-painting these “gladly burning” flames. All voices repeat these words in confirmation in bars 22-24, again in homophony.

The rest of the line, “*e radopiand’ il fuoco*” (and redouble the fire), continues in bar 24 with the Canto and Basso in homophonic eighth notes, which the Alto imitates from the end of the bar into bar 25, all three voices cadencing into the plagal mode D with a major third (F#) in the Alto, leaving the Tenore out. The Canto, Alto, and Tenore immediately follow in

homophony again in eighth notes and with rhythmic displacement in the Alto, repeating the same text. This time the Basso is missing, until all four voices sing “*il fuoco*” (the fire) in bar 28-29 with a cadence on D, again with the major third (F#) in the Alto. This text has now been sung twice, and the strong cadence coupled with all four voices finally singing together after this repetition – each time only with three voices – and additionally a rest in all voices directly following the chord, all gives strength and emphasis to the word “fire.” While in *Morir non puo* and *Sculpito nell 'alm' amore*, Casulana repeated the final phrases to build up a musical climax at the end of the works, in *Vedesti Amor giamai* this is not the case. Instead, as we have just seen, she repeats each half the fourth line of text, “*arder sì lieto e radopiand' il fuoco*” (burn so gladly and redouble the fire) in the middle of the piece in bars 20-29. The word-painting is two-fold – the text itself literally being doubled, and this repetition also rhetorically serves to increase the passion around this line so full of metaphorical desire, especially when only one other small section of the text is repeated in the madrigal.

24

C. to e rad-dop - pia - ndo' il fuo-co e rad-dop-pia - d' il fuo - co si dol-ce - men -

A. to e ra-dop-pia-ndo' il fuo-co e ra-dop-pia - nd' il fuo - co si dol-ce - men -

T. to e ra-dop-pia - do' il fuo - co si dol-ce - men -

B. tro e ra-dop - pian - d' il fuo-co il fuo - co si dol-ce - men -

Figure 30 – Bars 24-31 of Casulana’s *Vedesti*

The first four lines of text flow into each other, without being broken up in the music – the rest in bar 12 even interrupts the second line of text, though this follows the natural enjambment of the poem. With a rest in bar 29, the final two lines are now separated them from the rest of the piece (see figure 30). In Caimo’s setting, in bar 42, a strong cadence to the plagal mode of A is reached in all voices; but while the upper four voices end the word “*foco*,” the bass begins the next line of text, taking no breaks between phrases. Caimo carefully kept the sections all connected and running into each other, while Casulana deliberately chose to have some sections running into each other, and other sections markedly separated to highlight certain words and phrases.

40

il fo-co, Sì

ra-do-piar il fo-co, Sì

- to e ra-do-piar il fo-co, Sì

il fo-co, Sì

Sì

Figure 31 – Bars 40-42 of Caimo’s *Vedesti*. Note that this excerpt obscures the clefs, which in descending order are: Treble, Treble, Octave Treble (one octave lower), Octave Treble (one octave lower), and Bass.

Immediately after the rest in bar 29, Casulana puts all voices again in homophony, and hold the preceding chord – though the Canto and Tenore switch notes. The word “*dolcemente*” (sweetly) retains the F# from the previous chord. One might assume this word would warrant an F natural with its corresponding soft solmisation syllable, however Casulana chose to keep the hard quality of the F#. This perhaps emphasises the intensity of the desire embedded in the piece, the sweet redoubling in this line referring to “*pianto*” (weeping) in bars 34-36 – weeping being an established metaphor for sexual ejaculation.¹³² “*Pianto*” is drawn out over these three bars, further highlighting the desire behind it (see figure 32).

In the final line of text, “*e far d’i danni suoi pietoso il cielo?*” (and make heaven take pity on its grief?), homophony is used once again with a taste of imitative polyphony in a recall to the opening of the piece. In bar 36, the Canto and Alto pair up again, this time in homophonic eighth notes over the drawn out “*pianto*” in the Tenore; and with F# again in the Alto, retaining the brightness of the chord. The Tenore and Basso couple up in imitation of the the Canto and Alto again as well in bar 37, this time imitating the homophony with slight alternation to the rhythm over the same text. While the rhythm of bars 38-42 is homophonic

¹³² Macy, ‘Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal’, 32.

with slight variation, especially in the cadence of bar 42, the text does not match up between the voices. In bar 40, the Basso sings an E \flat over the word “*pietoso*” (pity), while the Canto sings E \flat over the same word. In bar 42, the Canto repeats the E \flat , stretching itself out further, drawing out the word “pity” through continuing the moment of the *fa super la* stretching out of the hexachord, while the Alto sings an extremely uncommon A \flat . This brief chromatic moment in the Alto combined with the E \flat creates a very special coloured chord, highlighting the intense desire and longing expressed throughout the text. All voices finally meet when singing the second syllable of the word “*cielo*” in unison in bar 43, which finishes the piece on a cadence to G. Apart from the first cadence of the piece in bar 5, which uses a minor third (B \flat), this is the only other time a cadence to the home mode of G-Dorian is made. This time, the Canto has a B \natural , the hard solmisation quality of the note emphasising the end of the word “*cielo*” (heaven) in a harsher way – reminding us of the grief earlier in the line. This is in stark contrast to the E \flat and A \flat of the previous bars, and gives extra sense of finality to the piece. A similar technique is seen in Casulana’s *Sculpia nell ’alm Amore*, with the B \natural in the final cadence contrasting to the two E \flat s which had preceded it. *Vedesti* similarly forgoes the use of the fifth (D) in the final cadence, still not allowing the complete satisfaction of a full chord, and thus not allowing the complete satisfaction that is desired in the text.

33

C. $\text{#} \natural$
 piar' il pian - to e far d'i dan-ni suoi pie - to - so'il cie - lo.

A. #
 piar' il pian - to e far d'i dan - ni suoi pie - to - so' - il cie - lo.

T.
 piar' il pian - to e far d'i dan-ni suoi pie - to - so'il cie - lo.

B.
 piar' il pian - to e far d'i dan-ni suoi pie - to - so'il cie - lo.

Figure 32 – Bars 33-43 of Casulana’s *Vedesti*

Se scior si ved'il laccio

The text of *Se scior si ved'il laccio* again speaks of desire and longing, seeming to explore the complicated relationship between desire and love.


<i>Se scior si ved'il laccio a cui dianz'io</i>	If one would see the noose untie, to which just before
<i>vedend'il vag' aspetto</i>	seeing that [beautiful] appearance
<i>sì forte mi legai, s'altro desio</i>	I had strongly bound myself, if another desire
<i>o s'altro fuoco più mi scald'il petto,</i>	or another fire makes my heart burn more,
<i>te ne ringrati' Amore, /</i>	I thank you, Love, /
<i>te ne disgrati' Amore</i>	I disgrace you, Love,
<i>se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore.</i>	if a woman ever has mercy on my suffering. ¹³³

The text of this madrigal, by an unknown author, was also set by Philippe de Monte in a six-voice madrigal setting, possibly as early as 1563.¹³⁴ Though the first edition of this collection has been lost, subsequent reprints allow us to examine his setting, *Se scior si vede il laccio*. There are some slight differences between how the two composers write the text, the most noticeable being Casulana's use of multi-textuality. During the line "*Te ne ringrati' Amore,*" (I thank you, Love) Casulana has another voice simultaneously singing "*Te ne disgrati' Amore,*" (I disgrace you, Love). This extra word does not feature in Monte's setting, only the word "*disgratio*" is used. Monte also uses the words "*mirando il vago aspetto,*" instead of "*vedend'il vag' aspetto*" – though this does not change the meaning.


Though it also uses high clefs like *Vedesti*, the range of *Se scior* is similar to *Morir* or *Sculpio*. The Canto and Basso share D4 as the lowest and highest notes of their ranges, respectively. The Alto and Tenore's ranges are almost identical, the Tenore only reaching a tone lower than the Alto. The mode is Dorian, as with the other three of Casulana's madrigals in *Il Desiderio*. However, this is the only one of them not to transpose to G, but to stay in the original D, and so there is no B \flat in the key signature. The hexachords in use are therefore on C (natural) and G (hard), with a generally bright colour palette created by these hexachords, and includes some interesting uses of B \flat to special effect, as we shall see.


¹³³ Translated with the assistance of Eleonora Bišćević

¹³⁴ Mann, 'The Secular Madrigals of Filippo Di Monte 1521-1603', 126.

Canto  Canto – D4-E5

Alto  Alto – G3-A4

Tenore  Tenore – F3-A4

Basso  Basso – A2-D4

On the other hand, Monte's *Se scior* is in Dorian transposed to G, utilising the C (natural) and F (soft) hexachords and adding plenty of Ebs, creating an overall softer colour palette than Casulana's version.

Casulana begins with the Canto singing "*Se scior si ved' il laccio*" (If one would see the noose) with a motif in bars 1-3 notable for the fall and rise in fourths in bar 1 on the notes A-E-A. Both A and E are on hard solmisation syllables, A being *mi*, and E being *la*, immediately establishing the harsher colour palette of the piece. Halfway through the bar, the Basso follows in Canon (thought with altered note values) an octave below until the end of bar 3 before the cadence to C in bar 4. The Alto enters in the fourth beat of bar 1 with a falling fourth from E to B, referencing the opening interval of the Canto and Basso, but continues the phrase in stepwise motion before moving to cadence in bar 4. The Tenore does not follow the motif of a falling fourth but moves in counterpoint to support the other lines. The opening is thus in polyphony including canon at the octave below. This phrase overall moves through to bar 4 with a pulsating feel created by continuous quarter notes being placed amongst the voices from the second half of bar 1, especially noticeable while the canto sings "*laccio*" (noose) in bar 3 over a whole note while the lower three voices continue.

1

Se scior si ve-d'il lac - cio a cui di - an -

Se scior si ve-d'il lac - cio a cui di - an -

Se scior si ve - d'il lac - cio a cui dian -

Se scior si ve-d'il lac - cio a cui di - an - z'io ve -

Figure 33 – Opening bars 1-5 of Casulana's *Se scior*

Monte opens with canon as well, however with a different result to Casulana. The upper three voices enter with a motif of a half note followed by two quarter notes a minor third above, each voice entering on a higher note after the preceding one at the fifth and then the fourth with respect to the first note. The Alto and Tenore then join in bar 2, while the Basso still waits several bars to enter. There is an overall effect of ascension due to the rising motifs and higher voices.

1

Se scior su vede il

Se scior si vede il laccio

Se scior si vede il laccio a cui dianz'io

Se scior si vede

Se scior si vede

Figure 34 – Opening bars of Monte's *Se scior*

Casulana continues the musical line immediately with the second half of the first line of text, “a cui dianz'io” (to which just before), intertwined with the previous cadence in bar 4. The

polyphony continues the pulsating quarter notes and syncopations shared between the voices until bar 6.

Monte puts the first two lines of text together as one section, “*Se scior si ved’il laccio a cui dianz’io / vedend’il vag’ aspetto*,” and then repeats them with differing musical material.

While Casulana also maintains the enjambment of these two text lines, she reserves the first case of text repetition for the line “*vedend’il vag’ aspetto*” (seeing that [beautiful] appearance), emphasising the importance of the beauty of the poem’s subject in untying the noose.

The Basso initiates this in the last quarter note of bar 5, and from the second quarter note of bar 6, the Canto, Alto, and Tenore join in homophony moving in quarter notes over the Basso’s flowing line. The text is then repeated from the second quarter note of bar 8 with all voices in homophony, before the Tenore peels off with some displacement in bar 9, and all voices cadence together on F over the final syllable of “*aspetto*” in bar 11.

A similar pattern happens again with the text that follows. Casulana once again keeps the enjambment of the lines, “*sì forte mi legai, s’altro desio / o s’altro fuoco più mi scald’il petto*” (I had strongly bound myself, if another desire / or another fire makes my heart burn more) by withholding a cadence until the word “*petto*” in bar 21. Starting with the Tenore in bar 11, followed closely by the Canto in bar 11, the Alto in bar 12, and finally the Basso in bar 13, all voices stagger their entries singing the words “*si forte mi legai*” (I had strongly bound myself), beginning with a mini-motif of a repeated note which all voices use to begin their contrapuntal lines, though all beginning this motif at different pitches. The word “*legai*” (bound) is highlighted through the Alto’s melismatic cadential lead-up in bar 14, and the overall idea of binding oneself is painted in these bars through the weaving syncopated polyphony.

6

C. z'io ve - den - d'il va - g'a - spet - to ve - den - d'il va g'a -

A. z'io ve - den - d'il va - g'a - spet - to ve - den - d'il va g'a -

T. z'io ve - den - d'il va - g'a - spet - to ve - den - d'il va g'a - spet -

B. den - d'il va' - g'a - spet - to ve - dend' - il va - g'a -

10

C. spet - to si for - te mi le - ga - i s'al - tro de - si -

A. spet - to si for - te mi le - ga - i

T. - to si for - te mi le - ga - i s'al - tro de -

B. spet - to si for - te mi le - ga - i s'al -

Figure 35 – Bars 6-15 of Casulana’s *Se scior*

The mini-motif of repeated notes is extended in bars 14-15 in the Canto and Tenore, this time singing three notes in a row. The Canto sings three Gs, followed by two As, and the Tenore follows in canon a fifth below, continuing this canon until bar 17.

Monte also weaves “*si forte mi legai*” into the previous line, beginning on bar 15 in the Tenore, gradually joined by all other voices, most notably in bar 19 by the Canto, Sextus and Alto, which move in slower suspensions. By comparison, Casulana’s setting of this text seems more energetic and passionate.

The words “*o s’altro fuoco*” (or another fire) are also repeated in the Canto and Tenore in bars 16-19 for emphasis, while the Alto sings this line in ascending chromaticism in bars 17-19 on the notes F#-G-G#-A, highlighting the sexual tension behind the word “fire.” The word “*piu*” (more) is also strengthened through the use of the hard quality of the note F# in the Canto in bar 20. Following this in bar 20, “*mi scald’il*” (that burns me), all voices move in

homophony again, with the stagnant Canto and a diatonic step using an accidental to create a semitone interval, mimicking chromaticism in the Basso, both of which outline a voice crossing between the Alto and Tenore, creating a moment of further tension before the cadence to D with the major third (F#) in the second half of bar 21 on the word “petto” (heart), thus painting the tension of the desire being expressed.

When we reach the second half of bar 21, we then come across the aforementioned case of multi-textuality which begins over the cadence of the previous phrase. In the line “te ne ringrazi Amore,” (I thank you, Love) the word “ringratio” (thank) in the Canto is simultaneously sung as “disgratio” (disgrace) in the Basso, to both thank and disgrace love. This is then imitated in bar 22, with the Alto singing “ringratio” and the Tenore “disgratio,” switching so that the higher voice and lower voices each sing one of the words in each case. The words blend together to emphasise the tension inherent in love and desire. Finally in bar 23, all four voices finish the word “amore” together in homophony. The use of homophony – also on a sixteenth note level – and voice pairings makes this multi-textuality clear, and repetition of this in bars 32-33 reinforce and confirm the intentionality of this technique.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for four voices: Canto (C.), Alto (A.), Tenore (T.), and Basso (B.).

System 1 (Bars 21-23):

- Bar 21:**
 - C.: pet - to te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - A.: pet - to
 - T.: pet - to
 - B.: pet - to te ne di - sgra - ti'a - mo - re
- Bar 22:**
 - C.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - A.: re
 - T.: re
 - B.: re te ne di - sgra - ti'a - mo - re
- Bar 23:**
 - C.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - A.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - T.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - B.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re

System 2 (Bars 32-34):

- Bar 32:**
 - C.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - A.: re
 - T.: re
 - B.: re te ne di - sgra - ti'a - mo - re
- Bar 33:**
 - C.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - A.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - T.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - B.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
- Bar 34:**
 - C.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - A.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - T.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re
 - B.: re te ne rin - gra - ti'a - mo - re

Figure 36 – Bars 21-23 and 32-34 of Casulana’s *Se scior*, showing the setting of “te ne ringratio/disgratio”

While there is a high likelihood that this madrigal was often sung by groups of men at salons and academies, there is no reason why women might not also have purchased this anthology for private use. Willimann notes that if we assume two women sing the Canto and Alto parts, and two men sing the Tenore and Basso parts, then one of each gender sings each word, the

men as well as the women both thanking and disgracing love.¹³⁵ If this was indeed ever the case, a layer of interest would be added in relation to the common discourse on male and female sexuality and desire. Casulana was surely aware of this possibility for performance and the potential underlying implications.

Monte also uses sixteenth notes over the words “*te ne disgratio.*” Instead of repeating a larger section here, he scatters this small motif through the voices, with some repeating it. This is passed through relatively quickly, moving onto the final phrase of the text.

Figure 37 shows a musical score for six voices (Canto, Soprano, Quarta, Alto, Tenore, Basso) across five bars (46-50). The lyrics are: "mai mi scald'il petto Te ne disgratio amore ii". The score illustrates the scattering of sixteenth notes over the words "Te ne disgratio".

Figure 37 – Bars 46-50 of Monte’s *Se scior*, showing the scattering of sixteenth notes over the words “*Te ne disgratio*”

The line, “*se donn’ha mai pietà del mio dolore*” (if a woman ever has mercy on my suffering) follows from the final quarter note of bar 23 in the Alto and Tenore voices. The Canto enters from the second quarter note beat of bar 24, and the Basso stays silent. The slight syncopation in the Alto in this entry, followed by the Canto creates staggered entries for the text, but the Canto and Alto then meet in homophony on the words “*mai pietà*” in bar 25, and are joined by the Tenore in bar 26 for “*del mio*” before the word “*dolore*” (suffering) is then broken up again between the voices. Bb appears twice in the Tenore in this short passage; in bar 24 as part of a descent to A on the word “*pietà*” (mercy) and then in bar 27 as a *fa super la* note on the word “*dolore,*” both times adding extra tension to the words. The lines in all voices are

¹³⁵ Willimann, ‘»Indi Non Più Desio«: Vom Verzichten Und Begehren’, 80.

defined by their repeated descents, reflecting the suffering and desire for mercy in the text. In bar 27, the Alto and Basso pick up the repetition of the line “*se donn’ha mai pietà del mio dolore*” in homophony

This entire sequence is repeated in bars 34-43, ending the piece. Interestingly, in the Canto, in bars 28-31 (repeated in bars 39-42) a similar motif is repeated but with a noticeable pitch change. While in bars 29 and 40 the descending line passes from a D down to A through C and B \natural , sitting in the G (hard) hexachord; the following bars 30 and 41 similarly descend from C down to A, but this time pass through a B \flat . This creates a strong contrast in colour from the hard *mi* syllable of B \natural to the suddenly soft *fa* syllable of B \flat , yet further emphasising the suffering of the text. Both times, this results in a cadence to D with a major third of F# in the Alto.

The image shows two systems of musical notation for the final bars of Casulana's *Se scior*. The first system covers bars 34-39, and the second system covers bars 40-43. Each system includes four staves: Canto (C), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are written below the notes. In the first system, the lyrics are: C: mo-re se don-n'ha mai pie-tà del mio do-lo-re se don-n'ha; A: mo-re se don-n'ha mai pie-tà del mio do-lo-re se don-n'ha mai pie-tà del; T: mo-re se don-n'ha mai pie-tà del mio do-lo-re del; B: mo-re se don-n'ha mai pie-tà del. In the second system, the lyrics are: C: mai pie-tà del mio do-lo-re.; A: mio do-lo-re del mio do-lo-re.; T: mio do-lo-re del mio do-lo-re.; B: mio do-lo-re del mio do-lo-re. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and accidentals (sharps and flats).

Figure 38 – The final bars, 34-43, of Casulana’s *Se scior*

This is somewhat reminiscent of the final bars of Caimo’s *Sculpio*, where he descends from C to A through B \flat and cadences with a D chord with F#. Casulana, however highlights this motif through contrasting it with a B \natural in the bars before.

55

fu- r'el- - la et i- o.)

si fu- r'el- la et i- o.

- la et i- o, fu- r'el-la et i- o.

si fu- r'el- la et i- o.

fu- r'el- la et i- o.

Figure 39 – Bars 53-56 of Caimo’s *Sculpio ne l’alma Amore*. Note that this excerpt obscures the clefs, which in descending order are: Treble, Treble, Octave Treble (one octave lower), Octave Treble (one octave lower), and Bass.

Monte emphasises the mercy and pain of the last line of text through beginning on “*Se donn’ha mai pietà*” in homophony, first in bars 53-55 between the Canto, Sesto, Quinto, and Tenore voices, and then in bars 70-72 in all six voices. Each time, the voices peel off into polyphony on the word “*pietà*” with several suspensions and melismas between the voices which add further tension to the word “*dolore*” (suffering), eventually cadencing in D with a major third of F# in bar 60 and then finally in the home mode of G with the major third of B \sharp in bar 70 to end the piece.

52

C. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolo -

S. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore.

Q. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore

A. amore

T. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore

B. gratio a-more

60

C. re ii

S. ii

Q. ii

A. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolo - re.

T. ii

B. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore.

Figure 40 – Bars 53-70, the closing phrases of Monte's *Se scior*

Monte barely uses all six voices in his setting at one time, usually reserving use of the full force of all voices for select moments (for example bars 11-13, bars 46-47 to emphasise the warmth of the heart, and bars 60-69 to end the piece). However, Casulana writes the opposite way. In special moments, the Basso is removed for brief moments to make way for focus on the upper three voices. This is most notable in bars 24-25 (and their repetition in bars 35-37), allowing the words “*Se donn'ha mai pietà*” to be further impassioned through a textural build-up of voices.

Conclusion

Peter Schubert beautifully sums up Casulana's compositional abilities when he says that she "clearly knew the tricks of the trade" and that her works "exhibit almost all of the compositional techniques available to a composer in the mid-sixteenth century (canto firmo and extended canon are obviously absent, as they never occur in madrigals)."¹³⁶ Though he was looking primarily at *Per lei pos' in oblio* from her second collection of 1570, when reviewing the above analyses of Casulana's four madrigals from *Il Desiderio* in 1566, these statements hold up to be true.

What we consistently see throughout these four madrigals is Casulana's fluency in a variety of techniques, this includes using canon (in motific form), imitation, and a mastery of counterpoint when writing polyphony. Additionally, she successfully used homophony and rhythmic flow to reflect natural speech patterns, as well as weaving voice pairings or excluding one voice at times to give space to the others. These textural devices also served to reflect the structure of the poetry she used, whether through reflecting the text line by line, or respecting the inherent enjambment, she was careful to preserve the natural rhythm of the text. The inclusion of occasional chromaticism was used to very special effect, highlighting particularly emotive phrases and words. Moreover, she masterfully exploited the colour qualities of the solmisation system to add layers of emotion to the texts. All of these were employed frequently using stark contrasts to each other, for example alternating between polyphony and homophony, or putting hard and soft quality solmisation syllables close to each other, further highlighting the intentionality of her writing. She even used multi-textuality in *Se scior* to expand the meaning of the poem in a way that could only be achieved through live performance. Clearly, she did indeed have a firm grasp of the common and popular madrigal-writing techniques of her time. Furthermore, these techniques evidently did not exist in her works merely to prove that she could do them, but served the purpose of detailed word-painting – ultimately revealing her approach as one of expressive focus and clarity. This is arguably the defining feature of her music.

¹³⁶ Schubert, 'Maddalena Casulana, "Per Lei Pos' in Obio" from *Cinta Di Fior* (1570)', 49–50.

Bearing all this in mind, when we reflect once more on the statement of her 1568 *Primo libro* – that she wished to show the world through her music that women had the same intellectual capabilities as men – it is clear that she placed a high amount of care into creating her madrigals in order to use her metaphorical voice to speak through her works. As we have seen, though her efforts were surely noted by her contemporaries, and she clearly garnered some degree of respect from them, they were simultaneously unable to value her intellectual abilities, and unable to separate her from the highly sexualised sixteenth-century image of a female musician.

Also based on her words in the 1568 dedication, it is reasonable to suppose that she hoped other women would perhaps be inspired by her publication and thus feel empowered to publish their own music too. It is impossible to know how directly her impact was felt by other women in her time, since no records survive in which any of the female composers of the sixteenth century (or indeed any women at all) reference her. However, considering her widespread success as a composer – with several published collections, including reprints – she evidently overcame many of the challenges female musicians of the sixteenth century shared. Not only this, but she clearly showed an intent to do so, not only stated outright in her *Primo libro*, but also followed by her subsequent publications, the confident extension of her professional name, and continued performance activities. While madrigals were most often purchased by groups of male friends to sing together in academies and salons, and were therefore most likely the larger target group for selling her works, it is also highly likely that amateur female musicians purchased her works to perform and enjoy in the privacy of their own homes in all-female or mixed ensembles. Furthermore, since records often list Casulana alongside other female performers and composers in the same event, there can be no doubt she had regular contact with her fellow professional female musicians. There may have even been a sense of community and camaraderie amongst them. It therefore seems impossible to imagine that Casulana did not have a palpable impact on other female musicians and aspiring female composers of her time.

As noted previously, Casulana's performance career in academies and salons would have given her plenty of opportunities to showcase and sell her works to academy members and eventually be performed by them. Her madrigals being sung at these gatherings meant that she in fact found a discrete way to infiltrate these traditionally male-only spaces and insert a female voice into these conversations which were so often about women and their sexuality.

Through mastering and contributing to the madrigal genre, Casulana found a way to take ownership of the discussion about female sexuality and ensure a female voice was included in these discussions. Furthermore, if women were also buying her works to enjoy privately, Casulana then provided them with a medium through which to also take ownership of the discussion around their sexualities; madrigals written by someone who shared and could understand their experiences.

Though Casulana was unable to be valued purely for her skills in her own time, perhaps upon reflection on her works and an understanding of the dynamics at play for female musicians – and therefore what she truly was able to achieve – we may be able to better appreciate and value her carefully crafted music today.

Appendix

Find below all pieces discussed in the above analyses.

The first four pieces are editions of the following pieces by Madalena Casulana:

Morir non puo

Sculpio nell 'alm'Amore

Vedesti Amor giamai

Se scior si ved'il laccio

These editions were created by Liane Sadler for the purposes of this thesis and are not for reproduction. They are based on the part-books from *Primo libro de diversi eccellentissimi autori a quattro voci intitolato Il desiderio. Novamente posti in luce, per Giuloi Bonagionta da S. Genesi, Musico dell'Illustriss. Sig. di Vineggia*. (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1566), accessed through microfilm at the library of the University of Basel. These part-books were compared with the Tenore part-book of Casulana's *Primo Libro de Madrigali a quattro voci, novamente posti in luce, e con ogni diligentia corretti* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568), accessed through digitisation by the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna, and the the Canto and Tenore part-books of the 1583 reprint of her *Primo libro* (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbia, 1583), accessed through digitisation at the Biblioteca Estense.

Note values have been retained, but appear in these editions in their modern form (a semibrevis becomes a whole note, a semiminima becomes a quarter note, and so on). The clefs have been altered to modern clefs. Bar lines have been inserted for purposes of easily identifying sections for discussion, but do not exist in the original notation. Musica ficta have been suggested above the staves. The text has been underlaid as faithfully as possible to the original parts, while also attempting to underlay it precisely and appropriately with the music – this particular task was executed with the assistance of Eleonora Bišćević.

Morir non puo

from *Il Desiderio*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1566

Madalena Casulana
ed. Liane Sadler

1

Musical score for the first system of the piece. It features four vocal parts: Canto, Alto, Tenore, and Basso. The Canto part begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The Alto, Tenore, and Basso parts begin with a bass clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are: "Morir non puo" for all parts. The Canto part has the lyrics "Mo - rir non puo'il mio co -". The Alto part has the lyrics "Mo - rir non puo'il mio co -". The Tenore part has the lyrics "Mo - rir non puo'il mio co -". The Basso part has the lyrics "Morir non puo".

Canto
Morir non puo
Mo - rir non puo'il mio co -

Alto
Morir non puo
Mo - rir non puo'il mio co -

Tenore
Morir non puo
Mo - rir non puo'il mio co -

Basso
Morir non puo

7

Musical score for the second system of the piece. It features four vocal parts: C. (Canto), A. (Alto), T. (Tenore), and B. (Basso). The C. part begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The A. part begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The T. part begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The B. part begins with a bass clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are: "re e'uc - ci - der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce ma" for C. and B., "re e'uc - ci - der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce ma trar non si" for A., and "re e'u - ci - der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce ma trar non si puo" for T.

C.
re e'uc - ci - der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce ma

A.
re e'uc - ci - der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce ma trar non si

T.
re e'u - ci - der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce ma trar non si puo

B.
E'u - ci - der-lo vor - rei poi che vi pia - ce ma trar non

14

C. trar non si fuo - - - ri dal pet-to vo-str'o - ve gran

A. puo fuo - ri non si puo fuo - ri dal pet-to vo-str'o - ve gran

T. fuo-ri ma trar non si puo fuo - ri dal pet-to vo-str'o - ve gran

B. si puo fuo - ri non si puo fuo - ri dal pet-to vo-str'o - ve gran

22

C. tem - po gia - ce & uc - ci den - do - lo io co - me de -

A. tem - po gia - ce & uc - ci den - do - lo io co - me de -

T. tem - po gia - ce & uc - ci den - do - lo io co - me de -

B. tem - po gia - ce & uc - ci den - dol - lo io co - me de -

28

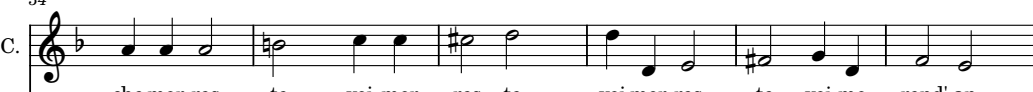
C. sio so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor - re - ste voi so


A. sio so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor - res - ste voi so che mor -


T. - sio so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor - re - ste voi mor -


B. sio so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor - re - ste voi so che mor -

34

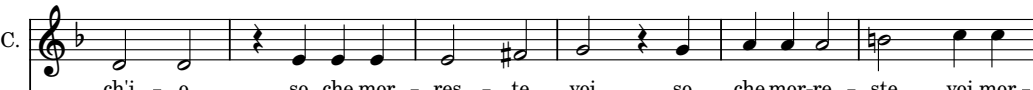
C.  che mor-res - te voi mor - res - te voi mor-res - te voi mo - rend' an -


A.  re - ste voi mor-re - ste voi mo - rend' an -


T.  re - ste voi mor - re - ste voi mo - rend' an - ch'i -

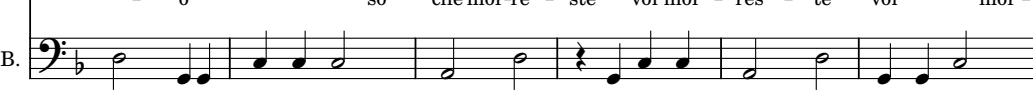
B.  re - ste voi mor-re - ste voi mor - re - ste voi mo - rend' an -

40


C.  ch'i - o so che mor - res - te voi so che mor-re - ste voi mor -


A.  ch'i - o so che mor - res - te voi so che mor - res - te voi mor-res -


T.  - o so che mor-re - ste voi mor - res - te voi mor -

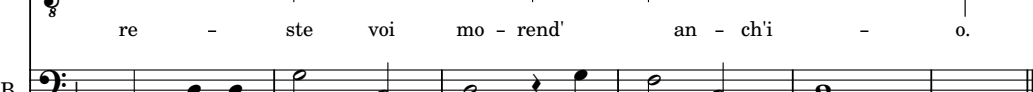
B.  ch'i - o so che mor-re - ste voi so che mor - re - ste voi mor-re -

46

C.  res - te voi mor-re - ste voi mo - rend' an - ch'i - o.

A.  - te voi mo - rend' an - ch'i - o.

T.  re - ste voi mo - rend' an - ch'i - o.

B.  ste voi mor - re - ste voi mo - rend' an - ch'i - o.

Sculpio nell 'alm' amore

from *Il Desiderio*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1566

Madalena Casulana
ed. Liane Sadler

Canto
Sculpio nell 'alm' amore

Alto
Sculpio nell 'alm' amore

Tenore
Sculpio nell 'alm' amore

Basso
Sculpio nell 'alm' amore

L'im -

4

C.
re l'im - ma - gin vo - str'e con s'ar - den - te ar den - te fa -

A.
re l'im - ma - gin vo - str'e con si ar - den - te fa - ce ar den te fa

T.
re l'im - ma - gin vo - stra e con s'ar - den - te e con s'ar - den - te fa -

B.
ma - gin vostr' - e con s'ar - den - te e con s'ar - den - te fa -

10


C.  ce l'a - bru-gia'ogn' hor che mo - re an-zi'ogn'-in - du - gio di

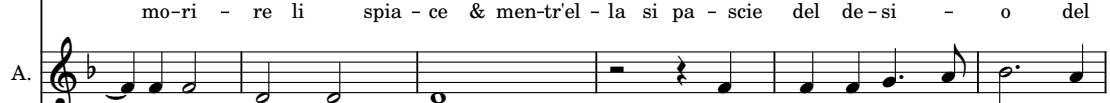
A.  ce l'a bru-gia'ohn' hor che mo - re ogn' hor che mo - re an-z'ogn'-in - du - gio di


T.  ce l'a - bru - gia ohn'hor che mo - re anz' ogn' in - du - gio di

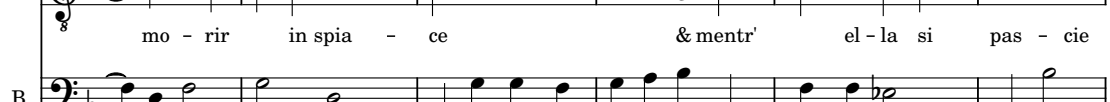
B.  ce l'a - bru - gia ogn'hor che mo - re anz' ogn' in - du - gio di

16

C.  mo-ri - re li spia - ce & men-tr'el - la si pa - scie del de - si - o del

A.  mo-rir li spia - ce & men-tr'el-la si pa - scie

T.  mo - rir in spia - ce & mentr' el - la si pas - cie

B.  mo-rir li spia - ce & men-tre el-la si pas - cie del de - sio del

22

C.  de - si - o di mor - te di mor - te si sur' el - la

A.  del de - si - o di mor - te di mor - te si sur'-el - la &

T.  del de - si - o di mor - te di mor - te si fur el - la & io ii

B.  de - si - o di mor - te di mor - te si fur' el - la

28

C. & # io & men-tr'el-la si pa - scie del de sio del de - si - o di

A. i - o & men-tr'el - la si pa - scie del de - si - o di

T. & io & men-tr'el - la si pas - cie del des - i - o di

B. & io & men-tr'el - la si pas - cie del de - si - o del de - si - o di

34

C. mor - te di mor - te si sur' el - la & io.

A. mor - te di mor - te si sur' el - la & i - o.

T. mor - te di mor - te si fur el - la & io ii & io.

B. mor - te di mor - te si fur el - la & io.

Vedesti amor giamai

from *Il Desiderio*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1566

Madalena Casulana
ed. Liane Sadler

System 1 (Measures 1-6):

Canto: Vedesti amor giamai
Ve - de - sti'a - mor gia - mai ve - de - sti'a - mor gia -

Alto: Vedesti amor giamai
Ve - de - sti'a - mor gia - mai, ve - de - sti'a -

Tenore: Vedesti amor giamai
Ve - de - sti'a - mor gia - ma -

Basso: Vedesti amor giamai
Ve - de - sti'a - mor gia -

System 2 (Measures 7-13):

C. mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si

A. mor gia - mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu ci e di si

T. - i di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si

B. mai di si bel so - le si bel - le lu - ci e di si

System 3 (Measures 14-17):

C. bel - la pie - tra u - scir si bel - le fiam - me e' in quell' un co - re ar -


A. bel le pie tra u - scir si bel - le fiam - me e' in quell' un co - re ar -


T. bel - la pie - tra u - scir si bel - le fiam me e' in quell' un co - re ar -


B. bel - la pie - tra e' in quell' un co - re

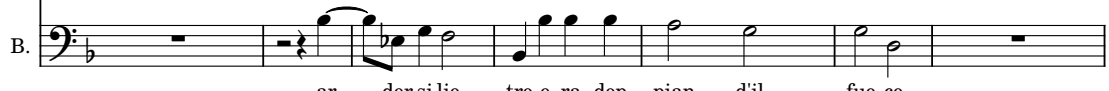
*In the 1568 and 1583 prints of Casulana's *Il primo libro de quattro voci*, this note is a G

21

C.  - der si lie - to ar - der si lie - to e rad-dop - pia - ndo'il fuo-co e rad-dop-pia -

A.  - der si lie - to ar - der si lie - to e ra-dop-pia-ndo'il fuo-co e ra-dop-pia -

T.  - der si lie - to ar - der si lie - to e ra-dop-pia -

B.  ar - der si lie - tro e ra-dop - pian - d'il fuo-co

28


C.  - d'il fuo - co si dol - ce - men - te ra - dop - piar' il pian -


A.  - nd'il fuo - co si dol - ce - men - te ra - dop - piar' il pian -

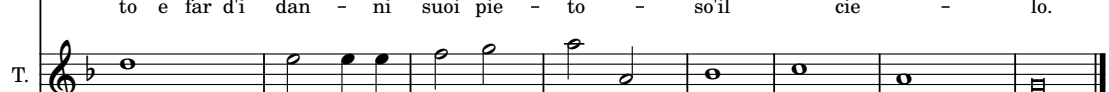
T.  - do'il fuo - co si dol - ce - men - te ra - dop - piar' il pian -

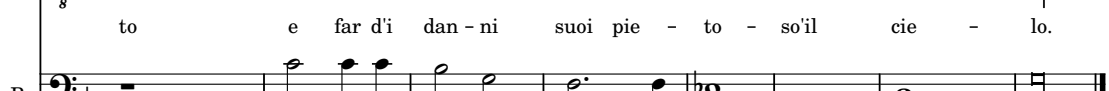
B.  il fuo - co si dol - ce - men - te ra - dop - piar' il pian - to

36

C.  to e far d'i dan - ni suoi pie - to - so'il cie - lo.

A.  to e far d'i dan - ni suoi pie - to - so'il cie - lo.

T.  to e far d'i dan - ni suoi pie - to - so'il cie - lo.

B.  e far d'i dan - ni suoi pie - to - so'il cie - lo.

Se scior si ved'il laccio

from *Il Desiderio*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1566

Madalena Casulana
ed. Liane Sadler

1

Canto		Se scior si ved'il laccio Se scior si ve-d'il lac - cio a cui di - an -
Alto		Se scior si ved'il laccio Se scior si ve-d'il lac - cio a cui di - an -
Tenore		Se scior si ved'il laccio Se scior si ve - d'il lac - cio a cui dian -
Basso		Se scior si ved'il laccio Se scior si ve-d'il lac - cio'a cui di - an - z'io ve -

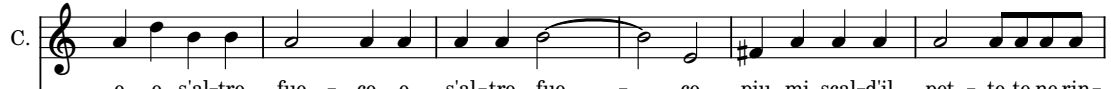
6

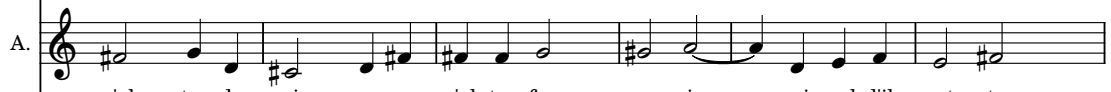
C.		z'io ve - den - d'il va - g'a - spet - to ve - den - d'il va - g'a -
A.		z'io ve - den - d'il va - g'a - spet - to ve - den - d'il va - g'a -
T.		z'io ve - den - d'il va - g'a - spet - to ve - den - d'il va - g'a - spet -
B.		den - d'il va' - g'a - spet - to ve - dend' - il va - g'a -

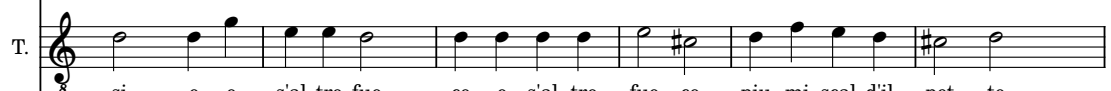
10


C.		spet - to si for - te mi le - ga - i s'al - tro de - si -
A.		spet - to si for - te mi le - ga - i
T.		- to si for - te mi le - ga - i s'al - tro de -
B.		spet - to si for - te mi le - ga - i s'al -

16

C.  o o s'al-tro fuo - co o s'al-tro fuo - co piu mi scal-d'il pet - to te ne rin-

A.  s'al - tro de - si - o o s'al-tro fuo - co piu mi scal-d'il pet - to

T.  si - o o s'al-tro fuo - co o s'al-tro fuo - co piu mi scal-d'il pet - to

B.  tro de-si - o o s'al-tro fuo - co piu mi scal-d'il pet - to te ne di -

22

C.  gra - ti'a - mo - re se don-n'ha mai pie-tà del mio do-lo - re

A.  te ne di-sgra-ti'a - mo - re se don - n'ha mai pie-tà del mio do - lo - re se don-n'ha

T.  te ne rin-gra-ti'a - mo - re se don-n'ha mai pie - tà del mio do - lo - re

B.  sgra - ti'a - mo - re se don-n'ha

28

C.  se don-n'ha mai pie - tà del mio do - lo - re te ne rin - gra - ti'a -

A.  mai pie - tà del' mio do - lo - re del mio do-lo - re te ne dis-gra-ti'a -

T.  del mio do-lo - re del mio do - lo - re te ne rin-gra-ti'a -

B.  mai pie - tà del mio do - lo - re del mio do - lo - re te ne di - sgra - ti'a -

34

C. mo - re se don - n'ha mai pie - tà del mio do - lo - re se don - n'ha

A. mo - re se don - n'ha mai pie - tà del mio do - lo - re se don - n'ha mai pie - tà del

T. mo - re se don - n'ha mai pie - tà del mio do - lo - re del

B. mo - re se don - n'ha mai pie - tà del

40

C. mai pie - tà del mio do - lo - re.

A. mio do - lo - re del mio do - lo - re.


T. mio do - lo - re del mio do - lo - re.

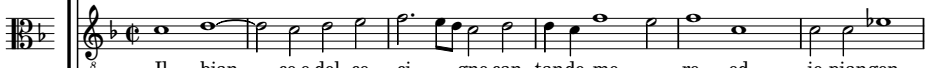
B. mio do - lo - re del mio do - lo - re.

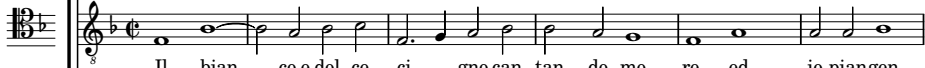
*Although not notated as such in *Il Desiderio* of 1566, the 1568 and 1583 prints of Casulana's *Il primo libro de quattro voci* show this note clearly marked as B \flat

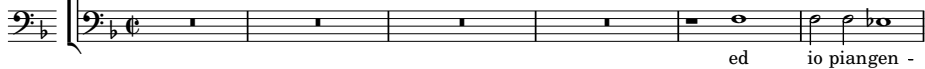
Il bianco e dolce cigno

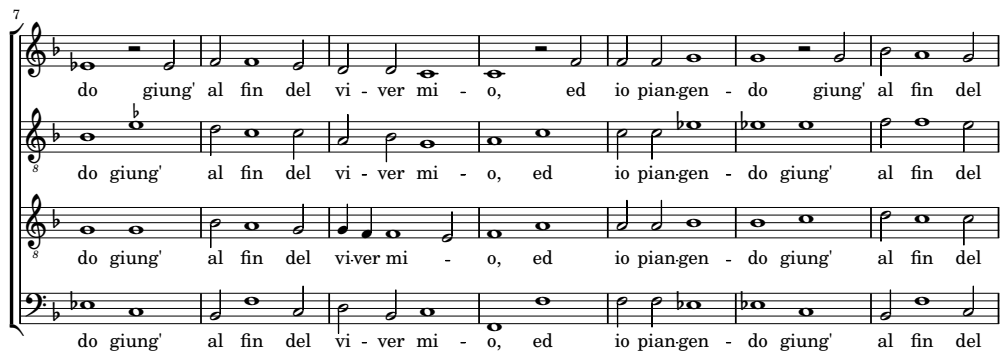
Jacques Arcadelt

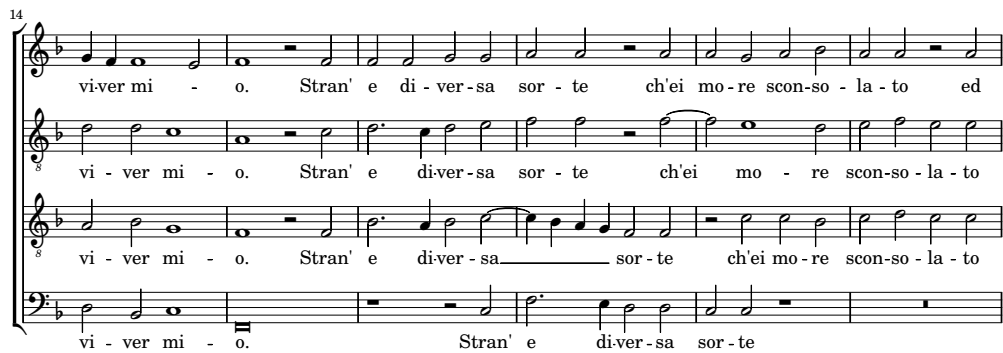
Cantus  Il bian - co e dol - ce ci - gno can - tan - do mo - re, ed io piangen -

Altus  Il bian - co e dol - ce ci - gno can - tando mo - re, ed io piangen -

Tenor  Il bian - co e dol - ce ci - gno can - tan - do mo - re, ed io piangen -

Bassus  ed io piangen -

7  do giung' al fin del vi - ver mi - o, ed io piangen - do giung' al fin del
do giung' al fin del vi - ver mi - o, ed io piangen - do giung' al fin del
do giung' al fin del vi - ver mi - o, ed io piangen - do giung' al fin del
do giung' al fin del vi - ver mi - o, ed io piangen - do giung' al fin del

14  vi - ver mi - o. Stran' e di - ver - sa sor - te ch'ei mo - re scon - so - la - to ed
vi - ver mi - o. Stran' e di - ver - sa sor - te ch'ei mo - re scon - so - la - to
vi - ver mi - o. Stran' e di - ver - sa sor - te ch'ei mo - re scon - so - la - to
vi - ver mi - o. Stran' e di - ver - sa sor - te

20  io mo - ro be - a - - - to. Mor - te che nel mo - ri - re
ed io mo - ro be - a - - - to. Mor - te che nel mo - ri - re
ed io mo - ro, ed io mo - ro be - a - - - to. Mor - te che nel mo - ri - re
ed io mo - ro be - a - - - to. Mor - te che nel mo - ri - re

27

m'empie di gio-ia tutt' e di de - si - re. Se nel mo - rir al - tro do - lor non sen -

m'empie di gio-ia tutt' e di de - si - re. Se nel mo - rir al - tro do - lor non sen -

m'empie di gio-ia tutt' e di de - si - re. Se nel mo - rir al - tro do - lor non sen -

m'empie di gio-ia tutt' e di de - si - re. Se nel mo - rir al - tro do - lor non sen -

34

to, di mil - le mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to,

to, di mil - le mort' il di, di mil - le mort' il di, di mil - le mort' il di, di

to, di mil - le mort' il di, di mil - le mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to, di mil - le mort' il

to, di mil - le mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to, di mil - le

40

di mil - le mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to.

mil - le mort' il di, di mil - le mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to.

di di mil - le mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to, di mil - le mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to.

mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to, di mil - le mort' il di sa - rei con - ten - to.

3. Morir non può il mio core

Giovanni Maria Nanino

Canto

Quinto

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Mo- rir non può il mio co- re, Euc-
Mo- rir non può il mio co- re, Euc- ci- der-lo, Euc-
Mo- rir non può il mio co- re,
Mo- rir non può il mio co- re,
Mo- rir non può il mio co- re, Euc-
Mo- rir non può il mio co- re,

4

-ci- der-lo, Euc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, Euc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, poi che vi pia-
-ci- der-lo vor- rei, Euc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, poi che vi pia- ce, poi che vi pia-
Euc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, Euc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, poi che vi pia-
-ci- der-lo vor- rei, (Euc- ci- der-lo vor- rei,) poi che vi pia-
Euc- ci- der-lo vor- rei, (Euc- ci- der-lo vor- rei,) poi che vi pia-

7

-ce. Ma trar non si può fuo- ri, Ma trar non si può fuo- ri Dal pet- to vo-
-ce. Ma trar non si può fuo- ri, Ma trar non si può fuo- ri Dal pet- to vo-
-ce. Ma trar non si può fuo- ri, Ma trar non si può fuo- ri Dal pet- to vo-
-ce. Ma trar non si può fuo- ri, Ma trar non si può fuo- ri Dal pet- to vo-
-ce. Ma trar non si può fuo- ri Dal pet- to vo-

10

-stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci- den- do-
 -stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci-
 -stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci-
 -stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci-
 -stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce,

14

-l'io co- me de- si- o, Sò che mor-
 -den- do-l'io co- me de- si- o, Sò che mor- re- ste voi,
 -den- do-l'io co- me de- si- o, Sò che mor- re- ste voi, Sò che mor-
 -den- do-l'io co- me de- si- o, Sò che mor- re- ste voi, Sò che mor-
 Sò che mor- re- ste voi,

17

- re- ste voi, mo- ren- d'an- ch'i- o. Et uc- ci-
 Et uc- ci- den- do-
 -re- ste voi, mo- ren- d'an- ch'i- o. Et uc- ci-
 -re- ste voi, mo- ren- d'an- ch'i- o. Et uc- ci-
 mo- ren- d'an- ch'i- o.

20

-den- do-l'io co-me de- si- - o, Sò che mor- re- ste voi,
-l'io co- me de- si- o, Sò che mor-
den- do-l'io co-me de- si- - o, Sò che mor- re- ste voi, (Sò che mor-
-den- do-l'io co-me de- si- o, Sò che mor- re- ste voi, Sò che mor-
Sò che mor- re- ste, Sò che mor-

23

Sò che mor- re- ste voi, mo- ren- d'an- ch'i- o.
- re- ste voi, Sò che mor-re- ste voi, mo- ren- d'an-ch'i- o.
-re- ste voi,) Sò che mor- - re- ste voi, mo- ren- - d'an- ch'i- - o.
-re- ste voi, mo- ren- - d'an-ch'i- o.
-re- ste voi, mo- ren- d'an- ch'i- o.

12

-stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci- den-dol io, Et uc- ci- den-dol io co- me de-
 -stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci- den-dol io co- me de-
 -stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci- den-dol io co- me de-
 -stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci- den-dol io
 -stro o- ve gran tem- po gia- ce, Et uc- ci- den-dol io co- me de-

17

-si- o, co- me de- si- o, So che mor- re- ste voi, mo-
 -si- o, co- me de- si- o, So che mor- re- ste voi, So che mor- re- ste voi, mo-
 -si- o, So che mor- re- ste voi, So che mor- re- ste voi,
 co- me de- si- o, So che mor- re- ste voi, So che mor- re- ste voi, mo-
 -si- o, co- me de- si- o, So che mor- re- ste voi,

21

-ren- do an- ch'i- o, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o, Et uc- ci- den-dol io, Et
 -ren- do an- ch'i- o, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o, Et uc- ci- den-dol io
 mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o,
 -ren- do an- ch'i- o, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o, Et
 mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o, Et -

25

uc- ci- den-dol io co- me de- si- o, co- me de- si- o, So — che mor- re- ste voi,
 co- me de- si- o, co- me de- si- o, So — che mor- re- ste voi,
 Et uc- ci- den-dol io co- me de- si- o, So — che mor- re- ste voi,
 uc- ci- den-dol io co- me de- si- o, So — che mor- re- ste voi,
 — uc- ci- den-dol io co- me de- si- o, co- me de- si- o,

29

mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o.
 (So che mor- re- ste voi,) mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o.
 (So che mor- re- ste voi,) mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o.
 (So che mor- re- ste voi,) mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o.
 So che mor- re- ste voi, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o.

9

-rei,) poi ch'a voi pia- ce. Ma trar, Ma trar non si può
 -rei, poi ch'a voi — pia- ce. Ma trar, Ma trar non si può
 -rei, poi ch'a voi pia- ce. Ma trar, Ma trar non si può
 -rei, poi ch'a voi pia- - ce. Ma trar
 -rei,) poi ch'a voi pia- ce. Ma trar, ma trar non si può

12

fu- re Dal pet- to vo- stro o- ve gran tem- po gia-
 fu- re Dal pet-to vo- stro o- ve gran tem- po gia-
 fu- re Dal pet- to vo- - str'o- ve gran tem- po, o- ve gran tem- po gia-
 o- ve gran tem- po, o- ve gran tem- po gia-
 fu- re Dal pet- to vo- stro o- ve gran tem- po gia-

15

-ce, Et uc-
 -ce, Et uc- ci- den- do- l'io co- me de- si- o,
 -ce, Et uc- ci- den- do- l'io co- me de- si- o, Et
 -ce, Et uc- ci- den- do- l'io co- me de- si- o, Et uc- ci-
 -ce, co- me de- si- o, Et uc- ci-

18

-ci-den-do-l'io co-me de-si-o, Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-
 co-me de-si-o, Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-
 uc-ci-den-do-l'io co-me de-si-o, Sò che mor-re- - ste voi,
 -den-do-l'io co-me de-si-o, Sò che mor-re-

-den- do- l'io co- me de- si- o,

21

-ch'i-o, Sò che mor-re- - ste voi, (Sò che mor-re-
 -ch'i-o, Sò che mor-re- ste voi, Sò
 mo- ren-do an- ch'i- - o, Sò che mor-re- ste voi,
 - ste voi, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o, Sò che mor-re- ste voi, mo- ren- do an-
 Sò che mor-re- - ste voi, mo-

24

-ste voi,) mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o. Et uc- ci- den- do-
 che mor-re- ste voi, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o.
 mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o. Et uc- ci- den- do-
 -ch'i- o, mo- ren- do an- ch'i- o. Et uc- ci- den- do-
 -ren- do an- ch'i- o.

27

-l'io co-me de-si-o, co-me de-si-o,
Et uc-ci-den-do- l'io co-me de-si-o,
-l'io co-me de-si-o, Et uc-ci-den-do- l'io co-me de-si-o,
-l'io co-me de-si-o, Et uc-ci-den-do- l'io co-me de-si-o,
co-me de-si-o, Et uc-ci-den-do- l'io co-me de-si-o,

30

Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o, Sò che mor-re-ste
Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o, Sò che mor-re-ste voi,
Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o, Sò
Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o,

33

voi, (Sò che mor-re-ste voi,) mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o.
Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o.
che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o.
Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o.
Sò che mor-re-ste voi, mo-ren-do an-ch'i-o.

100

[1] Sculpio ne l'alma Amore

Madrigali a 5 (1584/85)

Canto
Alto
Quinto
Tenore
Basso

Scul- pio ne l'al- ma A- mo- re, scul- pio
Scul- pio ne l'al- ma A- mo- re,
Scul- pio
ne l'al- ma A- mo- re, scul- pio ne l'al- ma A- mo- re, scul- - pio ne
scul- pio ne l'al- ma A- mo- re, ne
Scul- pio ne l'al- ma A- mo- re
ne l'al- ma A- mo- re, scul- pio ne l'al-
Scul- pio ne l'al- ma A- mo- re, scul- pio ne l'al-
l'al- ma A- mo- re L'im- ma- gin vo- stra e con si-ar-
l'al- ma A- mo- re L'im- ma- gin vo- stra, l'im- ma- gin vo- stra e con si-ar-
L'im- ma- gin vo- stra, l'im- ma- gin vo- stra
- ma A- mo- re L'im- ma- gin vo- stra
- ma A- mo- re L'im- ma- gin vo- stra

20

-den-te fa- ce, e con sì ar-den-te fa- ce L'ab- brug- gia,

-den-te fa- ce L'ab- brug- gia, (l'ab- brug- gia) o- gn'hor, che mo-

e con sì ar-den-te fa- ce L'ab- brug- gia, (l'ab- brug- gia) o- gn'hor, che mo-

e con sì ar- den-te fa- ce L'ab- brug- gia, (l'ab- brug- gia) o- gn'hor, che

e con sì ar-den-te fa- ce L'ab- brug- gia o- gn'hor, che mo-

25

(l'ab- brug- gia) o- gn'hor, che mo- - re, An- zi o- gni in- du- gio di mo- rir gli

-re, l'ab- brug- gia o- gn'hor, che mo- re, An- zi o- gni in- du- gio di mo- rir gli

-re, l'ab- - brug- gia o- gn'hor, che mo- re,

mo- re, l'ab- brug- gia o- gn'hor, che mo- re, An- zi o- gni in- du- gio di mo- rir gli

-re, l'ab- brug- gia o- gn'hor, che mo- re,

35

spia- ce, an- zi o- gni in- du- gio di mo- rir gli spia- ce, E

spia- ce, an- zi o- gni in- du- gio di mo- rir gli spia- ce, E men- tr'el- la si pa- sce,

An- zi o- gni in- du- gio di mo- rir gli spia- ce,

spia- ce, E men- tr'el- la si pa- sce,

An- zi o- gni in- du- gio di mo- rir gli spia- ce, E men- tr'el- la si pa- sce,

40

men- tr'el- - la si pa- - sce, e men- tr'el- la si
 e men- tr'el- la si pa- sce, (e men- tr'el- la si
 E men- tr'el- la si pa- sce, e men- tr'el- la si
 e men- tr'el- la si pa-

si

45

pa- sce del de- sir Di mor- - te, si fu- r'el-la et i- - o, si
 pa- sce) del de- sir Di mor- te, si fu- r'el-la et i- - o, si
 pa- sce del de- sir Di mor- te, et i-
 -sce del de- sir Di mor- - te, si
 pa- sce del de- sir Di mor- te,

50

55

- fu- r'el-la et i- o, (si fu- r'el- - la et i- o.)
 - fu- r'el-la et i- - o, si fu- r'el- la et i- o.
 - o, si fu- r'el- - la et i- o, fu- r'el-la et i- o.
 - fu- r'el-la et i- o, si fu- r'el- la et i- o.
 si fu- r'el- la et i- o.

Vedesti, Amor, giamai by Giuseppe Caimo, from *Madrigali and canzoni for four and five voices*, ed. Leta E. Miller, Recent researches in the music of the Renaissance vol. 84-85 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1990).

101

[4] Vedesti, Amor, giamai

Madrigali a 5 (1584/85)

Canto
Ve- de- sti, A- mor, gia- mai di sì bel so-

Alto
Ve- de- sti, A- mor, gia- mai, ve-

Quinto
Ve- de- sti, A- mor, _____ gia- mai di sì bel so-

Tenore
-

Basso
- di sì bel so-

5
- le, ve- de- sti, A- mor, _____ (ve- de- sti, A- mor,) gia- mai

- de- sti, A- mor, _____ gia- ma- i di sì bel

- le, ve- de- sti, A- mor, gia- mai, (ve- de- sti, A- mor, gia- mai,)

Ve- de- sti, A- mor, gia- mai di

- le, Ve- de- sti, A- mor, _____ gia- mai di

10

di sì bel so- le, Sì__ bel-le lu- ci, (sì__ bel-le lu- ci,)

so- le, Sì__ bel-le lu- ci, e di sì

Sì__ bel-le lu- ci, e di sì

sì bel so- le, di sì bel so- le, Sì__ bel-le lu- ci,

sì bel so- le, di sì bel so- le, Sì__ bel-le lu- ci, e di sì

20

e di sì bel- la pie- tra,

bel- la pie- tra, e di sì bel- la pie- tra, e

bel- la pie- tra, e di sì__ bel- la__ pie- tra,

e di sì bel- la pie- tra, e di sì bel- la__

bel- la pie- tra e di sì bel-

25

e di sì bel- la pie- tra U- scir, u- scir

di sì bel- la, (e di sì bel- la) pie- tra U- scir

e di sì bel- la pie- tra U- scir sì bel- le

- pie- tra, (e di sì bel- la pie- tra) U- scir

- la pie- tra U- scir, u- scir sì

si bel- le fiam-me e'n quel- le, e'n quel-l'un
 si bel- le fiam- me e'n quel-l'un co- re,
 fiam- me e'n quel-l'un co- re, (e'n quel- l'un
 si bel- le fiam-me e'n quel-l'un co- re, e'n quel-l'un co-
 bel- le fiam- me, e'n quel-l'un co- re,

co- re, e ra- do- piar il fo- co, Ar-
 der si lie- to, si lie- to e
 co- re,) e ra- do- piar, Ar- der si lie- to e ra- do- piar il
 re, e ra- do- piar il fo- co, Ar- der si
 Ar- der si lie- to e ra- do- piar il fo- co,

der si lie- to e ra- do- piar il fo- co, Si
 ra- do- piar il fo- co e ra- do- piar il fo- co, Si
 fo- co, ar- der si lie- to e ra- do- piar il fo- co, Si
 lie- to e ra- do- piar il fo- co, Si
 e ra- do- piar, Si

45 50

dol- ce- men- te ra- do- piar il pian- to, E far d'i dan-ni
 dol- ce- men- te ra- do- piar il pian- to, E far,
 dol- ce- men- te ra- do- piar il pian- to, E far d'i
 dol- ce- men- te ra- do- piar il pian- to,
 dol- ce- men- te ra- do- piar il pian- to,

55

suoi pie- to- so il cie- lo, e far d'i dan- ni suoi, (e far d'i dan- ni suoi) pie-
 e far d'i dan- ni suoi pie- to- so il cie-
 dan- ni suoi pie- to- so,
 E far d'i dan- ni suoi, e far d'i dan-
 E far d'i dan- ni suoi, e far d'i dan- ni suoi pie- to-

60

-to- so il cie- lo, (pie- to- so il cie- lo?)
 lo, pie- to- so il cie- lo?
 pie- to- so il cie- lo, pie- to- so il cie- lo?
 - ni suoi pie- to- so il cie- lo, il cie- lo?
 -so il cie- lo, pie- to- so il cie- lo?

Se scior si vede il laccio by Phillippe de Monte, from *Il primo libro delli madrigali à sei voci*, Venice, Hieronymo Scotto, 1582. Edition by Liane Sadler based on the part-books held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Text has not been underlaid beyond the appearance of the part-books.

Se scior si vede il laccio

from *Il primo libro delli madrigali à sei voci*,
reprint of 1582

Philippe de Monte
ed. Liane Sadler

1

Canto
Se scior si vede il laccio Se scior su vede il

Sesto
Se scior si vede il laccio Se scior si vede il laccio

Quinto
Se scior si vede il laccio Se scior si vede il laccio a cui dianz'io

Alto
Se scior si vede il laccio Se scior si vede

Tenore
Se scior si vede il laccio Se scior si vede

Basso
Se scior si vede il laccio Se scior si vede

4

C.
laccio a cui dianz'io Mirando il vag' as - petto Se scior si

S.
a cui dianz'io Mirando il vag' aspet - to Se scior si vede il

Q.
Mir - ando il va - g'aspet - to

A.
il laccio a cui dianz'io ii

T.
il laccio a cui dianz'io Mirando il vag' aspet - to se scior si

B.
Se scior si

10

C. vede il laccio a cui dianz'io Mirando il vago as -

S. laccio a cui dianz'i - o Mirando il vago aspet -

Q. a cui dianz'io Mirando il vago aspet -

A. a cui dianz'io Mirando Mirando

T. vede il laccio a cui dianz'io Mirando il vago aspetto

B. vede il laccio a cui dianz'io Mirando il vag'aspetto

15

C. petto ii Si forte mi lega -

S. to ii Si forte mi lega -

Q. to ii Si forte mi legai

A. il vag' aspet - - to Si forte mi legai

T. si forte mi legai ii

B. Mirando il vago aspetto

24

C. i ii s'altro o desi -

S. - i

Q. ii s'al - tro desio

A. ii s'altro desio

T. ii s'altro o desi -

B. So forte mi leg - gai s'altro desio

33

C. - o O s'altro foco mai mi scald'il petto

S. s'altro desio os'altro foco mai mi scalda il

Q. ii

A. ii O s'altro foco ii mai mi scald'il petto

T. o ii O s'altro foco piu mi scalda il petto

B.

40

C. O s'altro foco ii

S. petto Os'altro foco mai mi scald' il petto ii

Q. Os'altro foco mai mi scalda il petto Os'altro foco

A. Os'altro foco ii

T. Os'altro foco piu mi scalda il petto

B. Os'altro foco mai mi scald'il pet - to Os'altro foco

46

C. mai mi scald'il petto Te ne disgratio amore ii

S. Te ne disgratio amore ii

Q. mai mi scald'il pet - to Te ne disgratio amore

A. mai mi scald'il pet - to Te ne disgratio

T. ii Te ne disgratio amore ii

B. mai mi scald'il petto Te ne dis -

51

C. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolo -

S. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore.

Q. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore

A. amore

T. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore

B. gratio a-more

59

C. re ii

S. ii

Q. ii

A. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolo - re.

T. ii

B. Se donn'ha mai pietà del mio dolore.

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