

## Compositional Strategies for Large-Scale Works Around 1600: Self-Quotation, Reworking, and Emulation in Giovanni Gabrieli's Motets *In ecclesiis*, *Benedictus es*, *Dominus* and Alessandro Tadei's *Missa sine nomine*

*Estratégias de composição para obras em grande escala por volta de 1600: autocitação, recomposição e emulação nos motetos In ecclesiis e Benedictus es, Dominus de Giovanni Gabrieli e na Missa sine nomine de Alessandro Tadei*

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**Abstract:** Giovanni Gabrieli's posthumously published motets *In ecclesiis* and *Benedictus es, Dominus* (*Sacrae symphoniae ... liber secundus*, 1615) show obvious characteristics of self-quotation and reworking. An analysis of the works focuses on a characteristic ascending-fifths sequence which has been called "Monte Romanesca" by Robert Gjerdingen who introduced the term for the eighteenth century. In this study, the term is expanded to include music from the end of the sixteenth century for the first time. Further analysis concentrates on motivic and modal connections as well as special harmonic features such as chromatic-third relationships. Additionally, several other works of the composer are considered, showing that Gabrieli built on highly sophisticated harmonic, motivic, and formal compositional strategies in his large-scale oeuvre. Also, apparent processes of imitation in the *Missa sine nomine* of Gabrieli's pupil Alessandro Tadei suggest that the younger composer used either or both of his teacher's motets as a model. A comparative analysis of all three works provides further insight into compositional methods at the "dawn of the Baroque" era and sheds new light on what must have been a special teacher-student relationship.

**Keywords:** Self-quotation. Reworking. Emulation. Monte Romanesca. Giovanni Gabrieli.

**Resumo:** Motetos de Giovanni Gabrieli publicados postumamente, *In ecclesiis* e *Benedictus es, Dominus* (*Sacrae symphoniae ... liber secundus*, 1615), apresentam claras características de autocitação e recomposição. Uma análise das obras enfoca uma sequência característica de



quintas ascendentes que foi chamada de "Monte Romanesca" por Robert Gjerdingen, por ele introduzida para a música do século XVIII. Neste estudo, o termo é expandido para incluir, pela primeira vez, música do final do século XVI. Outras análises concentram-se em conexões motivicas e modais, bem como aspectos harmônicos especiais, como as relações cromáticas de terças. Além disso, várias outras obras do compositor são consideradas, mostrando que Gabrieli utilizou estratégias harmônicas, motivicas e formais em suas obras de grande escala. Ademais, processos aparentes de imitação na *Missa sine nomine* de Alessandro Tadei, pupilo de Gabrieli, sugerem que o jovem compositor usou um ou ambos os motetos de seu professor como modelo. Uma análise comparativa de todas as três obras fornece mais informações sobre os métodos de composição no 'alvorecer da era barroca' e lança uma nova luz sobre o que deve ter sido uma relação especial professor-aluno.

**Palavras-chave:** Autocitação. Recomposição. Emulação. Monte Romanesca. Giovanni Gabrieli.

His [Gabrieli's] motet *In ecclesiis* is an interesting work which has become justly famous since it embodies several of his most characteristic and forward-looking traits: the polychoral style ... bold harmonics (including some striking examples of chromatic third relationships), the provision of a *basso continuo* (unfigured), and the use of the *stile concertato* (the combination of voices and instruments). These last two features (*basso continuo* and *stile concertato*) especially indicate the dawn of the Baroque period (King 1972, p. 24).

With these words, George King concisely describes one of Giovanni Gabrieli's (1554/57–1612) masterpieces. The esteemed composer of the late Renaissance truly entered the Baroque era with *In ecclesiis* (Ch. 78)<sup>1</sup> a motet that has contributed substantially to his fame today. *Benedictus es, Domine* (Ch. 62), another refined work by the Venetian composer, is far less known, though it shares some striking harmonic and motivic characteristics with *In ecclesiis*.

## 1. *In ecclesiis* and *Benedictus es, Dominus*

In addition to the compositional features mentioned in King's quotation above, there is an additional noteworthy structural characteristic to be found in *In ecclesiis*. The text of the motet is interspersed five times by a refrain-like passage on "Alleluia" in triple metre (modern edition: Charteris 1996b). Here, like other composers who employed similar refrain patterns in the sixteenth century, such as Constanzo Festa, Adrian Willaert, and Giovanni Pierluigi

<sup>1</sup> "Ch." numbers in the text are cited after Charteris 1996b.

Palestrina, Gabrieli uses a form that “connects Italian sacred music of the Renaissance with the Baroque ritornello”, as James P. Fairleigh has noted (1983, p. 3–4). In addition to the form, the harmonic progressions of the “Alleluia” are also noteworthy. In all five of its appearances, the bass moves downwards in fourths and upwards in fifths on the downbeat of each bar (i.e., in a circle of fifths) which results in a characteristic sequence of an upward second every two bars: F(D<sup>♯</sup><sub>4</sub>)–C(D)–G(E<sup>♯</sup><sub>4</sub>)–D(E)–A (see Ex. 1).<sup>2</sup> In bars 17–20, a very similar chord progression is found, this time in duple metre and, remarkably, going to B: F–C–G–D–Am–Em–B (Ex. 2). A third version of the sequence occurs in bars 36–8 (now in its pure form without the insertion of ‘passing’ chords on weak beats): C–G–Dm–Am–E (Ex. 3) and in a fourth and fifth variant in bars 54–6 (F–C–G–D–A; Ex. 4) and bars 57–60 (B<sup>♭</sup>–F–C–G–Dm–Am–E; Ex. 5).

Al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia

F (D<sup>♯</sup><sub>4</sub>) C (D) G (E<sup>♯</sup><sub>4</sub>) D (E) A

**Example 1:** G. Gabrieli, *In ecclesiis*, “Alleluia” refrain.

co do-mi-na-ti o-nis do-mi-na-ti on-nis be-ne-dic,

F C G D Am Em B

**Example 2:** G. Gabrieli, *In ecclesiis* (b. 17–20).

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the labeling system used here for harmonic analysis, it is important to clarify that capital letters without figures denote root-position major triads while those with figures denote basses only (as in figured-bass notation). Additionally, following standard harmonic notation, root-position minor triads are indicated by adding an “m” to a capital letter. Chord symbols in parentheses represent embellishing chords on weak beats.

C G Dm Am E

Example 3: G. Gabrieli, *In ecclesiis* (b. 36–8).

in De-o est, in De-o est et spes  
me-a in De-o est, in De-o est

F C G D A

Example 4: G. Gabrieli, *In ecclesiis* (b. 54–6).

in De - o, in De - o, in De - o, in De - o

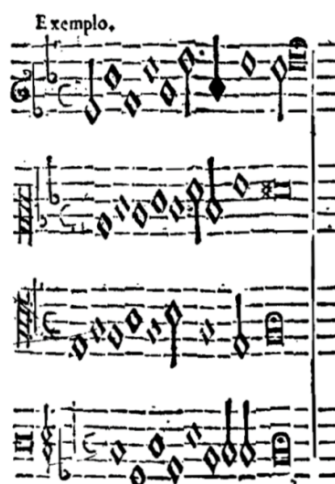
me - a in De - o, in De - o, in De - o

B $\flat$  F C G Dm Am E

**Example 5:** G. Gabrieli, *In ecclesiis* (b. 57–60).

Similar characteristic ascending-fifths sequences are frequently found in music of the eighteenth century and have been called “Monte Romanesca” by Robert Gjerdingen (2007, p. 99) and John A. Rice (n.d.). As Johannes Menke (2009, p. 90) argued, sequential progressions in the basso continuo era are rooted in improvisational techniques of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. The melodic ascending-fifths sequence in particular can be traced back to Giovanni Maria Lanfranco’s *Scintille di musica* (1533, p. 21) and the harmonic ascending-fifths sequence was first described in a treatise which explicitly deals with the art of improvisation. In the second book of his *Arte de Tañer Fantasia* of 1565, the music theorist Tomás de Santa María gives an example of an ascending-fifths sequence with the progression E $\flat$ –B $\flat$ –F–C–Gm–Dm (Ex. 6).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On sequences in the fifteenth and sixteenth century in general, see Menke 2015, p. 130–64.



**Example 6:** T. de Santa María, *Arte de Tañer Fantasia*: ascending-fifths sequence, fol. 52r.

From the last third of the sixteenth century onwards, the harmonic ascending-fifths sequence can also be detected in polyphonic compositions, notably in polychoral works by Tomás Luis de Victoria (ca. 1548–1611).<sup>4</sup> Andrea Gabrieli (1532/33–1585) also used harmonic ascending-fifths sequences, as several works from the *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli* (Venice, 1587) document,<sup>5</sup> as did Francesco Stivori (ca. 1550–1605)<sup>6</sup> and Giovanni Croce (1557–1609), whose use of the device is attested in his later oeuvre.<sup>7</sup> Giovanni Gabrieli also increasingly used harmonic ascending-fifths sequences in his compositions, possibly influenced by his uncle. Starting with *O magnum mysterium* a 8 from the *Concerti* of 1587, for example, harmonic ascending-fifths sequences are regularly found in compositions from the collection *Sacrae Symphoniae* (Venice, 1597) onwards. The growing importance of the technique for Gabrieli becomes obvious if his later works are taken into account. The characteristic sequence occurs

<sup>4</sup> For example, in *Super flumina Babylonis* a 8 (Venice, 1576), *Laudate pueri Dominum* a 8 (Rome, 1581), and several polychoral works from *Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi* (Madrid, 1600).

<sup>5</sup> For example, in *Nativitatis tua Dei genitrix virgo* a 7, *Tirsi morir volea* a 7, and *Deus miserati nostri* a 12.

<sup>6</sup> Harmonic ascending-fifths sequences can be found in following publications with polychoral music by Stivori: *Concenti musicali* (1601), *Madrigali et canzoni* (1603), and *Musica austriaca* (1605).

<sup>7</sup> In Croce's collection of polychoral motets of 1594 harmonic ascending-fifths sequences occur only occasionally (e.g.: *Ave Virgo, sponsa Dei*) while in the second book of his motets a 8 of 1604 they can be found in numerous pieces (e.g.: *Laudans exulted gaudio*, *O Viri Galilei*, *Ecce patris verbum*, *Benedictus es Domine*, *Incipite Domino in tympano*, *Gaudeamus omnes*, and *O Iesu mi dulcissime*).

multiple times in the motets *O Iesu mi dulcissime*, Ch. 56 (six times),<sup>8</sup> *Jubilate Deo* (five times), and *Quem vidistis pastores*, Ch. 77 (five times), all from the posthumous print *Sacrae symphoniae* of 1615. It is also worth mentioning that neither his uncle Andrea nor his contemporaries Tomás Luis de Victoria, Francesco Stivori, and Giovanni Croce used the device extensively, that is to say more than two or three times in any single composition. Indeed, the harmonic ascending-fifths sequence could be called a trademark of Giovanni Gabrieli's later oeuvre. Because the eponymous harmonic pattern *Romanesca* was widely known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Gerbino 2001), the term "Monte Romanesca", which was introduced by Robert Gjerdingen for the music of the eighteenth century, will also be used for Gabrieli's characteristic ascending-fifths sequence in the following.

What makes the "Monte Romanesca" exceptional in Gabrieli's *In ecclesiis* compared to other pieces where the device can be found is its extremely frequent use, with five repetitions in the "Alleluia" refrain and four further occurrences in other sections of the motet. With nine times, the motet is by far the work containing the most occurrences of the "Monte Romanesca" in the composer's oeuvre. The structure of *In ecclesiis* with indications of the "Monte Romanesca" sequence is exemplified in Table 1.

It is noteworthy that this characteristic sequence, in addition to its use in the "Alleluia", appears three times in the middle section that begins at bar 31 with an instrumental sinfonia and extends to the text "Dominus auxilium meum ...". The appearance here of the "Monte Romanesca" harmonically enhances the motet's rondo-like form.

The "Monte Romanesca" sequence of the "Alleluia" in *In ecclesiis* can also be found as a near-literal self-quotation at the end of Gabrieli's double choir motet *Benedictus es, Dominus*, which was also published in the *Sacrae symphoniae* II of 1615: F(D<sup>6</sup><sub>4</sub>)–C(A<sup>6</sup><sub>4</sub>)–G(E<sup>6</sup><sub>4</sub>)–D(B<sup>6</sup><sub>4</sub>)–A(F<sup>6</sup><sub>4</sub>)–E (see Ex. 7).

<sup>8</sup> In this context, it is noteworthy that in an earlier version of this piece from 1597 there are only three harmonic ascending-fifths sequences. In Croce's motet on the same text, which is obviously modelled on Gabrieli's 1597 version, the device is also found only three times (see Charteris 1996a, p. 53–54, and below).

Text	Scoring	Monte Romanesca
‘In ecclesiis benedicite Domino’	C + B.C.	
‘Alleluia’	C + Cap. + B.C.	M.R.
‘In omni loco Dominationis ...’	T2 + B.C.	M.R.
‘Alleluia’	T2 + Cap. + B.C.	M.R.
(Sinfonia)	Instruments	M.R.
‘In Deo salutari meo et Gloria mea’	AT1 + Instr. + B.C.	
‘Dominus auxilium meum ...’	AT1 + Instr. + B.C.	M.R. 2 times
‘Alleluia’	AT1 + Cap. + Instr. + B.C.	M.R.
‘Deus noster, te invocamus, te adoramus’	CT2 + B.C.	
‘Libera nos, vivifica nos’	CT2 + B.C.	
‘Alleluia’	CT2 + Cap. B.C.	M.R.
‘Deus, adiutor noster in aeternum’	Tutti	
‘Alleluia’	Tutti	M.R.

Table 1: *In ecclesiis a 14* – text and structure.

Al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia

Al - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia

F (D<sub>4</sub><sup>6</sup>) C (A<sub>4</sub><sup>6</sup>) G (E<sub>4</sub><sup>6</sup>) D (B<sub>4</sub><sup>6</sup>) A (F<sub>4</sub><sup>6</sup>) E

Example 7: G. Gabrieli, *Benedictus es, Dominus*, “Alleluia”, b. 59–64.

Moreover, the two motets display near-identical techniques at their beginnings and endings. The opening motive of *In ecclesiis*, sung by the Solo Cantus, consists of the downward moving diatonic tetrachord A3, G3, F3, and E3, accompanied by a basso continuo line with the notes A2, C#2, D2, and A1 (Ex. 8).<sup>9</sup> With the same motive—here with cornetto doubling the opening tetrachord in the octave—and corresponding chords, the motet ends in a grand tutti set to

<sup>9</sup> E3 and G3 in the second bar are clearly ornamental notes only.



the words of the “Alleluia” (Ex. 9).<sup>10</sup> We find exactly the same procedure at the beginning and end of *Benedictus es, Dominus* – this time, however, transposed down a fifth (Exs. 10 and 11). Also, here the initial words and the closing “Alleluia” are set to the same motive (D3, C3, B $\flat$ 2, A2 resp. D4, C4, B $\flat$ 3, A3 with some ornamental notes) and close with a characteristic plagal cadence.

**Example 8:** G. Gabrieli, *In ecclesiis* (opening bars; A2, C#2, D2, and A1).

**Example 9:** G. Gabrieli, *In ecclesiis* (ending).

**Example 10:** G. Gabrieli, *Benedictus es, Dominus* (opening bars).

<sup>10</sup> No figures are given for the basso continuo line, but most likely the progression at the beginning of the motet is Am–C# $\frac{5}{3}$ –Dm–A. Note that Gabrieli avoids the third at the beginning of the A-chord in the penultimate-to-last bar at the end of the motet, before adding a major third only at the following beat (Ex. 9). Perhaps he intended the same harmonic realisation for the basso continuo in the opening bar of the motet instead of Am.



**Example 11:** G. Gabrieli, *Benedictus es, Dominus* (ending).

The transposition of the opening motive places the two motets in different modes, of course. Hence, *In ecclesiis* is composed in *decimo modo*, the plagal mode on A, whereas *Benedictus es, Dominus* stands in *secondo modo*, the plagal mode on D (Zarlino 1558, p. 310). The two works are further connected by the fact that the second phrase of *Benedictus es, Dominus*, in bars 5–8, is harmonically identical to the opening and ending of *In ecclesiis*; Cantus I thus sings A3, G3, F3, and E3. In bars 16–19 of *Benedictus es, Dominus*, two consecutive downward tetrachord motives are found. This time the half-whole step is placed at the beginning of the tetrachord sequence, resulting in F3, E3, D3, C2 and C2, B2, A2, G2. It is significant that these two phrases are sung solo by Cantus I and Bassus II to the word “*solus*” —a clear example of word painting.<sup>11</sup> Gabrieli even goes one step further in *In ecclesiis*, with solo voice sections making up the greater part of the motet (see Table 1).

It should further be noted that in the 1615 print of *Benedictus es, Dominus* only the Cantus I and Bassus II part books are designated with the word “*voce*”, indicating that the other six parts—as has been convincingly argued by Barbara Wiermann (2005, p. 91–101)—were intended for instruments. As the clefs and voice ranges suggest, these remaining six parts could have been performed by a group of brass and string instruments very similar to those specified in *In ecclesiis*.

<sup>11</sup> Whether or not the vocal solos in bars 16–19 of *Benedictus es, Dominus* would have been accompanied by a basso continuo line is debatable. Although the organ part in the 1615 publication does not provide an independent basso continuo for the section in question, it is still possible that one existed. The print was issued posthumously and, unsurprisingly, does not meet the standard of the items published during Gabrieli’s lifetime. Sections of some pieces are even corrupted (Charteris 1996b, p. XI). The anonymous editor(s) simply could have omitted an existing independent b.c. line for the bars in question.

One further striking similarity between the two motets bears mentioning. Chromatic-third relationships, which are used so effectively at the passage beginning at the words “*Deus, Deus adiutor noster*” in *In ecclesiis* (b. 101ff.), also feature prominently in *Benedictus es, Dominus* (e.g., at b. 21, 26, 39–41, and 46–8).

In his *Sacrae Symphoniae* of 1597, Gabrieli published two pieces that on several levels can be seen as precursors to *In ecclesiis* and *Benedictus es, Dominus*: the motet *O Iesu mi dulcissimi*, Ch. 24 and the *Canzon per sonar noni toni a 8*, Ch. 173. The instrumental piece is composed in the complementary authentic mode on A to *In ecclesiis* and has a similarly clear structure. Three sections in duple metre which are connected through the opening motive are interrupted by two very similar triple metre sections based mainly on sequences. The “Monte Romanesca” is used three times in a rondo-like manner and, just like the *Alleluia* of *In ecclesiis* and *Benedictus es, Dominus*, begins on F. The connection between the *Canzon per sonar noni toni a 8* and the motets is exemplified further by the fact that the instrumental work ends with exactly the same plagal cadence as we find at the beginning and end of *In ecclesiis*—respectively its transposition in *Benedictus es, Dominus*—, although it is written in the authentic mode of the modal pair on A, as its title indicates.

The “Monte Romanesca” sequence is also found three times in the exceptional *O Iesu mi dulcissimi*, which Denis Arnold (1979, p. 103) declared as “perhaps the finest motet in the whole *Sacrae Symphoniae* [1597]”. Furthermore, chromatic-third relationships can also be found in this work and are probably the first instance of Gabrieli using such “madrigalism” in his sacred music.<sup>12</sup> Both compositional strategies evidently proved to be effective and favourite tools of Gabrieli’s style in the following years, as they occur in several motets published in the 1615 collection. Two reworkings of *O Iesu mi dulcissimi*, one from the posthumous print (Ch. 56) and a version that has survived in manuscript form (Ch. 140), which use chromatic-third relationships and the “Monte Romanesca” even more extensively than the earlier version and thus places it in proximity to *Benedictus es, Dominus* and *In ecclesiis*, confirm this assumption especially. That the later versions of *O Iesu mi dulcissimi* are reworkings of the version of 1597 becomes clear by virtue of the fact that all three versions are composed in the

<sup>12</sup> For excerpts of passages with chromatic-third relationships in *O Iesu mi dulcissimi* (1597), see Arnold 1979, p. 104.

same mode and share some near-identical passages as Richard Charteris (1988, p. 317) has already pointed out.<sup>13</sup> There are, however, no obvious motivic similarities with either *Benedictus es, Dominus* or *In ecclesiis*.

## 2. Alessandro Tadei's *Missa sine nomine*

The biography of Alessandro Tadei (c. 1585–1667), a musician who was mainly active as an organist and composer in Austria in the first half of the seventeenth century, has been examined by Hellmut Federhofer in his article “Alessandro Tadei, a Pupil of Giovanni Gabrieli” (1952), which focuses on Tadei's ties with Gabrieli and discusses his large-scale *Missa sine nomine*. The mass is preserved in a set of four manuscript choir books in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, which was in use by the court chapel of Archduke and Emperor Ferdinand II. (1578–1637) in Graz and Vienna—the institution where Tadei served as organist for many years (Federhofer 1952, p. 119–20) —and which was edited and published by Walter Jesinghaus in 1937.<sup>14</sup> The work is composed in a typical Venetian polychoral style, and on first sight shares no obvious similarities with Gabrieli's *In ecclesiis* or *Benedictus es, Dominus*. However, a more detailed analysis reveals some striking correlations between the three compositions. In fact, the aforementioned “Monte Romanesca”, which appears once in *Benedictus es, Dominus*, occurs exactly nine times in both *In ecclesiis* and Tadei's mass. The first “Monte Romanesca” is found in bars 76–78 of the *Kyrie* with the progression B $\flat$ (C)–F(G)–C(D)–G(A)–D, the second in bars 54–57 of the *Gloria* (B $\flat$ –F–C–Gm–Dm–A) and the third and fourth in bars 84–90 (F(G)–C(D)–G(A)–Dm; in triple time), as well as in bars 102–08 (a repetition of the latter section; see Exs. 12–14).

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<sup>13</sup> Richard Charteris (1995, p. 496) also mentioned that “the practice of self-borrowing when setting the same (or an almost identical) text is seen in some of Gabrieli's other works”.

<sup>14</sup> Digitalized versions of the four manuscript choir books (Austrian National Library, Ms. 16702) can be found at:  
[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_6568112&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6568112&order=1&view=SINGLE)  
[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_6575083&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6575083&order=1&view=SINGLE)  
[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_6806808&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6806808&order=1&view=SINGLE)  
[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_6813674&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6813674&order=1&view=SINGLE)  
(July 14, 2021).

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son

Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son

B $\flat$  (C) F (G) C (D) G (A)D

**Example 12:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, Kyrie (b. 76–78).

de - pre - ca - ti - o - - nem de - pre - ca - ti - o - - nem no

de - pre - ca - ti - o - - nem de - pre - ca - ti - o - - nem de - pre - ca - ti - o - - nem no

B $\flat$  F C Gm Dm A

**Example 13:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, Gloria (b. 54–57).

The image displays a musical score for a Gloria. It features a piano accompaniment with two staves (treble and bass clef) and a vocal line. The lyrics are 'in glo-ri-a De-i pa-tris' and 'glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris in glo-ri-a De-i Pa-tris'. Below the piano part, chord symbols are provided: F, (G), C, (D), G, (A), Dm.

**Example 14:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Gloria* (b. 84–90/102–08).

In bars 37–39 of the *Credo*, the fifth appearance of the sequence occurs with the progression F–C–Gm–Dm–A (Ex. 15). The sixth such sequence arises in bars 79–82 of the *Credo*. Again, its appearance is varied, but the upward movement of the characteristic second is still clearly audible: F(C)(G)–C(Gm)(D)–Gm(Dm)(A)–D (Ex. 16). The seventh “Monte Romanesca” occurs at bars 138–41 of the same movement. Once again, it starts on B $\flat$ : B $\flat$ (C)–F(G)–C(D)–Gm(A)–D (Ex. 17). The identical phrase is repeated a few bars later (b. 145–48). Finally, the *Benedictus* (b. 29–30) contains the ninth “Monte Romanesca” of the mass, this time appearing as a near-literal harmonic quotation of the “Alleluia” of Gabrieli’s *In ecclesiis*: F(G)–C(D)–G(A)–D (Ex. 18).

om-ni-a fa-cta sunt per quem om-ni-a fa-cta sunt, om-ni-a fa-cta

per quem om-ni-a fa-cta sunt, per quem om-ni-a fa-cta

F C Gm Dm A

**Example 15:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Credo* (b. 37–39).

ter-ti-a di-e ter-ti-a di-e

ter-ti-a di-e

F (C) (G) C (Gm) (D) Gm (Dm) (A) D

**Example 16:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Credo* (b. 79–82).

et vi-tam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li et vi-tam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li

vi-tam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li et vi-tam ven-tu-ri sae-cu-li

B $\flat$  (C) F (G) C (D) Gm (A) D

Example 17: A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Credo* (b. 138–41/145–48).

no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni in No-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

in no-mi-ne Do-mi-ni

F (G) C (D) G (A) D

Example 18: A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Benedictus* (b. 29–30).



That the “Monte Romanesca” sequence should occur nine times within a single work is noteworthy in itself (see Table 2).<sup>15</sup> Yet more remarkable is that this is the identical number of times the same phenomenon is found in *In ecclesiis*.

Section	Scoring	Monte Romanesca
Primum Kyrie	Ch I + Ch IV	
Christe	Ch I + Ch II + Ch IV	
Ultimum Kyrie	tutti	M.R.
<u>Gloria</u>		
‘Et in terra pax’	2 T + 2 A solo	
‘Gratias agimus tibi’	tutti	
‘Qui tollis’	tutti	M.R.
‘Tu solus’	C, A, 2 T solo + 6 Instr.	
‘Cum Sancto Spirito’	tutti	M.R. 2 times
<u>Credo</u>		
‘Patrem omnipotentem’	tutti	
‘Deum de Deo’	2 A solo + 3 Instr.	
‘Per quem omnia’	tutti	M.R.
‘Crucifixus’	Ch II solo (5 voices)	
‘Et resurrexit’	tutti	M.R.
‘Et in spiritum sanctum’	2 T solo + 6 Instr.	
‘Simul adoratur’	tutti	
‘Et vitam venturi saeculi’	tutti	M.R. 2 times
Sanctus	tutti	
Benedictus	tutti	M.R.
Agnus Dei	tutti	

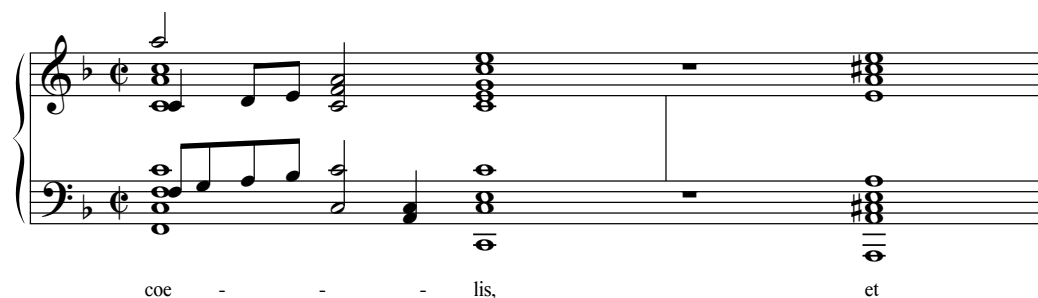
**Table 2:** *Missa sine nomine* a 16 – structure.

<sup>15</sup> Also in works by Tadei's colleagues at the Graz court, such as Reimundo Ballestra (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup>–1634) and Georg Poss (ca. 1570– after 1633), the “Monte Romanesca” sequence never appears extensively, just as it does with the composers mentioned above.

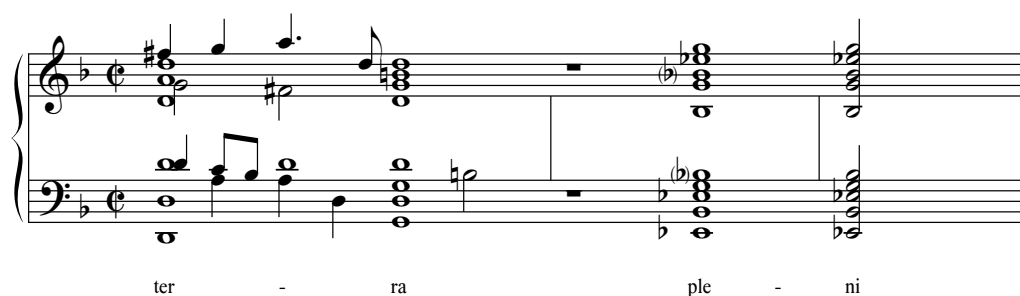
It is noteworthy that the “Monte Romanesca” sequence is distributed evenly throughout the entire work and employed as a rondo-like feature. Its structural and formal significance is confirmed by its occurrence exclusively in tutti sections, and its integrative effect is enhanced through repetition at the end of the longest mass movements, the *Gloria* and the *Credo*. The most convincing explanation for this striking feature in Tadei's mass is that the pupil was emulating the harmonic and formal properties of one of his teacher's most progressive and spectacular works, namely the “Monte Romanesca” sequences contained in *In ecclesiis*, which likewise act as a rondo-like harmonic progression. However, as an innovative composer in his own right, Tadei does not simply “copy and paste”. Rather, he subtly varies the appearance of the recurring sequence each time, a technique also used by Gabrieli (except in the Alleluias, where he does not vary the sequence).

There are yet more passages in Tadei's work that display a striking harmonic correlation to *In ecclesiis* and, by extension, to *Benedictus es, Dominus*. The aforementioned chromatic-third relationships, which Gabrieli employs for such dramatic effect in his two motets, are also used by Tadei in his mass, for example in bars 18 and 71 of the *Kyrie*, bars 12 and 49 of the *Gloria*, and, most impressively, between bars 46 and 47 of the *Credo* and between bars 17 and 18 of the *Sanctus*. Tadei intensifies the effect of the last two chromatic-third relationships by inserting a general pause (Exs. 19 and 20), which recalls the analogous passages of *In ecclesiis* and *Benedictus es, Dominus*.

Moreover, an analysis of the compositional structure of the melodic motives reveals an intriguing correspondence to the motets. The incipits of all movements in the *Missa sine nomine* of Tadei are based on the opening motive in the *Kyrie*, as Federhofer has previously noted: the *Gloria* begins with the second part of the *Kyrie*'s incipit; the opening of the *Credo* is created from a triad of the same incipit; and the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* repeat the first motive of the *Kyrie*, though with diminished note values in the latter (Federhofer 1952, p. 121). Like the “Monte Romanesca” sequences, the incipit of the *Kyrie* clearly acts as a corresponding link between the movements of the mass. Like *In ecclesiis* and *Benedictus es, Dominus*, it begins with the same diatonic tetrachord (whole, whole, and half steps), but here Tadei moves upwards rather than downwards, resulting in F2, G2, A2, and B♭2.



**Example 19:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Credo* (b. 46–47).



**Example 20:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Sanctus* (b. 17–18).

As we have seen, Gabrieli's two motets are in different modes: *secondo modo* (on D) and *decimo modo* (on A). Unsurprisingly, Tadei also uses a plagal mode for his mass. As a consequence of his initial diatonic tetrachord, he composes in the *sesto modo* on F. It therefore appears that, with this further variation, Tadei follows his own creative impulse while still imitating the techniques used in the two motets by his teacher. Moreover, like Gabrieli's motets, each movement of Tadei's mass ends on a plagal cadence.

An additional reason for Tadei's decision to write in the *sesto modo* can be found directly in our analysis of *In ecclesiis*. The motet, in fact, exhibits a distinctive feature with regard to modes. According to Zarlino, melodies in the tenth mode usually begin on E, C, and A, and the main cadences are, so to speak, formed on these notes.<sup>16</sup> Gabrieli follows these guidelines throughout in *In ecclesiis*, except in the *Alleluia* refrain and the harmonically peculiar "*Deus, Deus' adiutor noster*" episode. Both, in fact, begin on F—a strikingly alien sound in the

<sup>16</sup> Zarlino 1558, p. 332: "Del Decimo modo ... Li suoi Principij regolari sono nelle chorde e, c, a & E; similmente le sue Cadenze."

tenth mode. This, then, would appear to have been another point of reference for Tadei in using his teacher's work as a model for his own composition, written in the plagal mode on the very same note of F, that is in *sesto modo*.

As we have seen, the instrumental participation in both motets is very similar. But what about the *Missa sine nomine*? Tadei's work is composed for sixteen voices divided into four choirs. A more detailed analysis reveals that, as with *In ecclesiis*, the mass employs a four-part *capella*, four soloists, several instruments, and an independent basso continuo line. In *In ecclesiis*, the six instruments are grouped together, and, in longer passages, the solo voices (SATT) are accompanied by the basso continuo. Instrumentation in the *Missa sine nomine* is not specified, but nine of the sixteen parts lack text, and in three of the textless parts of the Gloria the presence of the words "Non Sonate" (b. 64) and "Sonate" (b. 72; Ex. 21) confirms their intended instrumental execution.



**Example 21:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Gloria*, A-Wn, Ms. 16702, "Primus Chorus", fos. 102<sup>v</sup>–103<sup>r</sup>.

Vocal solos, "presumably" to be accompanied by an independent basso continuo, occur only in very few places in the mass, notably at the beginning of the Gloria, where a vocal ensemble similar to the group of soloists in *In ecclesiis* emerges (see Table 2). A basso continuo part of the mass has not survived. Its

existence, however, is suggested by the cadential formulae at the end of virtually every solo phrase and by the chromatic-third relationship in bar twelve at “*adoramus*”, which, without the support of the full chords, does not seem musically coherent (Ex. 22).<sup>17</sup>

The musical score for Example 22 consists of three staves. The top staff is for Altus Ch II, marked 'solo', with lyrics 'Lau - da - mus te be - ne - di - ci - mus te, ad - o - ra - mus'. The middle staff is for Tenor Ch IV, also marked 'solo', with lyrics 'Lau - da - mus te ad - o - ra - mus'. The bottom staff is for B.C. (Basso Continuo), marked '(missing?)'. The music is in C major, 4/4 time, and spans four measures. The Altus and Tenor parts have a chromatic-third relationship in the final measure.

**Example 22:** A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*, *Gloria* (b. 9–12).

Also, the aforementioned instruction “*Non Sonate*” in the *Gloria* clearly points to at least one additional supporting chordal instrument: the given notes would have been tacet in the melody instruments and therefore most likely played by a keyboard instrument, such as an organ. Moreover, Tadei's motet *O beatum Carolum* for soprano, alto and basso continuo, published in the print *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus* (1615), shows Tadei to be an early exponent of works for few voices with basso continuo (Federhofer 1952, p. 119); so it is quite possible that he employed similar techniques a few years earlier.

### 3. Self-quotation, Reworking, and Emulation—Conclusion

Evidently, Alessandro Tadei did not consciously compose a *missa ad imitationem* or *parody mass*, for he called this large-scale work a “*Missa sine nomine*”.<sup>18</sup> But it is clear from the observations made above that *In ecclesiis* and

<sup>17</sup> It is highly likely that there was an extra part for basso continuo, performed by an organ—the convention in sacred music of this period. There would have been no need to notate the basso continuo in the choir books, as the organ player would not have been able to read from a choir stand.

<sup>18</sup> On the terms *missa ad imitationem* and *parody mass*, see: Brinzing; Finscher 2016.

Tadei's mass share too many harmonic peculiarities to be dismissed as mere coincidence. As Tadei is known to have been a pupil of Gabrieli, it seems likely that in his *Missa sine nomine* he emulated one of his teacher's most accomplished works, perhaps as an act of homage. Thus, Tadei very likely must have undertaken a thorough study and analysis of *In ecclesiis* and, continuing the creative process, used this analysis as the basis for a new composition. The young organist received his musical training from Giovanni Gabrieli from 16 March 1604 until 16 September 1606 at the Archduke's expense and lodged with his teacher (Federhofer 1952, p. 116–27). There is evidence that, some time after finishing his studies, Tadei returned to Venice in the first half of 1610 to hand over a monetary gift from Archduke Ferdinand to his former teacher. As has been asserted by Hellmut Federhofer (1952, p. 119–20), Tadei's mass had been copied in the manuscript choir books (A-Wn, Ms. 16702) around 1610. Aided by a survey of the watermarks of the manuscript-paper in question, Steven Saunders (1995, p. 171–73) has concluded that the layer containing Tadei's mass was most likely transcribed by the Graz court copyist Georg Kuglmann between 1606 and 1610. The close relationship Tadei had with Gabrieli could have enabled him to have first-hand access to the motet in manuscript form, for it was not published until 1615.

As other studies have shown, emulation, homage, and even competition between composers were long-held traditions at the beginning of the seventeenth century and can be traced at least to the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>19</sup> In this regard it would be very interesting to determine a chronology of the composition dates of all three main works in this study. But with no further references, any attempt to do so would be pure speculation.

The comparative analysis based on the above considerations reveals striking harmonic, motivic, and formal similarities between Gabrieli's motets *Benedictus es, Dominus, In ecclesiis* and Tadei's *Missa sine nomine*. To a lesser extent, these works also resemble each other in their use of solo voices and instruments. The clear similarities between Gabrieli's two motets suggest that *In ecclesiis* is a reworking of *Benedictus es, Dominus*, though the reverse remains a possibility. In any case, the study of Gabrieli's self-quotation and reworking process confirms

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<sup>19</sup> Lockwood 1962/1966, Mayer-Brown 1982, Wegman 1989, Meconi 1994 a/b, Niemöller 1995, Brinzing; Finscher 2016.



the importance of such strategies in his own work, especially if pieces such as *O Jesu mi dulcissimi* of 1597, its reworkings, and the *Canzon noni toni a 8* (1597) are considered as well.

It is very likely that Tadei intentionally emulated these characteristic techniques of his teacher and, indeed, might even have been encouraged to do so. Of course, that Tadei consciously emulated his teacher cannot wholly be proven without further evidence, and it remains possible, though very unlikely, that Tadei's imitation of the rondo-like "Monte Romanesca", the chromatic third relationships, and the use of a similar motivic approach in his mass was entirely subconscious. Nonetheless, Tadei's copying of Gabrieli's techniques would have been a receptive process, even if such imitation occurred on a subconscious level.

The comparative analysis of these works reveals the use of highly sophisticated harmonic, motivic, and formal compositional strategies for large-scale works at the "dawn of the Baroque" era, and at the very least, documents the special teacher-student relationship that Gabrieli and Tadei evidently shared.

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