

Rovetta's Music for Holy Week

Relatively little music for Holy Week survives from the Venetian *seicento*. For the period up through 1600, more is known about the liturgy than about the music which complemented it. A detailed study of the Holy Week liturgy *c.*1600 has recently been published by John Bettley.¹ In only a few particulars out of dozens does this liturgy vary from the prescriptions given in a *tavola* of the duties of San Marco's musicians printed in 1761.² In its constituent parts, therefore, the elements of the Holy Week observation were largely fixed. The listing below contains the items arguably requiring composed music that appear both in Bettley's listing and in the *tavola*. Interpolations in brackets contain additional information conveyed in the 1761 source.

Palm Sunday	Passion [<i>a cappella</i>] Mass [<i>a cappella in bigonzo</i>] Vespers [<i>in bigonzo</i>] Compline [<i>a cappella</i>]
Tuesday	Passion (solo)
Wednesday	Mass and Passion [c.1600 only ³] Lamentations [1-3] Responses <i>Benedictus</i> <i>Miserere mei, Deus</i>
Holy (Maundy) Thursday	Mass [<i>a cappella in bigonzo</i>] [Hymn at Communion] Lamentations ⁴ [4-6] Hymn for the Exposition of the Sacred Blood ⁵

¹ John Bettley, "The Office of Holy Week at St. Mark's Venice, in the late 16th Century, and the Musical Contributions of Giovanni Croce," *Early Music* XXII/1 (1994), 45-62.

² "Tavola de' giorni di tutto l'anno, nei quali li cantori, organisti, e sonatori devono intervenire nella nostra chiesa di S. Marco," Venice, Archivio di Stato [=A.S.V.], Procuratia de Supra, Busta 90, loose folio. The *tavola* was drafted before 1515, when it was first revised, newly transcribed in 1694, and revised in 1761.

³ These items could have been eliminated at San Marco when the doge adopted the practice of visiting S. Giovanni Elemosinario on this date; *cf.* the undated "Feste di Palazzo," Museo Correr, Codex Cicogna S. 165 (N. 2975). The only datable events mentioned occurred in the 1570s, but the source seems to have been written a few decades later.

⁴ Matins on Holy Thursday followed the format of the preceding day, according to the *tavola*.

⁵ In the evening of Holy Thursday, according to the *tavola*, four singers from the *cappella* were required for the hymn for the Exposition of the Sacred Blood. Bettley's account reports that canons sang the hymn *Vexilla regis*. This observation may have gained importance after 1670, when additional relics were retrieved from Candia (E. Selfridge-Field, *PALLADE VENETA: Writings on Music in Venetian Society* [Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1985], p. 214).

Good Friday	Mass [c. 1600 only] [Tracts] Passion [St. John] Improperia [<i>a due cori</i>] Lamentations [7-9] ⁶
Saturday	Tracts [Hymn <i>Rex Sanctorum</i>] Mass ⁷ Vespers [<i>a cappella in bigonzo</i>] Magnificat [c.1600]
Easter Sunday	Mass ⁸ Vespers ⁹

On some days Vespers were spoken only, and a number of the items listed here may have been chanted or recited.

The period from 1600 to 1761 was apparently one in which several changes were made to the liturgy. The only substantial work that has been done on this period is that of the late James Moore.¹⁰ Moore was able to determine that the *bigonzo* was the "tub" that served as a pulpit and that it could accommodate as many as eleven performers. His work, being concerned primarily with Vespers, has little to say directly about music for Holy Week. One noteworthy finding, however, is that a mass was still performed on Good Friday through 1755. Starting in 1761 it is no longer mentioned.¹¹

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It is a commonly held assumption in musical scholarship that where documentation fails, musical sources can succeed. In the case of Rovetta, the point is moot: there is a substantial surviving body of music, including many works in multiple copies, that contains several items obviously for Holy Week. This corpus,

⁶ Matins was to be celebrated as on the preceding two days.

⁷ In Bettley's account of the liturgy in c. 1600 (p. 49) the mass was interrupted after Communion for Vespers and was completed with the response "*Deo gratias*".

⁸ According to the *tavola* singers were positioned in the organ lofts, with *palchetti* and instruments, for this Mass. This practice may have been introduced by Cavalli. One of Cavalli's first reforms was to order the construction of a short staircase joining the stairs over the sacristy to facilitate the movement of the maestro, singers, and instrumentalists on those occasions when the doge mingled with worshippers. The musicians were to follow him from above, remaining in the corridors of the organ lofts (Archivio di Stato Veneto, Reg. 146, f. 149^v, entry of 17 Febraio 1668/9: "Apportando non lieve incomodo al Maestro di Capella, Musici, et Concerti della Chiesa di San Marco dover passar per tutto il corpo nelle solenità principali, et altri tempi quando particolarmente scende Sua Serenità trà la moltitudine delle genti concorrono il tali giorni per andar con luogo giro de corridori agl'organi superiori, che hà dato mottivo al detto Maestro supplicare l'Ecc.^{mo} Proc.^o Cassiere di qualche propria provvisione per loro comune solevio; Che però portatosi V. E. alla visione de sitti col Rotto di questa Procuratia hà osservato loco addatato da potersi per hora stabilire una scaletta molto aggiustata nella scalla, che vada sopra la Sagrestia per salire nell'organo essistente in Cornù Evangelij d'essa Chiesa con l'impegno de ducati cento, e vinti in circa solamente").

⁹ In 1761 with half the musicians *in bigonzo* and half in the service at San Zaccaria.

¹⁰ James Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta, and Francesco Cavalli* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1981).

¹¹ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

which is described in Appendix 1, enjoyed sufficient longevity to cause it to pass through the hands of many performers and copyists. An extraordinary philological effort would be required to untangle the many strands of historical performance that are embedded in these folios. This includes statements describing the uses to which the music was put.

Diverse collections of unpublished manuscripts of sacred vocal music by Giovanni Rovetta, *maestro di cappella* at San Marco between the tenures of Monteverdi and Cavalli, that is from 1644 to 1668, survive in Venice. They document performance traditions from 1655 until the end of the nineteenth century. The materials preserved in Marciana Cod. It. IV-1134¹² form the most important of these collections, but those preserved in the Fondo Musicale della Cappella di San Marco are of considerable interest. Of the 26 liturgical items enumerated above, ten can be accommodated with music found among these sources. Documentary information suggests that Rovetta exercised considerable control over several more. In the *cappella's* entire history no other *maestro* demonstrated such a close regard for works that would meet these liturgical needs.

Through these manuscripts that we can refine some points in the listing of music given above—namely, that the passion on Palm Sunday was that of St. Matthew and that the one on Tuesday was that of St. Mark. For Good Friday there is conflicting information: sets of *turbe* extracted from the Gospels of St. Matthew (#4) and St. John (#5) are both said to be for Good Friday.

The first version (#4a) of the St. Matthew Passion is a copy of a copy made by Gianfrancesco de Sarti in 1682.¹³ The words "e pel Venerdì Santo" appear to have been added after the title page was first drawn up, perhaps even in the nineteenth century. Thus the possibility that the Passion according to St. Matthew superseded that of St. John on Good Friday in the eighteenth century or even after the fall of the Republic is a distinct possibility. The longer version of the St. Matthew Passion (#4b) makes no reference to Good Friday.

The Missa Brevis preserved as Item #2 is said in an accompanying note to have been performed on every Holy (Maundy) Thursday and, by the Scala de' Giganti of the Ducal courtyard, on the feast of St. Nicholas (6 December) through the fall of the Republic (1797). It is an extremely sombre, even lugubrious work, in D Minor that seems better suited to the first use than the second. Though intense, it is indeed very brief and can be performed in its entirety within ten minutes. The fact that it concludes with a "Deo gratias" suggests its suitability for Saturday of Holy Week as well.¹⁴ The music for the "Deo gratias" recapitulates the opening Kyrie, giving the work a rounded structure that is absent if the "Deo gratias" is excluded. The musical basis of the Kyrie could be viewed as a restricted quotation of the opening phrase of a chant unrelated to Holy Week, that of the Kyrie "Cunctipotens Genitor Deus":¹⁵

¹² This codex forms part of the Canal series acquired by the Marciana in 1928. The requiem mass with its attendant motet, "Ad Dominum cum tribulare," as well as the motets "Beata viscera Mariae Verginis" and "Sancta et immaculate virginitas," have no known relationship to the Holy Week liturgy. They are listed here because of their physical association in surviving sources.

¹³ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Registro 147, f. 155^v, entry of 13. Aprile 1682. ". . . de' danari della Cassa della Chiesa sian pagate due polize de lire tresento quarantanove soldi doi a Gio. Francesco Sarti, et a Padre Maestro Pesaro Carmelitano per intiera soddisfazione delle copie da loro fatte della Messa; Magnificat, Motteti, et Inni del già Maestro di Capella Roeti [*sic*], et altre d'un libro di Canto fermo, et due d'altri Inni compreso la Carta rigata il tutto per servizio della medesima, come nelle due polize de Pre. Nadal Monferato attual Maestro di quella de' di 30. Nov.° et 8. Marzo pross: passati . . ."

¹⁴ In the Roman rite no Credo or Agnus Dei are performed on Saturday. Venetian liturgical practice, being based on the rite of Aquileia, was significantly different from the Roman rite; a few fragments of Aquileian chant survive to the present day in the San Marco liturgy. I am very much indebted to Dott. Roberto Micconi, the present organist and *maestro di cappella*, for his generosity in enabling me not only to witness current services from the organ lofts but also to examine the music used in them.

¹⁵ Class II: 1 in the *Liber usualis*, p. 25.

While it is not possible within the scope of the present study to relate the texts of the *turbe* to Venetian liturgical rubrics, one might mention that in comparison with the texts given in the *Liber usualis* some minor differences are evident. In the first set of *turbe* from the Passion of St. Matthew, many lines of text assigned to the multitude in the *Liber* are not set. There are also a few minor word reversals. In the *turbe* from the Passion of St. John, a substantial amount of material is again not set. The Crucifixion itself is treated in an especially intense way. In the second set of *turbe* from the Passion of St. Matthew, a number of items not present in the *Liber* are used, together with all of those that are. Numerous corrections have been made to the text in order to bring it into conformance with the word order found in the *Liber*.¹⁶

The crowd scenes must be valued for their rarity; no others from the Venetian *seicento* are preserved.¹⁷ The passions from which they come are not immediately performable, however, because there are no surviving parts for Christ and the Evangelist. The survival of the *turbae* without alternating choral numbers for soloists, as in Clinio's work, suggests that these numbers were now taken by soloists. This would be consistent with the associations of the Rovetta family (examined below) with the rise of a soloistic repertory. Since the history of the passion at this time remains so poorly defined, the best available clues to performance may come from the roughly contemporaneous passions of that great admirer of Venetian music, Heinrich Schütz.¹⁸

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THE ROVETTA FAMILY AND THE TWO PRACTICES

Giovanni Rovetta was an accomplished musician. He was by turns a priest,¹⁹ a *piffaro*, a singer, and a violinist. Born in *c.* 1596, he was young in the 1620s, and his musical values left a very clear imprint on all of his later life.

He came from a family of musicians who were possibly of Paduan origin. Their collective skills were very impressive and covered the *prima* and *seconda prattiche* with remarkable dexterity. Giacomo Rovetta, Giovanni's father, was engaged as one of the doge's six *piffari* on 29.X.1605.²⁰ From 24 December 1616 he was additionally engaged as a singer.²¹ Vido Rovetta, the rector of Sant'Angelo in Padua, was engaged in 1615 to "serve in the organ lofts of San Marco in all the concerts that they give, as required by the *Maestro*

¹⁶ All three texts are compared in Appendix 2. Additional source details are given in Appendix 1.

¹⁷ Bettley (pp. 49, 54) indicates that on Good Friday (as on Palm Sunday) the passion was sung by three choral groups. In the case of Teodoro Clinio's *Sacrae quatuor Christi Domini Passiones* (1595) the division was made as follows: "Christ" (*a* 3), minor characters collectively (*a* 4), and the crowd (*i.e.*, *turbae*, *a* 5).

¹⁸ Schütz's passions of St. John (1665), St. Matthew (1666), and St. Luke (also 1666) were first performed near the end of Rovetta's lifetime but may have been composed in the 1650s. A facsimile of the scores preserved in the Musikbibliothek der Stadtr Leipzig was published in 1981, with commentary by Wolfram Steude (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik). Some references to the performances are found in Gina Spagnoli (ed. and trans.), *Letters and Documents of Heinrich Schütz, 1656-1672: An Annotated Translation* (University of Rochester Press, 1990), 77ff, 223.

¹⁹ At the church of San Silvestro.

²⁰ A.S.V., Atti dei dogi. Cancelleria Inferiore, Reg. 78, f. 103^v.

²¹ A.S.V., Atti dei dogi, Cancelleria Inferiore, Reg. 81, f. 5.

di Capella,"²² apparently to play the theorbo; he was dismissed, however, in 1617 for extended absence.²³ Antonio Rovetta was hired as a miscellaneous instrumentalist²⁴ on 30 April 1617.

One thing that distinguished the Rovetta family from the other musicians active at San Marco at the same time was that its members were clearly and consistently associated with solo music for Christmas and Easter dating from the early years of the seventeenth century. From 1614 or earlier until his death in 1641 Giacomo was regularly paid 12 ducats to play on each of these feasts; in both cases his services as a violinist were rendered as an incidental musician. He was the earliest musician known to have been employed in this capacity. It is possible that Giovanni substituted for his father when he was still very young. On 10 December 1615, an entry in the Procurators' ledger indicated the Giovanni was to play at Christmas.²⁵

Giovanni's association with the church of San Silvestro is especially suggestive of a leading role in the presentation of instrumental music, for it was at San Silvestro that the instrumentalists' guild had met since the thirteenth century.²⁶ A long association between Rovetta and the guild would seem to have been inevitable.²⁷ From the point of view of the development of instrumental practice, the *violino* (or its forerunners) had been an occasional member of the *piffaro* group. Renaissance paintings show an occasional *lira da braccio* in combination with herald trumpets and other wind instruments, especially in depictions of the coronation of the Virgin.

The development of a repertory for solo violin had barely begun when the practice of providing violin solos at the Elevation of the Host was started at San Marco. It appears circumstantially to have owed something to the presence of Monteverdi as *maestro di cappella* and to have offered the possibility of interjecting *seconda prattica* elements into the most joyous services of the church year.

This innovation preceded by just a few years the flowering of the solo motet in Venetian worship services. Many San Marco musicians, even if scarcely known as composers, are represented in such anthologies as the *Ghirlanda sacra* of 1626. Since there are no known exemplars of the violin solos for the Elevation, we can only speculate as to their nature. The solo motets of the time were pietistic in the main and hauntingly introspective. In the absence of better information, we might expect the violin solos to have been deeply expressive in much the same manner.

²² A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 141, f. 15^v, entry of 11 aprile 1615: "Che m. pre. Vido Roveti Anciprete, et Rettor di S. Angelo in Pad.^{va} sia codotto per servir nelli organi di S. M.^{co} in tutti li concerti, che si farano, come sarà ordinato dal Maestro di Capella, così nelli giorni, ch' venirà la Ser.^{na} Sig.^{na} in chiesa, come in tutti quelli altri giorni di solenità, ch' è solito farsi concerti, et in ogni altro tempo stravagate, ch' secondo li accideti fosse ordinato, et si dovesse far concerti. . . ."

²³ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 8, Cassier Chiesa (1614-22), entry of 7 Settembre 1617. Flaminio Coradi was hired concurrently as a singer who would also play the theorbo in the concerts in the lofts.

²⁴ To judge from his salary of 15 ducats per annum Antonio would have been a violinist. Two works *a 4* by him—"Ut queant laxis" and "Quo Sanctum Marcum"—are preserved in Marciana Cod. It. IV-1136 (=10965).

²⁵ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 8, Cassier Chiesa (1614-1622), entry of 10 Dicembre 1615: "p Giac.^o dal Violin dalla Cassa d.^{ti} dodese gr. 12 contadi a lui p sua prov. de nadal vend.^o hebbeli Zuane suo fig.^{lo}."

²⁶ For information on the guild, see E. Selfridge-Field, "Annotated Membership Lists of the Venetian Instrumentalists' Guild, 1672-1727," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, No. 9 (1971), 1-52, and No. 12 (1974), 152-55.

²⁷ In fact, it was just a year before Rovetta's death when the church decided that it could no longer accommodate the guild (A.S.V., *Milizia da Mar*, MS 168, entry of 20.VI.1667), but the request for them to quit probably was ignored. Leaders of the guild were also noted instrumentalists at San Marco. Giovanni Battista Castello was *gastoldo* in 1622 (*op. cit.*, cited in entry of 21.IV.1689) and Alessandro Fedeli occupied the same post in 1691 (entry of 4.VII.). At San Silvestro, the guild was responsible for maintaining the altar of S. Maria della Pietà, which it still did in 1691 (*loc. cit.*). A complete listing of San Marco *piffari* is found in Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *La musica strumentale di Venezia da Gabrieli a Vivaldi* (Turin: ERI, 1980).

In his youth Rovetta also held appointments at the Ospedaletto and at the Mendicanti. At the first he served as *maestro di musica* from 1635 to 1647. At the second he was listed only as a *musicco*, and among his duties he substituted for Carlo Fillago at the organ in 1639. It is noteworthy that although the use of instruments other than the organ had been officially suppressed at the Mendicanti in 1619, the governors provided 100 ducats in 1639 for vestments and "*violini boni da sonar in Coro*."²⁸

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From the late sixteenth century through the early eighteenth, it was customary in Northern Italy for *maestri di cappella* to have been trained as organists. Organists were versed in counterpoint and *solfegge*. They upheld the rigorous standards of their trade and this was obviously deemed an essential foundation for the composition of music for choirs, whether performing in concert with instruments or a *cappella*. *Piffari* (other than *piffari*-violinists) normally remained *piffari*, and a large number of composers of instrumental music who described themselves as violinists remained instrumentalists throughout their lives. In fact attention has been called to the nominal distinction between *canzone* and *sonata* as having been one of training. Ensemble pieces composed by organists usually obeyed written rules and were called *canzoni*; those by ensemble instrumentalists were usually freer in form and syntax; they were called *sonate*.²⁹

This distinction helps to explain why Rovetta, when appointed *vice maestro di cappella*,³⁰ felt extremely reticent about his appointment. He was an ensemble instrumentalist. In the dedication (of 1 January 1626/7) of his first publication, *Salmi concertati*, to Lelio Cereda, he explained:

I am lucky to be numbered among the fraternity of musicians of their Excellencies [the Procurators] of San Marco If the *Maestro di Capella* should be absent, I would . . . according to their new determination . . . function as Vice Maestro. But this is an extravagant thing: in an instant I would have passed from the profession of instrumentalist to that of composer and director of various kinds of music on diverse feasts; they have made the poorly founded judgment that such kinds of ecclesiastical music could be composed by me.

Foreseeing that such opposition could in a short time make a bad impression among those to whom I am not known, I thought it expedient to send to press these ecclesiastical songs

He goes on to attest that these really are his works, not those of anyone else, and that it should not seem so odd that he should go overnight from being an instrumentalist to a composer, since Signor Striggio, Signore Priuli, Signor Valentini,³¹ and "almost all the best school of composers have proceeded in this manner." After

²⁸ Giuseppe Ellero *et al.*, *Arte e Musica all'Ospedaletto: Schede d'archivio sull'attività dei Derelitti e dei Mendicanti di Venezia (sec. XVI-XVIII)* (Venice: Stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1978), pp. 177, 43, 157.

²⁹ See E. Selfridge-Field, "Canzona and Sonata: Some Differences in Social Identity," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, IX/1 (1978), 111-19, and "Genre and Instrumentation in Italian Music, 1600-1670," *Early Music*, XIX/1 (1991), 61-7.

³⁰ Rovetta succeeded to the position of *vice maestro di cappella* at San Marco after the departure of Alessandro Grandi. This must have occurred by March 1626, when Grandi was replaced in his additional position of *maestro di canto*. Rovetta's official election was on 22 November 1627.

³¹ This pantheon of august composers is strongly suggestive of a Mantuan cross-current, and it is important to realize that Monteverdi, through his Mantuan ties, maintained close contact with the Viennese court. In 1622 Prince Ferdinand married Eleonora Gonzaga of Mantua.

Giovanni Priuli (c.1575-1629), a Gabrieli pupil active in Graz and later Vienna, left the post of *Hofkapellmeister* in 1622, possibly

all, he points out, there are in this service not only 30 or more singers but also 20 or more players of wind and string instruments. If, therefore, *virtuosi* should find anything in his works not to their taste, they should remember the constraints under which he has worked.³² Rovetta claimed to play wind and string instruments "of every kind." He used both a fingered tremolo and a bowed tremolo in the four instrumental works this first opus. Perhaps these techniques were used, even invented, by his father.

Rovetta's training as a priest inclined him to be very responsive, in the manner of the *seconda prattica*, to the texts he set while remaining cognizant of the traditional trappings of the *prima prattica*. His first opus demonstrates his contrapuntal skills, which included double-subject fugues and retrograde inversions of subjects. His string works venture, via what was later to be called the Circle of Fifths, to such keys as A Major and E Major and set a standard for agility that was considerable for the time.

There is good evidence that Rovetta's service to San Marco was found to be highly satisfactory.³³ His pay increase in 1642 must have been a response of sorts to the death of his father, Giacomo, in 1641.³⁴ As violinist for high feasts, Giacomo was succeeded by Gio. Pietro Orcelli, who was granted regular employment on the date of Rovetta's increase. As a *piffaro* Giacomo had been succeeded on 6 February 1642 by Marc'Antonio Zorzi.

Rovetta was elected *maestro di cappella*, succeeding Monteverdi, with a salary of 300 ducats, on 21 February 1644. It was a great achievement for the *piffaro* who, less than two decades earlier, had doubted his ability as a composer would be thought credible. Monteverdi's death ushered in a new kind of equally dubious expectation—that Rovetta would wish to compose operas. *Ercole in Lidia*, his first and perhaps only opera,³⁵ was given in the spring of 1645.³⁶ Rovetta was active as a theatre violinist, but in contrast to his San

to go to Mantua. Giovanni Valentini (1582 or 1583-29 to 30.IV.1649), another Gabrieli associate, had moved to Vienna in 1619, when Ferdinand Gonzaga was elected Holy Roman Emperor and succeeded Priuli as *Hofkapellmeister* in 1622. He was a well-known keyboard player and had worked for a time in Poland. Helmut Federhofer ("Giovanni Piruli," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: Macmillan, 1980, Vol. 15, p. 495) credits Valentini with having seen "the beginnings of the *sepolcro* and oratorio in Vienna, but only the texts he wrote for his own works in these genres survive." Valentini taught music to the children of Ferdinand II and remained *Kapellmeister* under Ferdinand III.

³² Complete Italian text in Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale stampata a Venezia sino al 1700*, 2 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1952 and 1968), I, 304-05.

³³ As *vice maestro*, Rovetta enjoyed three pay increases. On 22.III.1635 he was given an increase from 120 to 160 ducats. On 28.III.1640 his pay was increased from 160 to 180 ducats. On 9.III.1642 he was granted an increase from 180 to 200 ducats.

³⁴ In the census taken on 17.XII.1632 a "Rovetta" who may have been the composer was listed as a *cittadino* in the parish of San Fantin. He headed a household that included two women, one male over 50, one male 18-50, and one male under 18. There was also a *massere* (A.S.V., Provveditori alla Sanità, Anagrafia 1633, Busta 568). In all probability the male over 50 was Giacomo Rovetta, the male 18-50 was Giovanni Rovetta, and one of the women was Giovanni's sister Elena, the mother of Giovanni Battista Volpe. In relation to Rovetta's nephew, it might be noted that among the Paduan musicians there was a Francesco Volpe, who sang tenor at the Santo [the church of San Antonio in Padua] in 1617, 1624, and 1644 (Antonio Sartorio, *Documenti per la storia della musica al Santo e nel Veneto*, ed. Elisa Grossato, with the intro. by Giulio Cattin [Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1977], p. 192). One apparent effect of Giacomo's death is that in the census of 28.III.1642 Giovanni had moved from the parish of San Fantin to that of Sant'Angelo, where he (Giovanni Roeta) is listed as an *artefice*, with a household consisting of two women, one male 18-50, and one male under 18, as well as one *massere* (A.S.V., Anagrafia 1642, Busta 571). Rovetta was frequently named "Roeta" in documents of the time.

³⁵ It is undetermined whether Volpe or Rovetta set the music for *Argiope* (1649). Volpe set the music for *La costanza di Rosimonda* (Venice 1659; Milan, 1675); *Gli amore di Apollo e di Leucotoe* (1663); and *La Rosilena* (1664).

³⁶ An account of it is given in [John] *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. William Bray (London: George Routledge and Co., n.d.), pp. 137f [June 1645]: "This night, having with my Lord [Thomas] Bruce taken our places before, we went to the Opera, where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative music, by the most excellent musicians, vocal and instrumental, with a variety of scenes painted

Marco predecessor, Monteverdi, and successor, Cavalli, he did not pursue an adjunct career in this field. However, sacred and secular compositions flowed from his pen in great abundance.³⁷

ROVETTA'S MANAGEMENT OF THE *CAPPELLA*

Rovetta had acknowledged in the dedication of his Op. 1 his deep respect for the music of Giovanni Valentini, the *Hofkapellmeister* in Vienna. When Valentini died, on 30 April 1649, the Imperial Palace attempted to recruit Rovetta to succeed him, but Rovetta declined.³⁸ The Procurators rewarded his loyalty with a pay rise from 300 to 400 ducats on 28 October 1649. This decision to remain at San Marco, where he had already served for more than three decades, may have engendered an increased effort to emphasize the special traditions of the ducal chapel, for it is from just this time onward that Rovetta concerned himself with matters of detail that differentiate the practice of San Marco from that of other institutions. Rovetta also enjoyed the special respect of the Procurators, for in later life he served as their Guardian.³⁹ This was a ceremonial position in which he stood at attention at the various places where the Procurators entered the basilica.

In regular ranks, some 30 instrumentalists were hired during Rovetta's tenure as *maestro*. Of these, 17 were string players.⁴⁰ There were also 3 cornettists, 1 bassoonist, and 4 trombonists⁴¹—demonstrating Rovetta's commitment to the winds and brasses that had so greatly distinguished the ceremonial music of the *cappella* in the earlier part of the century—and 5 theorbists.⁴²

It seems to have been Rovetta's frequent practice to add musicians for Christmas and Easter services. Among those specially mentioned were Iseppo Sardi,⁴³ who was paid for having played the concert⁴⁴ on

and contrived with no less art of perspective, and machines for flying in the air, and other wonderful notions; taken together, it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of man can invent. The history was, Hercules in Lydia; the scenes changed thirteen times. The famous voices, Anna Rencia, a Roman, and reputed the best treble of women; but there was an eunuch who, in any opinion, surpassed her; also a Genoese that sung an incomparable bass. This held us by the eyes and ears till two in the morning, when we went to the Chetto de San Felice, to see the noblemen and their ladies at basset, a game at cards which is much used; they the play not in public, and all that have inclination to it are in masquerade, without speaking one word, and so they come in, play, lose or gain, and go away as they please. This time of license is only in Carnival and this Ascension week; neither are their theaters open for that other magnificence, or for ordinary comedians, save on these solemnities, they being a frugal and wise people, and exact observers of all sumptuary laws."

³⁷ Rovetta's compositions were chiefly psalms (Opp. 1, 4, 7, 8, 12) and motets (Opp. 3, 5, 10, 11). A few masses are also found. He is also widely represented in anthologies from 1620 to 1669. His Opp. 2, 6, and 9 contained madrigals. Several masses, motets, Magnificats, and Salve Reginas other than those described herein are preserved in manuscripts outside Venice.

Rovetta's nephew, Giovanni Battista Volpe (sometimes called Rovettino) seems to have been involved in arranging both the original publication of some of the later collections (e.g., Op. 9 in 1646 and Op. 10 in 1647) and republications with the Antwerp house of Phalese (e.g., of *Manipulus e messe musicus* [Op. 10] and *Bicinia sacra* [Op. 3 duets] in 1648 and *Gemma musicalis* [the balance of Op. 3] in 1649).

³⁸ Reported by Helmut Federhofer in the *New Grove* entry on "Vienna" (Vol. 19, p. 717). Antonio Bertali was later appointed to the post.

³⁹ A.S.V., Reg. 146, f. 144, entry of 24. Ottobre 1668: "Che il Carico di Guardian di Procuratia vacato per la morte de Dno Zuanne de Giacomo Roeta sia concesso per tutto il tempo della sua vita ad Antonio Piasciola"

⁴⁰ Among the most important appointments was that of the *violone* player Paolo Mancin in 1655.

⁴¹ The most notable trombonists having been Johann Rosenmüller, appointed in 1658, and Alessandro Fedeli, appointed in 1664.

⁴² Three of whom were hired in 1658 and 1659.

⁴³ Possibly related to the music copyist Gio. Francesco Sarti.

⁴⁴ "sonato il Concerto".

Christmas Eve 1664 and at mass on the following day.⁴⁵ In 1665 three musicians were added for Christmas.⁴⁶ For Christmas services in 1667 new music was transcribed by Pre. Giovanni Gasparini, and Domenico Rossi was paid for having played the violin in place of Carlo Ruggieri, who was ill.⁴⁷ Theorbists may have been employed in the accompaniment of solo vocal music.

Special payments for music during Holy Week also become especially noticeable around the time of this Viennese overture. In 1649, for example, there were special payments to the Coadiutori of the *maestro di coro* for the processions of Good Friday, which happens in this year to have coincided with the feast of Venice's patrons, SS. Theodore and Mark (3 *piccioli*), and to Pre. Zan Battista Facini (2 *piccioli*) for having sung the passion on Palm Sunday and on Tuesday of Holy Week "in the usual manner"⁴⁸. His fame was growing: Alessandro Vincenti, in his preface to the *Motetti* Op. 11 (1650) called Rovetta "uno de' maestri più sublimi" and praised his "melodie angeliche".

Recalling Federhofer's claim that Valentini was associated with the institution of the *sepulcro* and oratorio in Vienna, it seems not at all unlikely that there was some contact between Rovetta and Vienna through which he was inspired to recreate at San Marco what he first came to know abroad. Many musicians from Venice travelled to Vienna in 1651 for the wedding of Ferdinand III. While there is no evidence that Rovetta was among them, his position should have made him first among equals. Another Holy Week document comes from the following year, 1652, when Rovetta was provided with 12 ducats 14 *grossi* to pay the musicians hired to sing and play, according to the usual custom, at the Matins services of Holy Week.⁴⁹ In 1668, it was Francesco Spada who sang the passion(s) during Holy Week.⁵⁰ Rovetta engaged Ruggiero Fedeli to play violoncello at the masses of Easter, St. Mark's, and Ascension, as well as at Vespers on the vigil of St. Mark's.⁵¹ New music may have been performed, since Vittorio Costanzi was paid on the same date for having written "diverse pages of music."

Despite his many printed works, Rovetta himself referred to "le compositioni dalle mie vigilie partorite, di Hinni, Motetti, e Messe, che s'attrovano in manuscritti diversi al bisogno della Regia Capella di S. Marco" in the dedication of his *Salmi* Op. 12 (1662).

Rovetta requested in his will⁵² of 1667 that, upon his death, his Requiem Mass for two choirs "scritta a Bologna" be performed with his motet [*sic*] "Ad Dominum cum tribularer" for memorial services both at San Marco and at San Silvestro.⁵³ As he preordained that they should, these events took place shortly after his death, which occurred on 23 October 1668.

THE POSTHUMOUS PERFORMANCE OF ROVETTA'S MUSIC FOR HOLY WEEK

⁴⁵ Cassier Chiesa, Reg. 15, entry of 7.I.1664/5.

⁴⁶ Cassier Chiesa, Reg. 15, entry of 30.XII.1665.

⁴⁷ Procuratia de Supra, Cassier Chiesa 1663-1674, Registro 15, entry of 29.Xbre.1667.

⁴⁸ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 34, Scontro Chiesa (1648-58), entries of 27 Aprile 1649.

⁴⁹ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 34, Scontro Chiesa (1648-58), entry of XV Aprile 1652.

⁵⁰ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 15, Cassier Chiesa (1663-74), entry of 9 maggio 1668.

⁵¹ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 15, Cassier Chiesa (1663-74), entry of 15 maggio 1668.

⁵² A.S.V., Sezione Notarile, Atti Francesco Ciola, item of 16 Luglio 1667.

⁵³ In fact he left the generous bequest of 1000 ducats so that these works might be sung "into perpetuity."

It is almost certainly the case that the fate of Rovetta's music for Holy Week after his death vacillated somewhat from *maestro* to *maestro* and that, far from being an instant "canon", these works were subjected to some vicissitudes on their way to representing the San Marco "tradition."

To start with, Rovetta's musical legacy was dual. There were, on the one hand, the intensely expressive works of which there is so little direct evidence—the narrator's and Evangelist's roles in the passions and the violin solos for the Elevation on Easter. On the other hand, there were the *prima prattica* works—represented here by the mass, vespers, and Magnificat preserved in manuscript.

The Lamentations of Holy Week were accompanied, possibly from even before Rovetta's time, on the harpsichord. This practice is suggested in a document of 1615, when one musician from the *cappella* was given a special stipend for having carried the "claviorgano" used in the Lamentations of Holy Week, following the instruction of the *maestro*.⁵⁴ Even earlier, in 1607, a notary for Donato Ondelli, maker of harpsichords from the parish of S. Lio, claimed the pay for three periods (May-October) for Paolo Giusto,⁵⁵ suggesting that the San Marco organist was not unfamiliar with the harpsichord. In 1617 Bastian Romano was paid 6 *ducati* 6 *grossi* for having sung the Lamentations during the three days [Wednesday-Friday] of Holy Week.⁵⁶ Solo music at this time seems to have been reserved for the holiest of circumstances.

It may be significant evidence of Rovetta's interest in such use of the harpsichord that his nephew Giovanni Battista Volpe was appointed "fourth" organist on 28 October 1645.⁵⁷ Volpe became a noted authority on the harpsichord. His expertise, contained in a lost treatise called *Il prattico al cembalo*, was acknowledged by Francesco Gasparini in his treatise *Il pratico armonico al cimbalo* (1708).

Rovetta was very indulgent of Francesco Cavalli, going so far as to dedicate a volume of his *Madrigali concertati* to the younger man in 1645. In his dedication of 10 June 1645, Volpe wrote, on behalf of Rovetta, that Cavalli's music possessed three virtues—the noble "dressing" of the subjects (*i.e.*, texts), incomparable singing, and celebrated "accuracy"⁵⁸ in instrumental accompaniment. These last two, he noted, were "living treasures" incapable of printed representation.

It is not clear what the place of Rovetta's music was during Cavalli's tenure as *maestro di cappella*. Cavalli seems to have been concerned both with increased ceremony and with preserving important works of the past. One of his first reforms was to order the construction of a short staircase over the sacristy to facilitate the movement of the *maestro*, singers, and instrumentalists on those occasions when the doge mingled with worshippers on the main floor of the church. The musicians were to follow him from above, remaining in the corridors attached to the organ lofts.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 8, Cassier Chiesa (1614-22), entry of 3 Zugno 1615: "p spese p . . . diversi sonatori et Cantori pigliati di piu delli ordenarij che seruano in Capela . . . p uno d.10 gr.10 con lire 5 p haver portato lo Clau organo p tal servitio p seruire nelle lamentation della sett.^a Santa" At that time, the playing of the instrument probably would have fallen to Gio. Battista Grillo, another Gabrieli pupil and the "third" [portative] organist at the time. Monteverdi was the *maestro di cappella*.

⁵⁵ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 139, Terminazioni (1598-1607), f. 185, entry of 7 maggio 1607.

⁵⁶ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 8, Cassier Chiesa (1614-22), entry of 20 Zugno 1617.

⁵⁷ Volpe substituted for Cavalli at one of the larger organs during Cavalli's stay in France (1660-62). In 1665 he became second organist and in 1678 first organist. He died late in the year 1691. A lost volume of motets *a 8* by him was published in 1649.

⁵⁸ "leggiadria accuratezza".

⁵⁹ A.S.V., Reg. 146, f. 149^v, entry of 17 Febraio 1668/9: "Apportando non lieve incomodo al Maestro di Capella, Musici, et Concerti della Chiesa di San Marco dover passar per tutto il corpo nelle solenità principali, et altri tempi quando particolarmente descende Sua Serenità trà la multitude delle genti concorrono il tali giorni per andar con luogo giro de corridori agl'organi superiori, che hà dato mottivo al detto Maestro supplicare l'Ecc.^{mo} Proc.^o Cassiere di qualche propria provvisione per loro comune solevo; Che però

On 26 February 1671/2 Cavalli put in a claim for 34 lire to rebind a book containing a four-voice mass as well as magnificats and motets, according to his request of 21 January.⁶⁰ The composers of these works are not identified. During the following August the priest Lorenzo Rossi⁶¹ was paid 84 *ducati* 14 *grossi* to recopy, on Cavalli's orders, two masses, four magnificats, and diverse motets for six voices on "imperial paper," 48 sheets in all representing the works of present and past (but still unidentified) *maestri di cappella*, and for having fixed the book of masses by Palestrina and the hymn of St. Mark.⁶²

Clearer evidences of renewed interest in Rovetta's music, especially that for Holy Week, survive from the tenure of Natale Monferrato (1676-1685). In 1682 Monferrato ordered the copying of a mass, magnificat, motets, and hymns specifically by Rovetta as well as a book of cantus firmus and two other hymns. The payments were made to Gio. Francesco Sarti, the copyist mentioned in the Marciana copy of Item #4 (the *turbe* for the Passion according to St. Matthew), and the Carmelite Padre Pesaro.

It was also during the tenure of Monferrato that payments to the player of a *spinetta* during Holy Week became commonplace. Starting with Volpe (1675), there followed Pietr'Andrea Ziani (1676), Giacomo Spada (1679, 1685), Carlo Francesco Pollarolo (1692), Antonio Lotti (1693, 1699), Benedetto Vinacesi (1707), and Domenico Maghini (1712).⁶³ A even stronger link was forged during the tenure (1685-1690) of Giovanni Legrenzi as *maestro*. In 1686 a provision was made regularly to tune the harpsichord used during Holy Week and other extraordinary days.⁶⁴ It was in the same year that a provision was also made to pay on an annual basis the priest who sang the passion during Holy Week. It appears, however, that only the agreement to pay for the service was new.⁶⁵

Another new form of recognition was that accorded to the custodian who carried the cappella's books from place to place at Easter and Christmas. He was to be paid six ducats a year.⁶⁶ A *giovine de coro* was to be paid 1/2 ducat for the First Evangelio and 1 ducat for mass.⁶⁷

portatosi V. E. alla visione de sitti col Rotto di questa Procuratia hà osservato loco addatato da potersi per hora stavilire una scaletta molto aggiustata nella scalla, che v` sopra la Sagrestia per salire nell'organo essistente in Cornù Evangelij d'essa Chiesa con l'impegno de ducati cento, e vinti in circa solamente.

⁶⁰ A.S.V., Reg. 146, f. 165^v, entry of 26 Febraro 1670/1.

⁶¹ In 1649 Lorenzo Rossi had been hired as an instrumentalist. He remained at San Marco at least through 1675.

⁶² A.S.V., Reg. 146, f. 170^v, entry of 29 Agosto 1671: ". . . sia pagati cinque polize de ducati ottanta quatro grossi quatordece à P. Lorenzo Rossi in sodisfatione delle ricopie fatte di due Messe, quatro Magnificat, et diversi Motteti à sei sopra carta imperial in numero de fogli quarantotto con notte quadrate composti dal presente, e passatti Maestri di Capella, et aggiustato in più lochi il libro delle Messe della Palestrina, et Hinno di San Marco il tutto à servizio della medesima, come nelle dette polize di Dmo Francesco Caletto d.º Cavalli Meastro"

⁶³ See E. Selfridge-Field, *La musica strumentale a Venezia da Gabrieli a Vivaldi*, tr. Franco Salvatorelli (Turin: ERI, 1980), pp. 275f.

⁶⁴ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 147, f. 230^v, entry of 6 Agosto 1686. ". . . sian pagati annualmente al Maestro tenerà accommodata la Spinetta s'adopera la settimana santa, et altri giorni straordinarii di servizio della medesima ducati doi compreso la necessaria si si ricercasse per detto operazioni d'esso Mastro. . . ."

⁶⁵ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 147, f. 230^v, entry of 6 Agosto 1686: ". . . hanno terminato, che de danari della Cassa della Chiesa sian pagati d'anno in anno ducati doi al Sacerdote canterà il Passio la Settimana Santa giusto il solito praticarsi nelle solennità d'essa Chiesa in loco di quello venivo corrisposto al d.º Sacerdote per simil occasione"

⁶⁶ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 147, f. 230^v, entry to 6 Agosto 1686: ". . . de danari della Cassa della Chiesa siano dati al Custode de libri della Capella Ducale ducati sei annualmente da Pasque et Natale per l'incombenze straordinarie di portar li medesimi in più loghi quando esce Sua Serenità per portarsi altrove alla Musica di varie Chiese in conformità della mente pubblica"

⁶⁷ *Loc. cit.*

Legrenzi is known to have dedicated Holy Week responses to the Procurators in 1689, for he was given 200 silver ducats for these works,⁶⁸ but the pieces have never been located.

It is perhaps ironic that it was Rovetta's mass for Holy Thursday that remained in use the longest, for its harmonic and metrical constraints give little idea of the progressive dimension of his music. Was it respected for its particular mode of expression, or perhaps only for its brevity?⁶⁹ The 1680s were a time of supreme cultural consciousness, as the interests of the Holy League came to dominate all else. Thus we might countenance the idea that the official propriety of the *prima prattica* should be admired over the expressive intensity of the *seconda*. But this need for correctness diminished, or at least was forgotten in the long, slow slide into oblivion of Venetian culture in the eighteenth century.

* * *

More problematic is the fact that the many skeins of performance and liturgical practice documented in surviving musical materials are difficult to untangle. Within the Marciana sources, the main differences arise from a comparison of score and parts. In the parts, which are probably from the *seicento*, the text is set more syllabically and, except for the continuo, with many more notes, especially in cadences, since many text phrases are set repeatedly. The independent continuo has fewer figures and fewer note diminutions than the continuo part in the score. The Agnus Dei, which appears to have been followed by a *Tantum ergo*, set for two tenors and bass, concludes with the phrase "Miserere nobis."⁷⁰

These parts give the outward appearance of predating the Marciana score, for the paper seems earlier and the copying less polished. However, any comparison of musical content must suggest that if the score is later than the parts in physical date, it nonetheless is copied from a source which predated the parts. In the Marciana score, chromatic usage that is absent in the parts appears sporadically. Figuration of the continuo is much fuller and is likely to reflect eighteenth-century practice. In fact, it is possible that the continuo part was added to the score by a second scribe. There are some miscellaneous octave discrepancies, particularly in the continuo and the bass voice of the entire final phrase of the Agnus Dei; the tenor range is matched exactly. The retention in the last seven bars of this movement of the text "Dona nobis pacem" for what is rendered as "Miserere nobis" in the parts may simply owe to different understandings of performance: if the Agnus Dei was repeated, the "Dona nobis pacem" would be sung for the final iteration, with the "Miserere nobis" in the preceding ones. In this score, the Agnus Dei is followed by a seven-bar "Deo gratias".

⁶⁸ A.S.V., Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 147, f. 283^v, entry of 10 Luglio 1689: "Vedendosi sempre più infervorato il Maestro di Cappella Legrenzi nel servizio della Capella Ducale di San Marco, et spiccano dalla Compositione Musicale de' Responsorii della Settimana Santa da lui presentate, et dedicate all' Ecc^{ma} Proc.^{ia} le sue virtuose commendabili applicazioni per il continuato decoroso servizio della Capella stessa; perciò . . . siano impegnati ducati doicento in argenti, o altro per regalo al detto Sig.^o Maestro di Capella Legrenzi, che servirà non solo à memoria del pubblico gradimento alle sue virtuose fatiche; ma anco per qualche ricompensa alle spese da lui fatte nell' opera musicale sudetto."

⁶⁹ Rovetta became concerned with the creation of shorter works in his last year. In his Op. 12 (1662), which was to be his final printed collection, Rovetta specifically addressed "l'uso della Serenissima capella ducale di S. Marco." This opus contained *Salmi a 8 voci accomodati da cantarsi alla breue*.

⁷⁰ The parts for the *Tantum ergo* are distributed as follows: the *Tenore primo* (49 bars) is transcribed at the end of the alto part; the *Tenore secondo* is appended to the tenor part; the first 24 bars of the bass part were laid out at the end of the *Basso* but the full part with text is appended to the *Organo*. All three complete parts are followed by a 31-bar setting of *Genitori genito*, also for two tenors and bass.

The parts preserved in the Fondo Musicale della Cappella di San Marco⁷¹ give some notion of how the vocal resources were changed and "rebalanced" at San Marco from epoch to epoch. Those that seem to derive from Rovetta's own time are 3 for *tenore*, 3 for *basso*, and one for *violone*. Nine additional partbooks in a second hand provide for a choir of 19: 4 sopranos, 4 altos, 6 tenors, and 5 basses; the *violone* may have been considered a substitute for one bass. A further set of parts (added before, but perhaps not much before, 1884) supports two further singers on each part, thus in all 6 sopranos, 6 altos, 8 tenors, and 7 basses, plus *violone*.⁷²

In contrast to the Marciana materials, the "Deo gratias" is included with these parts but is absent in the score. The Agnus Dei of the score has been rebound in times sufficiently recent that a printed *modulo* similar to that used for the past several decades to track use of manuscripts in the *sala riservata* of the Marciana Library serves as an endpaper.⁷³ This rebinding could have occurred to exclude the "Deo gratias", which is not found here. Syllabification, octave selection, and continuo figuration all accord well with the Marciana score. However, the text "Dona nobis pacem" is not present in the Agnus Dei.

It is possible that the earliest surviving source is the single folio (Cantus and Tenor) from the *corale*, which may be speculatively dated as Lorenzo Rossi's copy of 1671. Brief though this fragment is, we see that the chromatic inflections, such as that on the second syllable of "Kyrie," were originally absent. It is through the coincidence of details between this and the Marciana score that the latter may be presumed to be based on a source close in date.

* * *

It is possible that the ultimate benefactor of Rovetta's soloistic works for Holy Week was the Ospedale della Pietà. There are many personal connections in the years immediately following the death of Legrenzi. The priest Francesco Spada, who performed some of this music at San Marco, was given retirement on 1 August 1687⁷⁴ but is likely to have borne some relation to Giacomo Filippo Spada. The latter was not only organist at San Marco concurrent with Volpe's tenure and Volpe's successor as organist (6 August 1690) but also the *maestro di musica* at the Pietà from 1690 until his own death in 1704. He was followed by Volpe's admirer Francesco Gasparini (1703-1713).

The proof is not in the names or the offices; it is in the music. The Pietà evolved a tradition in the early years of the eighteenth century of providing elaborate cadenzas in vocal works that were performed during Holy Week. In a forthcoming study, Faun Tanenbaum will look at possible connections between the *seicento* practices of San Marco and the *settecento* practices of the Pietà.⁷⁵

* * *

Rovetta's music regularly receives less recognition than it deserves on account of a logical fallacy. Historians of recent generations have identified opera as the preeminently important genre of the Venetian

⁷¹ Provisional copy for the now published catalogue of this collection was kindly made available by Francesco Passadore; actual inspection of the music yielded much additional information, which is included in Appendix 1.

⁷² By that time a double bass.

⁷³ The general rubric for the principal column to be completed by a prospective user reads "*Motivi dell'aver e del dare*."

⁷⁴ A.S.V. Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 147, f. 245^v, entry of p^{mo} Agosto 1687.

⁷⁵ In the study-in-progress "Foundling *Virtuose*: Eighteenth-Century Vocal Cadenzas from the Repertory of the Pietà," examples are taken from Lesson 1 for the Wednesday of Holy Week, from Lamentation 3 and Lesson 8 for Thursday, and from Lesson 6 and the role of Christ from a passion for Good Friday.

seicento. Because his tenure as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco fell between those of the two most eminent Venetian opera composers of the time, Monteverdi and Cavalli, it has been a facile deduction that Rovetta's music must not have been very important because he did not involve himself much in the composition of opera.

In fact, Rovetta is survived by roughly as much sacred music as Monteverdi and by somewhat more than Cavalli. He composed more fluently for instruments than either of these luminaries. He spanned more gracefully the chasm between the massive sounds and architectural grandeur of Gabrieli's polychoral music, on the one hand, and the delicate effects of the trembling spirit in pietistic poetry and *seconda pratica* music on the other. The shadow his music cast in ensuing decades was, within San Marco at least, longer than that of Monteverdi and Cavalli. Indeed his music may have been heard by more doges than that of any other Venetian composer. In all events, his mass and passions for Holy Week appear to be the only Venetian works of their kind that survive from the seventeenth century and bear witness to a Venetian contribution to an emerging genre—the oratorio—that came to be centrally important in *settecento* Venice.

It was not at San Marco but rather in the *ospedali* that the oratorio was to flourish. It may be partly on account of the fact that the *ospedali* presented so much new music that they captured the audience for musical innovation. Responding to changing tastes, the loyalties of prestigious visitors to Venice shifted. It may be that little new liturgical music was written for San Marco in the eighteenth century because no one any longer looked to the Ducal Chapel for novelty. However, many works by Monferrato and a few by Legrenzi are known to be lost. We cannot thus say with certainty that Rovetta was the last of the *cappella's* composer to create a substantial body of music for Holy Week. The fact that scribes attended to his music so diligently has contributed to its longevity. This suggests a high degree of recognition by contemporaries, which in itself confers a well deserved authority.

Appendix 1. Manuscripts of Sacred Vocal Music by Rovetta Preserved in Venice: A Listing with Notes and Provisional Concordances

The contents of two codices, Cod. It. IV-1134 and Cod. It. IV-1135, in the Biblioteca Nazionale «Marciana» have been taken as a foundation for this listing. Also accounted for are five sources in the Fondo Musicale della Cappella di San Marco. For these sources, the number in the Rossi/Passadore catalogue is used because some shelfmarks were unavailable at this writing. These sources carry the following designations:

A	Marciana: Cod. It. IV-1134 (=10949)
B	Marciana: Cod. It. IV-1135 (=10964)
C	Marciana: Cod. It. IV-1838 (=11702)
D	Fondo San Marco: Cat. #1612
E	Fondo San Marco: Cat. #1613
F	Fondo San Marco: Cat. #1614
G	Fondo San Marco: Cat. #1905
H	Fondo San Marco: Cat. #1931

I have used my own numbering system for the works. Current fascicle numbers of sources (1994) are noted when available; these are sufficiently arbitrary that some have changed over the years (from 1967) during which I have periodically looked at this repertory.

Two issues complicate the few listings that exist elsewhere: (1) when two works are included in one fascicle, the second is sometimes not mentioned; (2) incipits derived from the first entering voice will vary from incipits based on the highest voice, giving the impression of multiple work among copies of the same works.

None of the works can be precisely dated. The works that mention dates are not original copies. All the works listed are attributed to Rovetta in at least one source.

There are two main hands in the Marciana holdings, but scribal subjects merit separate consideration. Inconsistencies within sources—between notes and text underlay, or between title-page and music, or between most elements and some refinements for performance (such as basso continuo figuration and instrumental designations)—are more difficult to reconcile than differences between them.

#1. Requiem Mass.

SOURCE A, FASC. 3/1. *Missa pro defunctis octo vocibus Ioannis Roetta 1655*. 20 ff. Contains the following sections: Requiem eternam (ff. 5-7); Te decet hymnus (ff. 3^v-5); Requiem eternam (ff. 5-7); Kyrie (ff. 7^v-10); Dies irae (ff. 10^v-13^v); Recordare (ff. 14-17^v); Oro supplex (ff. 17^v-20^v). In addition to parts for two SATB choirs, an unfigured continuo for *violoni* is included in the score. This work is in C and predominantly in C Major. Listed as Item 2 in the printed Marciana catalogue.⁷⁶

SOURCE E, BUSTA 770. Score from the nineteenth century for double choir (SATB, SATB). 24 parts accumulated from diverse eras (5 S, 5 A, 7 T, 5 B, *Violone*; *Dies irae* solo for alto).

#2. Missa Brevis [for Holy (Maundy) Thursday].

SOURCE A, FASC. 1. *Messa a cappella a quattro voci del M.^{ro} D.^o Giovanni Rovetta Maestro nella Ducale Basilica di S. Marco. Morì li 23. 8bre 1668*. 20 ff (including 2 blank sides). Also appearing on the title page is the inscription "*In breviate, et solertia nihil possit ultra.*" A heavily figured continuo part, apparently for organ, is given in addition to the four voices (SATB). Listed as Item 3 in the printed Marciana catalogue. This work is in C and is predominantly in D Minor. It ends with a Deo gratias. A note at the end of the mass (f. 10^r) reads,

Questa Messa si cantava il Giovedì Santo al Tempo della Veneta Repubblica, cioè sino all'Anno 1797. Si cantava pure il Giorno di S. Nicolò li 6 dicembre nell'Oratorio posto a latere della Scala de' Giganti in presenza del Serenissimo Doge, e del minore Collegio.

The part of the Credo appearing on ff. 5^r-6^v has been inserted on different paper, but the handwriting, including that of the Deo gratias is integral throughout, indicating that at the time this copy was made the mass may have been performed on Saturday, as well as Thursday, of Holy Week.

SOURCE A, FASC. 2. *Messa breve a 4 voci del maestro Rovetta*. 8 ff (2 blank sides). For STTB and *Organo*. Probably copies in the nineteenth century. Listed as Item 1 in the printed Marciana catalogue.

⁷⁶ The "printed Marciana catalogue" refers to Carlo Frati and A. Segarizzi, *Catalogo dei codici marciani italiani a cura della direzione della R. Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco in Venezia*. 2 vols. (Modena: G. Ferraguti & C. Editori, 1909-1911). The entire corpus is listed in some summary fashion in the Classe IV manuscript catalogue in the Sala Riservata.

SOURCE A, MISCELLANEOUS PARTS. *Messa di cappella. Soprano, Tenore Primo, Tenore Secondo, Basso, Organo*. The Soprano and Tenore Primo are headed "Messa di Cappella", while the remaining parts, in a new hand, are labelled "Messa da Cappella piena e breve a 4:^o"

SOURCE D, BUSTA 788. Score from the nineteenth century for SATB. Carries the same note, on f. 1, as does Source A, followed by three signatures ("Canal Cav. Lor. Pret.", "Coccon Nicolò", and "Ballarin D. Jacopo") and the stamp of the diocesan commission "S. Cecilia". 28 parts accumulated from diverse eras (6 S, 6 A, 8 T, 7 B, *Violone*).

SOURCE H, UNNUMBERED FRAGMENT. *MISSA BREVIS QVATVOR VOCIB:^S ROVETTA*. 1 folio only, containing the title and initial portions of the *CANTUS* and *TENORE* on the observe. Oversize material (49 x 36 cm) in quadratic notation, which may suggest that the *corale* from which it survives was the one copied in 1671 by Lorenzo Rossi.

#3. Magnificat

SOURCE A, FASC. 6. *Magnificat a 4 e 5 voci del Sig:^{re} Io: Batta Rovetta Maestro nella Ducale Basilica di S. Marco*. 8 ff. Said to be scored for four voices (SATB) and organ continuo, but there but the staff reserved for "organum" is blank; an independent part may once have existed. The score is set in C and is predominantly in the key of F Major. An initial instruction says "Canto piano." [Possibly copied in 1682.]

SOURCE A, FASC. 5. *Magnificat quatuor et cinque vocibus concinatus auctore G. B. Rovetta Ducalis Basilica S. Marci Venetiarum Musices Moderatore*. 8 ff (2 blank sides). Scored as above. Not listed in the printed Marciana catalogue.

#4a. St. Matthew Passion ("Non in die festo")—Short version

SOURCE A, FASC. 8/1. *Turbe a IV Voci per la Domenica delle Palme [e pel Venerdì Santo] di Giovanni Rovetta fu maestro della Capella di S. Marco in Venetian dal 1643 al 1668. Esistono in un Corale della Chiesa di S. Mosè copiate da Gianfrancesco de Sarti*. [The bracketed words may be a later interpolation.] This is Item #4 in the printed Marciana catalogue.

These *Turbe* for Palm Sunday occupy 11 pages and contain 20 passages set for four voices (SATB). This passion is based on the Gospel of St. Matthew XXVI: 36-75; XXVII: 1-60. The relationship of its text to that set out in the *Liber usualis* is complex: 16 items coincide; 4 are unique to this source; 16 found in the *Liber* are not set [see Appendix 2].

#4b. St. Matthew Passion ("Non in die festo")—Long version

SOURCE A, FASC. 7. *Turbe per la Domenica delle Palme a Quattro voci del M:^{ro} Sig:^r Giovanni Rovetta*. 22 pp. 41 phrases set for four voices (SATB). Ten of these are not found in the *Liber*. This source is not listed in the printed Marciana catalogue.

SOURCE G/1 (=Busta 786, pp. 1-26). [*Turbe della domenica delle palme.*] SATB score of 26 pp. 41 phrases. 30 parts (10 S, 8 A, 5 T, 3 B, 4 *Bassi*) from the nineteenth-century. According to the Rossi/Passadore catalogue the following solos are included: Una donna (A), Pilato (T), Caifa (T), Un apostolo (T), Una falso teste (T), Pietro (Br), Un also teste (Br), Giuda (B).

#4c. St. Matthew Passion ("Non in die festo")—Variant long version

SOURCE C. *Turbe*3. 41 phrases set for three voices (TTB). The text is the same as that of Source A, but the music is substantially different.

#5. St. John Passion ("Jesum Nazarenum")

SOURCE A, FASC. 8/2. The *Turbe pel Venerdì Santo* occupy 9 ff and contain 14 phrases set for four voices (SATB). This passion is based on the Gospel of St. John, XVIII: 1-40; XIX: 1-42. The number of text phrases found in the *Liber usualis* (32) has been severely reduced [see Appendix 2]. This is Item 5 in the printed Marciana catalogue.

SOURCE G/2 (=Busta 786, pp. 27-47). [*Turbe del venerdì santo*]. SATB setting of 34 phrases. 23 parts (10 S, 8 A, 2 T, 1 B, 2 *Bassi*) from the nineteenth century. In this setting all items from the *Liber usualis* are set and in fact there are two additional texts: "Quid est veritas," following "Ergo Rex," and "Ecce Rex vester," following "Si nunc dimittis." There are also solo parts for Una donna (A), Un servo (T), and Pietro (B).

#6. Ad Dominum cum tribularer [Psalm 119]

SOURCE A, FASC. 3/2, ff. 12^r-20^r. [No title.] Set for two SATB choirs and [*strumenti*] *Bassi*. Intended to be performed, according to Rovetta's will, with his Requiem Mass. It properly belongs with the Vespers for the Office for the Dead. It also forms part of the modern liturgy for Vespers on Holy Saturday.

#7. Beata viscera Mariae Verginis [motet]

SOURCE B, I, ff. 1^r-3^r. *Ioanne Ruetta. Anno 1655.* SATB. *Organo* on loose sheet labelled "Organo Beato." Listed in the printed Marciana catalogue with the date 1633.⁷⁷

SOURCE F, BUSTA 787, NO. 1. SATB. Copied in 1891 for an "historical concert" of the Schola Cantorum. To be performed "dopo l'Epistola."

#8. Corona aurea [motet]

SOURCE B, III, ff. 6^r-8^r. [No attribution.] SATB. *Organo* part missing.

⁷⁷ Although the handwriting is somewhat ambiguous, I believe that 1655 is the correct reading.

SOURCE F, BUSTA 787, NO. 3. SATB. Copied in 1891 for an "historical concert" of the Schola Cantorum.

#9. Genitori genito [motet]

SOURCE A, MISCELLANEOUS PARTS, following those for *Tantum ergo* [#9], f. 2^v. Parts for *Tenore Primo*, *Tenore Secondo*, *Basso*.

#10. Sancta et immaculata virginitas [motet]

SOURCE B, II, ff. 3^v-5^v. [No attribution.] SATB. *Organo* on loose sheet labelled "Sancta" and saved with that of "Beata". Not listed in the printed Marciana catalogue.

SOURCE F, BUSTA 787, NO. 2. SATB. Copied in 1891 for an "historical concert" of the Schola Cantorum. To be performed "all'Offertorio."

#11. Tantum ergo sacramentum [motet]

SOURCE A, MISCELLANEOUS PARTS appended to those cited under *Messa di cappella* [#2], f. 2^v. Parts for *Tenore Primo*, *Tenore Secondo*, *Basso*. The hand is different from that of the preceding mass.

#12. Domine Jesu Christe [Offertory of Requiem Mass]

SOURCE A, FASC. 4. [No title-page or attribution.] 4 ff. SSAABB and *Contrabassi*. Perhaps a complement to the Rovetta's Requiem (#1), although the scoring is different. The paper of the two fascicles is possibly the same but the staff-ruling is different.

#12. Sanctus [from Requiem Mass?]

SOURCE A, UNNUMBERED FASCICLE [No title-page or attribution.] 20 ff. Scored for double choir (SATB, SATB) and *Bassi*, but it is no longer present in this source. The scoring suggests the possibility that this piece belonged to the Requiem, although again the staff-ruling is different from that of the fascicles containing the mass and the Domine Jesu Christe. Not listed in the printed Marciana catalogue.

Some of the motets are obviously for Marian feasts.

Other items in Venetian manuscripts:

Rossi and Passadore report a speculation (pp. 1486f of their catalogue) that a *Missa feriae quintae sexagesimae* found in the *corale* listed as #1932 and two hymns in the *corale* listed as #1933 may be by Rovetta. Both sources are from the eighteenth century.

Seven antiphons and three hymns by Rovetta appear in the Fondazione Levi MS CF.B.109. These are enumerated in Franco Rossi's *La Fondazione Levi di Venezia: Catalogo del fondo musicale* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1986), p. 112. One hymn and six of the antiphons are for Vespers for the dedication of a church. The conspicuous church dedication in Venice during Rovetta's lifetime was that of the Salute.

Appendix 2.
 Texts of Rovetta's *Turbe*

#4a. *Turbe per la Domenica delle Palme*. 20 phrases set for four voices (SATB). All phrases are set in cut time (C) and most cadence to C Major; G Major, F Major, and E Minor are also used. This passion is based on the Gospel of St. Matthew Book XXVI: 36-75; Book XXVII: 1-60.

Cf. *Liber usualis*, pp. 599ff.

Texts set in Rovetta Source A, Fasc. 8/1	Texts given in the <i>Liber usualis</i>
1. Non in die festo ne forte tumultus fieret in populo. G	
2. Ut quid perditio haec potuit enim unguentum istud vemundari multo et dari pauperibus. C	
3. Ubi visparemus tibi comedere Pascha? G	
4. Numquid ego sum Domine?	
	Quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum.
	Ave, Rabbi.
5. Hic dixit: Possum destruere templum Dei, et <u>in triduo</u> reaedificare illud. C	Hic dixit: Possum destruere templum Dei, et <u>post triduum</u> reaedificare illud.
	Nihil respondes ad ea, quae isti adversum te testificantur?
	Adjuro te per Deum vivum, ut dicas nobis, si tu es Christus Filius Dei.
	Blasphemavit: quid adhuc egemus testibus? Ecce nunc audistis blasphemiam: quid vobis videtur?
6. Reus est <u>morto</u> . F	Reus est <u>mortis</u> .
7. Prophetiza nobis, Christe, quis est qui te percussit? C	Prophetiza nobis, Christe, quis est qui te percussit?
	Et tu cum Jesum Galilaeo eras.
	Nescio quid dicis.
	Et hic erat cum Jesu Nazareno.

8. Vere tu ex illis es: nam et loquela tua manifestum te facit. G	Vere <u>et</u> tu ex illis es: nam et loquela tua manifestum te facit.
	Peccavi; tradens sanguinem justum.
9. Quid ad nos? Tu videris. C	Quid ad nos? Tu videris.
10. Non licet eos mittere in corbonam: quia pretium sanguinis est. e	Non licet eos mittere in corbonam: quia pretium sanguinis est.
	Tu es Rex Judaeorum?
	Non audis quanta adversum te dicunt testimonia?
	Quem vultis dimittam vobis: Barabbam, an Jesum, qui dicitur Christus?
	Nihil tibi et justo illi: multa enim passa sum hodie per visum propter eum.
	Quem vultis vobis de duobus dimitti?
11. Barrabam. F	Barrabam.
	Quid igitur faciam de Jesu, qui dicitur Christus?
12. Crucifigatur. e	Crucifigatur.
13. Crucifigatur. G	
	Innocens ego sum a sanguine justi hujus: vos videritis.
14. Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros. C	Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros.
15. Ave, Rex Judaeorum. C	Ave, Rex Judaeorum.
16. Vah, qui destruis templum Dei, et in triduo illud reaedificas <u>illud</u> : salva temetipsum. Si Filius Dei es, descende de cruce. C	Vah, qui destruis templum Dei, et in triduo <u>illud</u> reaedificas: salva temetipsum. Si Filius Dei es, descende de cruce.
17. Alios salvos fecit, seipsum non potest salvum facere: <u>si</u> Rex Israel est, descendat nunc de cruce, et credimus ei: confidit in Deo: liberet <u>eum</u> nunc si vult; dixit enim: Quia Filius Dei sum. G	Alios salvos fecit, seipsum non potest salvum facere: <u>si</u> Rex Israel est, descendat nunc de cruce, et credimus ei: confidit in Deo: liberet nunc, si vult <u>eum</u> ; dixit enim: Quia Filius Dei sum.
18. Eliam vocat iste. G	Eliam vocat iste.
19. Sine, videamus en veniat Elias liberans eum. G	Sine, videamus en veniat Elias liberans eum.
20. Vere, vere Filius Dei erat iste. C	Vere Filius Dei erat iste.

#4b. **Turbe per la Domenica delle Palme a Quattro voci del M:^{ro} Giovanni Rovetta.** 41 phrases set for four voices (SATB). All phrases are set in cut time (C). C Major is the predominant tonality; cadences are also made on (in declining order of frequency) G Major, F Major, and E Minor. This passion is based on the Gospel of St. Matthew Book XXVI: 36-75; Book XXVII: 1-60. Underlined words vary between sources.

Texts set in Rovetta Source A, Fasc. 7	Texts given in the <i>Liber usualis</i>
1. Non in die festo ne forte tumultus fieret in populo. G	
2. Ut quid perditio haec potuit enim unguentum istud vemundari multo et dari pauperibus. C	
3. Quid vultis usibi dare et ego eum vobis tradam. C	
4. Ubi visparemus tibi comedere Pascha. C	
5. Numquid ego sum Domine. G	
6. Numquid ego sum Rabbi? G	
7. Et si omnes scandalizati fuerint in te, ego numquam scandalizabor. G	
8. Etiam si oportuerit me mori teum morte vegabo. G	
9. Quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum. F	Quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum.
10. Ave, Rabbi. G	Ave, Rabbi.
11. Hic dixit: Possum destruere templum Dei, et post triduum reaedificare illud. [<u>in triduo</u> was changed in the soprano part to <u>post triduum</u>] C	Hic dixit: Possum destruere templum Dei, et <u>post triduum</u> reaedificare illud.
12. Nihil respondes ad ea, quae isti adversum te testificantur? G	Nihil respondes ad ea, quae isti adversum te testificantur?
13. <u>Adiuro</u> , <u>adiuro</u> te per Deum vivum, ut dicas nobis, si tu es Christus Filius Dei. C	<u>Adjuro</u> te per Deum vivum, ut dicas nobis, si tu es Christus Filius Dei.
14. Blasphemavit? quid ad huc egemus testibus? Ecce nunc audistis blasphemiam: quid vobis videtur? d	Blasphemavit: quid adhuc egemus testibus? Ecce nunc audistis blasphemiam: quid vobis videtur?
15. Reus est mortis. F	Reus est <u>mortis</u> .
16. Prophetiza nobis, Christe, quis est qui te percussit. C	Prophetiza nobis, Christe, quis est qui te percussit?
17. Et tu cum Jesum Galilaeo eras? G	Et tu cum Jesum Galilaeo eras.
18. Nescio quid dicis. F	Nescio quid dicis.
19. Et hic erat cum Jesu Nazareno. G	Et hic erat cum Jesu Nazareno.

20. Vere et tu ex illis es: nam et loquela tua manifestum te facit.	G	Vere et tu ex illis es: nam et loquela tua manifestum te facit.
21. Peccavi; tradens sanguinem justum.	G	Peccavi; tradens sanguinem justum.
22. Quid ad nos? Tu videris.	C	Quid ad nos? Tu videris.
23. Non licet eos mittere in carbonam: quia pretium sanguinis est.	e	Non licet eos mittere in carbonam: quia pretium sanguinis est.
24. Tu es Rex Judaeorum.	e	Tu es Rex Judaeorum?
25. Non audis quanta adversum te dicunt testimonia?	G	Non audis quanta adversum te dicunt testimonia?
26. Quem vultis dimittam vobis: Barabbam, an Jesum, qui dicitur Christus?	C	Quem vultis dimittam vobis: Barabbam, an Jesum, qui dicitur Christus?
27. Nihil tibi et justo illi: multa enim passa sum hodie per visum propter eum.	G	Nihil tibi et justo illi: multa enim passa sum hodie per visum propter eum.
28. Quem vultis vobis de duobus dimitti?	C	Quem vultis vobis de duobus dimitti?
29. Barabbam.	F	Barrabam.
30. Quid igitur faciam de Jesu, qui dicitur Christus?	C	Quid igitur faciam de Jesu, qui dicitur Christus?
31. Crucifigatur, crucifigatur.	e	Crucifigatur.
32. Quid enim mali fecit?	G	
33. Crucifigatur, crucifigatur.	e	
34. Innocens ego sum a sanguine justi hujus: vos videritis.	C	Innocens ego sum a sanguine justi hujus: vos videritis.
35. Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros.	G	Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros.
36. Ave, Rex Judaeorum.	G	Ave, Rex Judaeorum.
37. Vah, qui destruis templum Dei, et in triduo illud reaedificas [changed from <u>reaedificas illud</u>]: salva temetipsum. Si Filius Dei es, descende de cruce.	G	Vah, qui destruis templum Dei, et in triduo <u>illud</u> reaedificas: salva temetipsum. Si Filius Dei es, descende de cruce.
38. Alios salvos fecit, seipsum non potest salvum facere: <u>si</u> Rex Israel est, descendat nunc de cruce, et credimus ei: confidit in Deo: liberet nunc si vult eum; dixit enim: Quia Filius Dei sum.	C	Alios salvos fecit, seipsum non potest salvum facere: <u>si</u> Rex Israel est, descendat nunc de cruce, et credimus ei: confidit in Deo: liberet nunc, si vult <u>eum</u> ; dixit enim: Quia Filius Dei sum.
39. <u>Heliam</u> vocat iste.	G	<u>Eliam</u> vocat iste.
40. Sine, videamus en veniat Elias liberans eum.	G	Sine, videamus en veniat Elias liberans eum.
41. Vere, vere Filius Dei erat iste.	C	Vere Filius Dei erat iste.

#5. *Turbe pel Venerdì Santo*. 7 pp. 14 phrases set for four voices (SATB). All phrases are set in cut time (C) and most cadence to C Major; some cadence to G Major and one to E Minor. This Passion is based on the Gospel of St. John Book XVIII: 1-40; Book XIX: 1-42; cf. the *Liber usualis*, p. 729.

Texts set in Rovetta Source A, Fasc. 8/2		Texts given in the <i>Liber usualis</i>
1. Jesum Nazarenum.	G	Jesum Nazarenum.
2. Jesum Nazarenum.	C	Jesum Nazarenum.
		Numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius.
		Non sum.
		Sic respondes pontifici?
3. Numquid et tu ex discipulis ejus es?	C	Numquid et tu ex discipulis ejus es?
		Non sum.
		Nonne ego te vidi in horto cum illo?
		Quam accusationem affertis adversus hominem hunc?
4. Si non esset hic malefactor, non tibi tradidissemus eum.	C	Si non esset hic malefactor, non tibi tradidissemus eum.
		Accipite eum vos, et secundum legem vestram judicate eum.
5. Nobis non licet interficere quemquam.	C	Nobis non licet interficere quemquam.
		Tu es Rex Judaeorum?
		Numquid ego Judaeus sum? Gens tua et pontifices tradiderunt te mihi: quid fecisti?
		Ergo Rex es tu?
		Ego nullam invenio in eo causam. Est autem consuetudo vobis in Pascha: vultis ergo dimittam vobis Regem Judaeorum?
6. Non hunc, sed Barabbam.	G	Non hunc, sed Barabbam.
7. Ave, Rex Judaeorum.	C	Ave, Rex Judaeorum.
		Ecce adduco vobis eum foras, ut cognoscatis, quia nullam invenio in eo causam.
		Ecce homo.
8. Crucifige, crucifige eum.	e	Crucifige, crucifige eum.
		Accipite eum vos, et crucifigite: ego enim non invenio in eo causam.

9. Nos legem habemus, et secundum legem debet mori, quia Filium Dei se fecit. C	Nos legem habemus, et secundum legem debet mori, quia Filium Dei se fecit.
	Unde es tu?
	Mihi non loqueris? nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te, et potestatem habeo dimittere te?
10. Si hunc dimittis, non es amicus Caesaris. Omnis enim, qui se regem fecit contradicit Caesaris. G	Si hunc dimittis, non es amicus Caesaris. Omnis enim, qui se regem facit contradicit Caesaris.
11. Tolle, tolle, crucifige crucifige crucifige crucifige eum. C	Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum.
	Regem vestrum crucifigam?
12. Non habemus regem, nisi Caesarem. G	Non habemus regem, nisi Caesarem.
13. Noli scribere, Rex Judaeorum. C	Noli scribere, Rex Judaeorum, sed quia ipse dixit: Rex sum Judaeorum.
	Quod scripsi, scripsi.
14. Non scindamus eam, sed sortiamur de illa cujus siC	Non scindamus eam, sed sortiamur de illa cujus sit.