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“Nuovamente ristampata con nuove aggiunte”: a study on the auto-revision activities of Maurizio Cazzati in his music reprints

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It is widely accepted that Maurizio Cazzati’s (1616–1678) contribution to musical history lays mostly in his pre-corellian violin sonatas and his limited production for trumpet. But by just glancing at a thematic catalog we learn that his output was much more vast and comprehensive. It seems that in reality he produced music in almost every genre available at the time, and was not shy of building a career based upon printing his music. Indeed he is the most prolific composer of his time, print-wise, topping up to 66 different opuses. If we take in account known reprints made during his lifetime (or shortly after) this number increases to 101.

The judgment of scholars towards Cazzati has been mostly harsh. In some way he is considered a musical “jack of all trades, master of none”, or a musician so anxious to commit his creations to the press that he would forego basic quality checks on his output. This is echoed by a very acerbic polemic in which he was involved during his lifetime, when some colleagues tried to demonstrate that he was a careless and ignorant composer.

But his printed musical legacy shows us another story. While it is undeniable that Cazzati’s output is sometimes of varying quality, we do not feel it should be censored in its entirety. The Author himself in some way acknowledged this fact, and went to great trouble to correct, modify and re-print some of his old music. This makes for a very interesting and unique case, the one of an Author thoroughly revisiting his printed output. Analyzing some of the most important aspects of this correctional enterprise will be the object of the next pages.

It is important to outline the basic facts of Cazzati’s life to better understand the relationship between his career and his output. A complete biography if out of the scope for this work, and excellent ones already exist that do need not to be duplicated,[1] so we will concentrate on the facts of his career mostly related to his activity as printer.

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[1] The most up-to-date biography can be found in: Antonio Moccia, “Maurizio Cazzati e l’organizzazione musicale nel Seicento: un saggio biografico”, in: *Maurizio Cazzati (1616–1678), musico guastallese: nuovi studi e prospettive metodologiche*, a cura di

We learn about his first position from the title page of his first opus, *Salmi e messa a cinque* (Venezia: Magni, 1641), that is organist and *maestro di cappella* in Sant'Andrea in Mantua. His career soon progressed, and he frequently changed posts: he worked for the Gonzaga family, then moved to Ferrara as *maestro di cappella* of the Accademia della Morte (1648), and then to Bergamo in Santa Maria Maggiore (1653). This chronology is easily deduced by following the dedications of his printed music. In fact it is apparent that his progressing career was followed by a constant production of printed music, producing eighteen opuses in just fifteen years (op. 1 is dated 1641 and op. 18 1656). It is evident from this how important he considered to divulge (and publicize) his music via the printing press.[2]

The turning point of his career was in 1657 when, after applying for the post, he was elected *maestro di cappella* in San Petronio in Bologna, the most prestigious *maestro* post in the city. Here he was highly paid and had at his disposition a complete and greatly qualified ensemble of musicians. For the annual feast of the city's patron, St. Petronius, he had a virtually unlimited budget. His musical production blossomed and so did his printed output, which accounted for 39 fresh and new editions by 1671, year of his departure from the city. To accomplish this feat Cazzati set up his own printing press and teamed up with local booksellers to distribute his prints. The beginnings of his enterprise are still unclear, but we know that by the mid 1660s he had a printing shop inside his home in the back of San Petronio.[3] From 1659 to 1664 he also had a five-year privilege, which is proudly mentioned in the frontispiece of each book printed by him. In a way probably not too uncommon for the time he used his *privilegio* to contract good agreements with the local booksellers,[4] which he changed quite often in this initial period (Benacci, Pisarri, Dozza, Silvani). He also wisely set up commercial relations with Alessandro Vincenti in Venice (who printed Cazzati's opp. from 7 to 17) to sell his books in that city.

Paolo Giorgi (Guastalla: Associazione culturale "Giuseppe Serassi", 2009), pp. 11–28. Also see: Anne Schnoebelen, "Cazzati, Maurizio", in: *NGroveD*, vol. 5 (2001), pp. 322–325.

[2] For a complete assessment of the projects behind Cazzati's activities see: Rodolfo Zitellini, *On the celebration of the self: the printing activities of Maurizio Cazzati*, Master's thesis (Université de Fribourg, 2015), pp. 64–73.

[3] Ibid., pp. 32–60.

[4] Laurent Guillo, "Legal aspects", in: *Music printing in Europe 1600–1900*, ed. Rudolph Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005; = Music life in Europe 1600–1900), p. 122.

In Bologna there was no active musical printing press at the time of Cazzati's arrival,[5] and it is not completely surprising that he, being so keen to use printing as a means for self promotion, would jump into this business. He had no rivals and completely dominated the musical market in the city for the first years. No one published music in Bologna except Cazzati, and Cazzati printed only Cazzati.

But this Cazzatian hegemony came with a high price, and this price was the complete alienation from the local musical community. Upon his arrival he carried out some invasive reforms to the Chapel in San Petronio (firing and re-auditioning all the musicians)[6] that were not well digested by the local community. By 1658 a vitriolic *dialogo*[7] started to circulate, in which a pupil asked some elucidations to his very sarcastic master about some "oddities" in the first Kyrie of Cazzati's op. 17 (*Messa e salmi a cinque voci*, Venezia: Vincenti, 1655). This was formalized the subsequent year as a letter to the *Fabbriceri*, the directive committee of San Petronio, in an effort to prove that Cazzati was unfit for the position, signed by a privileged priest, Lorenzo Perti (who coincidentally was fired during Cazzati's reform). The polemic would drag on for some years, and by the beginning of the 1660s the first organist in San Petronio, Giulio Cesare Arresti took part against Cazzati and started attacking him openly by publishing his contestations (and thus the whole *querelle* is generally referred to as the Cazzati-Arresti polemic).[8] Arresti in turn was fired form his post as first organist.[9] Cazzati during this whole turmoil stood silent, but the pressure of being attacked in print was so strong that in 1663 he printed his own reply to his adversaries, defending his music. In 1667, as we will see, he also reissued the offending Kyrie, with the "oddities" corrected.

By the time attacks started to be formalized in print, Cazzati's *privilegio* had ended, and competition was fast to come. In 1665 Giacomo Monti, a local publisher, proudly started printing music, inaugurating his musical characters[10] with a collection of Agostino Filippuzzi.[11] By 1666 Monti's press was at full regime and other Bolognese composers had a convenient local outlet for their music. In the same year the famous Accademia Filarmonica was founded, to which all the notable musicians of the city were aggregated, with the sole exception of Cazzati.

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[5] There were some musical editions being engraved, but there were no presses that could print music with movable type.

[6] Ursula Brett, *Music and ideas in seventeenth-century Italy: the Cazzati-Arresti polemic* (London: Garland, 1989; = Outstanding dissertations in music from British universities), p. 48.

[7] This *dialogo* is transmitted to us in various manuscript copies now preserved in the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica of Bologna (I-Bc). For a complete review and transcription of the sources refer to Brett, *Music and ideas*, pp. 74–79.

[8] It is ironic to note that Arresti felt it necessary to specify that his attacks were *not* because of personal resentment towards Cazzati.

[9] He was then re-appointed, after a ten-year hiatus, in 1671 some months before Cazzati's departure. See: ibid., p. 83.

That the political wind was slowly changing is also shown by the fact that from this moment on Cazzati seemingly stops collaborating with local booksellers, and his prints do not carry an imprint anymore.[12]

It is in this last period of permanence in Bologna that Cazzati systematically starts re-editing his early prints, and republishing them. Since we know that he was publishing them by himself (or with the help of an assistant) in his home they make for an interesting and unique case of an author correcting himself.

In 1671 Cazzati resigned from his position in San Petronio, and retired to Mantua, where he continued to print and compose until his death in 1678. He left this world as a wealthy man, leaving behind him a big collection of paintings (the biggest one representing him), his printing shop, and a closet full of unsold prints.[13]

Reprints of Cazzati's music at a glance

Cazzati's music, during his lifetime and shortly after, was seemingly sought of, and we can count thirty-five surviving reprints. His music was reprinted by Magni in Venice, Monti and Silvani in Bologna, Phalése and Potter in Antwerp, and lastly by Cazzati[14] in Bologna and Mantua.

All the North European prints were probably not authorized, but they are important because they transmit editions otherwise lost (op. 16, first impression of op. 18, op. 51). In contrast the reprints in Venice and Bologna had some degree of authorization (Silvani goes on to thank Cazzati for agreeing to the reprint), but the most important group is the one consisting of the reprints directly made by Cazzati in his own printing shop. These are eight collection including opp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 17, 18 and 39. Reading the inventory of Cazzati's unsold books in his home in Mantua we can speculate that also opp. 10, 11 and 13 were reprinted by him in Bologna, as the title given in the inventory is different from the title of the first edition (or signature of the individual partbooks).[15] It is also possible to speculate that op. 19 (*Antifone letanie e Te Deum a otto voci*, Venezia: Magni, 1658) was also reprinted at the beginning of the 1660s in Bologna, even if no copy exists nowadays.[16] Op. 2 declares on its frontispiece that it is the third impression of the collection; no trace of the intermediate second reprint has yet surfaced.

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[10] Zitellini, *On the celebration of the self*, p. 51.

[11] Interestingly enough Filippuzzi is one of the founding members of the Bolognese anti-Cazzati association, the Accademia Filarmonica.

[12] Opp. 41–58 are without a printer's name.

[13] Moccia, "Maurizio Cazzati", p. 27, and also Zitellini, *On the celebration of the self*, pp. 61–62.

[14] It is worthy to note here that while we know that Cazzati printed in his house his name only appears once in one publication (op. 64). He always contracted with some librarian (in a couple cases the indication "nella stamperia del medesimo autore" is present). In the mid 1660s, when he could not negotiate any more support from Bolognese librarians, all his editions appear without publisher name.

The following table summarizes the surviving Cazzati reprints:

Op.	title	imprint	new title	new imprint
2	*Canzoni a 3*	Venezia: Magni, 1642	*Canzoni da sonare a 3*	Bologna: Dozza, 1663
3	*Le concertate lodi della Chiesa militante*	Milano: Rolla, 1647	*Mottetti a due, tre e quattro*	Bologna: s. n., 1670
5	*Il primo libro de motetti a voce sola*	Venezia: Gardano, 1647	*Il primo libro delli motetti a voce sola*	Bologna: Lazzari, 1670[17]
7	*Compieta e letanie a quatro voci*	Venezia: Vincenti, 1647	*Compieta concertata a quattro voci*	Bologna: s. n., 1670
17	*Messa e salmi a cinque voci*	Venezia: Vincenti, 1655	*Messa e salmi a cinque da cappella*	Bologna: s. n., 1670
18	*Suonate a due violini*	Venezia: Magni, 1656	*Suonate a due violini*	Bologna: Benacci, 1659
39	*Il quinto libro de motetti a voce sola*	Bologna: Silvani, 1666	*Il quinto libro de motetti a voce sola*	Mantova: Bercincori, 1673[18]

Tab. 1: Complete list of known reprints by Cazzati.

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[15] Zitellini, *On the celebration of the self*, pp. 74–79.

[16] This print is dedicated by Cazzati to his employers upon his arrival in Bologna, roughly a year before he set up his own printing business. Giorgi, "Catalogo delle opere", pp. 29–202. For a discussion on op. 19 see: Zitellini, *On the celebration of the self*, p. 27.

[17] Through the imprint says Lazzari this edition is printed with the same characters as Cazzati's and there is reason to believe Lazzari was an apprentice in Cazzati's shop.

[18] While the imprint states "Guglielmo Bercincori" the frontispiece clearly specifies that it was produced in "nella stamperia dell'Autore", and then sold and distributed by a third party.

We did not include in the list op. 43 (Bologna: s.n., 1667), which was reprinted the subsequent year. It appears that the "reprint" and first edition are in this case exactly the same, to which only the frontispiece page was changed (it consists, on purpose, of a separately folded and bound page).[19] We will also not discuss op. 39 any further since this reprint does not contain any differences from the first issue.

Cazzati's reprinting activity can be grossly divided into two periods: 1659–1663 and 1667–1670. This distinction is important because we find different types of intervention in the two periods. The first years account for the reprints of at least opp. 18 and 2. Both these new editions contain very minor modifications to the musical text. In the second period, however, interventions become bigger and in some cases the account to complete rewrites of existing pieces. The opuses affected are 17, 3, 5 and 7. We do not know if any other reprints were issued between 1663 and 1667 as none have surfaced, so for commodity of schematization we shall keep the production separated into two groups.

The first reprinting phase

Opus 18

We cannot tell, exactly, when Maurizio Cazzati started printing music. We do know, however, that by the end of the year 1659 he was holding an important position in Bologna, had a *privilegio* to print in his pocket and had contracted with a Bolognese publisher, Dozza, for printing music. We do not know, yet, who possessed the printing equipment but it is likely that Cazzati was directly involved, as we do know that he published in his house just a couple years afterwards.[20]

By the end of this year two publications were made, inaugurating the long and proficuous season of Cazzati's publishing activities. They are, opus 20, *Cantate morali e spirituali*, a new collection of cantatas, and a reprint of the 1656 op. 18, *Suonate a doi violini*. Op. 20 has its dedication signed on October 31st, 1659, so we can speculate that the first ever edition to be printed under Cazzati's direct control was op. 18.

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[19] Op. 43 was originally dedicated to Vincenzo Maria Carrati, the nobleman involved in the foundation of the Accademia Filarmonica, probably as an attempt by Cazzati to secure his protection. It clearly seems that this attempt failed. Zitellini, *On the celebration of the self*, p. 56.

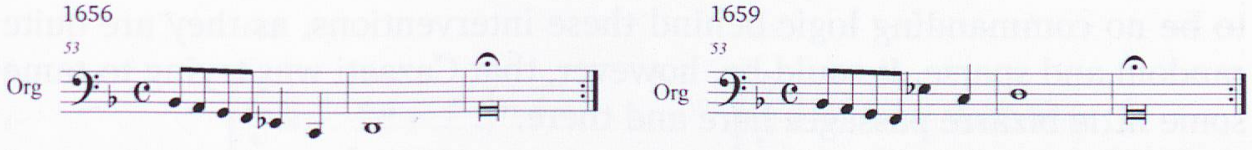
[20] Ibid., p. 51.

It is difficult to say why he chose such a new edition to reprint (not even three years had passed since the first impression). Possible explanations could be purely commercial ones, i.e. that it was sold out so fast that a second edition was profitable (as it happened with some other of his instrumental music). Other explanations include the fact that Cazzati wanted to distance himself from the Venetian printer Magni (who printed opp. 18 and 19) and take complete control of the publishing of his music. This option could be more plausible than it seems at first sight. Cazzati in his own catalog of printed music of 1664 indicates that both opp. 18 and 19 where printed in Bologna. As we just saw, op. 18 was indeed reprinted in this city, but there are no known reprints of op. 19 from this time, and we can speculate it was lost. By reissuing these two collections Cazzati untied himself completely from any further contact with Magni.

The new edition of op. 18 is luxurious and includes a beautiful wood engraving of Saint Petronious, a direct homage to the city. Unfortunately the original 1656 impression is incomplete, and only the *Organo* part survives, making it difficult for a page-to-page comparison. The musical contents, however, are transmitted to us via a reprint made the subsequent year (Antwerp, Phalèse, 1657),[21] enabling us to thoroughly differentiate the contents of the original *vs.* Cazzati reprint.

Turning back to the 1656 and 1659 editions, it appears that the latter one was directly derived from the former one, as pagination is almost identical character by character. Musical spacing is just a bit tighter, but it appears that the layout was retained as the original in most places. This makes sense: since there are no notable interventions in the musical text there was no need to re-spread the music through the pagination.

The author's interventions on this reprint are indeed bland, and by confronting the 1657 Phalèse edition (the original text) with the 1659 print we can only individuate some slightly different passages.



Ex. 1: Maurizio Cazzati, *Sonata seconda, la Varana*, op. 18, the last three measures as found in each edition. The alterations in this reprint are all minimal like this one.[22]

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[21] The Phalèse firm, active from the mid 1550s, by the 1660s was specialized in reprinting Italian editions. Cazzati was a favorite in their catalog with nine different reprinted editions. Ibid., p. 80.

[22] All the musical examples are semi-diplomatic transcriptions. Pitches, key signatures, time signatures and note values are retained as the original (including coloration and void notation). Barlines are added when not present in the source. Clefs are all

It is worth noting that later Nordic editions all still maintain the original reading of the 1656 print.[23]

Opus 2

In 1663 Cazzati and the Dozza firm prepared a reprint of the 1642 op. 2, *Canzoni a doi violini*, the only hybrid collection (instrumental canzonas and two vocal psalms) by this author. It seems that it was quite a success, as it is labeled "impressione terza", i.e. third reprint. No trace or reference at the moment exists of the intermediate second reprint.

This third edition carries some very interesting details. First of all the title page proudly shows a typographer's mark: it is Alessandro Vincenti's mark. This may seem very puzzling at first. Why would a Bolognese print have a mark form a Venetian competitor? Also the mark seems to be redesigned from all of the marks used by Vincenti, probably made ad-hoc for this print. The solution to this problem comes from the fact that possibly the relationship between Cazzati and Vincenti was not one of rivalry but of collaboration. Cazzati had published the bulk of his music (eleven editions) up to 1655 with this Venetian firm, until it stopped doing business nearly at the same time. Almost coincidentally in 1663 Vincenti issued a catalog of all the books sold in his bookshop. As we noted above we find in it that he sold all the prints made by Cazzati in Bologna up to that year. In some way Vincenti was working as a selling agent for Cazzati's books, indicating that close business collaboration existed between these two men. So it is not surprising that an edition by Cazzati celebrates Vincenti's return to business in 1663.[24]

The second important feature of this edition is that it contains a numerous quantity of small changes. We find no big structural alterations, but many little almost undetectable details, probably as an attempt to correct small errors or to slightly improve the musical writing. There seems to be no commanding logic behind these interventions, as they are quite random and sparse. It could be, however, that Cazzati was trying to tame some little bizarre passages here and there.

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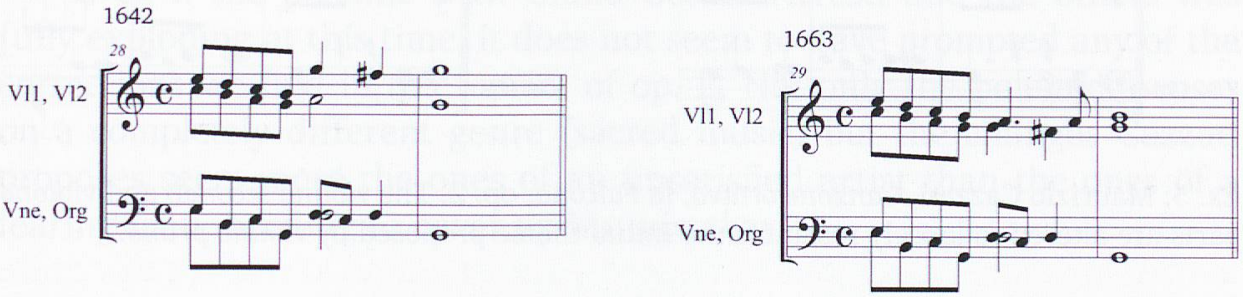
modernized using only G and F to substitute *canto*, *alto* and *tenor* clefs. The sources all specify separate part-books, in the examples they are condensed into a reduced score for ease of reading. Continuo numbers are generally omitted to avoid clutter except for those examples where they covert meaningful information. In the example presented at the end the same criterion applies, except for Continuo numbers, which are thoroughly transcripted, and colorations that, for ease of reading, are converted to modern note values and surrounded by brackets.

[23] Phalèse reprinted op. 18 in 1647 and 1674. The content of both editions is identical.

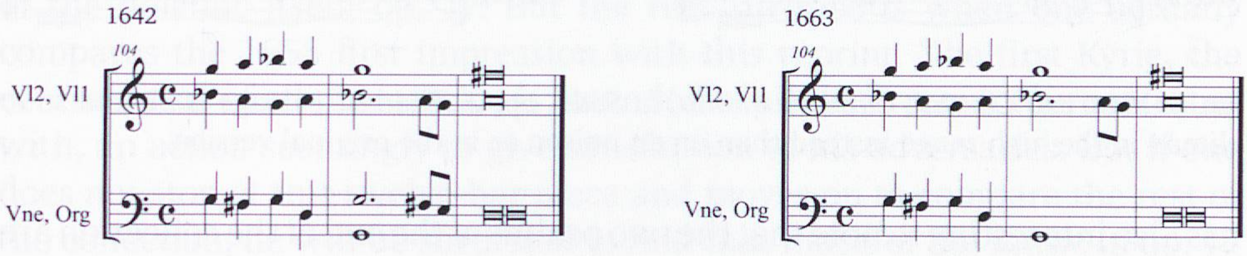
[24] Ibid., p. 40.

For example, this unprepared suspension becomes correctly prepared in the reprint:



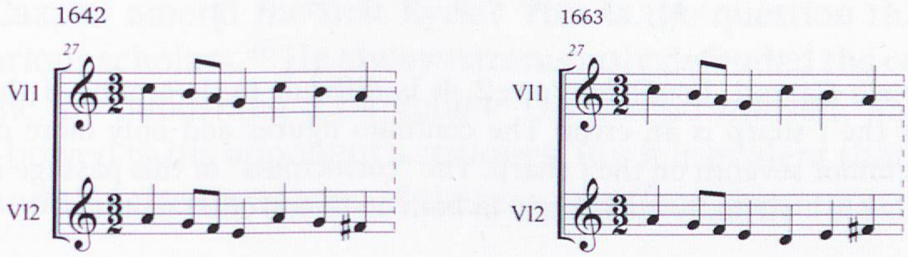
Ex. 2: Maurizio Cazzati, *Canzone quinta, la Soda*, op. 2. Unprepared suspensions happen from time to time in Cazzati's music, but generally not to this extreme.

In some cases interesting elements unfortunately seem to be erased out: the *violone* part in the following example looses what made it a bit less straightforward:



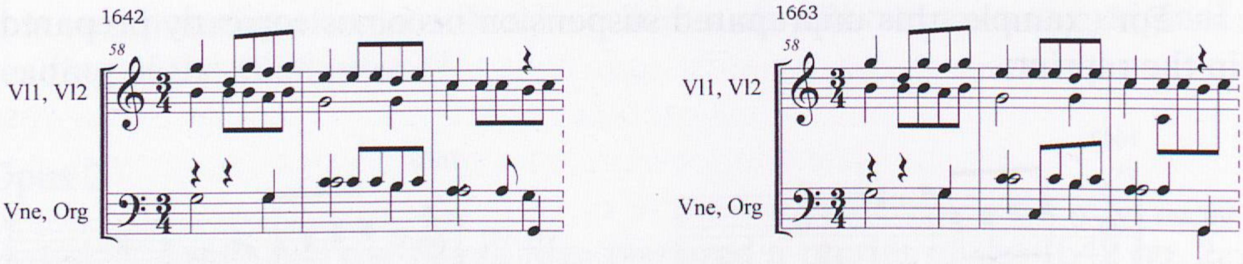
Ex. 3: Maurizio Cazzati, *Canzone sesta, l'Altera*, op. 2, last measures. The passing notes in the *violone* part disappear in the new version. Also note that to format the example the two violin parts are swapped (*violino primo* plays under *violino secondo* in this passage).

The two violins often played together in parallel thirds, a very common feature at the time. In some cases the part writing is altered to use contrary motion, to achieve a more contrapuntal and less homogeneous effect:



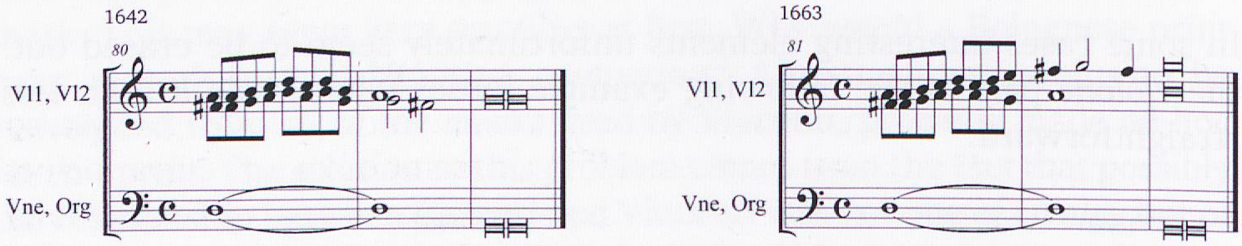
Ex. 4: Maurizio Cazzati, *Canzone ottava, la Falcona*, op. 2. This example shows a subtle yet often found change in voice leading.

In some cases slight modifications are provided so that various imitative entries are more thematic and less random, as the following example shows:


1642
58
Vl1, Vl2
Vne, Org
1663
58
Vl1, Vl2
Vne, Org

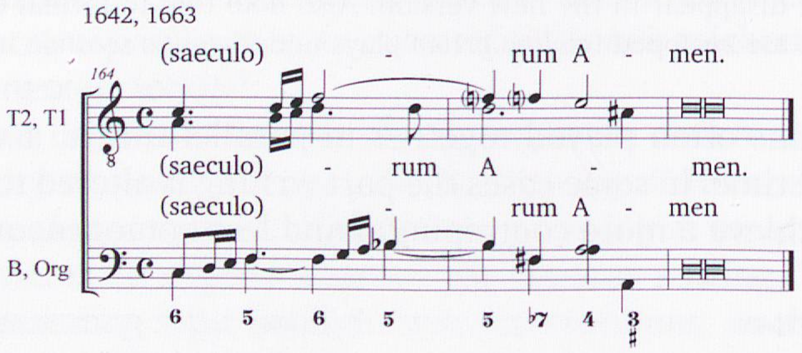
Ex. 5: Maurizio Cazzati, *Canzone ottava, la Falcona*, op. 2. The *violino secondo* and *violone* parts are altered to loosely resemble the initial theme proposed by *violino primo*.

In one case the final descending passage is altered to become ascending, for a greater dramatic effect:


1642
80
Vl1, Vl2
Vne, Org
1663
81
Vl1, Vl2
Vne, Org

Ex. 6: Maurizio Cazzati, *Canzone quinta, la Soda*, op. 2. The last passage is altered so to climax in the high range instead than on an unison as in the original version.

It is also interesting to note that the two psalms at the end of the collection are not touched at all, leaving relatively bizarre passages such as this standing:


1642, 1663
(saeculo) - rum A - men.
164
T2, T1
(saeculo) - rum A - men.
(saeculo) - rum A - men
B, Org
6 5 6 5 5 ♭7 4 3 ♯

Ex. 7: Maurizio Cazzati, *Confitebor*, op. 2. It is difficult to determine if the clashing f natural over the f sharp is an error. The continuo figures add only more confusion by specifying a minor seventh on the f sharp. The "correctness" of this passage is reinforced by the fact that is it virtually unchanged in both 1642 and 1663 editions.[25]

Overall it seems that Cazzati is content with his music, and offers only small incremental changes. It does however show us that Cazzati, taking the time to add these small modifications to his music, was not careless in this respect, but he was interested in continuously refining his output.

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[25] This passage, for its uniqueness in all of Cazzati's output, already puzzled other scholars. See: James Foster Armstrong, *The Vesper psalms and magnificats of Maurizio Cazzati (ca. 1620–1678)*, PhD diss. (University of Harvard, 1969), p. 147.

Even if the polemic with Giulio Cesare Arresti and the others was fully exploding at this time, it does not seem to have prompted any of the corrections we find in the reprint of op. 2. Not only the polemic focuses on a completely different genre (sacred music) but the changes Cazzati proposes seem more the ones of an unsatisfied artist than the ones of a fearing man, needing to cover up his mistakes.

The second reprinting phase

By 1667 the vitriolic polemic with Arresti seemed to have come to a halt, so it is surprising that Cazzati chose to issue a reprint of the principal object of the polemic itself, op. 17. But the real surprise is when one actually compares the 1655 first impression with this reprint. The first Kyrie, the central focus of all the attacks, is amended of all the errors it was contested with, an action seemingly to give satisfaction to his adversaries. But if one does not stop at this twelve-bar piece and moves on to compare the rest of the collection, he will be surprised to find that much of the music in op. 17 is modified or rewritten.

This is what characterizes the second phase of Cazzati's reprinting effort: great interventions in his music.

The next sections will analyze in detail the four collections of this last reprinting phase.

Opus 17

Why did Cazzati amend the first Kyrie? This is the question that already puzzled various scholars.[26] He always strenuously defended the correctness of his music, by publishing a pamphlet[27] to defend himself, and then he seemingly bowed to his opponent's critiques. But it is evident that this is not the case, and the circumstances of these corrections seem more complex.

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[26] Schnoebelen, "Cazzati, Maurizio", and Brett, *Music and ideas*, p. 100.

[27] *Risposta alle opposizioni fatte dal signor Giulio Cesare Arresti* (Bologna: Dozza, 1663). For a transcription see: Paolo Giorgi – Giulia Zaniboni – Noemi Ancona – Alberto Napoli – Daniele Palma – Enrico Bissolo, "La polemica Arresti-Cazzati: alcuni documenti inediti", in: *Maurizio Cazzati (1616–1678), musico guastallese*, pp. 217–260. From now on we will refer to this document as the *Risposta*.

First of all, as we saw, this reprint intervenes profoundly in the music of op. 17, and, as we will see, most adjustments have nothing to do with the critiques Cazzati received. Moreover the music of the twelve-bar Kyrie happens three times in the collection: 1st Kyrie, beginning of the Credo and beginning of the Agnus Dei. Cazzati only amends the first Kyrie, leaving the other two pieces untouched. It is just too easy to suppose Cazzati was too lazy to also amend these two pieces; it is more plausible that this is a statement on the Author's part: he can correct the music, if he wants to. And starting with this statement we shall begin our analysis of this famous Kyrie.

Before moving on we need to establish the contents of the critiques towards Cazzati so we can see the relevancy (or not) of his interventions. This is a condensed list of the principal errors contested in the Kyrie (Ess. 8-9):[28]

1. The Kyrie does not follow correctly the first mode (m. 1)
2. *Tenor* and *canto* do not respond correctly to the tone (m. 2 and 3)
3. The three parts stop on a sixth without motion (m. 3)
4. *Quinto* does not enter with the theme (m. 4)
5. Parallel octaves between *alto* and *quinto* (m. 5)
6. Parallel unisons between *tenor* and *quinto*, the semiminim (note 4) in the *quinto* does not save them (m. 5)
7. *Quinto* does not resolve correctly the seventh suspension (m. 6)
8. Passing notes in *canto* and *alto* clash with the *basso* part (m. 8 on second beat)
9. *Canto* and *tenor* go from the perfect fifth to a minor sixth jumping in the same direction (m. 9)
10. Parallel fifth between *canto* and *tenor* (m. 9 and 10).

Example 9 shows the Kyrie as it appears in the 1667 reprint. As it can be seen, not all the points of the above list are corrected. Of these, only the ones principally regarding voice leading and the second theme are addressed (items 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9). To achieve this Cazzati intervenes in a very clever way, simply by silencing the *quinto* and having it enter with a theme (previously sung by *tenore*) on measure 7. The other parts remain mostly untouched. It is also interesting that the motion-less sixth of measure 3 is broken in the *alto*, by splitting the syllable on "ley". The Christe and second Kyrie remain untouched.

All of the points corrected are strenuously defended by Cazzati in his *Risposta*, and it seems pretty evident his intention of publishing a statement. He can "fix" his music, successfully and with minimal intervention, if he chooses to.

But no one contested him for the rest of the collection, yet almost all the pieces received some degree of intervention. Most notably, not many of these modifications seem to be directly related to the above contestations.

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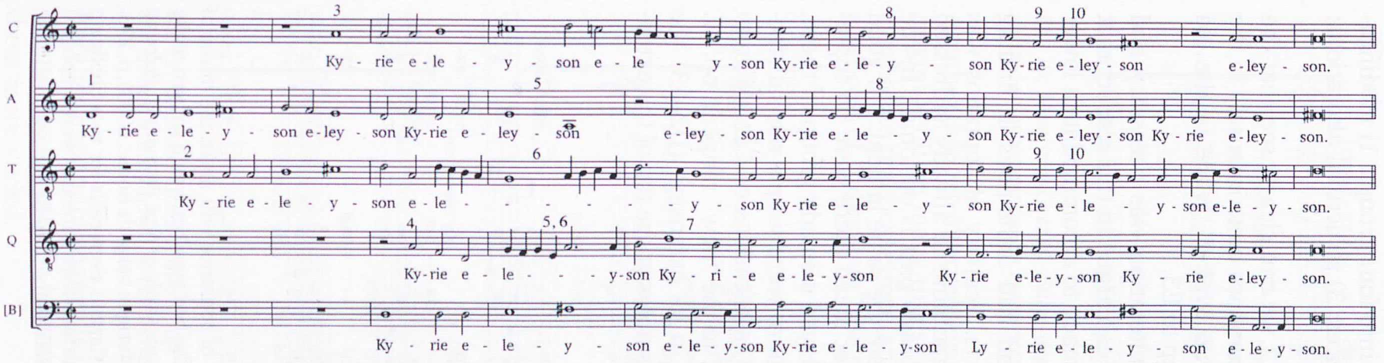
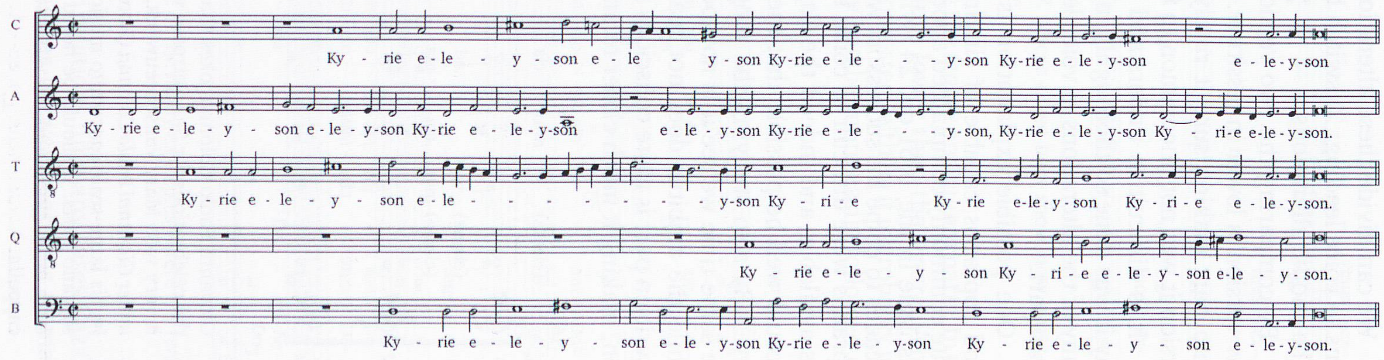
[28] Brett, *Music and ideas*, pp. 85–91.


C
A
T
Q
[B]
3
8
9 10
1
5
8
2
6
9 10
4
5, 6
7
Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - le - y - son Ky-rie e - le - y - son Ky-rie e - ley - son e-ley - son.
Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - ley - son Ky-rie e - ley - son e - ley - son Ky-rie e - le - y - son Ky-rie e - ley - son Ky - rie e - ley - son.
Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - le - - - - - - - - y - son Ky-rie e - le - y - son Ky-rie e - le - y - son e-le - y - son.
Ky-rie e - le - - - y-son Ky - ri - e e - le - y-son Ky - rie e-le - y - son Ky - rie e-ley - son.
Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - le - y-son Ky-rie e - le - y-son Ly - rie e - le - y - son e - le - y - son.

Ex. 8: Maurizio Cazzati, *Kyrie* op. 17, 1655. The numbers in this annotated version correspond to the ones in the above list.


C
A
T
Q
B
Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - le - y - son Ky-rie e - le - - - y-son Ky-rie e - le - y-son e - le - y-son
Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - le - y-son Ky-rie e - le - y-son e - le - y-son Ky-rie e - le - - - y-son, Ky-rie e - le - y-son Ky - ri-e e-le - y-son.
Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - le - - - - - - - y-son Ky - ri - e Ky - rie e-le - y - son Ky - ri - e e - le - y-son.
Ky - rie e - le - y - son Ky - ri - e e - le - y - son e-le - y - son.
Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - le - y-son Ky-rie e - le - y-son Ky - rie e - le - y - son e - le - y-son.

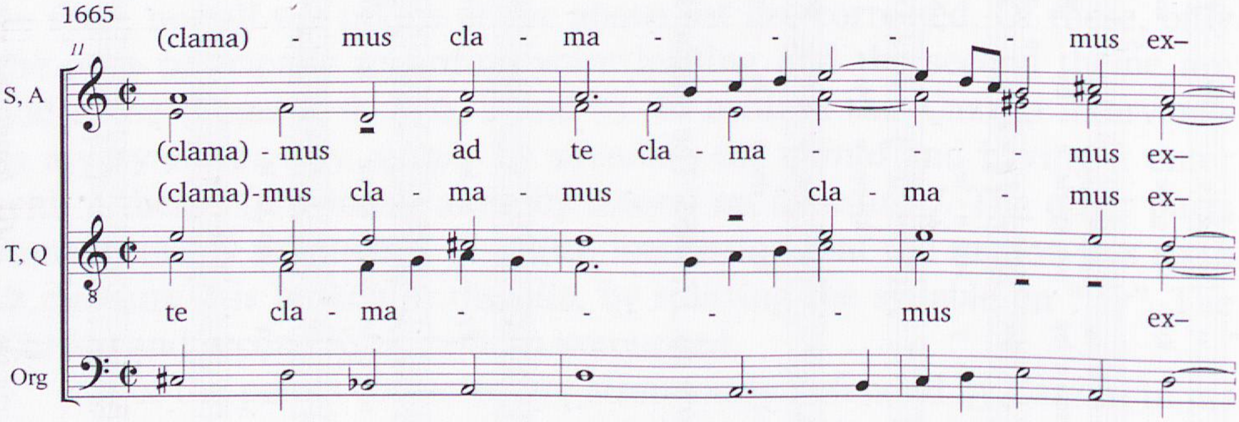
Ex. 9: Maurizio Cazzati, *Kyrie* op. 17, 1667. Amended version.

We can divide these alterations roughly into four groups: 1) modifications to voice leading; 2) switch between voices; 3) structural alterations; 4) harmonic alterations.

By comparing the two versions of op. 17 we can clearly see that the new version is lower in tessiture. Cazzati intervenes quite intensely in the *canto* part making sure it rarely ventures up over c3, while in the old version it was not uncommon to find notes up to E3.

It is difficult to understand why such alteration was necessary and why it was done so thoroughly in op. 17. We can argue in this respect that many of the alterations in voice leading are made to accommodate a lower *canto* part.

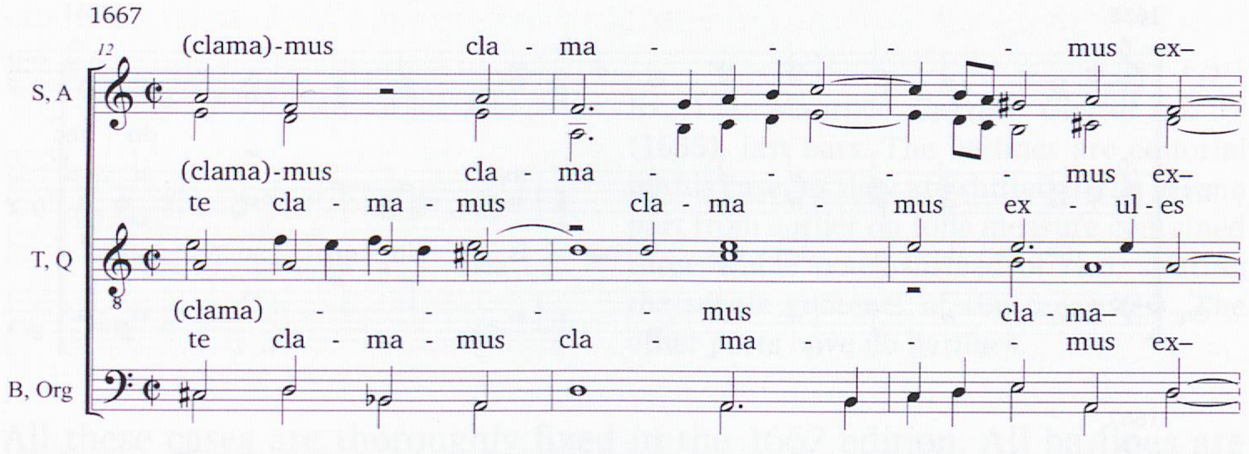
One possible explanation is that Cazzati had difficulties in finding good sopranos capable of singing high parts. Scarcity of sopranos was quite commonly complained about, and Cazzati himself already addressed this issue in the 1661 op. 24 (where the soprano part is optional). In the decades to come his successors will perpetuate the same lament.[29] If good sopranos were difficult to come by it does not mean there were no sopranos available, and indeed the *Cappella* employed a steady group of them. It could well be possible that the available ones were simply not satisfactory.[30] By also studying the range of other publications of Cazzati from the same time we see it is not too dissimilar to the "new" range in op. 17. While the ambitus does not really change in its extension (D2–E3) the rewritten part is more conscious in using less notes at the top of the extension, making it much closer to an *alto* part.


1665
11
S, A
(clama) - mus cla - ma - - - - mus ex–
(clama) - mus ad te cla - ma - - - mus ex–
T, Q
(clama)-mus cla - ma - mus cla - ma - mus ex–
te cla - ma - - - - mus ex–
Org

---

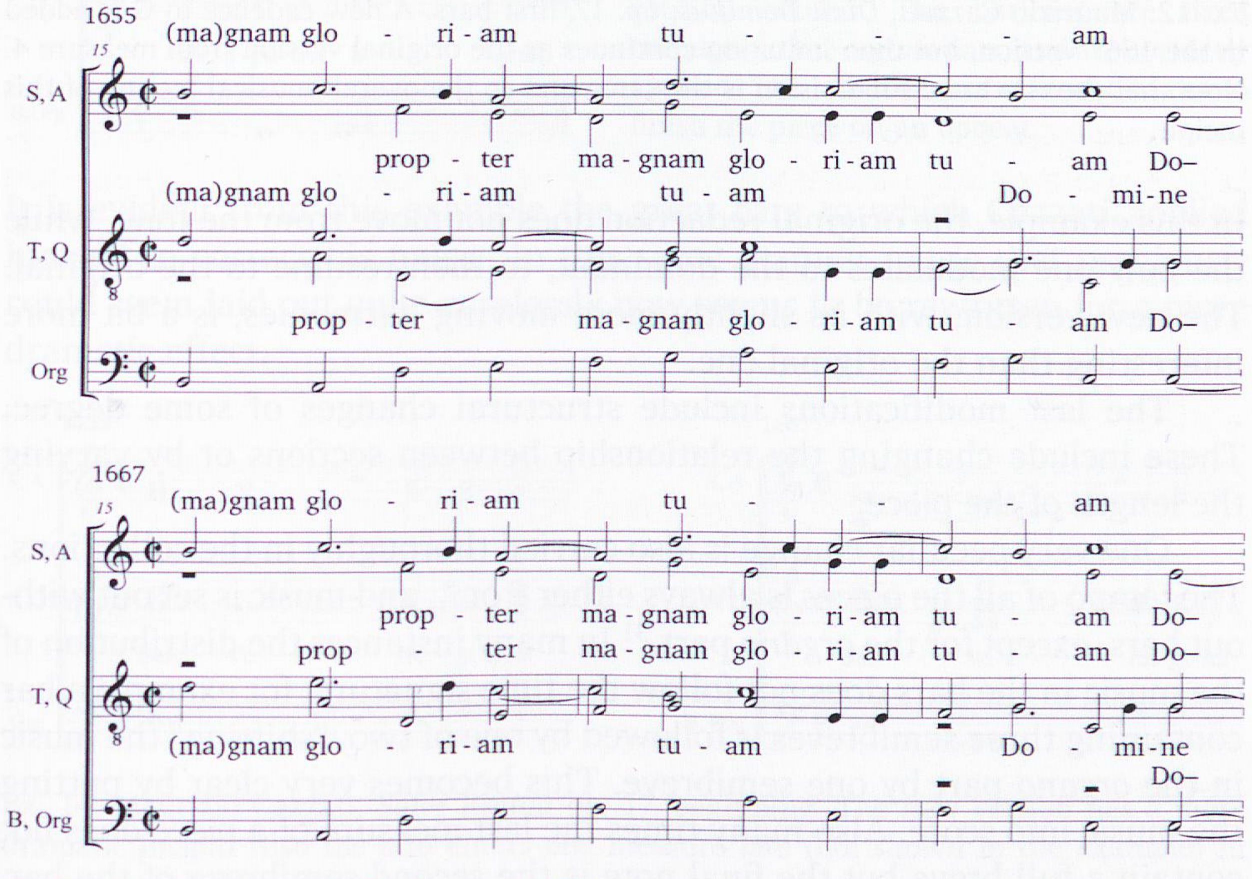
[29] Giovanni Paolo Colonna jokes that the scarcity of sopranos will make the music of the celebrations for San Petronio very dry, but the bad weather would in turn make it very wet. Marc Vanscheeuwijck, *The cappella musicale of San Petronio in Bologna under Giovanni Paolo Colonna* (Roma: Institut historique belge de Rome, 2003), p. 273.

[30] In his large-scale *concertato* music (ex. op. 36) Cazzati even calls for two obbligato soprano parts. It should be noted that for important feasts soloists were imported from other cities, and the virtuoso parts not necessarily sung by the singers in the cappella.


1667
12
(clama)-mus cla - ma - - - - mus ex–
S, A
(clama)-mus cla - ma - - - - mus ex–
te cla - ma - mus cla - ma - mus ex - ul - es
T, Q
(clama) - - - - mus cla - ma–
te cla - ma - mus cla - ma - - - mus ex–
B, Org

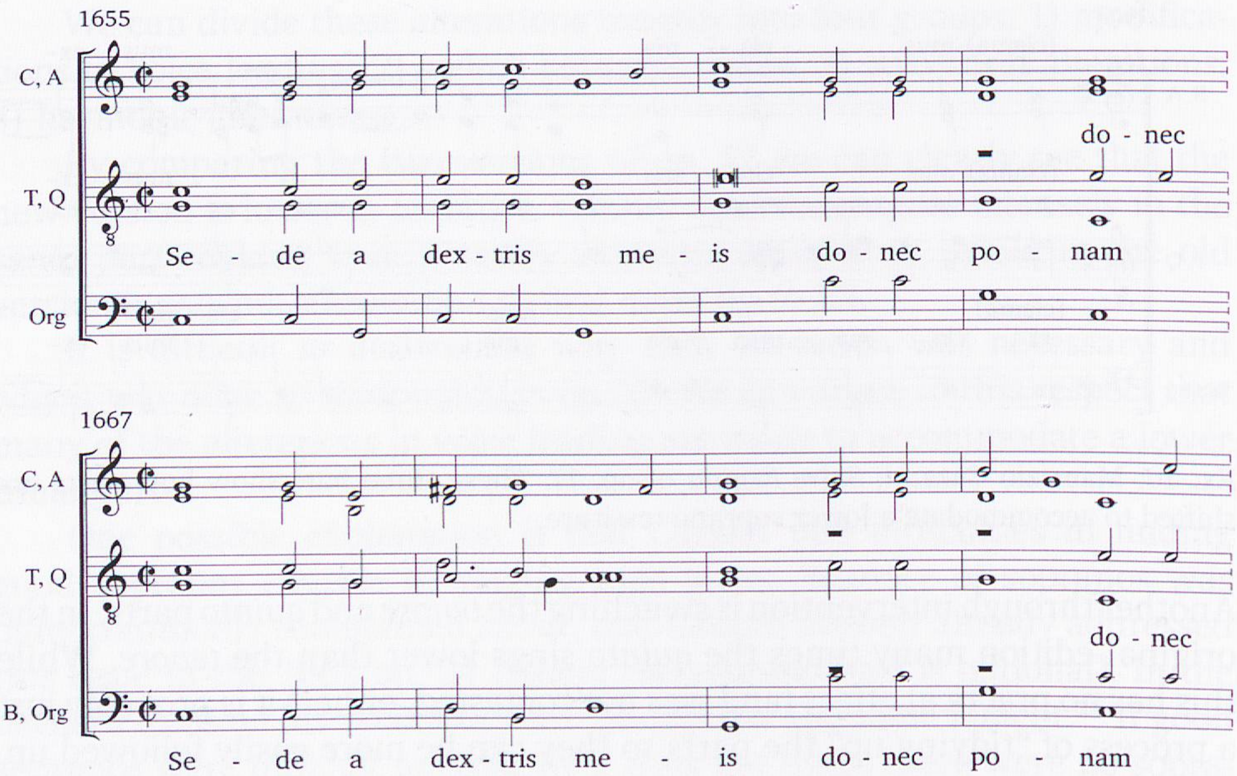
Ex. 10: Maurizio Cazzati, *Salve Regina* of op. 17. These three bars show how parts are shifted to accommodate a lower soprano tessiture.

Another through intervention is switching the *tenore* and *quinto* parts. In the original edition many times the *quinto* sings lower than the *tenore*. While this has no practical effect (and was not contested, either) it is probably just a process of "tidying up" the parts so they can be more easily followed up.


1655
15
(ma)gnam glo - ri - am tu - - - am
S, A
prop - ter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am Do–
(ma)gnam glo - ri - am tu - am Do - mi - ne
T, Q
prop - ter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am Do–
Org
1667
15
(ma)gnam glo - ri - am tu - - - am
S, A
prop - ter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am Do–
prop - ter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am Do–
T, Q
(ma)gnam glo - ri - am tu - am Do mi - ne
Do–
B, Org

Ex. 11: Maurizio Cazzati, *Gloria*, op. 17. This is one of the many examples where the *tenore* and *quinto* are switched in the newer edition.

Another important change is in harmonic relations. In many cases Cazzati changes harmonies or harmonic relationships between sections to make them more varied.


1655
C, A
T, Q
Org
do - nec
Se - de a dex - tris me - is do - nec po - nam
1667
C, A
T, Q
B, Org
do - nec
Se - de a dex - tris me - is do - nec po - nam

Ex. 12: Maurizio Cazzati, *Dixit Dominus*, op. 17, first bars. A new cadence to G is added in the 1667 version, but then imitation continues as the original version from measure 4. Note that the rhythmic subdivision is the same and so the overall musical feeling of this incipit.

In this example, the original redaction does not move from the tone, while the new one modulates to the dominant, to then resume to the original. The new version, with its slightly more moving harmonies, is a bit more interesting than the original one.

The last modifications include structural changes of some degree. These include changing the relationship between sections or by varying the length of the piece.

One very peculiar change is also carried thoroughly in the collections. The tempo of all the pieces is always either ¢ or $^{3}_{1}$, and music is set out without bars, except for the *organo* part.[31] In many instances the distribution of the music in the bars does not follow the time signature, for example a bar containing three semibreves is followed by one of two, "shifting" the music in the *organo* part by one semibreve. This becomes very clear by putting the music into score. Also many times the last measure of a piece does not contain a full breve but the final note is the second semibreve of the bar, to compensate this shift:

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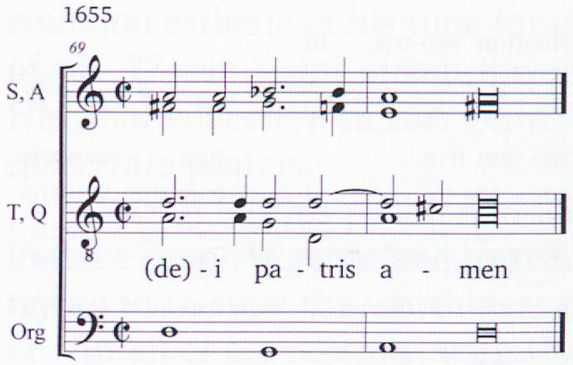
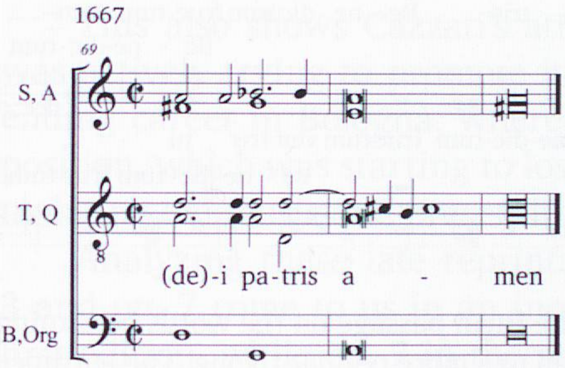
[31] In this edition bars generally contain, in ¢, two semibreves of music or three in $^{3}_{1}$.



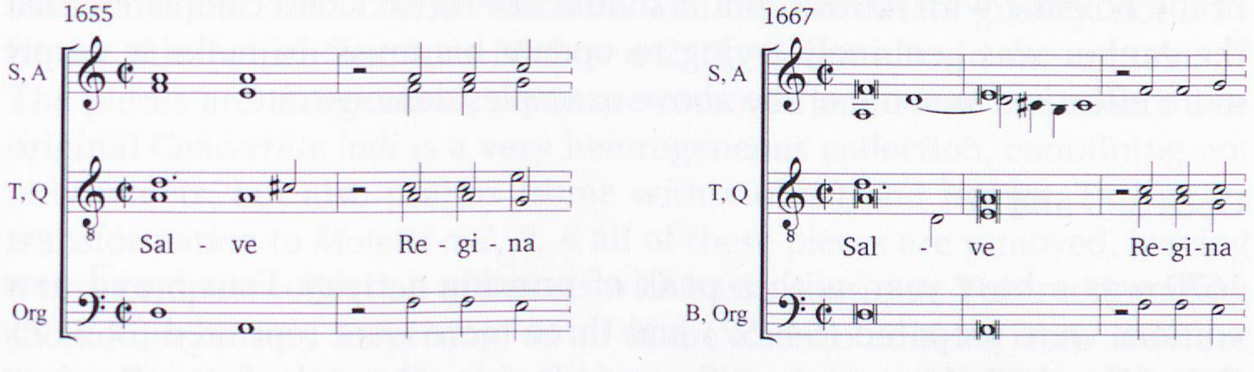
Ex. 13a: Maurizio Cazzati, *Gloria*, op. 17 (1655), last bars. The barlines are editorial in this case, as they are shifted in the *organo* part from earlier on (one measure contained three whole notes instead of two, shifting the whole contents of the measures). The other parts have no barlines.

All these cases are thoroughly fixed in the 1667 edition. All barlines are placed correctly and all the pieces that ended on the upbeat of a measure now end on the downbeat:



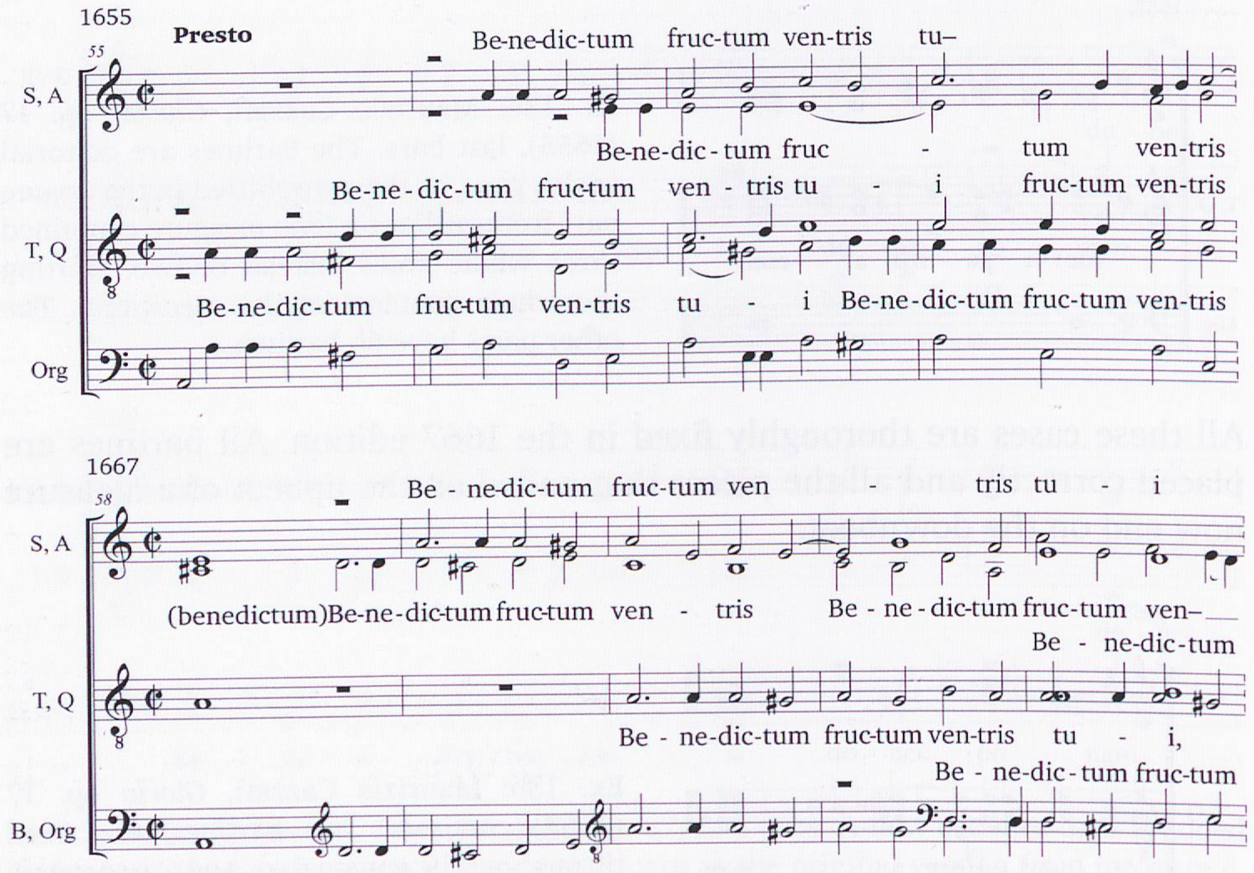
Ex. 13b: Maurizio Cazzati, *Gloria* op. 17 (1667), revised. The barlines are fixed throughout the *organo* part, and are correctly applied. The last measure is amended not to finish the piece on an upbeat.

It is evident from this example the great care to which Cazzati applied himself to correct his music. In this same manner music that previously could seem laid out quite carelessly now seems to be rewritten for a more dramatic effect.



Ex. 14: Maurizio Cazzati, *Salve Regina* op. 17, beginning. The new version has a more dramatic incipit. Also the *alto* enters one measure late (not shown in the example) in imitation with the other voices.

Along these lines follow all the other structural modifications, and this *Salve Regina* is one of the most affected. Not only the music is expanded (82 modern bars to 96 bars), but in some cases contrapuntal sections are rewritten:


1655
Presto
55
S, A
T, Q
Org
Be-ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven-tris tu–
Be-ne-dic-tum fruc - tum ven-tris
Be-ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven - tris tu - i fruc-tum ven-tris
Be-ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven-tris tu - i Be-ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven-tris
1667
58
S, A
T, Q
B, Org
Be - ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven - tris tu - i
(benedictum)Be-ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven - tris Be - ne - dic-tum fruc-tum ven–
Be - ne-dic-tum
Be - ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven-tris tu - i,
Be - ne-dic - tum fruc-tum

Ex. 15: Maurizio Cazzati, *Salve Regina*, op. 17. The fugal passage on the words beninning with “benedictum fructum ventris tui” is rewritten to a more regular theme. The entrance of the lost *basso* part in the 1655 version was presumably in the third bar.

The 1655 version of this piece also contains and ending “coda” in ¢ after the last ternary section which is omitted in the revision.

All these interventions were probably in part prompted by the outcome of the polemic with Arresti. But it should not be excluded completely that the Author was genuinely trying to update his music to make it simply more effective, as some of the above examples demonstrate.

Opus 3, 5 and 7

1670 was a busy year, with a peak of printing activity. Four brand new editions were prepared (54–57) and three more were reprinted (3, 5, 7). Opp. 56 and 57 (*Messe e magnificat* and *Inni sacri*) are the first collections of *a cappella* sacred music in some six years (if we do not count the reprint of op. 17, the last collection was in 1664, *Salmi brevi* op. 33).

These two late collections are notable because Cazzati here seems to master traditional counterpoint in a very credible way.[32] He distances himself from his previous production and adheres much more closely to the common esthetic of his time for *a cappella* music. In some way the reprint of op. 17 can seem a step towards his last statements in sacred music. His final collection in this genre will be op. 58 (Bologna, 1671), a set of *concertato* psalms.

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[32] Armstrong, *The Vesper psalms*, p. 204.

Cazzati left his position in San Petronio in 1671. By publishing music in the *a cappella* genre and by resuming old collections he could have been trying to re-state the worthiness of his production throughout his career.

In all of his reprints, with the exception of op. 7, Cazzati never states that they also contain modifications, with no indication whatsoever of the changed or reorganized contents. It could be very possible that the original impressions where difficult to obtain, since they were published almost twenty-five years before. There was not the risk of someone noticing the differences.

This also shows Cazzati's attachment to his own music and how he was actively trying to promote it. But we can also see in the light of his ending career in Bologna, where he needed fresh material to defend his position, which was starting to lose security. What better way than silently updating old music and presenting it to the world?

Analyzing these late reprints is a bit of a challenge, since both op. 3 and op. 7 come to us in an incomplete form: op. 3 in incomplete in its first edition, while op. 7 in the reprint. Nevertheless it is possible to gain enough material for comparison.

Opus 3

Originally published in 1647 by Giorgio Rolla in Milano, it was titled *Le concertate lodi della Chiesa militante*. The reprint differs greatly, not only in the title (which becomes *Motetti a 2, 3, 4*) but also in the contents.[33] The pieces are reorganized, some are removed and some are added. The original *Concertate lodi* is a very heterogeneous collection, containing not only motets, but also psalms (some with violins) and hymns. During its transformation to *Motetti a 2, 3, 4* all of these pieces are removed, leaving a very compact collection of motets with basso continuo. This reorganizing should not be very surprising, as all of the Cazzati editions from 1659 are very coherent and organized in their contents. In some way one of the biggest improvements is the reorganizing of the edition, which makes it much less confusing and easier to use.

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[33] The 1670 edition is also re-dedicated by Cazzati. It is the only example by him in his production, but it did happen in reprints carried out by others. For example the 1667 second edition of op. 15, carried out by the Bolognese librarian (and collaborator to Cazzati) Marino Silvani, has a new dedication from the editor and not the author.

	Title	Distribution	New Position
1	Salve Regina mater	CC or TT	n.a.
2	Audite mortales	CT	3
3	Amo te, Christe	AT	n.a.
4	Salve aeternum colende	AT	4
5	O pretiosum	AT	n.a.
6	Sicut rosa	TT	2
7	Inter natos mulierum	CB	n.a.
8	O Iesu, mi dulcissime	AB	5
9	Iudica Domine	CCT	8
10	O Iesu, summa bonitas	CCT	6
11	Ave Sanctissimum Corpus	CAT	7
12	Adiuva me	CTT	9
13	O Domine, qui pro me mori	AAT	10
14	Letentur caeli	ATB	12
15	O quam dulcis	TTB	13
16	Domine ad adiuvandum	C, 2 Violins	n.a.
17	Dixit Dominus	C, 2 Violins	n.a.
18	Laudate pueri Dominum	CAT	n.a.
19	Nisi Dominus	CCT	n.a.
20	Ave Regina celorum	CATB	n.a.
21	Venite populi	CATB	14
22	O dulcis Iesu	CATB	15
23	In solemnitate cantabat	AATB	n.a.

Tab. 2: Contents of the 1647 op. 3 print, from the *organo* part, showing the old and new ordering and dropped pieces.

	Title	Distribution	Original position
1	Nigra sum	CC	n.a.
2	Sicut rosa	CC or TT	6
3	Audite mortales	CT	2
4	Salve eternum	AT	4
5	O Iesu, mi dulcissime	AB	8
6	O Iesu, summa Bonitas	CCT	10
7	Ave Sanctissimum Corpus	CAT	11
8	Iudica Domine	CAT	9
9	Adiuva me	CTT	12
10	O Domine, qui pro me mori	AAT	13
11	Obstupescite gentes	CCB	n.a.
12	Laetentur caeli	ATB	14
13	O quam dulcis	TTB	15
14	Venite populi	CATB	21
15	O dulcis Iesu	CATB	22

Tab. 3: Contents of the 1670 reprint, showing the two added motets and the reorganization of the others.

The new edition streamlines and rationalizes the contents. One of the two added motets, *Obstupescite gentes*, is not new but a reprint. It was originally included in the collection *Sacra corona. Mottetti a due e tre voci di diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Venezia: Magni, 1656).

"Messy" is a word that describes quite accurately the original Rolla edition. Not only because content is so varied, but also because pagination is carried out in a very complex and unintuitive way: the page number of each piece is the same in each separate volume. For example, *O Iesu, summa bonitas* is found on page 18 in each book. A rubric in the organ part gives the general page indication for all the other voices ("a fol. 18"). The evident drawback of this system is that since each partbook contains a different quantity of music pagination is not continuous, containing many skips. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that each part contains a different mixture of voices, or instruments, making it difficult to locate the voices for each piece when needed.[34] This is the only example in all of Cazzati's output of this kind of non-continuous pagination, and in his reprint this is fixed by neatly ordering all the pieces. Using the table of contents at the end of each partbook makes it easy to look them up.

The modifications we find on op. 3 follow the same logic we previously saw in op. 17. But since op. 3 is a collection of *concertato* music and not *a cappella* it is not surprising that the bulk of the interventions focuses more on the structure of the single pieces than only the fine-grained interventions in voice leading as in the collection of psalms. One trend that is more marked than in op. 17 is the alteration of the lengths of the single pieces, which maintain the same musical ideas albeit developed slightly different:

Piece	Voices	1647 Length	1670 Length
Sicut rosa	2	95	94
Audite mortales	2	206	254
Salve aeternum	2	153	155
O Iesu dulcissime	2	82	86
Iesu, summa bonitas	3	115	114
Ave Sanctissimus	3	170	180
Iudica Domine	3	110	118
Adiuva me	3	96	95
O domine	3	111	129
Laetantur caeli	3	121	121
O quam dulcis	3	103	143
Venite populi	4	105	108
O dulcis Iesu	4	127	128

Tab. 4: Length of pieces in the two versions of op. 3 compared.

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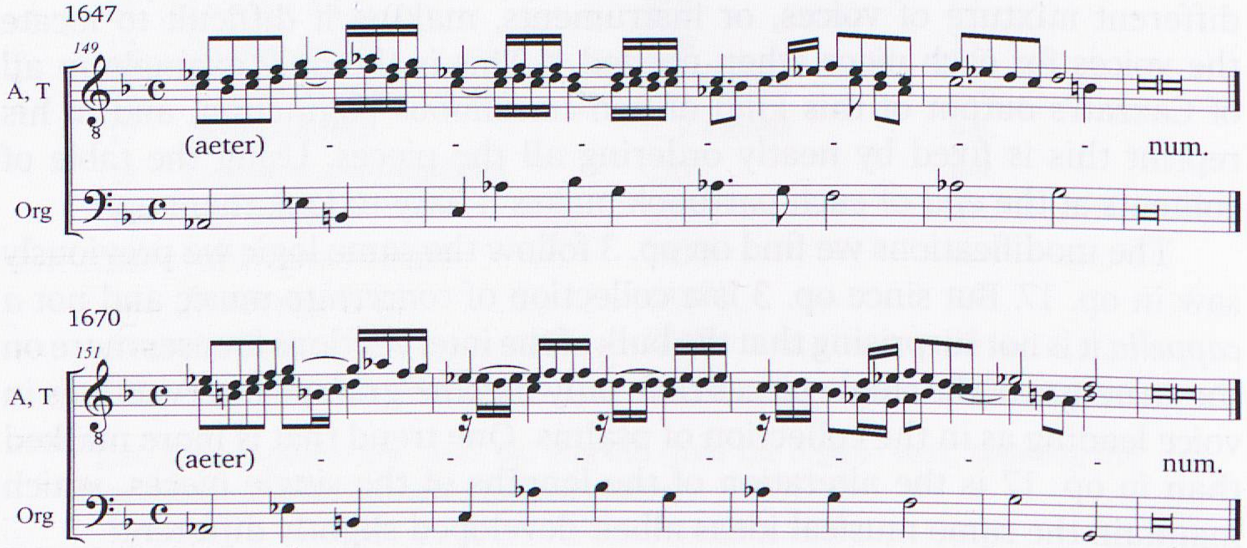
[34] Numbering is also full of errors: the *alto* part, for example, contains three consecutive pages numbered "44".

As we can see from the table only one motet retains exactly the same length as the original, while two (*Audite mortales* and *O quam dulcis*) are expanded by a considerable amount of material.

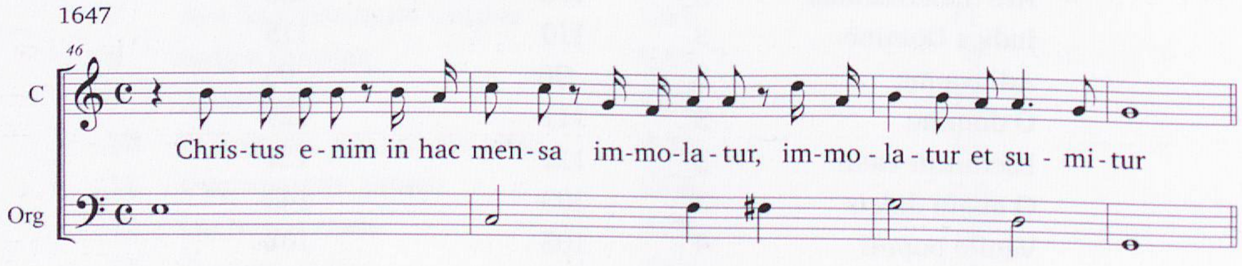
Sections of music can be stretched or reduced in the same piece, resulting in different proportions while maintaining the same measure count. This is found, for example, in *Sicut rosa*, where Cazzati adds an additional entry of the first theme in the beginning, so to have a symmetrical (four) quantity of entries instead of the original three. But this addition is then offset by removing further material in the piece, so the actual measure count is less than the original.

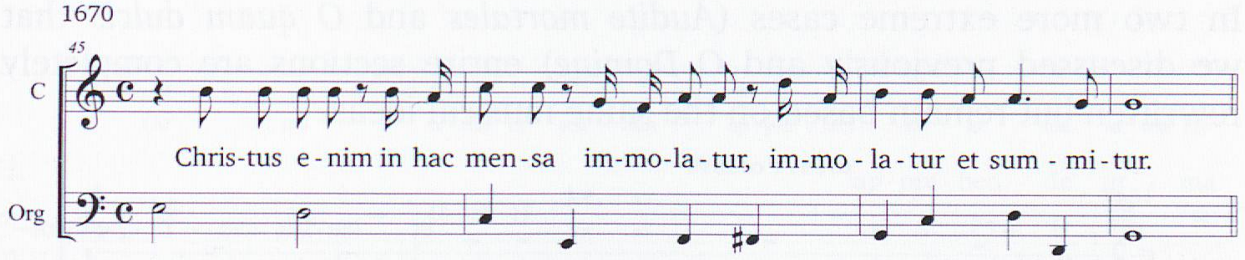
Again in some sections voice leading is improved, resulting in a more interesting musical development as in this example:



Ex. 16: Maurizio Cazzati, *Salve aeternum*, op. 3. The 1670 version transforms the parallel motion between the voices into an echo effect. The last cadence is also altered so to have a slower harmonic motion.

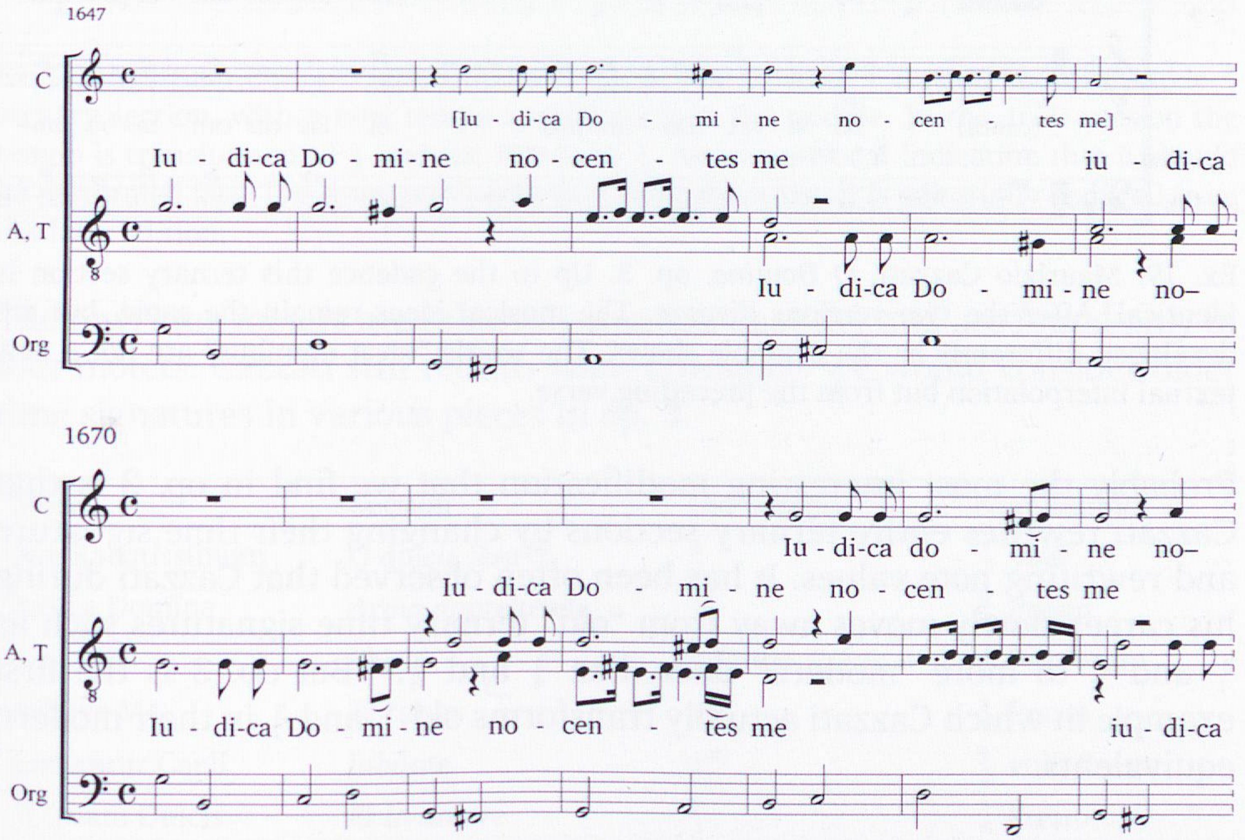
With the same logic in many places the basso continuo is modified for greater musical variety:


1647
46
C
Chris-tus e-nim in hac men-sa im-mo-la-tur, im-mo-la-tur et su-mi-tur
Org


1670
45
C
Chris-tus e-nim in hac men-sa im-mo-la-tur, im-mo-la-tur et sum-mi-tur.
Org

Ex. 17: Maurizio Cazzati, *Audite mortales. Dialogo*, op. 3. A very small intervention in the basso continuo makes the ending climax of this recitativo more lively and less static harmonically.[35]

Also, as it happened before, voice entrances are sometimes switched to form a more logical succession. The next example unfortunately suffers from the loss of the original *canto* part, but it is easy to imagine the entrance on the third bar, as it is in the new version. It is also interesting to note that the intervention not only makes the entrances come from bottom to top, but also modifies them so they are all on the tone without modulating too far away.


1647
C
[Iu - di-ca Do - mi - ne no - cen - tes me]
Iu - di-ca Do - mi-ne no - cen - tes me iu - di-ca
A, T
Iu - di-ca Do - mi - ne no–
Org
1670
C
Iu - di-ca do - mi - ne no–
Iu - di-ca Do - mi - ne no - cen - tes me
A, T
Iu - di-ca Do - mi-ne no - cen - tes me iu - di-ca
Org

Ex. 18: Maurizio Cazzati, *Iudica Domine*, op. 3. The two incipits change dramatically. The entrances that where ACT are now bottom-to-top TAC, and do not modulate away from the tonic/dominant. The *canto* part of the 1647 impression is lost; in small print an editorial reconstruction is given.

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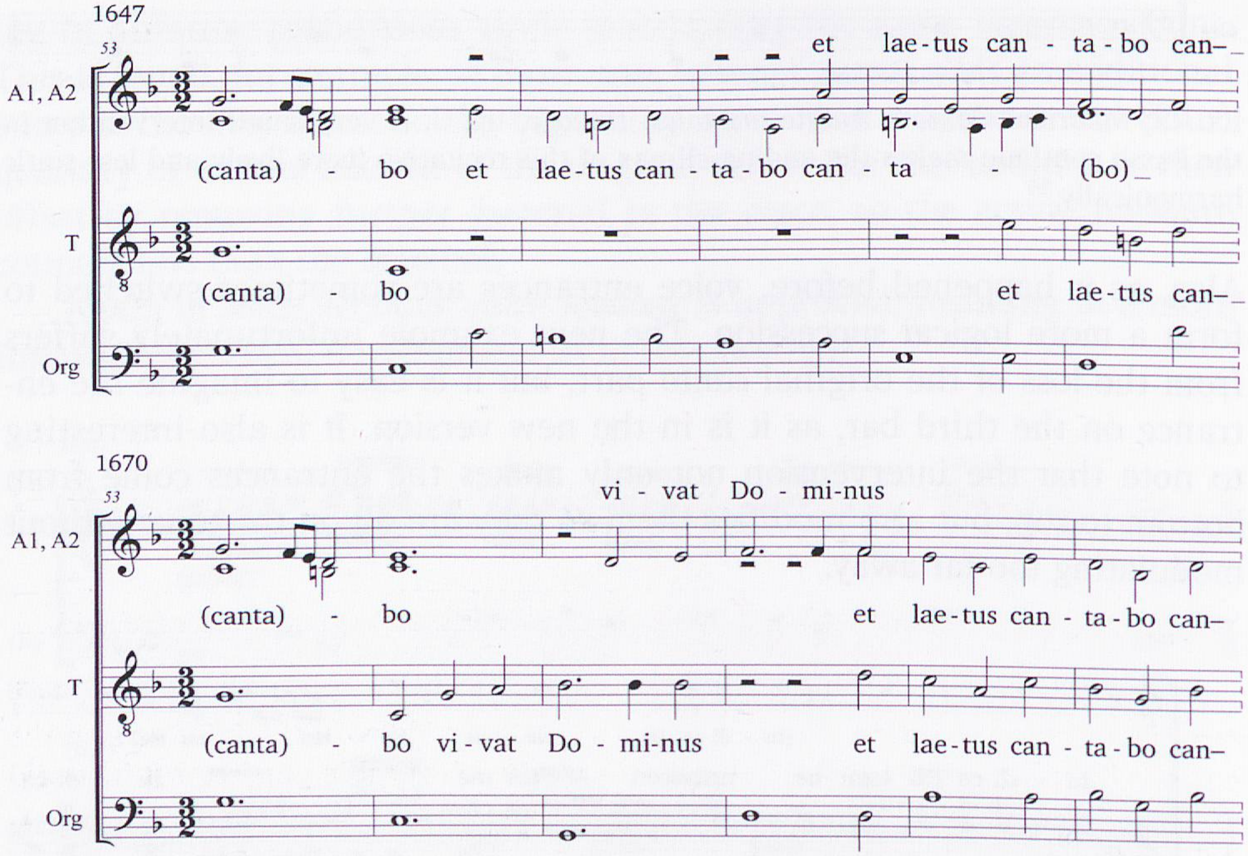
[35] The *canto* part of the 1647 version can be recovered since it is printed *in partitura* in the *organo* partbook.

In two more extreme cases (*Audite mortales* and *O quam dulcis* that we discussed previously and *O Domine*) entire sections are completely rewritten but remain based on the same musical ideas.


1647
53
A1, A2
et lae-tus can - ta - bo can–
(canta) - bo et lae-tus can - ta - bo can - ta - (bo)
T
(canta) - bo et lae-tus can–
Org
1670
53
A1, A2
vi - vat Do - mi-nus
(canta) - bo et lae-tus can - ta - bo can–
T
(canta) - bo vi - vat Do - mi-nus et lae-tus can - ta - bo can–
Org

Ex. 19: Maurizio Cazzati, *O Domine*, op. 3. Up to the cadence this ternary section is identical. After the two versions diverge. The musical ideas remain the same, but are developed differently as the example shows. The words "vivat dominus" are not a new textual interpolation but from the preceding verse.

Probably the most interesting modification that we find in op. 3 is that Cazzati rewrites entire ternary sections by changing their time signature and rewriting note values. It has been often observed that Cazzati during his career slowly moves away from "old" ternary time signatures such as $^{3}_{1}$ and $^{3}_{2}$ to more "modern" ones, like $^{3}_{4}$ and $^{3}_{8}$.[36] But op. 3 is the first example in which Cazzati actually transforms old $^{3}_{1}$ and $^{3}_{2}$ in their modern equivalents.

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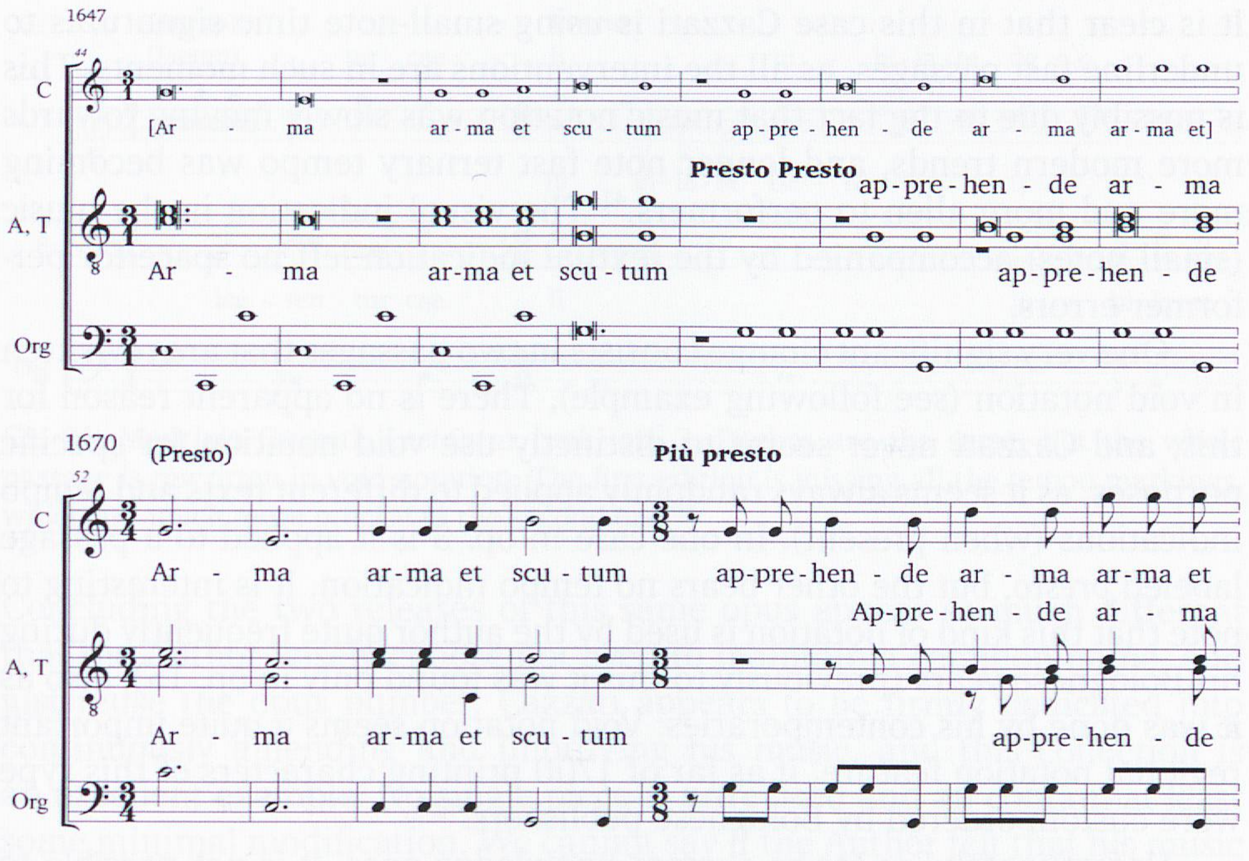
[36] Anne Schnoebelen, *Introduction* to: *Bologna 1* (London: Garland, 1988; = Solo Motets from the Seventeenth Century, 6), pp. IX–XIII.


1647
44
C
[Ar - ma ar - ma et scu - tum ap - pre - hen - de ar - ma ar - ma et]
Presto Presto
ap - pre - hen - de ar - ma
A, T
Ar - ma ar-ma et scu - tum ap - pre - hen - de
Org
1670
(Presto)
Più presto
52
C
Ar - ma ar-ma et scu - tum ap-pre-hen - de ar - ma ar-ma et
Ap-pre-hen - de ar - ma
A, T
Ar - ma ar-ma et scu - tum ap-pre-hen - de
Org

Ex. 20: Maurizio Cazzati, *Iudica Domine*, op. 3. The original[37] version had one single $\frac{3}{1}$ ternary section, with a new tempo specification in the middle. In the 1670 version the tempo is transformed to $\frac{3}{4}$ and the Presto to $\frac{3}{8}$. An unequivocal indication that it should be performed fast! The *canto* part of the first example is lost; it is editorially deduced from the later edition.

The rewritten meters are relatively small in quantity and are found only in four motets. Cazzati still retains what nowadays we would consider older time signatures in various pieces in op. 3.

Motet	Section	Old Tempo	New Tempo
Ave Sanctissimum	*O dulcis Iesu*[38]	$\frac{3}{1}$	$\frac{3}{2}$ void
Iudica Domine	*Arma apprehende*	$\frac{3}{1}$	$\frac{3}{4}$ *Presto*
	id.	$\frac{3}{1}$ *Presto Presto*	$\frac{3}{8}$ *Più Presto*
Adiuva Me	*Te cupio*	3[39]	$\frac{3}{8}$ *Presto*
Laetantur Caeli	*Iubilate*	3[40]	$\frac{3}{2}$ void *Presto*
O Quam Dulcis	*Et in amore*	$\frac{3}{1}$	$\frac{3}{4}$ *Presto*

Tab. 5: Tempo transformations between the two versions of op. 3.

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[37] The 1670 revision also substitutes the octave leaps in the basso continuo with long pedal notes throughout.

[38] This section is repeated identically three times via ritornello indications.

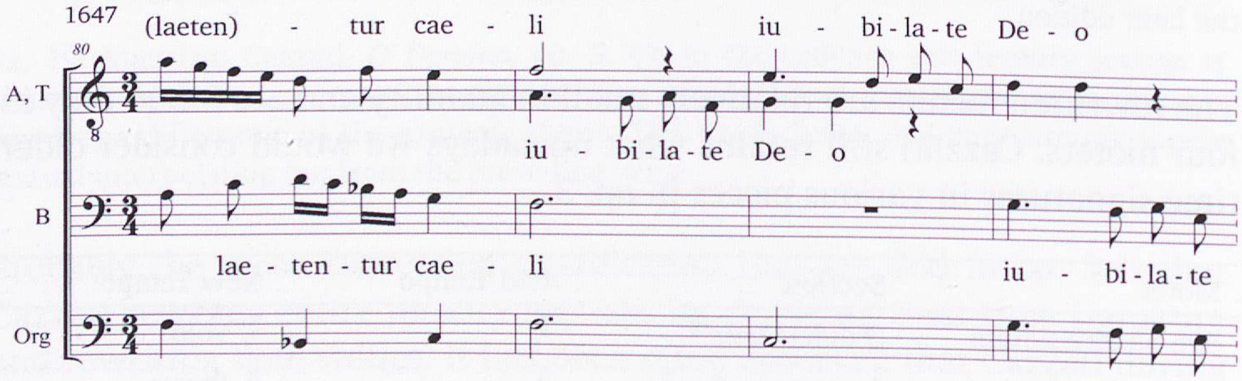
[39] The tempo indication is a single 3, but note values correspond to $\frac{3}{4}$.

[40] Idem as above.

It is clear that in this case Cazzati is using small-note time signatures to underline fast passages, as all the interventions are in such moments. This is possibly due to the fact that music notation was slowly moving towards more modern trends, and longer note fast ternary tempo was becoming more and more alien to performers.[41] The visual indication in the music (small notes) accompanied by the textual indication left no space for performer errors.

One very significant change consists in two passages that are rewritten in void notation (see following example). There is no apparent reason for this, and Cazzati never seems to distinctly use void notation for specific purposes, as it seems always randomly applied to different texts and tempo indications (when present). In one case in op. 3 is it applied to a passage labeled *presto*, but the other bears no tempo indication. It is interesting to note that this kind of notation is used by the author quite frequently during his Bolognese years (previously to this it was found only in op. 15), also as it was done by his contemporaries. Void notation seems a quite important regional notation feature, if as far of 1700 printing characters of this type were custom ordered by Bolognese publishers.[42]

Unfortunately, as far as current knowledge goes, it is not possible to say if void notation indicated a specific performance practice or if it is just an alternative notation type.[43]



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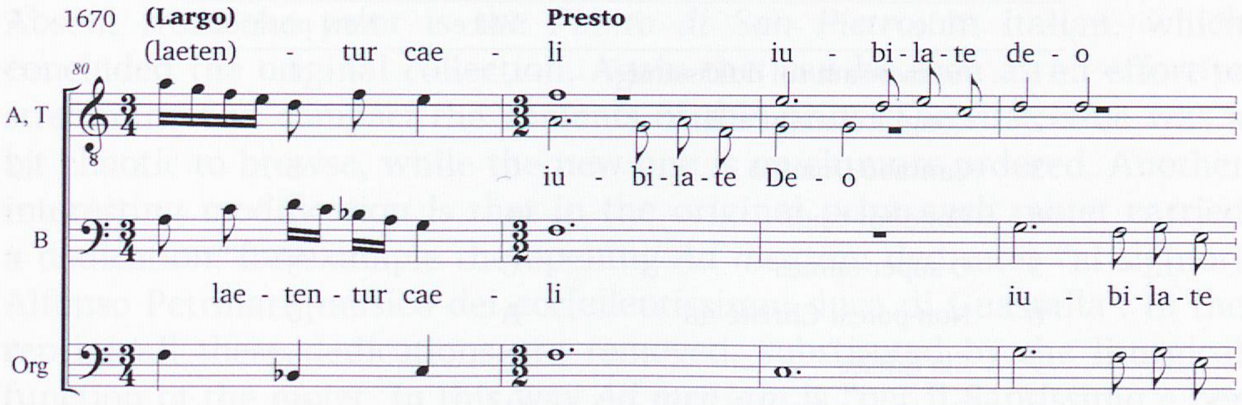
[41] On a side note, how many modern performances perform painfully slow $\frac{3}{2}$ tempos even when explicitly indicated as fast?

[42] Carrie Churnside, “Music printing in early eighteenth-century Bologna: the case of Giuseppe Antonio Silvani and Pirro Albergati (1716–1717)”, in: *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 17 (2012), pp. 105–134.

[43] Various treaties of the time simply give void and normal black notation as alternatives (ex. Bononcini’s *Musico prattico*). Various hypothesis are formulated, including ink economy (even if it is unclear how much it is possible to save by just including a couple passages of void notation in a very heterogeneous collection with many different time signatures.)


1670
(Largo)
Presto
80
(laeten) - tur cae - li iu - bi - la - te de - o
A, T
iu - bi - la - te De - o
B
lae - ten - tur cae - li iu - bi - la - te
Org

Ex. 21: Maurizio Cazzati, *Laetantur caeli*, op. 3. Pitches are the same, but the whole passage is rewritten in void notation. The first edition is missing all the tempo markings, which are much more precise in the second one.[44]

Concluding the two releases of this same opus appear so much different that the Author wisely choose not even to maintain a common name, and just reuse the opus number. Cazzati appears to be firmly dedicated into continuously amending and improving his music, and this collection is an excellent example. No single piece is unrevised and all contain at least some minimal modification. We cannot say if the Author felt that his music was previously committed to printing too quickly and carelessly, but we can say that he made sure, with care and dedication, that the quality of his output increased steadily.

Opus 5 and 7

These two opuses are, unsurprisingly, modified in a manner very similar to op. 3. Their contents differ considerably through, as op. 5 is a collection of solo voice motets (*Il primo libro delli motetti a voce sola*, originally Venezia: Magni, 1647) and op. 7 contains music for the compline (*Compieta a quattro voci*, originally Venezia: Vincenti, 1647).

It is interesting to remark that despite the great differences in content between them the basic idea behind the update seems common, as it was in opp. 17 and 3.

As with op. 3, Cazzati reorganizes the motets of op. 5 so that now they are grouped by voice.

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[44] Moreover this is one rare case where Cazzati uses a slow ternary tempo and a fast one in the same section. The "slow ternary" is generally indicated as *Largo* and employs small notes to respect of the meter (first measure of the example). The "fast ternary" in contrast evidently carries one beat per measure (last two measures). This double type of writing for ternary sections can be confusing, but we think this example clarifies quite a bit how the passage should be performed. Again it seems that the change of meter here is more as a warning to performers that they have to change tempo.

	Title	Voice	New position
1	Ad mensam tui dulcissimi	C	1
2	Congratulamini mihi	A	9
3	Cantabo Domino	C	6
4	Conditor caeli	A	7
5	O super omnes	C	5
6	Non potest Christe mi	A	10
7	Eia fideles	C	2
8	Exurge psalterium	A	11
9	Anima mea ieiuna	C	4
10	Diligendus es	A	8
11	O vos omnes	C	3
12	Ave Serenissima Regina	A	12
13	Egredimini Principes	T	13
14	Salve Regina	B	14
15	Pianto di San Pietro	C or T	n.a.

Tab. 6: Contents of op. 5 (1647).

	Title	Voice	Old position
1	Ad mensam	C	1
2	Eia fideles	C	7
3	O vos omnes	C	11
4	Anima mea	C	9
5	O super omnes	C	5
6	Cantabo Domino	A	3
7	Conditor caeli	A	4
8	Diligendus es mi Domine	A	10
9	Congratulamini	A	2
10	Non potest Christe mi	A	6
11	Exurge psalterium	A	8
12	Ave Serenissima Maria[45]	A	12
13	Egredimini Principes	T	13
14	Salve Regina	B	14

Tab. 7: Contents of op. 5 (1670).

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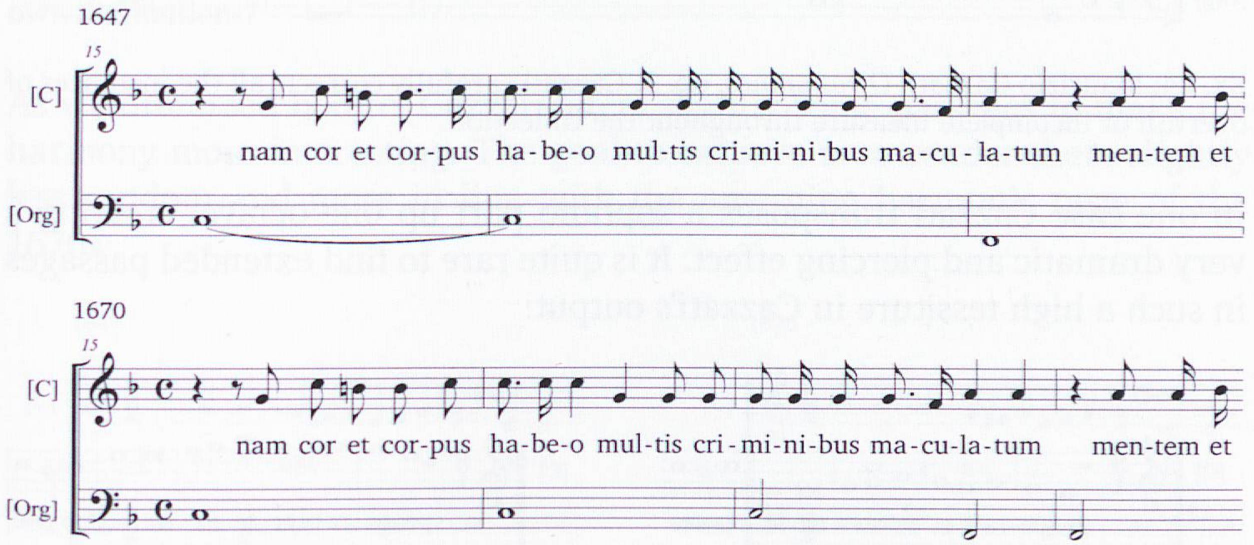
[45] The text of the motet is not changed; this is an error in the table of contents.

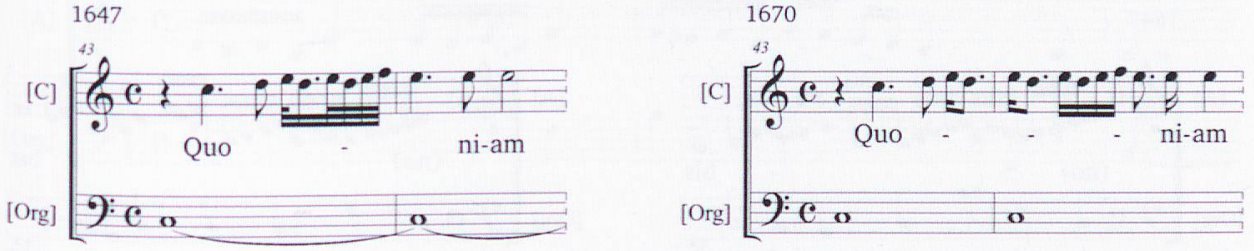
Absent from the print is the *Pianto di San Pietro*, in Italian, which concluded the original collection. Again this can be seen as an effort to streamline and compact the contents of this print. The first issue was a bit chaotic to browse, while the new one is much more ordered. Another interesting modification is that in the original print each motet carried a dedication, for example the opening *Ad mensam* dedicates "al sig[nor] Alfonso Pettinari, musico del ecc[ellentissimo] duca di Guastalla". In the reprint all these dedications are removed, substituted by the liturgical function of the motet. In this way *Ad mensam* is "per il Santissimo e per ogni tempo".

Modifications in this collection again measure from minimal to extensive. As we saw for op. 3 musical ideas seem to have been retained, but their development differs.


1647
15
[C]
nam cor et cor-pus ha-be-o mul-tis cri-mi-ni-bus ma-cu-la-tum men-tem et
[Org]
1670
15
[C]
nam cor et cor-pus ha-be-o mul-tis cri-mi-ni-bus ma-cu-la-tum men-tem et
[Org]

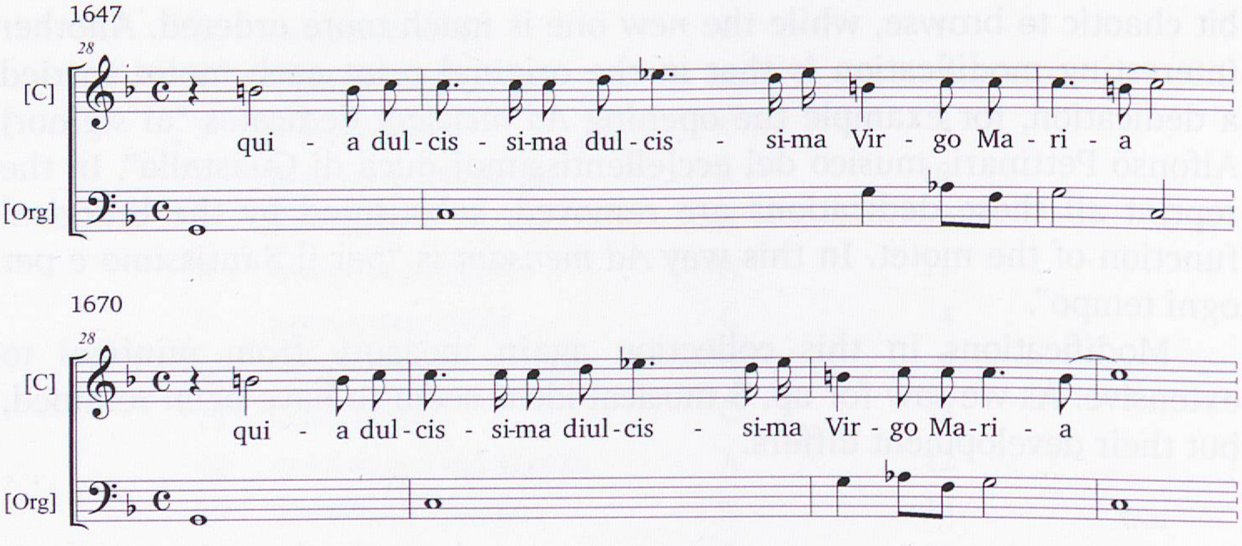
Ex. 22: Maurizio Cazzati, *Ad mensam*, op. 3. A very trivial yet subtle improvement in the text layout calls for slower note values.

Recitative passages seem to receive the most attention in regard to a better relationship between words and sung notes. In some case we find written-out diminutions, as it was customary to find in music from the 1640s. Cazzati mitigates them by transforming them into slower melodic passages, more in line with the taste of late-seventeenth century recitatives:


1647
43
[C]
Quo - ni-am
[Org]
1670
43
[C]
Quo - - - ni-am
[Org]

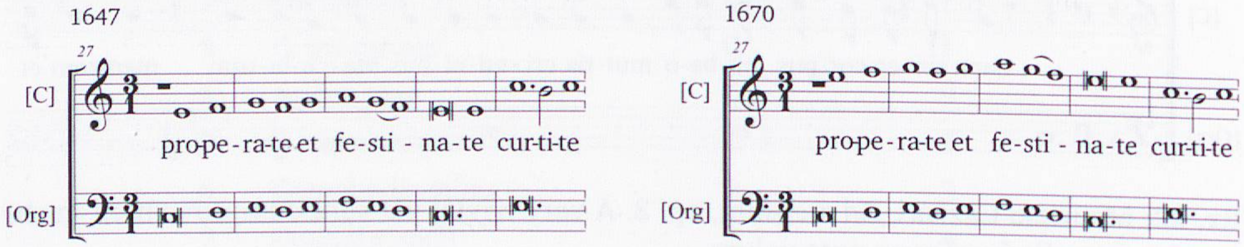
Ex. 23: Maurizio Cazzati, *Eia fideles*, op. 3. Similar to the previous example we see how a mildly diminished passage is transformed in a more melodious one.

Op. 5 suffered from the same type of "irregular" measures that we previously encountered in op. 17. These passages are always corrected in the reprint.


1647
28
[C]
qui - a dul-cis - si-ma dul-cis - si-ma Vir - go Ma - ri - a
[Org]
1670
28
[C]
qui - a dul-cis - si-ma diul-cis - si-ma Vir - go Ma-ri - a
[Org]

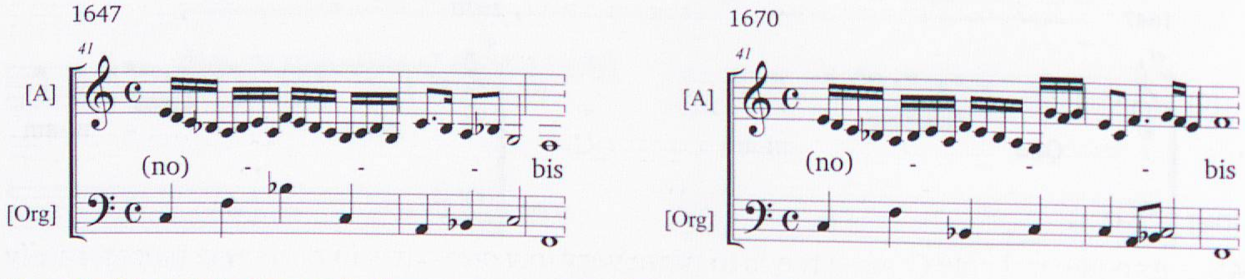
Ex. 24: Maurizio Cazzati, *O vos omnes*, op. 3. Cazzati carefully corrects all the instances of overfull or incomplete measure throughout the collection.

In one case Cazzati transposes a soprano part up one octave, creating a very dramatic and piercing effect. It is quite rare to find extended passages in such a high tessiture in Cazzati's output:


1647
27
[C]
pro-pe-ra-te et fe-sti - na-te cur-ti-te
[Org]
1670
27
[C]
pro-pe-ra-te et fe-sti - na-te cur-ti-te
[Org]

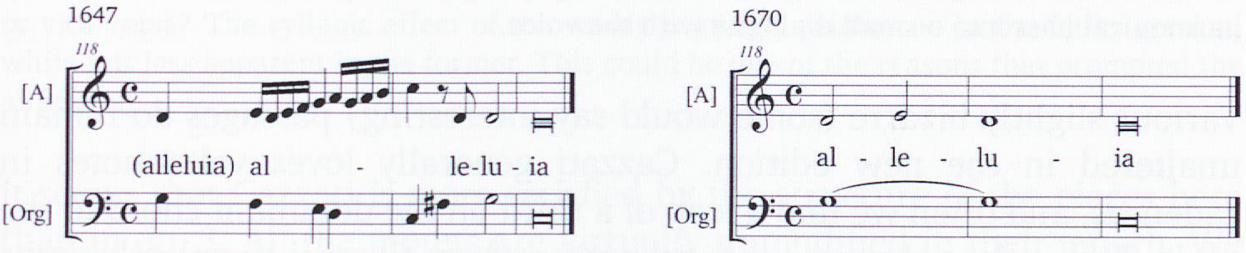
Ex. 25: Maurizio Cazzati, *Eia Fideles*, op. 3. Excerpt from a passage transposed one octave, reaching high A.

A similar but different example is found a few motets afterwards, in *Congratulamini mihi*. Here Cazzati alters the figurations of the *alto* part so it does not descend to a very low F.


1647
41
[A]
(no) - - - bis
[Org]
1670
41
[A]
(no) - - - bis
[Org]

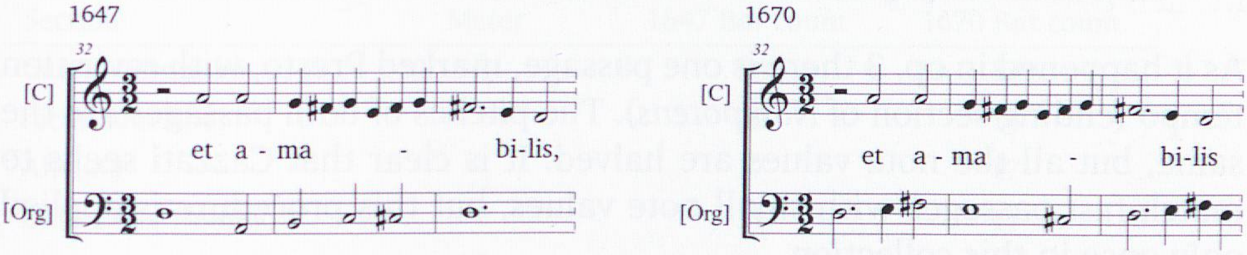
Ex. 26: Maurizio Cazzati, *Congratulamini mihi*, op. 3. The low F probably was too much even during Cazzati's time (the two instances of this note are amended in the 1670 edition).

This same motet carries two other interesting alterations. Firstly it is the only one to get a slightly altered incipit, making it more varied musically. Also the three-measure coda of the ending is removed and replaced with a simpler one. This is probably to avoid the high c3 and so that the singer could provide his own final diminutions. The ambitus of the original version is nevertheless remarkable, from f to c^2.[46]



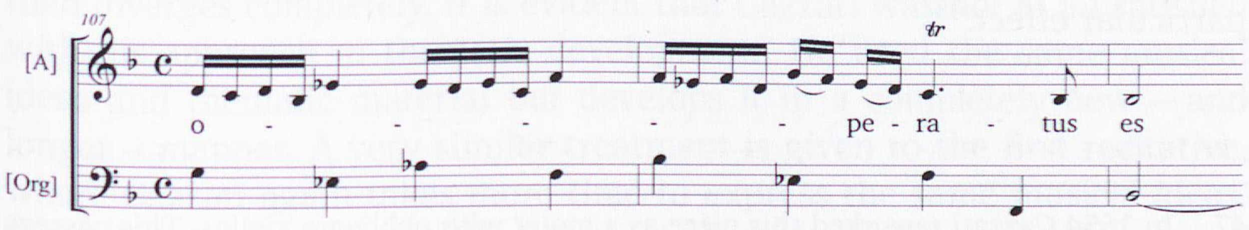
Ex. 27: Maurizio Cazzati, *Congratulamini mihi*, op. 3. A hint to the singer to provide his own diminutions?

As we discussed before, Cazzati alters slightly some passages to make the harmony more interesting. The goal to achieve is to render them slightly less random and more in line with the emerging harmonic taste of the 1670s:



Ex. 28: Maurizio Cazzati, *O vos omnes*, op. 3. The revised passage uses less harmonies and omits the chromatic passage in the bass. A more varied bass line generates interest. Also, in measure 33 the new passage avoids the parallel fifths between the two parts.

In a similar fashion the basso continuo line is sometimes made more interesting by adding echoing melodic figures to the chant part:



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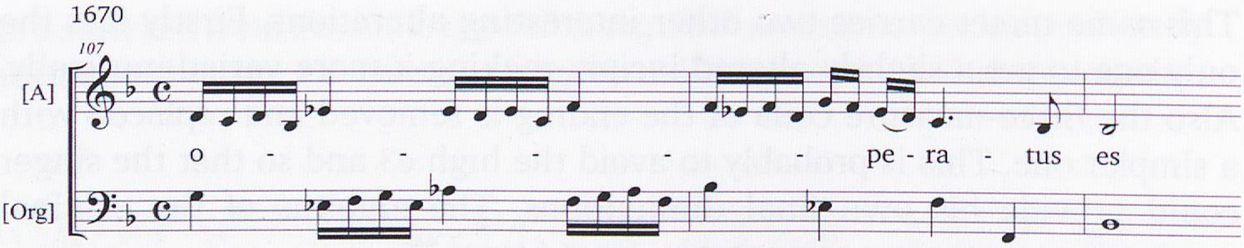
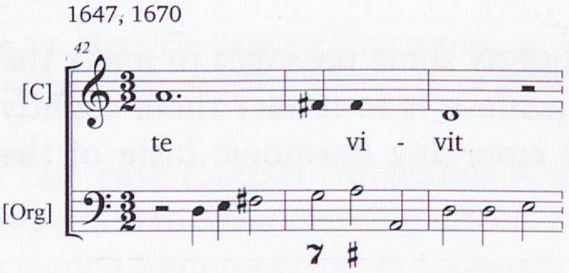
[46] As a general rule Cazzati tends to write very low *alto* parts in ensemble pieces, rarely venturing above middle A. The tessiture is generally low also for solo parts, with some occasional high notes. The low f is a very rare feature.



Ex. 29: Maurizio Cazzati, *Diligendus es*, op. 3. A simple way to transform a purely harmonical bass into a small dialogue with the voice.

Various slightly bizarre (some would say interesting) passages do remain unaltered in the new edition. Cazzati generally loves volta notes in cadences, and often we find a leap of a third on the dominant chord to the tonic. This is the only case we came across where Cazzati completely omits the 2nd and just leaves the leap:



Ex. 30: Maurizio Cazzati, *Non potens*, op. 3. (1647 version lacks continuo figures) Passages like this sometimes are an indication of a printing error, but what if it is transmitted unaltered through reprints?[47]

As it happened in op. 3 there is one passage, marked Presto, with rewritten tempo (ending section of *Non potens*). The pitches of both passages are the same, but all the note values are halved. It is clear that Cazzati seeks to match fast passages with small note values, but this procedure is applied only once in this collection.

Another small detail regards the doubling of the *basso* part and the basso continuo. It is generally accepted that in the early form of motets for *basso* voice, and Cazzati is a leading example of this, the lower singing voice just doubles the basso continuo part, as if the latter was written before the former. From this little snippet it is apparent that in reality what actually happens is the reverse. While it may seem a trivial passage and could be easily dismissed, this could indeed be a choice made to achieve a particular effect.[48]

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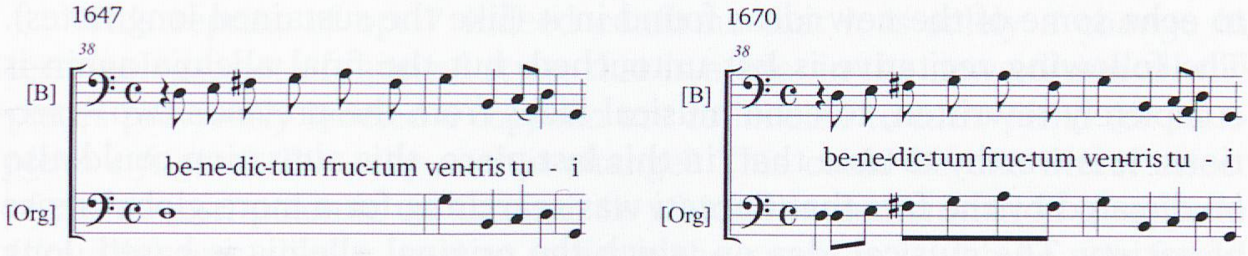
[47] In 1654 Cazzati reworked this piece as a motet with obbligato violins. This passage is left standing as it is presented here.

[48] There are also many examples where the basso continuo doubles other voices. In some cases even the soprano is doubled in extended melodic passages (not to be confused with fugal incipits).


1647
38
[B]
be-ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven-tris tu - i
[Org]
1670
38
[B]
be-ne-dic-tum fruc-tum ven-tris tu - i
[Org]

Ex. 31: Maurizio Cazzati, *Salve Regina*, op. 3. Is it the *basso* that doubles the basso continuo or vice versa? The syllabic effect of the words is greatly reinforced in the latter version, while it is less apparent in the former. This could be one of the reasons that prompted the alteration.

It seems that Cazzati is more satisfied by the structure of the pieces here than in op. 3. All the motets are virtually unmodified in their length. We find a very timid cut in the motet *Conditor caeli*, where a very long note on a running bass is shortened by two bars.

The only motet that is deeply modified is *Cantabo Domino*. The basic structure of the piece is simple: three dance-like sections in $^{3}_{1}$ separated by two arioso recitatives. This overall structure is maintained, but all the sections (except for the second recitative) are rewritten. The overall construction of the piece is exemplified in the following table.

Section	Meter	1647 Bar count	1670 Bar count
Cantabo Domino	$^{3}_{1}$	54	84
Iucundum sit ei	𝄴	10	14
Alleluia	$^{3}_{1}$	17	17
Delectabor Domino	𝄴	11	11
Alleluia	$^{3}_{1}$	39	46
Total Bar Count		131	172

Tab. 8: Structural differences between original and revised motet *Cantabo Domino*.

The two versions of the motet start with the same identical theme, but suddenly diverge in the fourth measure, only to reunite after another (transposed) statement of the theme (see example in appendix). The music then diverges completely. It is evident that Cazzati was not at all satisfied with his approach to thematic development. He used the same musical ideas and thematic material but develops it in a completely new – and longer – manner. A very similar treatment is given to the first recitative, where Cazzati again takes more time to express the same musical ideas. The following canzonetta-like section in $^{3}_{1}$ maintains the same bar count and still modulates from G to D, but if we inspect the contents we see that, after the first three measures, the development is different. It is interesting to confront this section with the opening one, since Cazzati seems to want to echo some of the new ideas found in it (like the sustained long notes). The following recitative is left untouched, but the final alleluia again is completely rewritten, to echo musical ideas from the previous two $^{3}_{1}$ sections. It is worthy to note that, in this last piece, this alteration could also be dictated by the fact that Cazzati was searching for a more global sense of variety. The musical idea on which the original alleluia is based, long sustained notes against a moving bass, is found in another motet, *Non potens*, developed in a very similar way.

Concluding our discourse on op. 5 it seems that Cazzati in this case is more interested in the subtle *labor limae* and attention to detail. The result is some sort of "update" to the stylistic taste and resources he employs in the other collections of the same time. In a way he is trying to bridge the music of his youth with what was currently appreciated (and sold).

Op. 7 is the only one out of all the reprints that states its diverging status from the original: "Nuovamente ristampata con nuove aggiunte et anco accresciuta con quattro parti di ripieno", i.e. "Newly reprinted with new additions, and enlarged with four *ripieno* parts". For the first time Cazzati hints that the content is modified. Also for the first time the scoring is altered, by adding the four *ripieno* parts.

Unfortunately the only surviving copy of this print is missing the *canto, tenore ripieno* and *organo* partbooks, making it impossible to reconstruct some of the new additions. Fortunately the surviving parts (*alto, tenore, basso* and *canto ripieno, alto ripieno, basso ripieno*) are enough to reconstruct at least the musical text of the pieces without soloists.

Op. 7 is helpful to shed some light on the terminology used by Cazzati to define his musical genres, and in particular with the distinction between *a cappella, tutto pieno* and *concertato*. Looking at all his collections of concerted sacred music (opp. 14, 24, 36, 37, 58) we always find at least one piece which is labeled *a cappella* or, in later works, *tutto pieno*. As the latter denomination implies, these pieces are characterized by the absence of soloists and by employing, always, the entire forces available for that particular piece.[49] While we cannot go into detail defining such compositions, it is useful to note that the term *a cappella* is never used by Cazzati in any collection of concerted music printed in Bologna, while we find it in earlier ones. There seems to be no stylistic difference between *a cappella* and *tutto pieno* pieces, and the reason of this change of terminology puzzled earlier scholars.[50]

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[49] Armstrong, *The Vesper psalms*, pp. 171–185.

[50] Ibid.

This reprint of op. 7 indeed confirms that it is solely a change in terminology, not of musical style, that is made: in the new edition all the pieces previously labeled *a cappella* are re-labeled to *tutto pieno* (or *tutto pieno e fugato*). But why such a change? This could be one direct effect of the Arresti polemic on Cazzati, in which the denomination *a cappella* (literally) was always used to indicate the music in which he was found faulty. It is not surprising then that Cazzati was trying to step away from this troubling terminology.[51]

The fact that Cazzati added *ripieno* parts is also significant. The original impression of 1647 contained none. This is a rare condition in Cazzati's *concertato* music, and indeed it happens only here, in opp. 1 and 9. All the other collections of *concertato* music always include written out *ripieno* parts. It seems that Cazzati was able to always include *ripieni* in his music only after he started printing it in Bologna, as no *concertato* collection is without. This could hint to the fact that Cazzati, being in control of his music, did not need to worry about publishers trying to reduce the complexity of prints.[52] So Cazzati, when fully regaining control over op. 7, decided to include the written out *ripieno* parts, that we can consider missing in the original impression. Another particularity is that the *ripieni* can be also used for instrument doublings. This is an unique feature of the reprint of op. 7, as it is the only time that Cazzati ever suggests this possibility, as he chooses normally to include written out violin parts when wanted. These *ripieno* parts are never independent (as found in some earlier prints) and are always exact doublings.

The alterations to the music are coherent to what we saw until now, albeit with some interesting particularities. As we saw above Cazzati often alters voice leading in fugal writing to make it more consistent. Here and there he drops some redundant sections resulting in shortened pieces. This is always towards a more effective and concise musical structure. One peculiar activity is the shortening of *cantus firmus* incipits, which get their values halved:

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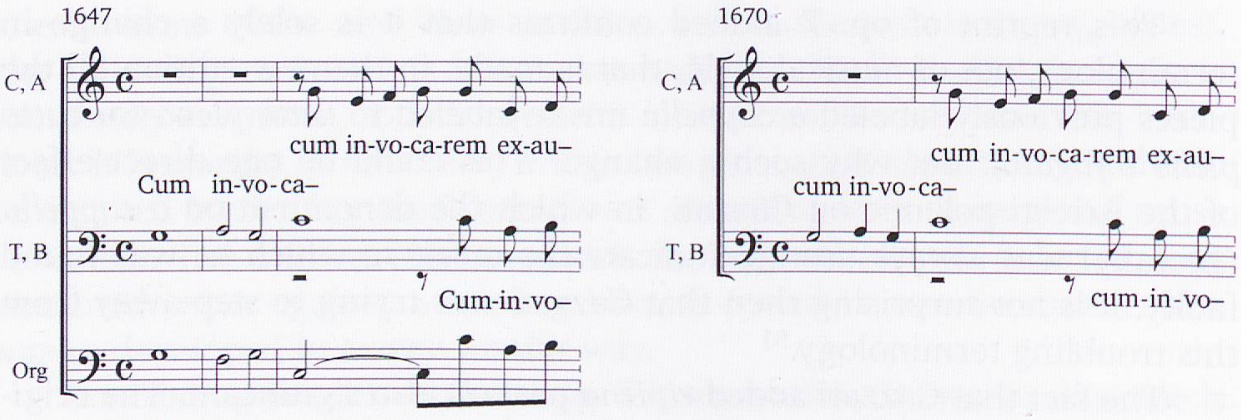
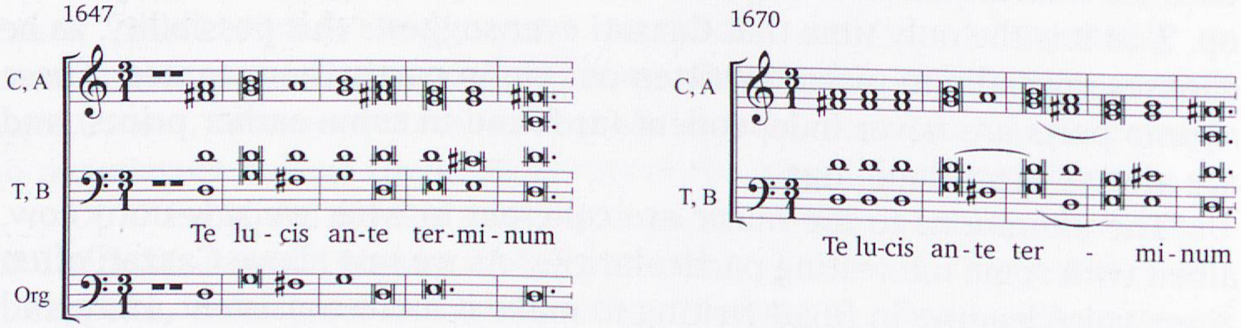
[51] The first piece ever to be labeled *tutto pieno* is printed in 1660 (op. 24, *Messa e salmi a tre voci*, Bologna: Pisarri), in the midst of the Cazzati-Arresti polemic.

[52] In some rare cases Authors noted in their prints that *ripieni* were left out at the request of the publisher not to thicken too much the publication. See: Claudio Bacciagaluppi – Luigi Collarile, "Dal manoscritto alla stampa. In margine ad alcune partiture autografe di Carlo Donato Cossoni (1623–1700)", in: *Barocco padano 7*, atti del XIV Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII–XVIII (Brescia, 16–18 luglio 2007), a cura di Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi e Maurizio Padoan, (Como: AMIS, 2012), pp. 543-564.


1647
C, A
cum in-vo-ca-rem ex-au–
Cum in-vo-ca–
T, B
Cum-in-vo–
Org
1670
C, A
cum in-vo-ca-rem ex-au–
cum in-vo-ca–
T, B
cum-in-vo–

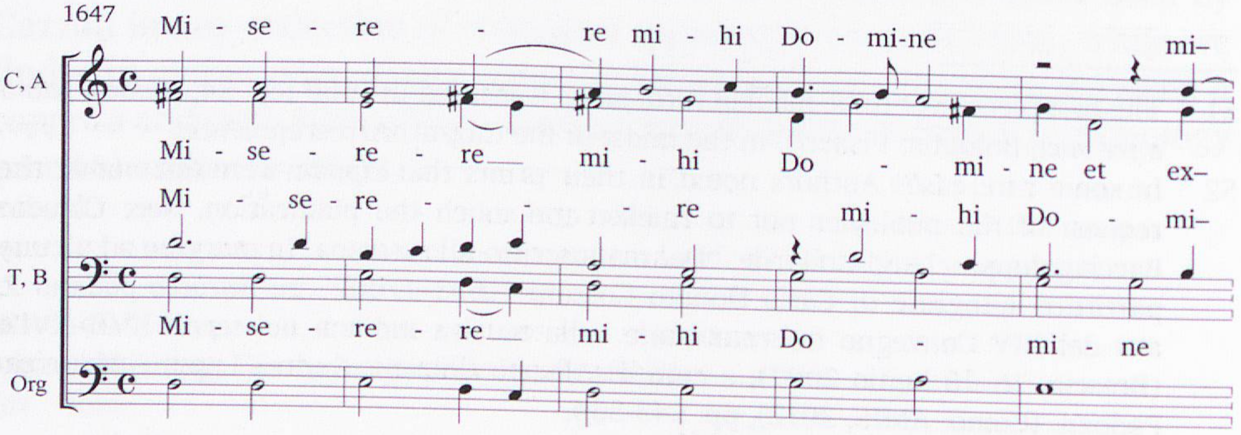
Ex. 32: Maurizio Cazzati, *Cum invocarem*, op. 7. The shortening makes for a more effective and less dispersive incipit. The *organo* part from the 1670 edition is lost, no reconstruction is provided.

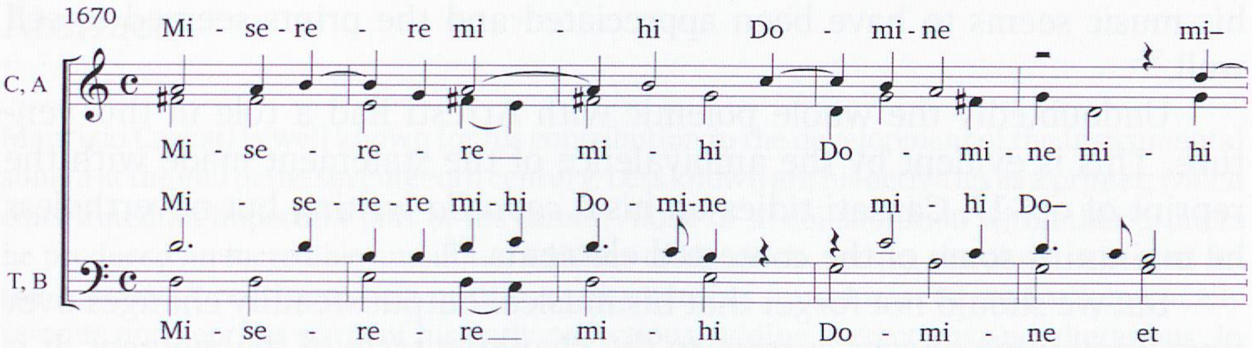
The opening of various pieces is sometimes reworked. A typical case of this is found in the *Te lucis* hymn. Cazzati changes the first syllable from an upbeat to a downbeat, changing drastically how the syllables are accentuated. By also adding two notes Cazzati is able to transform the old syllabic incipit into a more melismatic one, probably to be more adherent to the natural accentuation of the text.


1647
C, A
T, B
Te lu - cis an-te ter-mi-num
Org
1670
C, A
T, B
Te lu-cis an-te ter - mi-num

Ex. 33: Maurizio Cazzati, *Te lucis*, op. 7. Similar but different: removing the upbeat generates different accents on the words, but the same melodic contour is retained.

A curious case is the Miserere antiphon, based on a *cantus firmus* on the bass line. In the revision this is retained, but all the upper parts are reworked:


1647
Mi - se - re - re mi - hi Do - mi-ne mi–
C, A
Mi - se - re - re mi - hi Do - mi - ne et ex–
Mi - se - re - re mi - hi Do - mi–
T, B
Mi - se - re - re mi - hi Do - mi - ne
Org


1670
C, A
T, B
Mi - se - re - re mi - hi Do - mi - ne mi–
Mi - se - re - re— mi - hi Do - mi - ne mi - hi
Mi - se - re - re mi - hi Do - mi - ne mi - hi Do–
Mi - se - re - re mi - hi Do - mi - ne et

Ex. 34: Maurizio Cazzati, *Miserere. Antiphona*, op. 7. Cazzati seemingly is not satisfied with the conduction of the upper parts and choses to rewrite them, albeit retaining the original musical ideas.

One last recurring trend is to add dotted notes to split groups of four eights. We also find various alterations to voice leading and some fugal sections rewritten as it happened in op. 17. Cazzati seems very conscious to show off his improved (or simply more attentive) contrapuntal technique. It is unjust to define his a cappella music simply bad as Cazzati does follow some very personal aesthetics. In his early music we find that he is trying to escape the boundaries imposed by strict contrapuntal technique and employs a style that borrows elements and ideas from both *a cappella* and *concertato* music. In his later years and through these reprints he overturns this aesthetic and separates the different styles more sharply.

From this analysis it appears that Cazzati went to great trouble to edit and correct his music before presenting it to the world. Despite this the judgment of scholars has been very negative, with Cazzati passing for a careless and uninterested in the quality of his work.[53] It appears however that this was not completely the case, as he would have not undertaken the effort of modifying the music in his reprints.[54] And, after all, his music seems to have been appreciated and the prints seemed to sell well.[55]

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[53] Anne Schnoebelen, “Cazzati, Maurizio”, in: *NGroveD*, 1980, vol. 5, pp. 40–41.

[54] There is indeed one print with a non-recoverable pagination error. It forced the author to append the correct version of the offending page at the end of the book and a note for the performer. But we feel that this corrected fallacy is not enough make the bulk of Cazzati’s output appear inaccurate. An error like this appears only one single time in more than 46 prints, which generally tend to be quite accurate. Jerry Warren, after having transcribed all of Cazzati’s 110 solo motets from the seven surviving books for his dissertation, comes to this same conclusion: *The “Motetti a voce sola” of Maurizio Cazzati,* PhD diss. (Louisville: Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1967), p. 40.

Undoubtedly the whole polemic with Arresti had a role in this venture. This is evident by the ambivalence of the statement made with the reprint of op. 17. Cazzati tidies up his *a cappella* writing but nevertheless he maintains some of the contested elements. [56]

But we should not forget that his musical output steadily changes over time, remaining always current to the changing taste of the moment. It is very possible that many musical solutions deemed working in the 1640s were simply not worthy enough anymore twenty years later. Cazzati can be thought of a transitional composer in a transition period. He was not only always fully aware of the taste of his time, but in many occasions, surely for the musical community in Bologna, it was him that presented and exploited novel ideas and techniques.[57]

Strong of his power as composer-publisher, he took advantage of his position to make sure the music that circulated from him always adhered to the best of his standards.[58]

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[55] Various editions did sell out and some reprints were necessary to fill this void. See: Zitellini, *On the celebration of the self*, p. 26.

[56] John Armstrong in his analysis of Cazzati's sacred music thoroughly inspects the 1667 reprint of op. 17 and concludes that it is surely not an example of the best possible *a cappella* writing: Armstrong, *The Vesper psalms*, pp. 185–204.

[57] For example he is the first to publish trumpet sonatas (op. 35, *Sonate a 2, 3, 4, e 5*, Bologna: Silvani, 1665), spouting what will become the most well known output of the Bologna school. Other interesting "firsts" are his solo voice motets with violins, op. 16 (Venezia: Vincenti, 1655) and 51 (lost, Bologna, prob. 1669, transmitted via a 1682 reprint by Potter in Antwerp), which (according to available RISM A/1 data) are the first and second collections entirely dedicated to this genre printed in Italy, and op. 55 (*Sonate a due istromenti*, Bologna: n.a., 1670) which is the first collection of solo violin sonatas (with continuo), again printed in Italy. Cfr. Schnoebelen, "Cazzati, Maurizio" (2001) and Henry G. Mishkin, "The solo violin sonata of the Bologna school", in: *The Musical Quarterly*, 29 (1943), pp. 92–112.

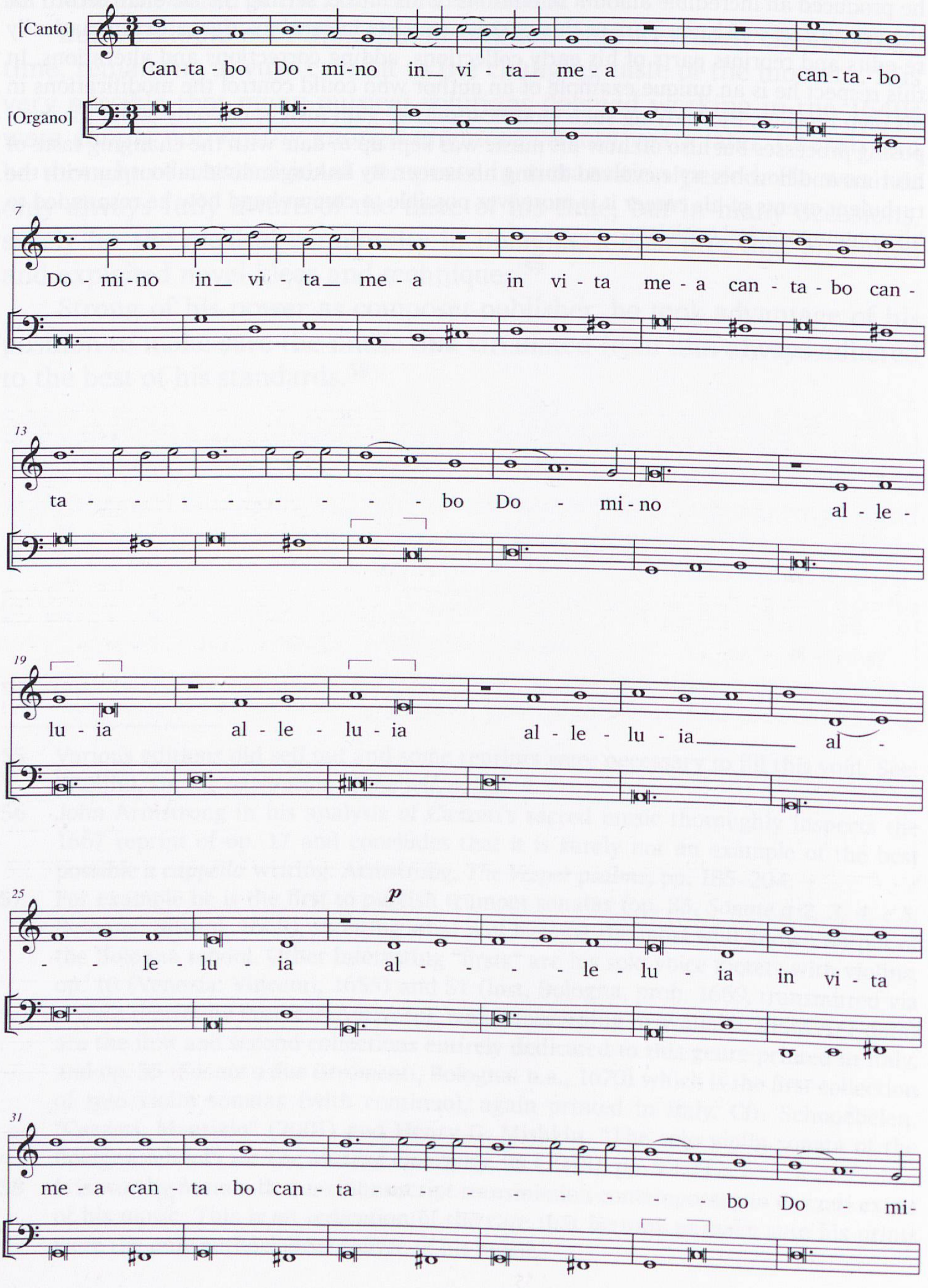
[58] It is worthy to note that no manuscript transmission contemporary to Cazzati exists of his music. This is an indication of the care that he took to make sure his prints were the only authoritative source of his music.

Abstract

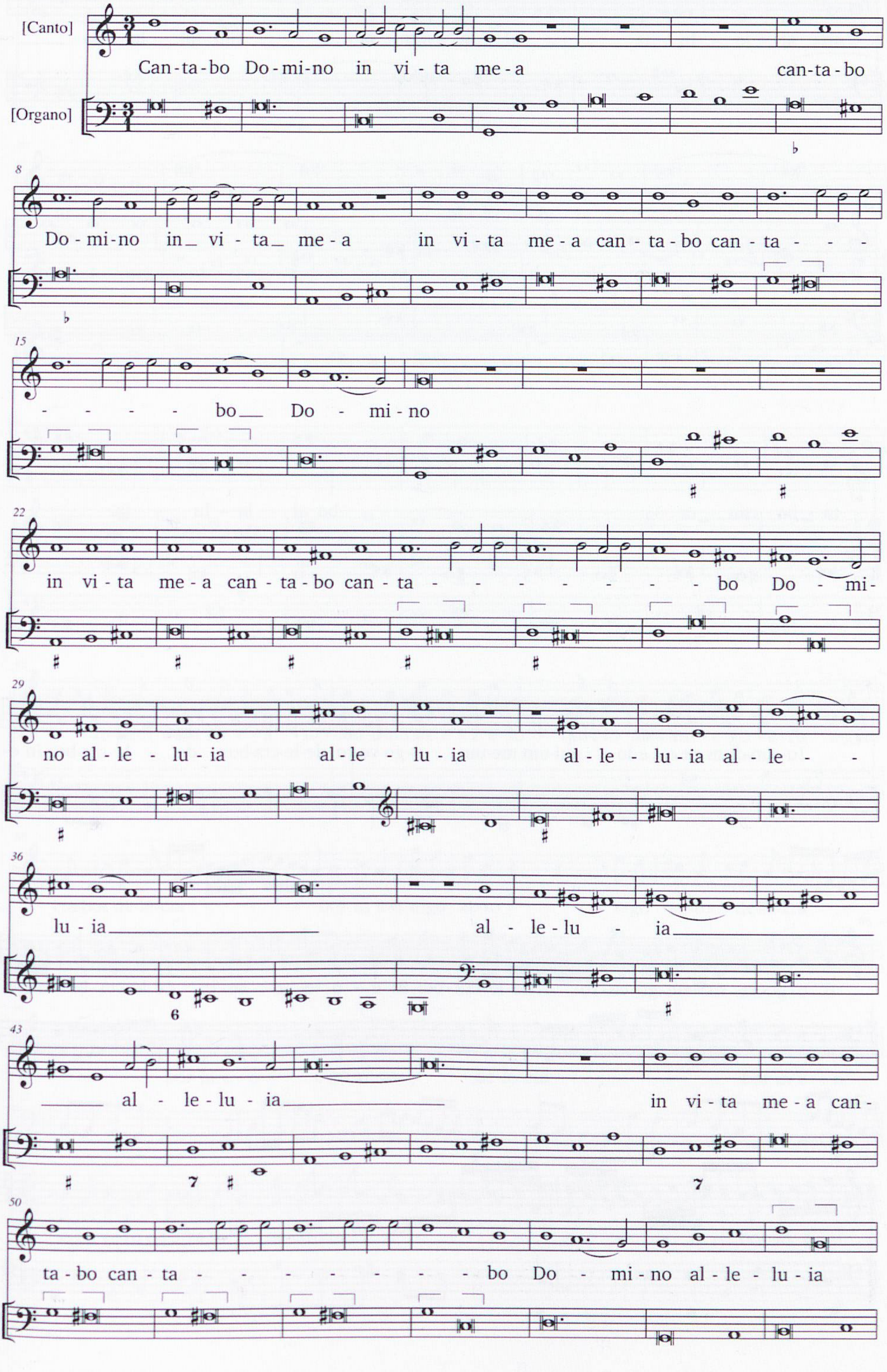
Maurizio Cazzati is well known for his contribution to the development of the instrumental sonata at the end of the seventeenth century. Less known are his activities as a printer, which constituted an important part of his career. Alone or in collaboration with other printers he produced an incredible amount of editions of his music, setting the absolute record for the century. A consistent part of this activity consists in reprints. Cazzati systematically re-edits and reprints parts of his early collections, adding corrections and alterations. In this respect he is an unique example of an author who could control the modifications in his own reprints. By studying such modifications we gain insight not only about his composing processes but also on how his music was kept up to date with the changing taste of his time and how his style evolved during his career. By linking individual output with the turbulent events of his career it is moreover possible to comprehend how he responded to his contemporaries' criticism.

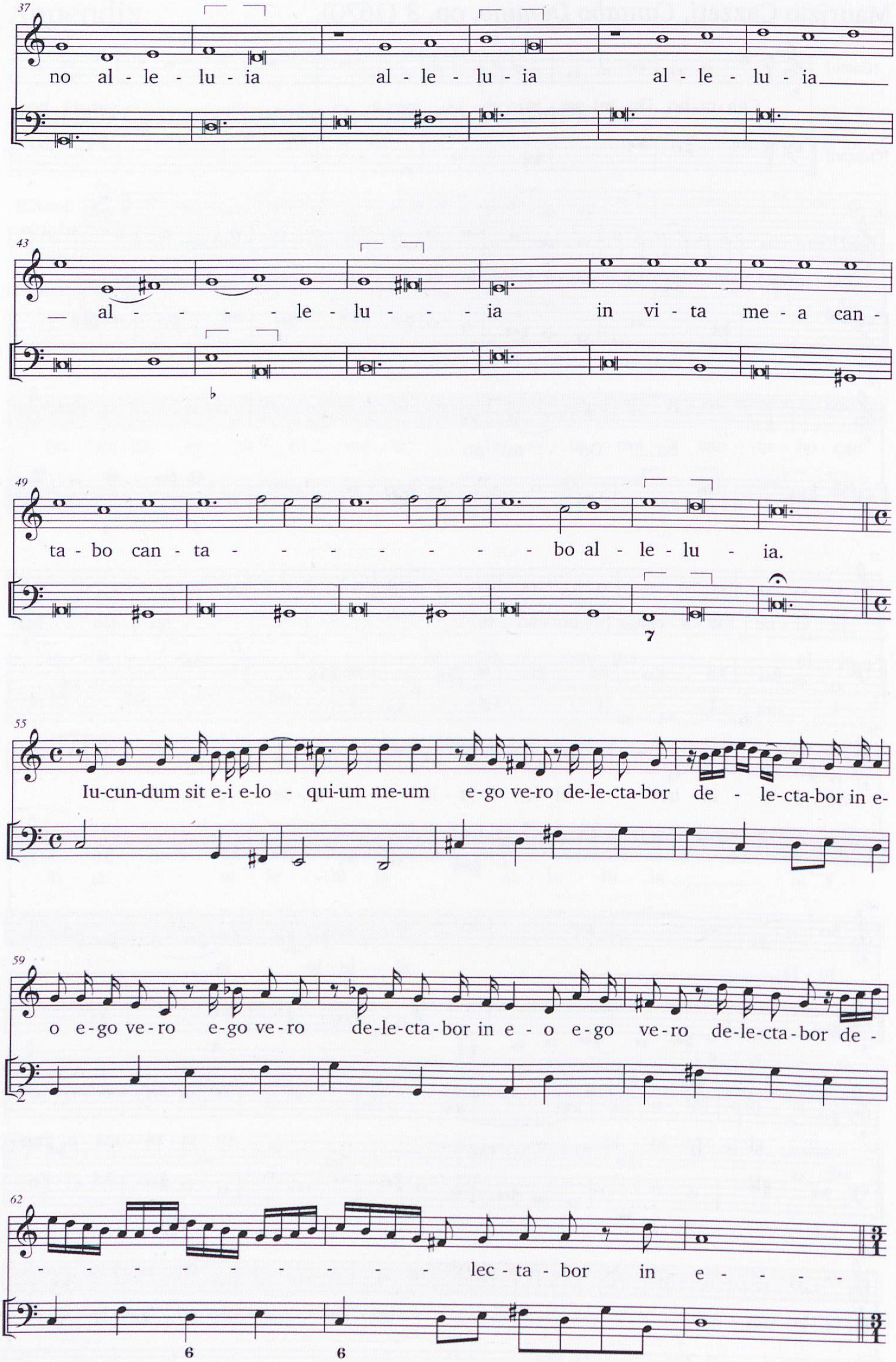
Appendix

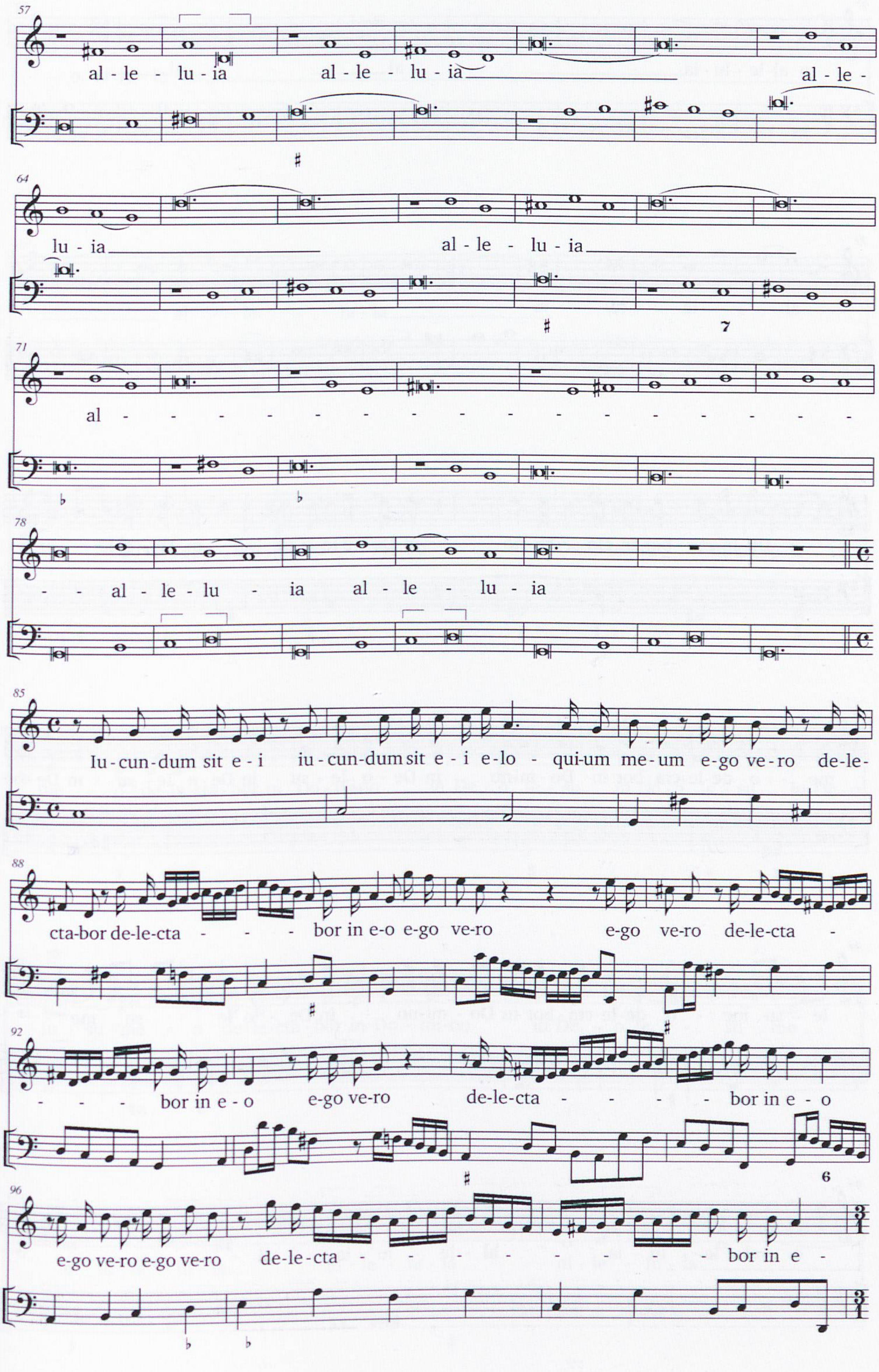
Maurizio Cazzati, *Cantabo Domino*, op. 5 (1647).

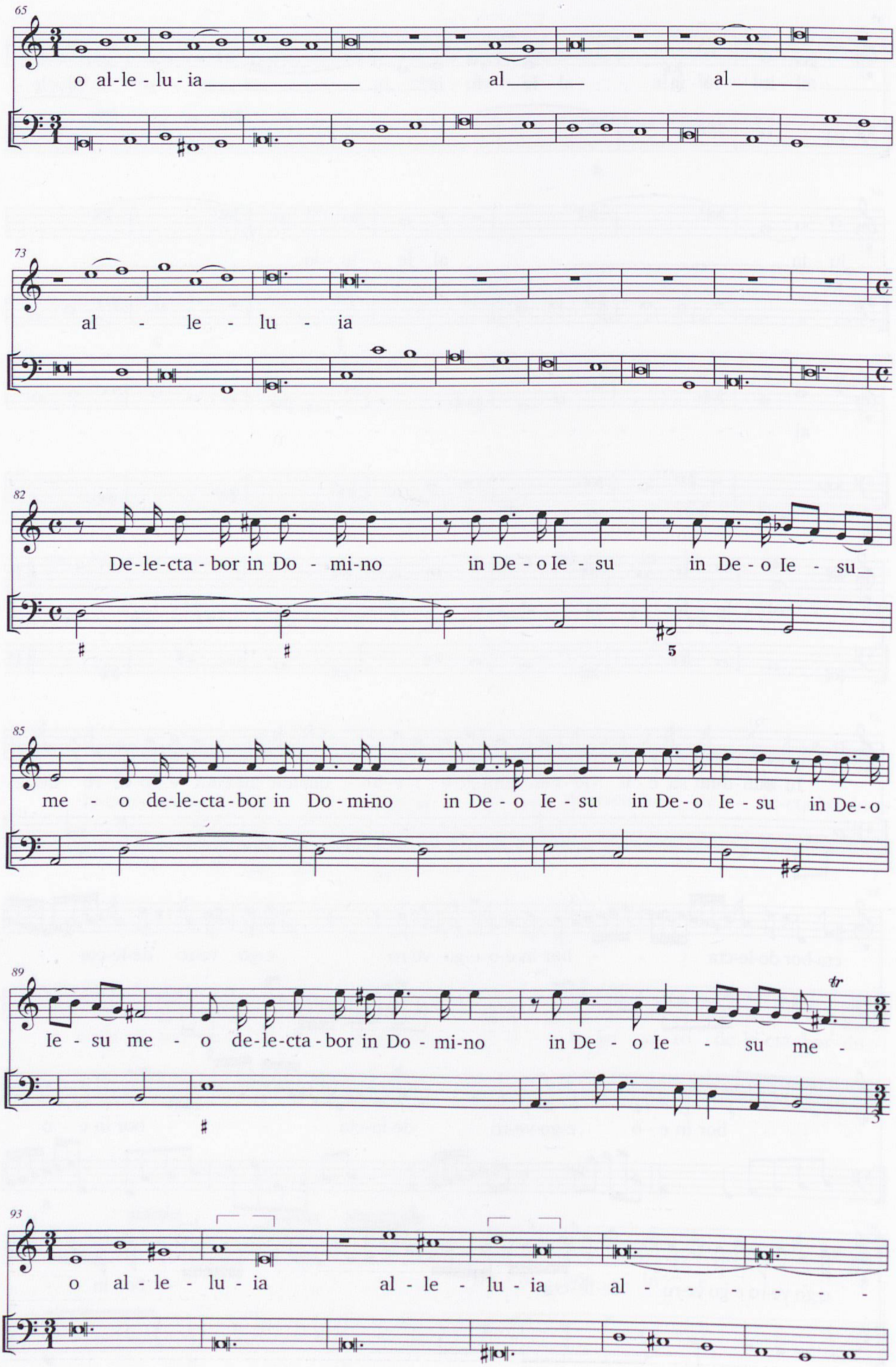

[Canto]
[Organo]
Can-ta-bo Do-mi-no in vi-ta me-a can-ta-bo
7
Do-mi-no in vi-ta me-a in vi-ta me-a can-ta-bo can-
13
ta - - - - - - - - - - bo Do - mi-no al-le-
19
lu-ia al-le-lu-ia al-le-lu-ia al-
25
p
- - le-lu-ia al - - - - le-lu-ia in vi-ta
31
me-a can-ta-bo can-ta - - - - - - - - - - bo Do - mi-

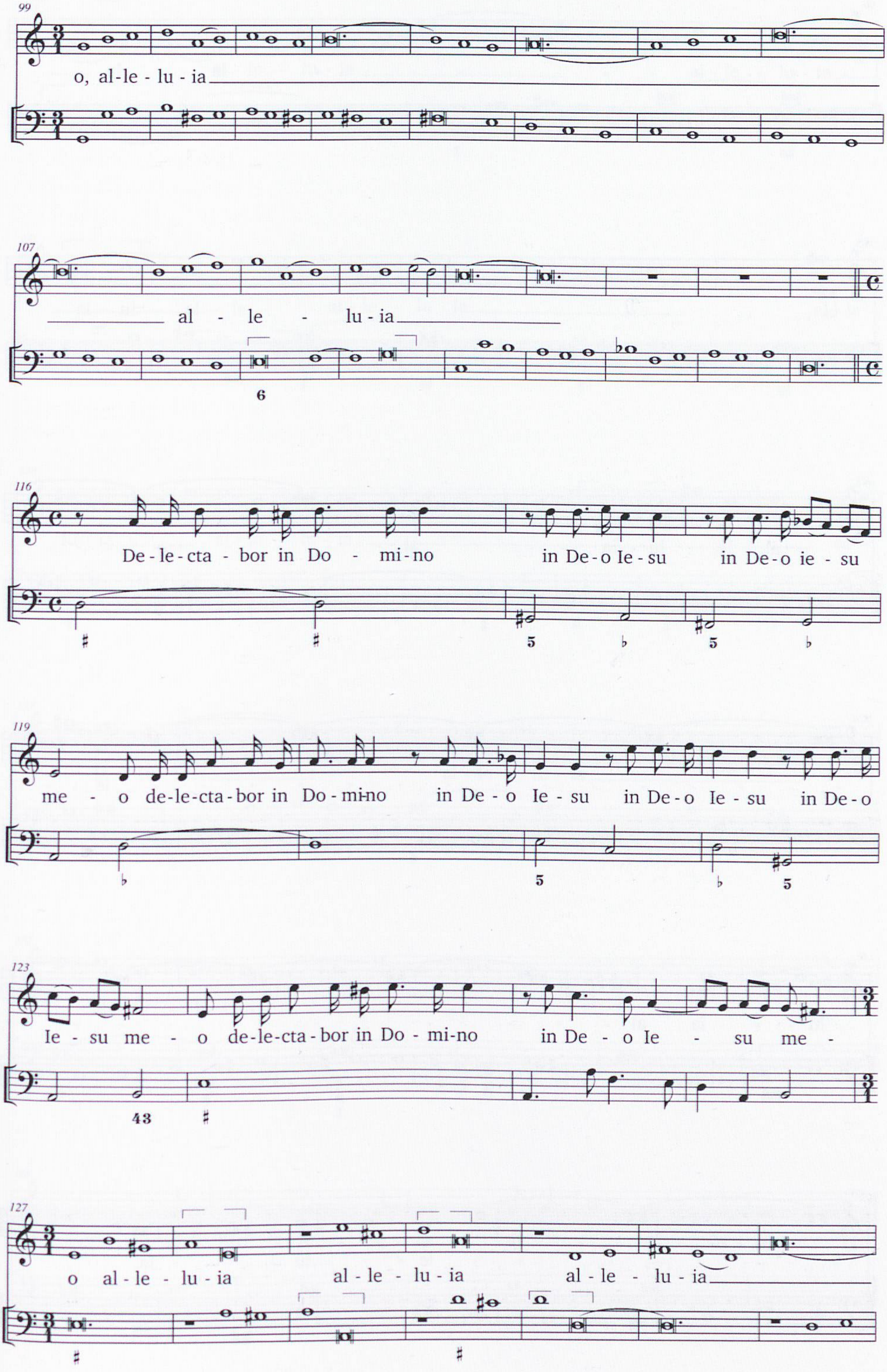
Maurizio Cazzati, *Cantabo Domino*, op. 3 (1670).

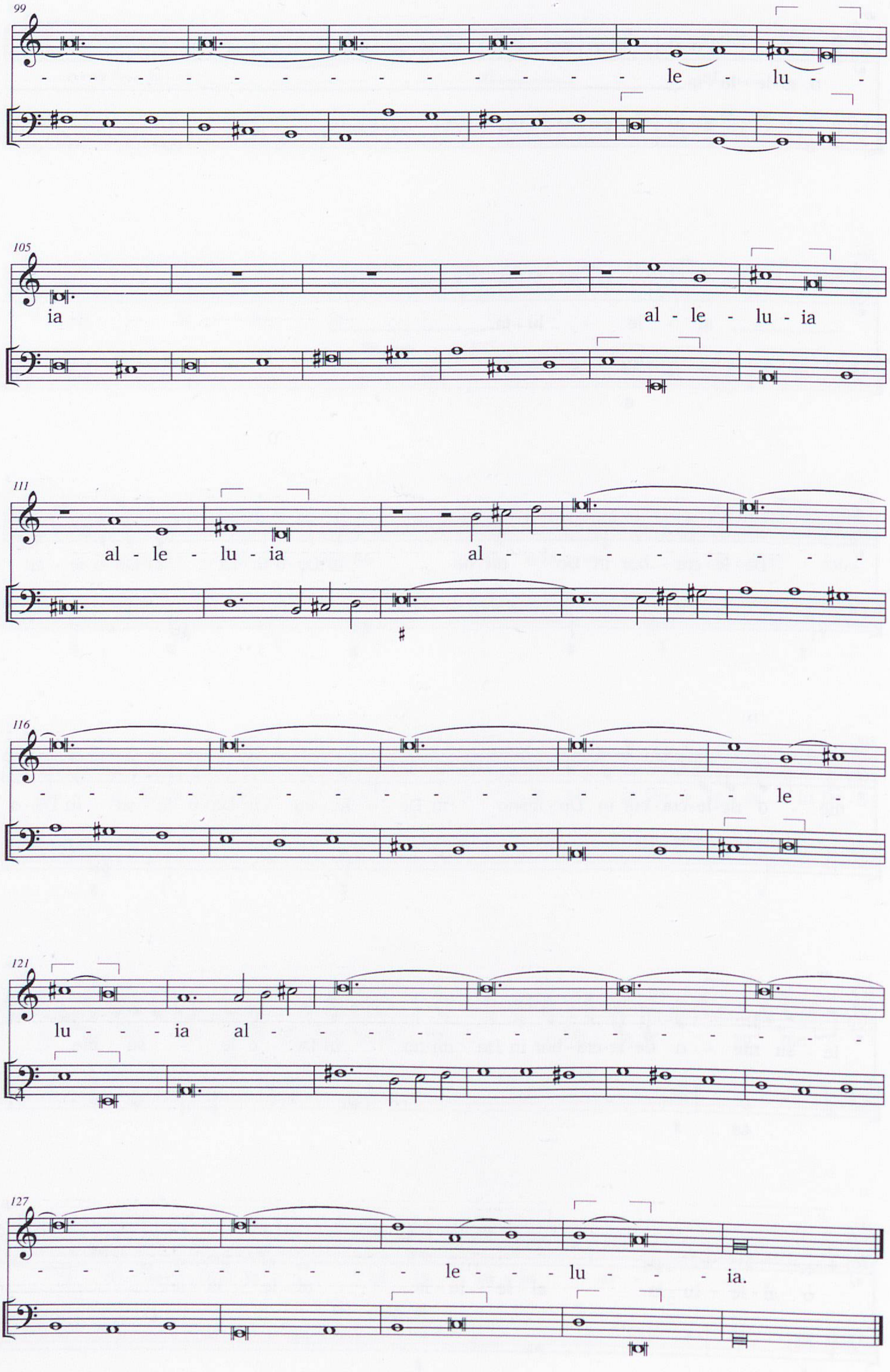

[Canto]
[Organo]
Can-ta-bo Do-mi-no in vi-ta me-a can-ta-bo
8
Do-mi-no in vi-ta me-a in vi-ta me-a can-ta-bo can-ta-
15
bo Do-mi-no
22
in vi-ta me-a can-ta-bo can-ta- bo Do-mi-
29
no al-le-lu-ia al-le-lu-ia al-le-lu-ia al-le-
36
lu-ia al-le-lu-ia
43
al-le-lu-ia in vi-ta me-a can-
50
ta-bo can-ta- bo Do-mi-no al-le-lu-ia

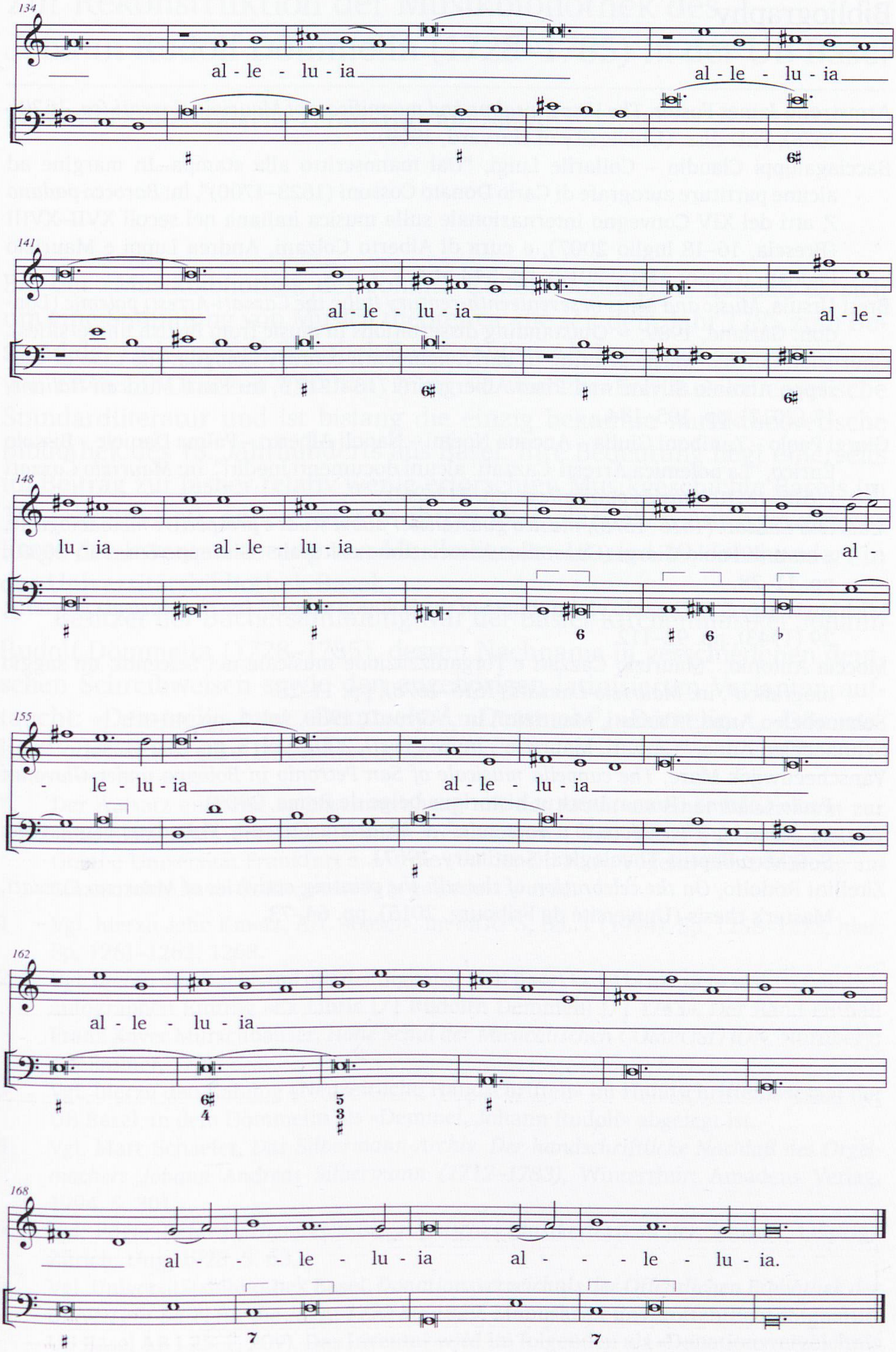

no al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia
al - - - - le - lu - - - ia in vi - ta me - a can -
ta - bo can - ta - - - - - - - - - - bo al - le - lu - ia.
Iu-cun-dum sit e-i e-lo - qui-um me-um e-go ve-ro de-le-cta-bor de - le-cta-bor in e-
o e-go ve-ro e-go ve-ro de-le-cta-bor in e - o e-go ve-ro de-le-cta-bor de -
- - - - - - - - - - - - lec - ta - bor in e - - - -


57
al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le -
64
lu - ia al - le - lu - ia
71
al - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
78
- - al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia
85
Iu - cun - dum sit e - i iu - cun - dum sit e - i e - lo - qui - um me - um e - go ve - ro de - le -
88
cta - bor de - le - cta - - - bor in e - o e - go ve - ro e - go ve - ro de - le - cta -
92
- - - bor in e - o e - go ve - ro de - le - cta - - - - - bor in e - o
96
e - go ve - ro e - go ve - ro de - le - cta - - - - - - - - bor in e -


65
o al-le-lu-ia al al
73
al - le - lu - ia
82
De-le-cta-bor in Do - mi-no in De - o Ie - su in De - o Ie - su
♯ ♯ ♯ 5
85
me - o de-le-cta-bor in Do - mi-no in De - o Ie - su in De - o Ie - su in De - o
89
Ie - su me - o de-le-cta-bor in Do - mi-no in De - o Ie - su me -
♯ tr
93
o al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - - - - - -


99
o, al-le - lu - ia
107
al - le - lu - ia
6
116
De - le - cta - bor in Do - mi - no in De - o Ie - su in De - o ie - su
♯ ♯ 5 ♭ 5 ♭
119
me - o de - le - cta - bor in Do - mi - no in De - o Ie - su in De - o Ie - su in De - o
♭ 5 ♭ 5
123
Ie - su me - o de - le - cta - bor in Do - mi - no in De - o Ie - su me -
43 ♯
127
o al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia
♯ ♯


99
- - - - - - - - - - - - - le - lu - -
105
ia al - le - lu - ia
111
al - le - lu - ia al - - - - - - - -
116
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - le -
121
lu - - ia al - - - - - - - - - - - - -
127
- - - - - - - - - - - le - - - lu - - - ia.


134
al - le - lu - ia
al - le - lu - ia
141
al - le - lu - ia
al - le -
148
lu ia
al - le - lu - ia
al -
155
- le - lu - ia
al - le - lu - ia
162
al - le - lu - ia
168
al - - - le - lu - ia
al - - - le - lu - ia.

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