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Cover Page Footnote

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Relics, Processions and the Sounding of Affections

Barbara Strozzi, the Archduchess of Innsbruck, and St. Anthony of Padua

Sara Pecknold

In 1655, the Venetian composer Barbara Strozzi issued her fifth opus, the *Sacri musicali affetti*.¹ The print comprises 14 virtuosic, passionately religious motets for solo voice and continuo. The motets honor a rather eclectic group of saints, including Anne the mother of Mary, Peter the Apostle, Benedict, Jerome, and Anthony of Padua. Indeed, musicologists have found Strozzi's fifth opus to be an extraliturgical conundrum, and as such it has received little scholarly attention.² The reluctance of musicologists to address Strozzi's sacred music is perhaps also due to the rather secular—sometimes highly erotic—nature of her other compositions, and to the possibility that she may have been a courtesan.³ In order to fill this lacuna in Strozzi scholarship, Robert Kendrick has argued that the notion of *caritas*—Christian love embodied as a nursing mother—is the key to understanding Strozzi's sacred composition.⁴ While Kendrick's discussion is enlightening in regard to the liturgical intertextuality of the first motet, *Mater Anna*, his research has left several questions unanswered, including a rather obvious one: why, in fact, did Barbara Strozzi refer to these—her only sacred compositions for solo voice—as *affetti*?

The notion of the *affetti*—as affections or passions—permeates early modern writings regarding art, music, and spirituality. Many readers will be familiar with the idea that the objective of Baroque art was to move the affections of the beholder. However, as Andrew Dell'Antonio has illustrated, Baroque scholarship has often failed to emphasize the particularly religious nature of the early modern understanding of the *affetti*.⁵ One of Dell'Antonio's seventeenth-century sources defines an *affetto* as “a passion of the soul,

¹ An excellent facsimile of Strozzi's fifth opus is readily available: Barbara Strozzi, *I sacri musicali affetti*, ed. Ellen Rosand (New York: Da Capo, 1988); for the original print, see Strozzi, *Sacri musicali affetti* (Gardano: Venice, 1655).

² In addition to the *Sacri musicali affetti*, Strozzi also composed a motet for three voices, *Quis dabit mihi*, which was printed in Bartolomeo Marcesso, ed., *Sacro corona: Motetti a due e tre voci di diversi eccellentissimi autori moderni* (Venice: Magni, 1656).

³ On Strozzi's life and musical compositions, see Ellen Rosand, “Barbara Strozzi, *virtuosissima cantatrice*: The Composer's Voice,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31/ 2 (Summer 1978): 241–81; Beth L. Glixon, “New Light on the Life and Career of Barbara Strozzi,” *Musical Quarterly* 81/ 2 (Summer 1997): 311–35; and Glixon, “More on the Life and Death of Barbara Strozzi,” *Musical Quarterly* 83/1 (Spring 1999): 134–41. On Strozzi's identification as a courtesan, see David and Ellen Rosand, “‘Barbara di Santa Sofia’ and ‘Il Prete Genovese’: On the Identity of a Portrait by Bernardo Strozzi,” *Art Bulletin* 63/2 (June 1981): 249–58.

⁴ See Robert L. Kendrick, “Intent and Intertextuality in Barbara Strozzi's Sacred Music,” *Recercare* 14 (2002): 65–98. See also Sara Pecknold, “‘On Lightest Leaves Do I Fly’: Redemption and the Renewal of Identity in Barbara Strozzi's *Sacri musicali affetti* (1655)” (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 2015).

⁵ Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), esp. 15–35.

born of the desire for good, and the hatred of evil.”⁶ This understanding of the affetti was central to the post-Tridentine Catholic agenda, which encouraged artists to move the affections of the beholder to holiness and piety.⁷ To this end, composers began to use the term *affetti* to denote musical compositions: in 1620, Giulio Cesare Monteverdi issued his *Affetti musici*, a volume of motets for one to five voices, and 1622 saw the publication of Eleuterio Guazzi’s *Spiritosi affetti a una e due voci*.⁸ Three years later, a collection entitled *Sacri affetti*—by various composers including Claudio Monteverdi—was printed in Rome.⁹

Strozzi’s use of the term *affetti* is, therefore, not without precedent, but there is much more involved than simply her desire to move the listener’s pious affections. In this article, I will argue that an unusual use of the term *affetti*—not only as religious affections but also as spiritual exercises or meditations—lies at the core of Strozzi’s fifth opus and her decision to dedicate the volume to Anna de’ Medici, the archduchess of Innsbruck. I will illustrate that the importance of the affetti is manifest most clearly in the final motet of the print, *Jubilemus* to St. Anthony of Padua. In order to understand the significance of Strozzi’s paean to Padua’s patron saint, I will first discuss St. Anthony’s legendary rhetorical skills and the association of the affetti with early modern Franciscan preaching. The second section of the article examines a remarkable mid-seventeenth-century surge in trans-Alpine Antonine devotion—a surge that came to fruition in two events: a procession of St. Anthony’s relics from Padua to Venice in 1652, and the founding of an Antonine confraternity by Anna de’ Medici and her husband, Ferdinand Karl, at the court of Innsbruck in the same year. The final section of the article offers a textual-musical analysis of *Jubilemus*, as well as a consideration of the significance of Barbara Strozzi’s death in Padua in 1677.

St. Anthony of Padua, the Affetti, and Early Modern Franciscan Preaching

St. Anthony of Padua (1195–1231) was born in Portugal and baptized as Ferdinand. He began his religious career as an Augustinian, but in 1220 he joined the newly founded

⁶ Dell’Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 17; Dell’Antonio translates the definition from *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Florence: Licosa, 1974 [1612]), 25: “Affetto: passion d’animo, nata dal disiderio del bene, e dall’odio del male.”

⁷ Consider, for instance, “Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti’s 1582 commentary on visual images, in which the cleric (an active participant in the Council of Trent and strong proponent of Tridentine reform) affirms that the artist must create a work apt “to give delight, to teach and to move the *affetto* of the beholder” (a dare diletto, ad insegnare e muovere l’affetto di chi la guarderà). Dell’Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 16–17, and Paleotti, “Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane [1582]” in *Trattati d’arte del Cinquecento: Fra manierismo e Controriforma*, ed. Paolo Barocchi (Bari: Laterza, 1961), 2: 215.

⁸ Giulio Cesare Monteverdi, *Affetti musici: ne quali si contengono motetti a una, 2, 3, 4 & sei voci; co’l modo per concertarli nel basso per l’organo* (Venice: Magni, 1620) and Eleuterio Guazzi, *Spiritosi affetti a una e due voci . . . libro primo* (Venice: Magni, 1622). On affetti as instrumental compositions, see Rebecca Cypess, “Instrumental Music and ‘Conversazione’ in Early Seicento Venice,” *Music and Letters* 93/4 (November 2012): 454–79.

⁹ Francesco Sammaruco, ed., *Sacri affetti contesi da diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Rome: Soldum, 1625).

Franciscan order.¹⁰ In 1223, Francis himself appointed Anthony the first official theologian of the Franciscans; among other theological topics, Anthony purportedly instructed his fellow friars in the writings of Augustine. During his brief but effective ministry, the young saint traveled throughout Italy and southern France, converting sinners and admonishing heretics.¹¹ He spent the last year of his life preaching in Padua; he became so dear to its inhabitants that they still claim him as their own. Anthony died in a convent in nearby Arcella in 1231, and he was canonized almost immediately, on May 30, 1232.¹²

As Pierpaolo Polzonetti has explained, throughout the centuries of Antonine devotion, the saint's rhetorical skills have been inextricably linked to his most famous relic: his incorruptible tongue.¹³ According to the *Analecta Franciscana*, the miraculous incorruptibility of Anthony's tongue was discovered 30 years after his death, as Bonaventure¹⁴ presided over the translation of the saint's body from the Church of Santa Maria Mater Domini to the Paduan Basilica del Santo:

When the lid of the coffin was removed and all pressed eagerly forward to gaze, it was seen that though the flesh had long since returned to dust, and even the bones . . . were fast crumbling away, the tongue, which for 32 years had lain under the earth, was found as fresh and ruddy as though the Most Blessed Father had died that self-same hour. . . . Reverently taking the relic into his hands and kissing it with tender devotion, [Bonaventure] exclaimed, "O Blessed Tongue, which in life didst ever bless the Lord and lead others to bless Him, now doth it manifestly appear in what high honour thou was held by God Himself." He then directed that it be preserved in a costly reliquary, as a special object of veneration, rather than remain with the rest of the body.¹⁵

From the thirteenth century onward, this reliquary helped to make the Basilica del Santo a major destination for pilgrims, who were granted a papal indulgence if they visited Anthony's tomb on his feast day (June 13).¹⁶

In addition to the miraculous incorruptibility of Anthony's anointed tongue, early modern writings about the saint emphasize his rhetorical prowess, the miraculous power of his prophetic voice, and his ability to move the souls of his listeners. In his *Relazioni del gran Santo di Padova Antonio*, Lelio Mancini summarizes Anthony's preaching ministry thus:

¹⁰ Raphael M. Huber, *St. Anthony of Padua: Doctor of the Church Universal* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1948), 9.

¹¹ Huber, *St. Anthony of Padua*, 23.

¹² Pierpaolo Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67/2 (Summer 2014): 431.

¹³ Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," 462–78.

¹⁴ St. Bonaventure (1217–1274), Franciscan saint, theologian, and one of Francis of Assisi's earliest biographers.

¹⁵ Laurence Costelloe, *Saint Bonaventure: The Seraphic Doctor, Minister-General of the Franciscan Order, Cardinal Bishop of Albano* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911), 93–94; this story is the source of the hymn to Saint Anthony's tongue, *O lingua benedicta* (*Analecta Franciscana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historium fratrum minorum* [Florence: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1897], 3: 328).

¹⁶ Paolo Marangon, "Tradizione e sviluppo della devozione antoniana," in *S. Antonio di Padova fra storia e pietà: Colloquio interdisciplinare su "il fenomeno antoniano"* (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1977), 171.

[Anthony] went, bringing to the cities, and to the provinces of Italy and of France the word of truth, to the most worthy pulpits, and capturing together the hearts of all these who listened to him, [including] great princes and prelates.¹⁷

Mancini claims that when St. Anthony ascended the pulpit, the quotidian goings-on of civic life came to a halt, and all nearby inhabitants flocked to hear the saint's miraculous voice. Anthony's preaching inspired the remission of offenses, the forgiveness of debts, the restoration of stolen property, the liberation of prisoners, the conversion of sinners, the reconciliation of heretics, and the illumination of infidels.¹⁸ According to Mancini, the emotional response Anthony's voice evoked was both reverent and deeply affective: in the audience, one could hear no sound at all, save a single sigh.¹⁹

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Franciscan preachers sought to follow Anthony's example as a powerful, emotionally persuasive preacher; thus, the excitement of the *affetti* came to be associated especially with the orators of the friars minor. Consider, for example, a contemporary description of Girolamo Mautini da Narni's preaching:

The sonorousness of his voice has never been heard in others . . . it shatters the air from afar and disperses opposing opinion, but in such a way that it soothes with thunder and sweetens with lightning. . . . He speaks with pauses as much as with words. Every one of his motions and his glances works effectively. . . . In excited actions he is fearsome, graceful in calm and composed ones. . . . A turn of his eye, a lift of his hood, his gathering or extending his body, with all of which (gravely) he accompanies the *affetti* of his discourse, configure others' spirits as he wishes. . . . All in all, in his presence, words, and actions, he is venerable, sublime, penetrating, and altogether sweet, graceful, and lovely.²⁰

Narni's use of the *affetti* allowed him to "configure others' spirits" as he wished; this description resonates with Mancini's account of Anthony's ability to inspire any number of virtuous acts in his listeners.

Therefore, in the figure of Anthony of Padua early seventeenth-century Catholics inherited a great rhetorical tradition, which was bolstered by the homiletical efforts of contemporary Franciscans. This Antonine tradition allowed early moderns to draw together a late humanist emphasis on oratory with an early Baroque awareness of the religious role of the *affetti*. For seventeenth-century Catholics such as Barbara Strozzi and Anna de' Medici, the figure of Anthony harbored further significance—significance that came to fruition in the religious acts of procession, confraternal exercises, and

¹⁷ Lelio Mancini, *Relazioni del gran Santo di Padova Antonio, e dell'alte sue maraviglie così avanti, come doppo Morte* (Padua: Paolo Frambotto, 1654), 26: "Andava egli portando per le Città, e Provincie dell'Italia, e della Francia la parola della verità sopra i pulpiti più degni, e cattivando insieme i cuori di tutti quelli, che l'ascoltavano, massime Principi, e Prelati."

¹⁸ Mancini, *Relazioni*, 28.

¹⁹ Mancini, *Relazioni*, 28.

²⁰ Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 19 n. 9; Dell'Antonio cites Lelio Giudiccioni's unpublished "discorso," as quoted in Costanzo Cargnoni, "La predicazione apostolica di Girolamo da Narni," in *Girolamo Mautini da Narni e l'ordine dei frati minori Cappuccini fra '500 e '600*, ed. Vincenzo Criscuolo, Bibliotheca seraphico-cappuccina 56 (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1998), 331–421.

musical composition. The next section will explore the Venetian Antonine devotion that culminated in a solemn ducal procession (that Barbara Strozzi must have witnessed) of a reliquary of St. Anthony from Padua to Venice during the War of Crete in 1652.²¹

The War of Crete and the *Grandezze* of St. Anthony of Padua

Among Anthony's virtues, Mancini praised the saint's ability to "illuminate infidels."²² This reference would have been especially significant for Venetians, who—due to the Adriatic position of the Most Serene Republic—were frequently engaged in military skirmishes with the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the Venetian Republic often viewed itself as the great defender of the Catholic faith against Muslim attacks. This was especially true during the War of Crete; for over two decades (from 1648 to 1669), this Venetian colony was besieged by the Turks.²³ The war cost Venice dearly; taxes were levied upon individual citizens in order to offset the government's expenditures. In fact, the strain was so great that in 1652 the Great Council declared that military means alone would not defeat the enemy; special spiritual help was needed. To this end, the council requested, and was granted, the translation of a relic of St. Anthony from his Paduan basilica to a newly erected Antonine altar in the Venetian Church of Santa Maria della Salute.

The new altar immediately took a prominent place in Venetian processional and devotional life; the doge's annual *andata*, or solemn procession to the altar, is included in the list of "andate publiche" in Giustiniano Martinioni's 1663 revision of Francesco Sansovino's *Venetia*:

During the time of Doge Francesco Molino, by order of the Senate, was erected a rich altar in the Church of the Madonna della Salute, dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, in order to petition to God (with the intercession of this saint) the liberation from the bitter war that the Republic [fought] against the proudest and most powerful enemy of Christianity, there being above the said altar a reliquary of this saint, brought from Padua, taken from his holy body. Every year on June 13, the day of his feast, the doge goes in solemn procession to this altar.²⁴

²¹ There is a long-standing devotion to Anthony in Venice. St. Anthony's Venetian cult began flourishing very soon after the saint's death, and by 1255 his feast day was celebrated at its own altar in the Franciscan Church of the Frari. A confraternity of St. Anthony—which distributed bread to the poor and prayed for the souls in Purgatory—existed in Venice at least by March 1439, and on July 23 of the same year, the Council of Ten officially recognized this confraternity as the Fradaia di Santo Antonio di Padova; see A. Niero, "I santi patroni," in *Culto dei Santi di Venezia*, ed. Silvio Tramontin (Venice: Edizioni Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1965), 80–82.

²² Mancini, *Relazioni*, 28.

²³ See Dorit Raines, "Pouvoir ou privilèges nobiliaires: Le dilemme du patriciat vénitien face aux agrégations du XVII^e siècle," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 4 (July–August 1991): 827–47, esp. 840 and 842; and Natalie E. Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 211–47.

²⁴ Francesco Sansovino, Giovanni Stringa, and Giustiniano Martinioni, *Venetia, città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIII. libri . . . con aggiunta di tutte le cose notabili della stessa città, fatte, & occorse dall'anno 1580, sino al presente 1663* (Venice: Filippi Editori, 1968 [1663]), 526: "Sotto il Doge Francesco Molino per ordine del Senato si eresse un ricco Altare nella Chiesa della Madonna della Salute, dedicato à S. Antonio di Padova, ad'effetto d'impetrar da Dio, (con l'intercessione di questo Santo) la liberatione dell'aspra guerra, che hà la Republica con il più fiero, e potente nemico della Christianità, essendovi sopra

In 1653, the Venetian senator Sertorio Orsato published an account of the inaugural procession from Padua to Venice: *Le grandezze di S. Antonio di Padova, osservate nel trasporto della sua preziosa reliquia data da quella città al Serenissimo Prencipe di Venezia* (The Greatness of St. Anthony of Padua: Observed in the Translation of His Precious Reliquary Given by This City to the Most Serene Prince of Venice).²⁵ Orsato dedicated the brief but emotionally charged print to Doge Francesco Molino and the Great Council.

Le grandezze di S. Antonio traces the journey of the reliquary from Padua to Venice—a journey that took place from June 9 to 13, 1652, and culminated in the arrival at the new Antonine altar on the saint's feast day. The procession began on Sunday morning at the Paduan Basilica of St. Anthony, known as the Basilica del Santo, simply “il Santo.”²⁶ The ceremonies were inaugurated by the adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament, led by the bishop of Padua, Giorgio Cornaro, and the clergy of the Santo. The clergy then went to the sacristy to don pontifical garments. Next, the bishop took the reliquary—containing a bit of St. Anthony's shoulder or arm bone—and carried it under a baldachino to “a rich altar erected in front of the Tomb of St. Anthony,” where the bishop said Mass and the choir of the Santo sang.²⁷ After Mass, the procession exited the church, led by a group of Franciscans and Capuchins; they in turn were followed by monks of other orders and more clergymen, “twenty priests of the Santo in sacred vestments with torches alight in their hands” and finally the bishop, who carried the reliquary under the baldachino.²⁸ After the baldachino came the secular clergy of the Capella dell'Arca, the rectors, and “a countless number of nobles, and people of every state and sex.”²⁹ The procession then traveled through the streets of Padua, stopping at the “fortunate home of Signor Vigonza,” where the bishop put the reliquary on a small altar, said a few prayers, conferred a public indulgence upon those present, and “blessed an infinite number of people who were genuflecting on the street, in the windows, on the roofs of nearby houses.”³⁰ Bishop Cornaro then took the reliquary to a “superbly festooned” boat, which would carry the treasure and its attendants to Venice.³¹

Four boats made the journey down the river Brenta. The first bore the bishop, his entourage, and the relic. The second boat carried instruments—including an organ!—and

detto Altare una Reliquia di esso Santo, portata da Padova, levata da quel Santo corpo. A questa Chiesa v'è il Doge ogn'anno solennemente come nell'altre andate li 13. Giugno giorno della sua festività.”

²⁵ Sertorio Orsato, *Le grandezze di S. Antonio di Padova, osservate nel trasporto della sua preziosa reliquia data da quella città al Serenissimo Prencipe di Venezia* (Padua: Paolo Frambotto, 1653); I am grateful to Dustin Booher, Religious Studies Librarian at the Catholic University of America, for helping me locate this print in the university's Rare Books Collection, and to Rare Books Librarian Lenore Rouse for allowing me to visit the print on a regular basis during my research.

²⁶ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 45.

²⁷ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 45: “un ricco altare eretto . . . avanti l'Arca del Santo.”

²⁸ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 46: “venti Padri del Santo . . . con torchi accesi nelle mani.”

²⁹ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 47: “innumerabile comitiva di Nobiltà, e popolo d'ogni età, e sesso.”

³⁰ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 47: “alla fortunata casa del Sig. Vigonza . . . benedisse l'infinito popolo che per terra, sù le fenestre, sopra i tetti delle case vicine stava genuflesso.”

³¹ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 47.

the choir of the Santo, who performed music during the aquatic procession. At every village and town along the way, the inhabitants rushed to the riverbanks and bridges to venerate the relic. The procession entered the Venetian lagoon at Fusina, and as it passed the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore, it was welcomed by Venetian nobles in countless gondolas. The reliquary was received onto Venetian soil at the Piazzetta San Marco; the procession then entered St. Mark's Basilica, where the participants heard a solemn Mass. The reliquary was displayed in the ducal chapel before it was finally transported to Santa Maria della Salute. The celebrations ended on Anthony's feast day with a solemn Mass and the reposition of the reliquary on the new Antonine altar.

Throughout his account, Orsato describes the rich processional soundscape. He claims that the inaugural Mass at the Santo was not adorned with any other "solemnity, except that which the musicians of the Santo excited with the sweetest motets."³² As the procession left the Santo, the choir performed music in concerted seventeenth-century style: "with sweetest *concerti* the singers of the Arca gave glory to God, and to St. Anthony."³³ A portative organ and other, unnamed instruments accompanied the choir throughout the procession with "so much beauty of composition, sweetness of voices, and concord of instruments [that] . . . sweetly ravished the senses."³⁴ Orsato even provides a small jewel of information regarding the specific repertoire that was performed and the manner of performance:

all of the singers of the Arca, with organ, from time to time throughout the journey . . . performed the sweetest concerti, singing between [the concerti] the four lines of the first strophe of the Hymn of St. Anthony.³⁵

This "Hymn of St. Anthony" was *En gratulemur hodie*; Orsato provides the text of the first strophe:

*En gratulemur hodie
Christo Regi iucundius
In cuius Aula gloriae
Iam iubilat ANTONIUS.*³⁶

Apparently, the choir sang the hymn verse in a simple style (possibly plainchant), and alternated this with grander concerted repertoire. It is also possible that the choir performed the hymn itself in the modern style. If so, their performance may have

³² Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 45: "mà senza altra solennità, che quella, quale di momento in momento li Musici della Capella del Santo con soavissimi motetti eccitavano."

³³ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 46: "con soavissimi concerti davano gloria à Dio, et a S. Antonio li Cantori dell'Arca."

³⁴ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 51: "tanta vaghezza di componimento, soavità di voci, et concerto di stromenti . . . rapivano dolcemente i sensi."

³⁵ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 50: "tutti i Cantori dell'Arca, con l'Organo, quali di quando in quando per tutto il viaggio . . . formavano soavissimi concerti, cantando frà gl'altri li quattro versi della prima Strofe dell'Inno di Santo Antonio."

³⁶ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 51: "Behold, rejoice today, in Christ the delightful King, in whose hall of glory [the name of] Anthony now sings out joyfully."

included Monteverdi's setting, which Gasparo Casati included in his *Raccolta di Motetti à 1. 2. 3. voci*, printed the previous year.³⁷

Most important, Orsato links the sonic aspects of the translation to the excitation and the expression of the affetti. It was religious affection, claims Orsato, that motivated the Paduans to share part of Anthony's holy body with the Most Serene Republic; the reliquary was given "with the tears of the [Paduan] citizens, not of sorrow but of tender affection for their Protector Saint."³⁸ As the procession passed the town of Dolo, the villagers displayed their pious affetti by weeping, cheering, applauding, genuflecting, and intoning "with a voice of much devotion, 'St. Anthony, pray for us.'"³⁹ When the litany of the saints was chanted at the village of Torre, the tears of the people were a passionate testimony to their reverence and devotion and to the depth of their "affections of religious piety."⁴⁰ When the reliquary entered the lagoon,

How many tears one could see, [and] such sweet tenderness that one could hear! O what sincere affections [affetti] could be observed! It was remarkable indeed, and worthy of observation, . . . the marvel of the piety, and the devotion of the Venetians in this meeting, as they quickly approached, not wishing to give way, and retreating before the boat, bowing to the holy reliquary . . . of St. Anthony [who makes] demons to flee, evil to yield, death to withdraw, error to be destroyed, calamity to be dispersed, the sick to be healed, the seas to be quieted, chains to be broken, the lost to be recovered, perils to be removed, and needs to cease. In sum, as impossible as it is to make the light turn to darkness, so it is vain to attempt to explain the demonstrations, the tenderness, the joy, that with the tears, and the adoration of all the most numerous [people] crowding together, as they expressed it in one concord.⁴¹

The pinnacle of the procession occurred when the reliquary arrived at the Piazzetta San Marco, an event that was shot through with religious emotion and accompanied by sweet, sacred sonorities:

One hour after sunset, with consummate joy, they arrived at the bank of the Piazzetta San Marco, and here with the chapel, the ducal clergy, [and] with torches lit, awaited the most Illustrious and

³⁷ Gasparo Casati, ed., *Raccolta di motetti à 1. 2. 3. voci di Gasparo Casati et di diversi altri eccellentissimi Autori* (Venice: Francesco Magni, 1651); unfortunately, Orsato does not provide enough information for the reader to know if Monteverdi's setting was performed.

³⁸ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 41: "con le lagrime di Cittadini (quali però non erano tutte di dolore, mà di tenerezza ed affetto verso il loro Santo Protettore)."

³⁹ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 57: "quel popolo . . . genuflesso intuonò con voce di tanta divozione, *Sancte Antoni, ora pro nobis*."

⁴⁰ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 54: "affettuosi testimonij di riverenza, e divozione e affetti di religiosa pietà."

⁴¹ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 63–64: "O che meraviglioso concorso! ò quante lagrime che si vedevanolò quali soavi tenerezza che s'udivano! ò che sincer affetti che s'osservavano! Fù notabile in vero, e degna d'osservazione non solo, ma di meraviglia la pietà, e la divozione de Veneziani in questo incontro mentre s'accostavano veloci, non cedevano volontari, e si ritiravano afflitti dalla barca in cui inchinavano la Santa Reliquia . . . di S. ANTONIO, à di cui cenni fugge il Demonio, cede il male, s'allontana la Morte, si distruggono gli Errori, si disperdono le calamità, si risanano gl'infermi, si tranquillano i Mari, si rompono le catene, si ricuperano le cose perdute, si scostano i pericoli, e cessano le necessità. In somma come è impossibile render tenebrosa la luce, altrettanto è vano il tentar di spiegare le dimostrazioni, le tenerezze, il giubilo, che con le lagrime, con le adorazioni tutto quel numerosissimo concorso, concordemente esprimeva."

Reverend Monsignor Benedetto Erizzo, the Primicerio of St. Mark's, clothed in his most exemplary pontifical vestments, [standing] beneath the baldachino, in order to receive the holy reliquary. The religious brothers therefore also landed, and the gentlemen, all with torches alight: Monsignor Primicerio entered the boat that had conducted them there, and there before them genuflected, after bowing, and solemnly incensed the received [reliquary] in the name of the city of Padua . . . and with ineffable happiness (to which his tears testified) kissed the reliquary, and took it in his hands, before leaving to take it into the Church of St. Mark.

It is impossible to describe what followed, due to the darkness of the night, albeit illumined by an infinite number of torches, and an innumerable quantity of people who crowded together to approach, to see, and to bow before such a worthy treasure, contending to observe with distinction, however, . . . the clergy of St. Mark's, followed by the Fathers, . . . [the] most Illustrious Monsignor Primicerio with the holy reliquary in his hands, beneath the baldachino supported by the most reverend canons of St. Mark's, vested in sacred garments appropriate to their titles, . . . [and] the musicians of the ducal chapel, singing in the sweetest manner.⁴²

Here—at the climax of Orsato's account—the reader finds two themes that undergird the sonic fabric of all the translation events: first, that sweetly performed, concerted music was integral to the translation; and second, that the sounds of professional musicians and the people alike were foremost a testament to the genuine religious affetti of the citizens of both Padua and Venice.

Innsbruck and the Confraternità delle Anime del Purgatorio

While the inhabitants of the Veneto flocked to witness the translation of Anthony's relics, the archduchess of Innsbruck engaged in a powerful testament to her own devotion to the patron of Padua. In 1652, Anna de' Medici (the dedicatee of Strozzi's *Sacri musicali affetti*) and her husband, Archduke Ferdinand Karl, founded a bilingual confraternity of St. Anthony, the Antoniusbruderschaft or the Confraternità delle Anime del Purgatorio di Sant'Antonio. In commemoration of the confraternity's founding, the archduke and archduchess oversaw the erection of a new altar to St. Anthony in Innsbruck's Hofkirche, the court church, which was also attached to a Franciscan friary. Their highnesses also sponsored the publication of the confraternity's rulebook, which was printed in both

⁴² Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 67–68: “Ad un'ora, e mezza di notte con somma felicità si tenne la riva della piazzetta di S. Marco, e quì con la Capella, e Clero Ducale, con torcie accese vi si ritrovò Monsignor Illustriss. Reverendiss. Benedetto Erizzo Primicerio di S. Marco, esemplarissimo Prelato Pontificalmente vestito sotto il Baldacchino per ricevere la S. Reliquia. Sbarcati adunque li Religiosi apparati, e li gentiluomini tutti con le torcie accese: Monsignor Primicerio entrò nella barca che l'aveva condotta, e quivi avanti di lei genuflessò dopo averla inchinata, ed incensata la ricevè solennemente per nome della Città di Padova . . . e con contento inesplicabile, che con le lagrime testificò, baciato il Reliquiario, e preso tra le mani avviò all'uscita per portarlo nella Chiesa di S. Marco.

“E impossibile il descrivere quanto seguì mentre l'oscurità della notte, tuttoche resa lucida da infinite faci, e l'innumerable quantità di gente che s'affollava per accostarsi, per vedere, e per inchinare così degno Tesoro conteneva l'osservare con distinzione tuttavia . . . il Clero di S. Marco seguito dalli Padri, . . . Monsignor Illustriss. Primicerio con la S. Reliquia fra le mani sotto il Baldacchino sostenuto da sei de Reverendissimi Canonini di S. Marco con gl'abiti sacri proprij de' titoli loro . . . [ed] i Musici della Capella Ducale soavissimamente cantando.”

German and Italian.⁴³ This rulebook—the *Regola della Confraternità delle Anime del Purgatorio*—has passed unnoticed by scholars, yet it provides fascinating insight into the practices of the confraternity and the devotional life of the Innsbruck court. Furthermore, the *Regola* features an unusual use of the term *affetti*; here the word not only signifies pious affections but is also used to designate a series of spiritual exercises to be performed by members of the confraternity.

The *Regola* was written by Didaco da Lequile, Innsbruck court preacher, poet, theologian, historian, and Habsburg panegyrist.⁴⁴ The title page reads:

The rule, as observed by the brothers and sisters of the venerable Confraternity of the Souls of Purgatory.

Newly instituted in this year 1652, and in this city of Innsbruck.

At the new, privileged altar of St. Anthony of Padua.

And at the archducal Church of Santa Croce of the Reformed Fathers of Saint Francis.

[Under the patronage of] the most serene Archduke Ferdinand Karl and Archduchess Anna, his consort, who are its perpetual protectors.⁴⁵

The *Regola* comprises an introduction by Lequile, a list of papal indulgences granted to faithful members of the confraternity, a responsory of St. Anthony (*Si quaeris miraculis*), and the Office of St. Anthony. *Si quaeris miraculis* is accompanied by additional prayers

⁴³ This essay will cite only the Italian version of the *Regola*, since this was Didaco da Lequile's native language, and it is also the language in which Anna de' Medici would have read it.

⁴⁴ The Bibliothek Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck owns a copy of the *Regola* in both German and Italian, bound together as *Regulen: Der in der Stadt Insprugg unter der Unruffung des H. Antonij von Padua/ Auf Unhaltung Ihrer Durchleuchtigseiten Ferdinandi Caroli, Erzherzog zu Oesterreich, und der Erzherzogin Annae, Prinzessin von Toscana* (Innsbruck: Jacob Christoph Wagner, 1705); and Didaco da Lequile, *Regola, che hanno da osservare i Fratelli e le Sorelle della venerabil Confraternità delle Anime del Purgatorio . . .* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1657). The German version does not provide a name of author or translator; subsequent citations of this source will read *Regulen*. However, a commemorative jubilee revised version of the German *Regulen* mentions the court preacher "Pater Felix à Brandenburg, Ord. Min. Refor. [i.e., Franciscan]" in the prefatory material; but it is still not clear whether Lequile was a court preacher during the tenure of Ferdinand Karl, or from the time of the revision (*Antonianisches Seelen Bruderschaft Büchel* [Innsbruck: Michael Wagner, 1752], f. A2r). Also, although I have been unable to locate editions of the rulebook predating 1657, the title page of the Italian edition and the prefatory material of the German edition give the year of the confraternity's founding as 1652 (see Lequile, *Regola*, f. A1r, and *Regulen*, 10). Other records also indicate that the confraternity was founded in 1652, three years before the publication of the *Sacri musicali affetti* (see the *Register* of the Antoniusbruderschaft [Hall, Franziskaner Kloster, Franzisk. Prov. Cod. 61]).

⁴⁵ Lequile, *Regola*, f. A1r: "Regola, che hanno da osservare i Fratelli e le Sorelle della venerabil Confraternità delle Anime del Purgatorio. *Instituti a nuovamenta in quest'anno 1652, e in questa Città d'Inspruck. Nel nuovo Altare Privilegiato di S. Antonio di Padova. E nella Chiesa Arciducale di S. Croce de' PP. Riformati di S. Francesco.* Essendo stati promotori, come ne sono Protettori in perpetuo i Sereniss. Arciduca Ferdinando Carlo, Arciduchessa Anna sua Consorte."

to be said before the new altar, alongside a commentary by Lequile on the text of the responsory.⁴⁶

Perhaps the most intriguing feature of the *Regola* is a section that directly precedes the Office of St. Anthony: a series of seven prayers and meditations titled *Affetti*.⁴⁷ The structure and the contents of the seven affetti of St. Anthony are as follows: each affetto comprises, first, a sentence about the life of Anthony in Italian; second, a prayer or meditation in Italian; third, a recitation of the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria* in Latin; fourth, the hymn *O Gloriosa Virginum* (also in Latin); and fifth, a closing Latin prayer. A summary of the vernacular components is found in Table 1.

Table 1: The Affetti of the Regola . . . della Confraternità delle Anime del Purgatorio

Daily Designation	Life of Anthony (Italian)	Life of Anthony (English)	Summary of Italian prayer/meditation
<i>Affetto Primo</i> Sunday	<i>Di quindici anni lascia il mondo, e si fa Religioso consacrando a nostro Signore le primizie della sua gioventù.</i>	At fifteen years of age, he leaves the world, and consecrates to our Lord the first fruits of his youth.	A prayer to be filled with God's light, in order to be inspired to complete consecration—to seek God alone “with the most steadfast faith and the most ardent affection.” ⁴⁸
<i>Affetto Secondo</i> Monday	<i>Per ardentissimo desiderio di martirio si riduce a più rigorosa vita nella Religione di S. Francesco.</i>	In his most ardent desire for martyrdom, he reduces himself to the more rigorous religious life of St. Francis.	A prayer to be washed clean of sin by the blood of Christ, and to become a spiritual martyr, dying to oneself, but set alight with the fire of divine love.
<i>Affetto Terzo</i> Tuesday	<i>Ricercò, e ottenne da' suoi Superiori licenza di vivere solitario per conversare solo con Dio.</i>	He sought, and obtained from his superiors, permission to live in solitude, in order to converse only with God.	A prayer that, like Anthony, afire with divine love, one may enter into solitude with God, leaving behind worldly pleasures, and enter into eternal joy.
<i>Affetto Quarto</i> Wednesday	<i>Tenne con profondi. humilità nascosa molto tempo la sua dottrina, e finalmente per speciale provvidenza di Dio si scoperse a gloria di sua Divina Maestà e beneficio de gli huomini.</i>	For a long time, due to his profound humility, he held his doctrine hidden [i.e., did not teach publicly], and finally by a special providence of God, it was discovered, to the glory of your divine majesty and the benefit of mankind.	A prayer for the light of God to penetrate the intellect, as another step to entering into the joy of the Blessed in eternity.

⁴⁶ The responsory appears on pp. 34–35.

⁴⁷ The *Affetti* appear on pp. 60–85.

⁴⁸ “con fermissima fede et ardentissimo affetto” (Lequile, *Regola*, 63).

<i>Affetto Quinto Thursday</i>	<i>Conosceva Divina inspirazione le diaboliche illusione, e le scopriva schernendole.</i>	By divine inspiration, he knew diabolical illusions and mocking.	A prayer for deliverance from Satan, hell, and a plea to enter into Paradise.
<i>Affetto Sesto Friday</i>	<i>Era dotato di singolar fervore, o efficacia nell'oratione.</i>	He was gifted with singular fervor, and efficiency in orations.	A prayer that the sweet odor of Anthony's heavenly prayers may intercede for one's salvation, as God fills one completely with grace, and inflames one wholly with charity.
<i>Affetto Settimo Saturday</i>	<i>Conversò domesticamente col Babino Giesù, e fù da quello dolcemente accarezzato.</i>	He conversed at home with the child Jesus, and sweetly caressed him.	A prayer recognizing St. Anthony's virginal purity, akin to the purity of the child Jesus as the Immaculate Lamb of God; may the suppliant be purified in like manner in order to achieve eternal joy.

The contents of the table raise an interesting question: why did the author call these spiritual exercises *affetti*? Why not call them *esercizi* or *meditazioni*?⁴⁹ Like Girolamo da Narni—who was known for the excitation of the *affetti* in his persuasive homilies—Lequile was a Franciscan preacher. If Lequile adhered to his order's homiletical school, he would have been concerned with “the Franciscan preachers’ goal of focusing on the ‘authentic message’ and the direct example of the saint’s life and teachings.”⁵⁰ The *Affetti* of the Innsbruck *Regola* do just this: they hold up St. Anthony’s life as a study in sanctity. At the same time, the most important events of Anthony’s life are made more accessible by the use of the vernacular. However, Lequile’s intention seems to go beyond simply painting a portrait of the saint’s holiness; these *affetti* are meant to inspire a passionate love for God and the child Jesus who miraculously appeared to Anthony, as described in the seventh and final *affetto*. To this end, the use of the term *affetto* emphasizes the personal nature of the meditations, and the fervent character of the devotion they are meant to engender and express. Profound, effusive, overflowing love permeates the language of these meditations—be it the love of God, of Anthony, or of the one who is meant to pray them as part of his or her confraternal exercises.

As the confraternity’s foundress, Anna de’ Medici herself must have prayed these *affetti*. I suggest that Barbara Strozzi knew about the confraternity, that she either read or

⁴⁹ I have found only one other example of the use of *affetti* to denote spiritual exercises: F. Ignazio Del Nente, *Solitudini di sacri e pietosi affetti intorno a misteri di Nostro Signore Giesu Cristo, e Maria Vergine opera parenetica divisa in varii esercizi spirituali* (Florence: Amadore Massi and Lorènz Landi, 1643). The same *affetti* of St. Anthony of Padua appear in an eighteenth-century Venetian publication: *Divizioni, ovvero esercizj sacri da praticarsi da ogni fedel cristiano* (Venice: Remondini, 1758), 504–19; I am grateful to Jonathan Glixon for finding this volume for me.

⁵⁰ Dell’Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 161 n. 9; cf. Samuele Giombi, “Teorie sulla predicazione nei secoli xvi–xvii e l’ordine dei Cappuccini,” in Criscuolo, ed., *Girolamo Mautini da Narni*, 155.

heard about the daily affetti prescribed in the confraternity's *Regola*, and that she dedicated her own affetti to the archduchess as a series of musical-spiritual exercises. Strozzi's musical compositions, therefore, could have been intended to function in a similar way to the affetti of the confraternity. There is further evidence that the affetti of St. Anthony were gaining recognition in trans-Alpine Catholic Europe just as Strozzi's fifth opus went to press: in 1655, Giovanni Conrado Heroldo issued a *Responsorio del Gloriosissimo S. Antonio di Padoa . . . Con Divotissimi Affetti, & Orationi per li sette giorni della settimana*. This *Responsorio* was dedicated to the electoress of Bavaria, Henriette Adelaide of Savoy, and the affetti contained therein are identical to those in the Innsbruck *Regola*.⁵¹ In any case, Strozzi's decision to dedicate the *Sacri musicali affetti* to the archduchess, and her choice to place the Antonine motet *Jubilemus* at the end of the print (an important position), seem to reveal the composer's awareness of the confraternity's founding, the erection of new Antonine altars in both Venice and Innsbruck in the same year, and her knowledge of the affetti as associated particularly with the archduchess's confraternal practice.⁵² That the composer herself keenly desired Anthony's intercession seems likely, due to her own struggles during the War of Crete, as the next section of this essay will explore.

Barbara Strozzi, the *Sacri musicali affetti*, and *Jubilemus* to Anthony of Padua

How, in fact, does Barbara Strozzi's motet to St. Anthony resonate with the momentous events of 1652? In order to answer this question, one may first consider what is known of Strozzi's personal situation in the early 1650s. It is highly plausible that she was one of the Venetians who implored Anthony's intercession for delivery from the hardships brought on by the War of Crete. In fact, Strozzi claimed that the war placed insufferable economic strain upon her family. In her investigation of Strozzi's financial situation throughout her career, Beth L. Glixon has translated Strozzi's letter to the doge (dated December 11, 1651), in which the composer asked for relief from the taxes levied during the war:

Most Serene Prince: From the time that this Most Benign country succumbed to the torment of war, even I, Barbara Strozzi, your Most Serene Highness's humble servant, lamented her misadventures. As my condition did not permit me to help Her with my blood, I gathered up all my possessions: I sold my belongings, and deposited all of the money in the mint, well in agreement that the public calamity should become the calamity of private wealth. I believed that having, with this voluntary

⁵¹ Giovanni Conrado Heroldo, ed., *Responsorio del Gloriosissimo S. Antonio di Padoa: Interpretato; Con Divotissimi Affetti, & Orationi per li sette giorni della settimana, e l'Officio della sua Santa Vita nuovamente raccolto* (Monaco di Baviera: Luca Strave, 1655).

⁵² On the significance of the ordering of seventeenth-century prints—especially works in first and final positions—see Andrew H. Weaver, "Divine Wisdom and Dolorous Mysteries: Habsburg Marian Devotion in Two Motets from Monteverdi's *Selva morale e spirituale*," *Journal of Musicology* 24/2 (Spring 2007), 238 n. 7; and Massimo Ossi, "'L'ordine novo e la via naturale all'immitatione': Strutturata e rappresentazione nei madrigali concerti dal 'Quinti Libro' di Monteverdi," in *Monteverdi al quale ognuno deve cedere: Teorie e composizioni musicali, rappresentazioni e spettacoli dal 1550 al 1628* (Parma: Archivio di Stato di Parma, 1993), 113–31.

sacrifice, done my duty to the possible limit of my resources, I would never be constrained to do the impossible. Nonetheless, I suddenly see myself obligated by a mandate of the Most Excellent Governors of Income to pay into the Mint two taxes of 100 ducats each. These were imposed on me when I found myself far from the city, and thus I could not be heard. I am persuaded that if the Most Excellent Tax Assessors had reflected with justice that I have four children in addition to my aged mother, and on my miserable fortunes, this harassment never would have occurred.⁵³

As Glixon has shown, the Great Council eventually offered Strozzi relief from the tax in 1654.⁵⁴ Therefore, the composer would have still been awaiting the doge's reply when the Antonine reliquary was brought to her native city in 1652. And, although we cannot know for sure whether Strozzi attended the translation events, Orsato's account implies that all Venetians who were able flocked to windows, streets, canals—wherever they could—in order to catch a glimpse of the reliquary as it passed.⁵⁵ In any case, Strozzi's letter provides evidence that the War of Crete made a particular impact on her in the years directly preceding the publication of the *Sacri musicali affetti*.

In light of Strozzi's personal situation, one may consider the actual contents of her motet to St. Anthony, beginning with the text. One should note that the poet of the *Sacri musicali affetti* remains unknown.⁵⁶ Therefore, while we cannot attribute the text of *Jubilemus* to Strozzi herself, we may assume that her decision to include the motet signifies the text's relevance to the composer's creative agenda. Whoever the poet may have been, I suggest that he or she attended the translation events of 1652, and that this is reflected most clearly in the poet's remark at the end of the second strophe—"Rejoice, soldiers protecting the faith"—a possible reference to Venetians fighting the Turks in Candia. Furthermore, the poet's emphasis upon the sonic elements of saintly devotion echoes the translation events (see Table 2).

Nearly every line of poetry describes some kind of music-making, resonating with Orsato's account of the procession. For instance, the poet begins every line of the second strophe with the command to sing, under the guise of various synonyms: *cantate*, *psallite*, *canite*, *jubilate*. In the fourth strophe, the poet introduces the idea of instrumental music-making: "Lend voices and organ, play the lyre with the voice of the horned trumpets." One cannot help but recall the portative organ and other instruments that accompanied the choir of the Santo as they floated down the river Brenta. In the final stanza, the poet

⁵³ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Terra, filza 601, 12 May 1654, as cited in Beth L. Glixon, "New Light," 318–19. It is difficult to know if Strozzi truly was destitute; Glixon's assessment of her financial situation in the 1640s and 1650s shows that during this time, the composer was able to lend money on four different occasions. However, if Strozzi had contributed everything she could to the mint, and if she had the continuing costs of her household to maintain—including her four children—it is possible that she did not have the 200 ducats required for the tax.

⁵⁴ Glixon, "New Light," 319.

⁵⁵ Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 68; see n. 42 above regarding Orsato's claim that there were countless spectators ("l'innnumerabile quantità di gente").

⁵⁶ As I have argued elsewhere, the texts of the *Sacri musicali affetti* may have been composed by more than one author; it is possible that Barbara Strozzi's father, the poet and librettist Giulio Strozzi, began compiling the texts (with reference to the Tridentine breviary), and that Strozzi herself completed them, if she had received adequate training in Latin. See Pecknold, "On Lightest Leaves," esp. 28–29.

enjoins “all people” to sing; the listener is reminded of Orsato’s description of the all-encompassing multitude that flocked to the streets and riverbanks to venerate Anthony’s relic.⁵⁷

Table 2: *Jubilemus* (Text and Translation)

<i>Jubilemus</i> (A S. Antonio)	<i>Rejoice</i> (To St. Anthony)
Jubilemus, exultemus, Diem festum celebremus In honorem Sancti Antoni.	Rejoice, exult, celebrate This feast day In honor of St. Anthony.
Cantate pueri reviviscentes, Psallite socii caelo studentes. Canite Virgines Christo nubentes, Jubilare milites fidem tuentes.	Sing, young lads who are revived in spirit; Sing, students who strive for heaven. Sing, young women, to Virgin and to Christ; Rejoice, soldiers protecting the faith.
A patre luminum Divus Antonius Qui pater omnibus diva sequentibus Fulget miraculis.	St. Anthony shines with miracles from the father of light, who is the father to all who follow divine things.
Date voces organa Citharizate cithare in voce tubae corneae.	Lend voices and organ, Play the lyre with the voice of the horned trumpets.
Omnes gentes modulamini Antonium deprecamini Dum festum eius agitis. Alleluia.	All people, sing, Pray to Anthony [for intercession], While we celebrate this feast. Alleluia.

Strozzi’s musical response to the text highlights the sounds of ceremony and procession. For instance, she sets the first several statements of the injunction “cantate” to an onomatopoeic melisma followed by a syncopated rhythm that jolts the listener to attention (Ex. 1):

⁵⁷ See Orsato, *Le grandezze*, 47, and n. 29 above.

Example 1: *Jubilemus*, mm. 36–40

36

Can - ta - - - te, can - ta - te pu - e -

Lest the listener still doubt the significance of the act of singing, Strozzi repeats the entire second stanza, extending the melismas and adding repetitions of the word “cantate” (Ex. 2):

Example 2: *Jubilemus*, mm. 72–87

72

ca - ni - te Vir - gi - ne ju - bi - la - te can - ta - -

77 **piano**

te, can - ta - - - te, can - ta - - - te, can -

82

ta - te pu - e - ri re - vi - vi - cen - tes, Psal - li - te

76

Strozzi’s setting also evokes the instrumental sonorities that accompanied the translation events. When the text commands “lend voices and organ,” the music shifts abruptly from a contemplative triple meter to a brisk duple meter, as the singer proclaims the text syllabically, playing cat-and-mouse with the continuo (Ex. 3).

Example 3: *Jubilemus*, mm. 123–37

123

- get mir - ra - cu - lis da te vo - ces or - ga - na

128

Ci - tha - ri - za - te ci - tha - re

133

in vo - ce tu - bae cor - ne - ae

While Strozzi's setting evokes the processional sound world of her native Venice, it also participates in the early modern project of holding up the saintly life as an example. She accomplishes this by setting the word "Sancti" (Holy) in the phrase "Sancti Antoni" to an extravagant melisma, lasting five measures and spanning an octave and a half (Ex. 4).

Example 4: *Jubilemus*, mm. 11–18

11

- no - rem San

15

- - - - - cti An - to - ni. Ju - bi -

343

The exultant character of the melisma and a slight sense that it is “out of time”—in contrast with the swinging triple meter of the rest of the refrain (see m. 18)—imply that Anthony’s holiness should be contemplated and celebrated. This treatment echoes passages in Orsato’s translation account and in the Innsbruck *Regola* that hold up Anthony’s sanctity as an example to all who implore his intercession. At the same time, the celebratory mood evokes one particular affect: joy, an emotion named in the first utterance of Strozzi’s motet (*jubilemus*; “rejoice”) and in the *Hymn of St. Anthony* that the choir sang during the translation procession, which concluded with the proclamation that “[the name of] Anthony now sings out joyfully from heaven, a beacon of hope on earth and a harbinger of eternal happiness.”⁵⁸

Padua, After All

As Beth L. Glixon has shown, in November 1677, Barbara Strozzi died in Padua, ill and aged beyond her years (the death registrar estimated her age at 70 rather than her actual age of 58).⁵⁹ Strozzi received the sacrament of penance, although it seems that she then died too suddenly to receive final Communion as well. As Glixon explains, in contrast to the civic death registry,

[t]he parish death record . . . is weighted more toward matters religious: “Barbara Strozzi, 70 years old, ill for three months. Having had the holy sacrament of penance, she was overtaken suddenly and died. Her body is buried in the [Church of the] Eremitani.” . . . The suddenness of her death probably explains why she received only the sacrament of penance, rather than the full last rites, as did the others whose deaths were registered around the same time as Strozzi’s.⁶⁰

Sometime “after 8 May 1677,” Barbara Strozzi—possibly already fighting illness—chose to travel to the city of St. Anthony.⁶¹ She received penance and absolution just before she died. In fact, the possibility of obtaining indulgence may have played a role in Strozzi’s decision to travel to Padua in the first place. I suggest that she went to Padua in May 1677 in order to celebrate the Feast of St. Anthony on June 13. As noted above, since the thirteenth century papal indulgences had been offered to pilgrims who visited Anthony’s tomb on his feast day. If this was Strozzi’s reason for going to Padua the month before Anthony’s feast, then the surge in Antonine devotion in the 1650s seems to have had long-lasting effects indeed. Perhaps Strozzi’s own affection for St. Anthony carried her to another city, even as she became elderly beyond her years and may have been fighting an ultimately fatal illness. In any case, her story concludes with penance and absolution in the city of a saint much beloved and frequently implored throughout Catholic Europe.

⁵⁸ “Iam iubilat ANTONIUS”; see n. 36 above.

⁵⁹ Beth L. Glixon, “More on the Life and Death of Barbara Strozzi,” *Musical Quarterly* 83/1 (Spring 1999): 134.

⁶⁰ Glixon, “More on the Life and Death of Barbara Strozzi,” 135 and 140 n. 4; Glixon cites Padua, Archivio della Curia Vescovile, Parrocchie soppresse, S. Sofia, vol. 12, f. 5.

⁶¹ Glixon, “More on the Life and Death of Barbara Strozzi,” 134.