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Don Juan de Austria and the Venetian music trade

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Michael J. Levin and Steven Zohn

## Don Juan de Austria and the Venetian music trade

**T**HANKS to the recent upsurge of interest in Spanish patronage of the arts under King Philip II, we know that painting and sculpture—particularly that produced in Italy—was a highly valued commodity among the nobility.<sup>1</sup> Yet current scholarship also suggests that Philip, once hailed as among the great musical patrons of his age, had only a limited role in shaping Spanish musical life during the late 16th century.<sup>2</sup> Now a previously unexamined document in the Archivo General de Simancas sheds additional light on Spanish royal patronage of music during the 1570s. It involves not Philip, but his heroic half-brother Don Juan de Austria (illus.1), known mostly for his military exploits, especially his command of the Christian fleet at the great battle of Lepanto.<sup>3</sup> Though he is not known for his patronage of the arts, a newly discovered 1572 receipt reveals that he purchased, through the Spanish resident ambassador in Venice, a substantial number of wind instruments and printed editions of music procured by Girolamo dalla Casa (*detto da Udine*), the *maestro de' concerti* of San Marco.<sup>4</sup> The document is bilingual, with the main text of dalla Casa's invoice translated by the ambassador's secretary into Spanish, and the listing of instruments and music copied from the original Italian. At the bottom, dalla Casa acknowledges receipt of the fee. Despite its silence on a number of matters, the receipt provides us with a fairly detailed inventory of the purchases (see illus.2 and the appendix).

Spanish resident ambassadors in early modern Venice were accustomed to providing goods and services for their monarch and the Spanish nobility. Orders for Venetian art and artefacts, particularly crystal and stained glass, constantly poured into the embassy, which had to attend to such requests in addition to its usual diplomatic functions.<sup>5</sup> Diego Guzmán de Silva (*d* 1578), resident ambassador in

Venice from 1571 to 1576, was kept especially busy with these duties.<sup>6</sup> Philip II had a taste for the art of Titian, Jacopo Bassano and other Venetian masters, which he commissioned through his ambassador. Furthermore, in 1563 he determined to build a monumental palace at San Lorenzo el Escorial, which became a highlight of artistic patronage in 16th-century Spain.<sup>7</sup> To furnish the Escorial Philip ordered many works of art through Guzmán de Silva, as well as stained glass and an impressive list of relics and other religious artefacts gathered from the churches of Venice.<sup>8</sup> Various Spanish nobles and institutions likewise used the ambassador's services in obtaining the fruits of the Venetian Renaissance, including published music and musical instruments.<sup>9</sup>

In order to fill Don Juan's order, Guzmán de Silva evidently commissioned dalla Casa to function as a middle-man in assembling a collection of printed vocal music and wind instruments. The ambassador was no doubt sufficiently acquainted with the musical resources of San Marco and other Venetian institutions to know that dalla Casa would probably have ties to the Venetian music trade.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the Masses at San Marco and state processions attended by government officials and foreign ambassadors, Guzmán de Silva would have had ample exposure to vocal and instrumental music through frequent processions of confraternities and performances at private Venetian residences.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that he had particularly close contact with the Scuola San Giovanni Evangelista, which counted both Philip II and Don Juan as members.<sup>12</sup> The ambassador also experienced Venetian music at its most opulent during the fantastic celebration of the victory of Lepanto in 1571. The news of the victory of the Christian fleet, commanded by Don Juan, arrived in Venice on 17 October, and prompted a massive outpouring of emotion and a demonstration

of public support for Spain. During the celebration Guzmán de Silva himself performed communion for the Doge of Venice, Ludovico Mocenigo, and attended four days of music and revelry.<sup>13</sup> The Venetian observer Rocco Benedetti reported that there was 'a most solemn Mass in which was performed most divine *concerti*, for sounding now the one and now the other organ with all sorts of instruments and voices, they both conspired together in [such] a thunder that it truly seemed as though the cataracts of celestial harmony were opened, which flooded from the angelic choruses'.<sup>14</sup> Guzmán de Silva was likewise impressed with the Venetian reaction to the victory, and wrote to Philip that 'in the streets and houses [of Venice] they say nothing else out loud except "Long live King Philip the Catholic!"'<sup>15</sup>

If Philip was loudly praised in Venice, Don Juan became even more of a hero. Don Juan's name is featured prominently in the Venetian municipal records describing the celebrations.<sup>16</sup> Yet instead of coming to Venice, he spent the winter of 1571–2 in Sicily, waiting for the spring campaigning season.<sup>17</sup> It is likely that during this period he sent his request for music and instruments to Guzmán de Silva, for in the months leading up to Lepanto, Don Juan and the ambassador had maintained a busy correspondence concerning diplomatic negotiations between Spain and the Venetian government.<sup>18</sup> Less certain, however, is the purpose for which he intended the music and instruments. According to the receipt, they were bought for his 'service' and 'for the Galley Royal', the war galleon commissioned especially for Don Juan in 1568.<sup>19</sup> It was a large ship, boasting 30 rowers a side, but it is difficult to imagine more than a few of the inventory's instruments finding a place on such a vessel. More likely, the instruments and music were intended for Don Juan's Sicilian court in Messina.<sup>20</sup>

That dalla Casa was able to procure such a rich collection of wind instruments should come as no surprise, given the flourishing wind instrument trade in Venice from the 1550s onward.<sup>21</sup> The presence in the collection of 'trombe' from Nuremberg and Augsburg offers further testimony to the close musical ties between Venice and Bavaria in the late 16th century.<sup>22</sup> Unclear is how many instruments were included in the 'cassa di flauti grossi'. Though described only as large (bass?) recorders, their costliness could indicate

several SATB consorts. As for the prices of the instruments, they differ greatly from those found in a 1559 Venetian contract discussed by Giulio Ongaro.<sup>23</sup> Nor is the choice of music unexpected: works by Cipriano de Rore (*maestro di cappella* at San Marco from 1563 to 1564), Orlando di Lasso, Vincenzo Ruffo and the Spaniard Pedro Guerrero would have been easily obtained in Venice.<sup>24</sup> Though the 'libri' mentioned in the receipt cannot be identified with certainty, it is likely that most or all were Venetian publications.<sup>25</sup> The Lasso books may have included some of the 12 editions of five-voice madrigals, motets and Masses issued by the publishing houses of Gardano, Merulo, Rampazetto and Scotto between 1566 and 1570. The four most recent Venetian publications of Ruffo's music in five parts included magnificats, madrigals and Masses by Gardano (1559, 1562 and 1565), and madrigals by Rampazetto (1563). Rore's works could have included some of the madrigals recently issued by Gardano (1566 and 1568), Rampazetto (1563 and 1566) and Scotto (1562). More resistant to identification are the works by Pedro Guerrero (apparently quite numerous, given the price of 6 *lire*), for, apart from music in anthologies, only one edition of his music (now lost) is known to have been published in Venice. Better represented in Venetian editions was Pedro's younger brother, Francisco, whose five-voice motets had been printed by Gardano in 1570. The number and nature of the 'other books' bound in parchment remains obscure.

Although lacking in many particulars, the receipt vividly underscores the international nature of the Venetian music trade: a Spanish ambassador in Venice procuring instruments from Italy and Germany, and music by Italian and Spanish composers, for a royal court in Sicily. In this case, the focal point of the transaction was, on the one hand, a leading Venetian musician whose highly visible position may often have resulted in such commissions, and on the other, an ambassador who attended to such matters in the midst of complex political negotiations. The quality, quantity and expense of the instruments and music indicates that Don Juan was creating or maintaining his own court musical establishment. As Philip II kept his half-brother under tight supervision, Don Juan's purchase might be taken as an attempt to assert independence from Philip by means of cultural display.<sup>26</sup>





1 Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Portrait of Don Juan de Austria*, c. 1565 (Madrid, Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales)

Yo Hieronymo de Udema Musico y Menestral de S. Marcos desta ciudad de Venecia, confieso aver aruido y recebido del Muy Ill<sup>mo</sup> S<sup>to</sup>. Diego de Guzman de Silva del Consejo del Rey Catholico y su embaxador en esta Repu<sup>ca</sup>. ciento y cinquenta y quatro escudos de oro en oro de asiete libras cada uno escudo de la moneda desta d<sup>ha</sup> ciudad y mastres libras de la d<sup>ha</sup> moneda, q<sup>lo</sup> valieron los instrumentos y libros inscriptos los quales y sus precios son los siguientes.

Piffari Tenori quatro con le casse libre scuti vinti	20
Piffari Soprani dui con le casse scuti otto	8
Cornetti alti sei con la cassa scuti diece	10
Cornetti muti cinque con la cassa scuti sei	6
Cornetti grossi dui con la cassa scuti otto	8
Fagotti dui con le casse scuti sedice	16
Trombe de Nozemberga scudi dodece	12
Trombe de Augusta scudi catordosa	14
Cassa di flauti grossi scudi cinquanta sei	56
Libri de musica	
Libri cinque di Cipriano a cinque, libre tre et soldi quindece	3 15
della moneta de Venecia	
libri quatro di Orlando a cinque, libre tre	4 3
libri quatro di Vincenzo Ruffo a cinque, libre tre	4 3
Pietro Guerziero a quatro, a cinque, et a sei ligati libre sei	6 6
Per la ligatura dell'altri libri in carta pergamina libre noue	9 2
Per la cassa da metter gli instrummenti libre sei et soldi cin	
que della detta moneta de Venecia	4 6 15
Que todo monta y ha se la suma de los dichos ciento y cinquenta y quatro escudos de oro en oro y mastres libras de la d <sup>ha</sup> moneda, que el d <sup>ho</sup> S <sup>to</sup> . Embaxador me pago de contado en nombre y por el Ill <sup>mo</sup> y Ex <sup>mo</sup> S <sup>to</sup> . don Ju <sup>de</sup> de Austria para cuyo seruicio y dela Galea Real se hi <sup>xi</sup> eron y compraron los d <sup>hos</sup> instrumentos y libros y por ser verdad que he recebido los d <sup>hos</sup> ciento y cinquenta y quatro escudos y tres libras de esta y otra cedula semejante subscripta y firmada de mi mano en Venecia a veinte dias del mes de Febrero de mill e quinientos y setenta y dos años.	15 4 3

Yo Hieronymo daudino sommar insu marco affirmo  
aver ricuuto quanto disopra



## Appendix

Yo Hieronymo de Udene Musico y Menestril de S. Marcos desta ciudad de Venecia confieso aver auido y recebido del Muy Ill[ustr]e S[eñor] Diego Guzmán de Silva del Consejo de la Mag[esta]d Catholica y su embaxador en esta Repu[bli]ca ciento y cinquenta y quatro escudos de oro en oro de a siete libras cada un escudo de la moneda desta d[ic]ha ciudad y mas tres libras de la d[ic]ha moneda, q[ue] lo valieron los instrumentos y libros infra scriptos los quales y sus precios son los siguientes.

	[scuti]	[lire]	[soldi]
Piffari Tenori quatro con le casse scuti vinti	20		
Piffari Soprani dui con le casse scuti otto	8		
Cornetti alti sei con la cassa scuti dieci	10		
Cornetti muti cinque con la cassa scuti sei	6		
Cornetti grossi dui con la cassa scuti otto	8		
Fagotti dui con le casse scudi sedeci	16		
Trombe de Noremberga scudi dodece	12		
Trombe de Augosta scudi catordece	14		
Cassa di flauti grossi scudi cinqua[n]ta sei libri de musica	56		
Libri cinque di Cipriano a cinque libre tre et soldi quindece della moneta de Venetia		3	15
Libri quatro di Vincenzo Ruffo a cinque libre tre		3	
Pietro Guerriero a quatro a cinque et a sei ligati libre sei		6	
Per la ligatura dell'altri libri in carta pergamina libre nove	1	2	
Per la cassa da mettere gli instrumenti libre sei et soldi		6	5
cinque della moneta de Venetia	154	3	20

Que todo monta y haze la suma de los dichos ciento y cinquenta y quatro escudos de oro en oro y mas tres libras de la d[ic]ha moneda q[ue] el d[ic]ho s[eñor] Embaxador me pago de contado en nombre y por el Ill[ustrisi]mo y Ex[cellentisi]mo S[eñor] don Ju[an] de Austria para cuyo servicio y de la Galera Real se hizieron y compraron los di[ch]os instrumentos y libros y por ser verdad que he recebido los d[ic]hos ciento y cinquenta y quatro escudos y tres libras di esta y otra cedula semejante subscripta y firmada de mi mano en Venetia a veinte dias del mes de Hebrero de mill e quinientos y setenta y dos años.

Io gieronimo da udine sonator in san marco afermo aver ricevuto quanto di sopra

I, Girolamo da Udine, musician and minstrel at San Marco in this city of Venice confirm that I have gotten and received from His Most Excellent Señor Diego de Guzmán de Silva of the Council of His Catholic Majesty, and his ambassador in this Republic, 154 *scudi* and 3 *lire* in gold (7 *lire* in each *scudo*) in the currency of the aforesaid city, which is the value of the instruments and books listed with their prices below.

Four tenor [alto] shawms with cases, 20 *scudi*  
 Two soprano shawms with cases, 8 *scudi*  
 Six alto cornettos with case, 10 *scudi*  
 Five mute [straight] cornettos with case, 6 *scudi*  
 Two large [bass?] cornettos with case, 8 *scudi*  
 Two dulcians with cases, 16 *scudi*  
 trumpets from Nuremberg, 12 *scudi*  
 trumpets from Augsburg, 14 *scudi*  
 Chest of large [bass?] recorders, 56 *scudi*

Books of music

Five books by Cipriano [de Rore] in five parts, 3 *lire* and 15 *soldi* in Venetian currency

Four books by Orlando [di Lasso] in five parts, 3 *lire*

Four books by Vincenzo Ruffo in five parts, 3 *lire*

Pedro Guerrero in four, five, and six parts, 6 *lire*

For the binding of other books in parchment, 9 *lire*

For the case in which to put the instruments, 6 *lire* and 5 *soldi* in Venetian currency

All of which amounts to 154 *scudi* in gold plus 3 *lire* in [Venetian] currency, which the aforesaid señor Ambassador paid me in full in the name of and for His Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Señor Don Juan de Austria, for whose service and for the Galley Royal the aforesaid instruments and books have been bought. And it is true that I have received the aforesaid 154 *scudi* and the 3 *lire* for this and another similar bill signed in my hand in Venice on the 20th of February in 1572.

[In dalla Casa's hand:] I, Girolamo da Udine, player at San Marco, affirm that I have received the amount above.

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Michael Levin took his PhD from Yale University and is currently Assistant Professor of History at the University of Akron. His book *Agents of empire: Spanish ambassadors in sixteenth-century Italy* will shortly be published by Cornell University Press. [mlevin@uakron.edu](mailto:mlevin@uakron.edu)

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We are grateful to Michael Noone for advice on a number of matters and help with transcribing the receipt.

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1 See, for example, H. Trevor-Roper, *Princes and artists: patronage and ideology at four Habsburg courts, 1517–1633* (New York, 1976); J. H. Elliott and J. Brown, *A palace for a king* (New Haven, 1980); F. Checa Cremades, *Felipe II: mecenas de las artes* (Madrid, 1992); H. Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven, 1997); R. Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, patron of the arts* (Dublin, 2004).

2 For an example of the older view, see R. Stevenson, *Spanish cathedral music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, 1961), p.241. Three works of scholarship that disagree are S. Rubio, *Historia de la música española*, ii: *Desde el 'ars nova' hasta 1600* (Madrid, 1983), pp.148–9; L. K. Stein, 'Musical patronage: the Spanish royal court', *Revista de musicología*, xvi (1993), pp.616–17; and M. Noone, *Music and musicians in the Escorial liturgy under the Habsburgs, 1563–1700* (Rochester, 1998), pp.69–90.

3 For biographical information on Don Juan, see W. S. Maxwell, *Don John of Austria*, 2 vols. (London, 1883); Sir C. Petrie, *Don John of Austria* (New York, 1963); and J. M. González, *Juan de Austria, héroe de leyenda* (Barcelona, 1994).

4 There are two copies of the document in the Archivo General de Simancas, Sección Estado. The

original, Caja 1330, nos. 124–5, is signed by dalla Casa; the copy, Caja 1320, no. 132, is signed by the ambassadorial secretary Christoval de Salazar.

5 For a full description, see M. J. Levin, *A Spanish eye on Italy: Spanish ambassadors in sixteenth-century Italy* (PhD diss., Yale U., 1997), pp.304–29.

6 Not much is known about Guzmán de Silva's life. Before his diplomatic service he became a priest, and was named a canon of the cathedral of Toledo in 1540. His first diplomatic posting was in England from January 1564 to September 1568, during which time he earned the respect of Queen Elizabeth and her court. See M. Fernández Álvarez, *Tres embajadores de Felipe II en Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1951), pp.132–90.

7 Checa Cremades, *Felipe II: mecenas de las artes*, p.14.

8 Levin, *A Spanish Eye on Italy*, pp.319–26.

9 In June 1567, while stationed in England, Guzmán de Silva was asked by the canons of the cathedral in Ciudad Rodrigo to buy recorders and crumhorns. He may also have acquired instruments on behalf of Burgos cathedral one month later. See B. Kenyon de Pascual, 'Bassano instruments in Spain?', *Galpin Society*

journal, xl (1987), p.74. Guzmán de Silva's role in procuring music and instruments in Venice anticipates the efforts of the Gonzaga family to obtain similar materials there through their own ambassadors between the 1590s and 1610s. See S. Parisi, 'Acquiring musicians and instruments in the early Baroque: observations from Mantua', *Journal of musicology*, xiv (1996), pp.128–32.

10 Another connection between the Spanish nobility and musicians at San Marco was that of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–86), one of Philip's councillors of state and Viceroy of Naples, and Adrian Willaert (c. 1490–1562), the *maestro di cappella* of San Marco from 1527 to his death. Granvelle had a long friendship with Willaert, who supplied him with a number of instruments. See I. Bossuyt, 'O *socii durate*: A musical correspondence from the time of Philip II', *Early music*, xxvi (1998), pp.433–44. It is worth noting that Philip himself appears to have obtained Venetian instruments on at least one occasion, as his musical estate included five viols made by the Venetian harpsichord-builder Domenico de Pesaro (*fl.* 1522–48). For a listing of the estate, which included well over a hundred instruments in a posthumous 1602 inventory, see R. P. Arroyo, 'Los instrumentos musicales durante el período 1450–1600', in Rubio, *Historia de la música española*, p.290.

11 On state processions, see E. Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), pp.189–211; and I. Fenlon, 'Magnificence as civic image: music and ceremonial space in early

modern Venice', *Music and musicians in renaissance cities and towns*, ed. F. Kisby (Cambridge, 2001), pp.24–44.

12 E. Selfridge-Field, *Venetian instrumental music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (New York, 3/1994), p.36.

13 Petrie, *Don John of Austria*, p.200.

14 Quoted and translated in I. Fenlon, 'In destructione Turcharum: the victory of Lepanto in sixteenth-century music and letters', *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo: atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia 16–18 settembre 1985)*, ed. F. Degrada (Florence, 1987), pp.293–317.

15 Guzmán de Silva to Philip II, 22 October 1571; Archivo General de Simancas, Sección Estado 1329, no.111.

16 K. M. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, iv (Philadelphia, 1984), p.1060, n.54. Don Juan was indeed praised throughout Italy as well as the rest of Europe. Upon hearing the news of Lepanto, Pope Pius V is said to have quoted John i: 6, 'There was a man sent from God, and his name was John.' Petrie, *Don John of Austria*, p.201.

17 Petrie, *Don John of Austria*, pp.212–13.

18 On these negotiations see Levin, *A Spanish eye on Italy*, pp.185–248.

19 Cremona, *Juan de Austria*, pp.106–8. The galley was severely damaged at Lepanto.

20 For a description of the crowded life aboard a 16th-century war galley, see J. Beeching, *The galleys at Lepanto* (London, 1982), pp.15–16, and P. E. Pérez-Mallaina, *Spain's men of the sea: daily life on the Indies fleets in the sixteenth century*, trans. C. R. Phillips

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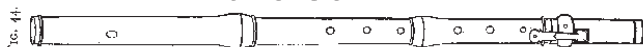
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(Baltimore, 1998), pp.129–140. On the use of music on Spanish galleons, see C. R. Phillips, *Six galleons for the King of Spain: imperial defense in the early seventeenth century* (Baltimore, 1986), pp.149, 162. It is conceivable that the instruments were acquired for civic music-making in Sicily: the Palermo senate maintained eight musicians who played various wind instruments ('piffari', 'trombe', 'trombette and 'tromboni'), and Messina appears to have had similar groups. See O. Tiby, *I polifonisti siciliani del XVI e XVII secolo* (Palermo, 1969), pp.35–7.

21 See G. M. Ongaro, 'Sixteenth-century Venetian wind instrument makers and their clients', *Early music*, xiii (1985), pp.391–7.

22 See Selfridge-Field, *Venetian instrumental music*, pp.292–3. On the importance of Nuremberg as a centre for the making of brass instruments, see R. Barclay, *The art of the trumpet maker: the materials, tools, and techniques of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Nuremberg* (Oxford, 1992), esp. pp.11–20.

23 Ongaro, 'Sixteenth-century Venetian wind instrument makers and their clients', p.396 (table).

24 It is worth noting in this context that Ruffo had a long-standing relationship with the Spanish Habsburgs: in 1542 he entered the private service of Alfonso d'Avalos, Emperor Charles V's governor-general in Milan, and in 1564 dedicated a piece of instrumental music to an Italian noble, Marcantonio Martinengo de Villachiera, who would later serve under Don Juan at Lepanto. See L. Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* (Venice, 1970), pp.19,49–50.

25 Concerning Venetian music editions issued between 1538 and 1572, see M. S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian music printer, 1538–1659* (New York, 1988); R. J. Agee, *The Gardano music printing firms, 1569–1611* (Rochester, NY, 1998); and J. A. Bernstein, *Print culture and music in sixteenth-century Venice* (Oxford, 2001), esp. appendix A.

26 It may therefore be significant that the 1602 inventory of the royal musical

collection includes 'un clavicordio y claviorgano grande' given to Philip by Don Juan. See C. B. Ibáñez, "'E cosas de música": instrumentos musicales en la corte de Felipe II', *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la corte de Felipe II*, ed. L. R. Estaire et al. (Madrid, 2000), p.237.

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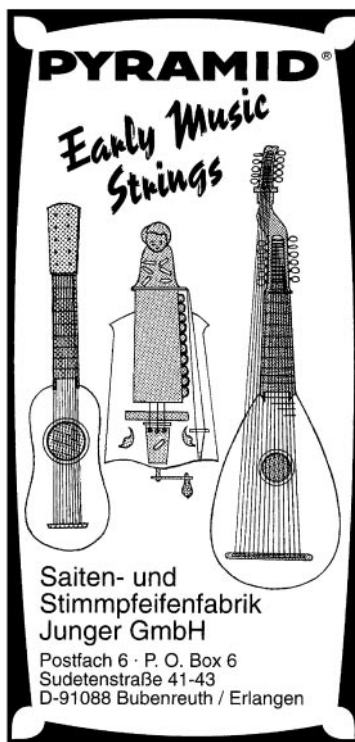
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