

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE INFLUENCE OF THE JESUITS ON THE PASSION
MUSIC OF ORLANDO DI LASSO

Nicholas Dean Johnson, Master of Arts, 2006

Thesis Directed by: Professor Richard Wexler
School of Music

This study explores the four Passion settings of Orlando di Lasso, composed between 1575 and 1582, which have largely been ignored by music scholars. Scholars have recognized that a dramatic compositional shift occurred between the second and third settings, but have provided no cogent explanation for the change. Most reasons given revolve around the Council of Trent, which held its final session in 1563. However, a consideration of the history and religious contexts of the works discloses other, possibly better explanations.

I propose that the primary influence leading to Lasso's compositional shift was the liturgical reform initiated by his employer, Duke Wilhelm V, and enforced by the Jesuit priest Walram Tumler. These reforms had a profound effect on all facets of worship in Bavaria, most notably music. Recognizing the influence of the Jesuits on Lasso's music makes it possible to understand the composer's dramatic change in style.

**THE INFLUENCE OF THE JESUITS ON THE
PASSION MUSIC OF ORLANDO DI LASSO**

by

Nicholas Dean Johnson

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Richard Wexler, Chair
Professor Barbara Haggh-Huglo
Professor Richard King

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Introduction

Orlando di Lasso and the Passion of Christ

The presentation of the Passion has been an integral part of Christianity since the fifth century, when public and liturgical readings of the story became the focus of Holy Week celebrations. Monophonic recitations of the Passion were superseded by polyphonic compositions in the 15th century. During the late Renaissance each religious denomination began to form a distinct style of Passion composition, and the genre thrived across all of Europe. Perhaps because it was a genre that all three major branches of Christianity – Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant – shared in the 16th century, Passion settings were often used to proclaim a church's stance on theological issues, such as the importance of music in worship and how one should understand the relationship between Christ and man.¹

More so than in any other genre, musical changes and developments in Passion settings have always been integrally tied to shifting theological beliefs. The compositional style of Passions often clearly reflects the political and religious climate immediately surrounding the composer. The settings of Catholic composers demonstrate a strict reliance upon the chant and recitation tones that were used in the liturgy. Early Protestant settings reveal shifting ideas of the purpose of worship with vernacular languages and clear text declamation. Even modern settings, composed for the concert

¹ Kurt von Fischer, "Die Passion von ihren Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen. Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, eds. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, Hans Oesch, Max Haas (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1973), 574-76.

hall instead of the church, reflect the current trend of mixing the liturgical and the secular in a single composition.²

For the music historian Passion settings are valuable tools that may elucidate a composer's personal beliefs and how they were affected by the theological climate surrounding him. There is no time period for which these tools are more valuable than the 16th century. The birth of Protestantism, the Counter-Reformation, the Council of Trent's decrees on music, and the widespread secularization of European society all weighed heavily on Passion settings. Where a composer and his employer stood in regard to these issues often can be measured by the musical techniques used in his Passion settings.

The best-known composer of the 16th-century to write Passion settings was Orlando di Lasso, whose four settings established the post-Tridentine Catholic Passion style. Employed for most of his life at the Bavarian Court during the height of the Counter-Reformation, Lasso composed sacred music that clearly reflects changing theological trends. After the death of Duke Albrecht V in 1579, his successor Wilhelm V initiated widespread liturgical reforms and sought to eliminate Protestant influences on Catholicism in Bavaria.³ The newly crowned duke required music for reformed worship services, and in the early 1580s Lasso composed a significant body of sacred music, most notably a Hymn cycle begun in late 1580 and three Passion settings from 1580 and 1582. The Hymn cycle has received attention in recent research by Daniel Zager,⁴ but Lasso's

² Three modern examples include the Passion settings of Krzysztof Penderecki (1963-6), Arvo Pärt (1982), and Sofiya Gubaydulina (2000).

³ These changes will be outlined in Chapter 1 of this study.

⁴ Daniel Zager, "Post-Tridentine liturgical change and functional music: Lasso's cycle of polyphonic hymns," in *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 41-63.

Passions have been largely ignored despite the insight that they may provide into the composer's immediate reaction to religious reforms.

Lasso's first setting, the Matthew Passion, was published in 1575⁵ and probably written no earlier than 1574.⁶ This was his most successful setting, and it was printed once more during his lifetime and appears in manuscripts from as late as the 1740s. Compared to his later Passions, it is a massive work with polyphonic settings for every character except Jesus and the narrator. Lasso wrote his next Passion, according to John, in 1580. This work was never published and was most likely used only in Munich.⁷ The composition is similar to the Matthew Passion, closely resembling it in musical style. His last settings, Mark and Luke from 1582, were two of his first compositions after liturgical reform at the Bavarian court had begun. They are very similar to each other and are most notable for their musical restraint.⁸

The most striking feature of Lasso's Passions is the drastic difference of style between the Matthew/John and the Mark/Luke settings. Both earlier works are florid and expressive. Although these compositions do not contain the complicated polyphony and expansive melismas that characterize Catholic compositions prior to the Council of Trent, it is obvious that Lasso desired to create a work of art within a functional setting. In contrast, the later two Passions are much more restrained and are centered solely on a realistic telling of the story rather than on artistic expression.

Little work has been done to determine why Lasso's compositional style should have changed so drastically between 1580 and 1582. All scholars agree that the shift

⁵ Orlando di Lasso, *Patrocinium musices IV* (Munich: Adamus Berg, 1575). RISM 1575a, L877.

⁶ Kurt von Fischer argues this in the "Vorwort" of *Orlando di Lasso, Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe*, vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), v-vi. His discussion will be summarized in Chapter 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v.

⁸ The musical characteristics of the four Passions are discussed on pages 40-73.

exists, but the reasons given do not appear to take into consideration the political and religious climate immediately surrounding Lasso. The most common theory has been that the composer altered his method as a direct result of the precepts of the Council of Trent, which had its final session in 1563.⁹ There is some truth to this, but to assume that the later Passions were affected solely by the Council of Trent is to ignore the fact that the Matthew setting was composed at least eleven years after the body's final assembly.¹⁰ Lasso was well aware of the proceedings of the Council, owing to his engagement under Duke Albrecht V,¹¹ and yet his Matthew Passion in many ways blatantly ignores the statements issued concerning the reform of sacred music, most clearly with regard to the clarity of text setting.¹² The Council of Trent obviously had some influence on Lasso's settings, as even the Matthew is more restrained than many Passions composed prior to 1563, but its influence does not explain why Lasso's earlier and later settings differ so much in style.¹³

The two factors that have not thus far been afforded much attention in regard to the Passions are the influence of Wilhelm V and the Jesuits and their influence on Lasso. The Duke introduced liturgical reforms in 1579, one year before the composition of the John Passion. These reforms seemed to have had little impact on Lasso's compositional

⁹ Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532-1594, Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958), 652. Kurt von Fischer, "Vorwort" of *Orlando di Lasso, Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe*, vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), vi-vii.

¹⁰ Fischer mentions this discrepancy, but does not make it part of his theory.

¹¹ Michael Mullet discusses Albrecht V's relationship with the Council of Trent in *The Catholic Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 57.

¹² The Tridentine position on sacred music is discussed at length by K.G. Fellerer in "Church Music and the Council of Trent," *The Musical Quarterly* 39 (1953), 576-94. Among the decrees of the 22nd Session, that of 17 September, 1562, reads: "But the whole must be managed in such a manner that Masses should be celebrated either simply by the voice or be a chant, so that all should be pronounced clearly and distinctly and make its way undisturbed into the ears and hearts of the hearers." Quoted in Fellerer, 276.

¹³ It should be realized, however, that the Mark and Luke Passions were used on the less important days of Holy Week, Tuesday and Wednesday respectively, but this also does not fully explain the change in style. The reasons for this are explored in Chapter 3.

style, since the John setting, composed in 1580, is much closer in style to the Matthew setting of 1575 than to the Mark or Luke Passions, both written in 1582. This may have reflected the court has a whole, which presumably was not responding rapidly to the duke's wishes. In 1581, Wilhelm requested the aid of the Jesuits in reforming the Catholic liturgy in Bavaria and bringing it closer to the Roman tradition. During a year-long stay at the court, the Jesuit Walram Tumler made sweeping reforms to all elements of worship, in particular music. Lasso's Passions of 1582 were composed while Tumler was in Munich and are probably a direct result of the liturgical reforms imposed by him, as shall be demonstrated here.¹⁴

The importance of the Jesuits and of Wilhelm's reforms in shaping Lasso's late compositions has not been entirely neglected by scholars. David Crook and Alexander Fisher have recently discussed the vast impact the Jesuits had on Lasso's sacred music in the late 1580s.¹⁵ Both studies reveal the influence of the Jesuits and Counter-Reformation theology on Lasso's music after the composer's considerable exposure to liturgical changes and Jesuit writings. I will present a somewhat different picture by examining Lasso's earliest reaction to Jesuit-led reforms. The Passions of 1582 are in the unique position of being some of the first music composed by Lasso after Tumler's arrival and are therefore valuable in revealing how he initially responded to new demands.

¹⁴ Tumler's reforms and their direct effect on Lasso are discussed in Chapter 1.

¹⁵ David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994); Alexander Fisher, "'Per mia particolare devotione': Orlando di Lasso's *Lagrima di San Pietro* and Jesuit Spirituality in Counter-reformation Munich." (paper presented at the National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Washington D.C., 30 October 2005).

Chapter 1

The Jesuit Influence in Catholic Bavaria

The Jesuits enter Bavaria

In 1540 Pierre Favre, a Jesuit and one of Loyola's first disciples, toured Germany and determined that the failings of German Catholicism were not due to Protestant advances, but rather a "widespread breakdown of Catholic life, even of the clergy."¹⁶ After this visit, the German lands became of great interest to the Jesuits, who wanted to develop a strong relationship with the clergy and nobility in order to repair what they saw as a deteriorating Catholic faith. An association developed between the Jesuits and the rulers of Bavaria during the later years of the Council of Trent, which ended in 1563, when debates spread throughout much of Christendom over the issue of the lay chalice. One of the more hotly contested issues of the Catholic Reformation, the lay chalice debate centered on the question of whether the congregation was allowed to take wine in addition to bread as part of Holy Communion. Prior to the Council of Trent, only the clergy were allowed to take wine. Conservative Catholic clergymen believed that wine was not necessary for salvation, that bread would suffice for the general congregation, and that only the clergy were pious enough to receive the chalice. They also believed that the bread contained the blood of Christ, as well as the body. Many Catholic rulers supported the lay chalice, however, including Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, who saw it as

¹⁶ William V. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972), 23.

a needed concession to the Protestants, and hoped that by allowing the lay chalice they could bring the Protestants back to the Catholic Church.¹⁷

This debate intensified in 1554, when the nobility from Austria and Hungary demanded the use of the lay chalice in their dioceses. The argument raged on for many years, and in 1561 Maximilian II, soon to be Holy Roman Emperor, demanded the chalice as part of his coronation as King of Hungary, intensifying the debates near the end of the Council of Trent.¹⁸ The Jesuits, who were often called on to give advice on doctrinal issues as well as scriptural interpretation, continued to argue against the use of the lay chalice.¹⁹ They claimed that the clergy was incompetent to educate the Catholic population on the significance of the chalice. Many Jesuit leaders believed that if this demand were allowed, many more concessions would follow, such as wives for priests and meat on Fridays. The Jesuit leader Peter Canisius maintained, “What good ever came or ever could come from giving way to the multitude in the sphere of religion?”²⁰

In 1563 Cardinal Monroe, Bishop of Modena and Papal Nuncio in Germany, sent Canisius to meet with Albrecht in an attempt to alter his view on the chalice issue. The Jesuits feared that even if the decision of the Council of Trent was to ban the use of the lay chalice, Albrecht would allow it within his court anyway. Canisius met with the duke to discuss the issue, but for the time being, Albrecht would not back down from demanding the concession,²¹ and in the same year a diet met in Bavaria to approve the sharing of the chalice with the laity.²² In 1563 Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I and his

¹⁷ Michael Mullet provides a lengthy discussion of the issue of the lay chalice, as well as the arguments of the various sides, in the first chapter of *The Catholic Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

¹⁸ James Brodrick, *Saint Peter Canisius* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), 496.

¹⁹ Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 25.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 548.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 560.

²² Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 57.

son Maximilian came to an agreement with Pope Pius IV in which they promised His Holiness that they would not hinder the Council's coming to a close as long as the lay chalice was allowed.²³ The Pope agreed and the Council ended, having consented to a version of the chalice. They did not ban or support it, but instead allowed local bishops to decide whether to grant the chalice in their own dioceses. This concession allowed the debate to continue, and the Jesuits persisted in pressuring Albrecht V to withdraw his support of the lay chalice.

In late 1563, the Protestant Duke Joachim of Ortenburg issued a decree abolishing Catholicism in his territory and attacked the religion in Bavaria. After a series of military conflicts, it became clear to Albrecht that the German Lutherans desired to rid Bavaria of Catholicism.²⁴ These incidents caused him to reconsider the chalice issue, since his goal of bringing the Protestants back into the fold now seemed futile. He soon formed a new opinion on the matter and banned the use of the lay chalice in Bavaria. Heeding the advice of the Jesuits, he also desired to separate himself from a German style of Catholicism and strengthen his relationships with the Catholicism of Rome. For this he required a greater number of priests educated in the Roman style in Bavaria, and in January of 1564 he wrote to Canisius, who was now the primary Jesuit representative in German speaking lands, to ask for help. Canisius quickly responded and helped Albrecht find the necessary clergymen, and the Jesuit soon traveled to Munich to arrange the affairs of the new priests, thus creating a strong relationship between the Bavarian monarchy and the Jesuits that would last for many generations.²⁵

²³ Brodrick, *Saint Peter Canisius*, 602.

²⁴ Brodrick gives an account of the various military engagements on page 604.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 605.

The Jesuits and Wilhelm V

When Albrecht died in 1579, he left the throne to his son Wilhelm V, whom contemporaries, and later historians, considered to be the more pious of the two leaders.²⁶

It is certainly true that the duke worked actively to end the spread of Protestantism in Bavaria, restore a Roman-style Catholicism, and to “not leave a vestige of those new doctrines which, for the last forty years, had been spreading so fast in his kingdom.”²⁷

His association with the Jesuits began during his childhood education in a Jesuit school in Munich, where he pleased them greatly with his piety and eagerness to learn. Later in his life, in 1568 the Jesuits staged a drama called *Samson* as part of Wilhelm’s wedding celebration.²⁸ Before he became duke in 1579, Wilhelm was so esteemed by the Jesuits that Canisius dedicated his amplified edition of the Catechism, published in 1569 for use in the schools of Bavaria, to the devout prince.²⁹

A famous incident of 1577 reveals Wilhelm’s close relationship with the Jesuits. Canisius was in Bavaria as Wilhelm’s personal Lenten preacher, a position the prince had personally invited Canisius to fill. In his spare time the Jesuit was finishing work on his *Opus Marianum* with the aid of a scribe. One day the scribe had to leave the room to attend to some business, and Wilhelm later walked into the room. Canisius, who had his eyes closed in deep thought, mistook the prince as his scribe, and began dictating again. Wilhelm quickly picked up the pen and took dictation for nearly an hour. When the original scribe returned, and Canisius realized what he had been doing, he threw himself

²⁶ Historian James Brodrick called Wilhelm a “Great champion of Catholicism,” Ibid., 744.

²⁷ R. W. Thompson, *The Footprints of the Jesuits* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1894), 123.

²⁸ The music for this drama was possibly written by Orlando di Lasso. It is unclear to scholars whether or not Lasso composed anything for the drama, although there does appear to be enough evidence to consider it quite likely. As far as this author is aware, no in-depth study has been done of this work, or its composition. For some information see Philip Weller, “Lasso, Man of the Theatre,” in *Orlandus Lassus and his Time*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt, Eugene Schreurs, and Annelies Wouters (Peer: Alamire, 1995), 89-128.

²⁹ Brodrick, *Saint Peter Canisius*, 701.

at the prince's feet and begged forgiveness, to which Wilhelm replied, "It was no blunder, for I wanted very much to be your scribe, especially in this most devout work. Indeed, I congratulate myself on having had a part in it."³⁰ Later Canisius said of Wilhelm, "Nowhere in all Germany have I found so much virtue and true piety as in this Prince....He admonishes the clergy of their duties, tolerates no heretics at his Court, is devoted to his prayers, and has none of the vices common in princes....How could I but serve so rare and fair a Prince?"³¹

Shortly before Wilhelm ascended to the throne, however, his close relationship with Canisius began to unravel. In 1578 the Prince petitioned for a permanent Jesuit advisor to the court. Father Dominic Mengin, who had long been Wilhelm's personal confessor, took the position. Perhaps because of his personal feelings for Mengin, Wilhelm began to spoil his new counselor and encouraged him to live in a more lavish manner than was the accepted practice of the Jesuits. This greatly upset Canisius, who attempted to use his position as Wilhelm's personal Lenten preacher to convince him to dismiss Mengin, saying that he had become unsuited for the position of advisor. Wilhelm and his wife disagreed with Canisius, and this affair distressed many Jesuit leaders who were wary of upsetting the future duke. Canisius was removed from Bavaria by the Jesuit leadership at nearly the same time Wilhelm became duke.³²

Upon ascending to the throne in October 1579, Wilhelm quickly began to initiate liturgical reforms, with the hope of drawing closer to Roman-style Catholicism.³³ He implemented the use of the new Roman Breviary, and soon "adopted measures for the

³⁰ Ibid., 744.

³¹ Ibid., 756-57.

³² Ibid., 760-64.

³³ Daniel Zager, "Post-Tridentine liturgical change and functional music", 41-63.

destroying all the influences of the Reformation, and putting an end to Protestantism.”³⁴

In 1581 he sought to intensify these reforms with Jesuit aid, and requested that someone be sent from the Jesuit’s German College in Rome to Bavaria to take charge of reforming the liturgy. It is possible that he felt the need to form another strong bond with a Jesuit in the absence of Canisius. Michele Lauretano, the rector of the school, sent the young Walram Tumler, who had just finished his studies at the Jesuit College in Rome.

In an unpublished history of the Jesuit’s German College in Rome written between 1655 and 1662, Wilhelm Fushban gives a detailed account of the events that transpired during Tumler’s two-year stay in Munich.³⁵ There have been few studies by musicologists of these events. As of yet, a complete picture of the early reforms has not been given, nor has an analysis of music been a central part of the discussion. Daniel Zager provides a compelling argument for deemphasizing the impact Tumler had on the Bavarian court by noting a hymn cycle begun by Lasso in 1580 based on the new Roman Breviary, which indicates that Wilhelm had already begun liturgical reforms before the Jesuit arrived. Zager does not, however, offer any musical evidence that Lasso’s compositional style of liturgical music had already changed as part of these early reforms. It should also be observed that whatever reforms may have taken hold before Tumler appeared, they seemed to have fallen well short in the eyes of the Jesuit. Horst Leuchtmann comments on this in his 1976 biography of Lasso, claiming that Tumler expected too much from the court and unfairly compared it to the Jesuit schools of

³⁴ Thompson, *The Footprints of the Jesuits*, 123.

³⁵ This source appears in two different modern editions, with neither giving an entire translation, including: Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music, I: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe*, Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits 2 (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970), 90-92, 287-89; Andreas Cardinal Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 1st ed. (Freiburg: Breisgau, 1895), 276-78.

Rome.³⁶ David Crook agrees with this opinion in his exemplary study of Lasso's Magnificats, claiming that "Tumler failed to grasp the situation at Munich."³⁷

This is perhaps a correct assumption; however, it is quite clear that even if Tumler's outlook was misguided, his reforms had a great influence not only on Munich, but on all of Bavaria. Only now are studies appearing in which the impact of these reforms is examined in terms of music. Alex Fisher provides strong evidence that the Jesuits had a significant impact on some of Lasso's last compositions,³⁸ but the immediate result of these reforms on Lasso's music has not been analyzed in this light. The Passions occupy a unique place in the composer's works, since they are some of the first liturgical pieces written after Tumler's arrival. It is therefore necessary to examine these liturgical reforms as a whole, as well as Lasso's immediate reaction to the changes, and to then explore the effects on his compositions. This investigation can explain how the Bavarian Court viewed liturgical music, and how Lasso responded to pressures on his compositional style from his employer. For this reason, the following information on the reforms of both the liturgy and music will be presented, with the hope of providing a more complete picture than has been offered before.

Walram Tumler Reforms the Liturgy

Tumler arrived in Munich in October 1581, but was forced to wait a month before being granted an audience with the duke. Upon his arrival, the Jesuit was already greatly detested by much of the court, including the priests and musicians, since they

³⁶ Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso: Sein Leben* (Weisbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976), 190.

³⁷ David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*, 37.

³⁸ Alexander Fisher, "'Per Mia Particolare Devotione.'"

disliked the idea of an outsider taking charge of the reforms.³⁹ After threatening to leave, Tumler was allowed to meet with Wilhelm, and the two quickly became friends. The duke made Tumler master of ceremonies, giving him a residence and a salary. Tumler immediately began to scrutinize the state of the liturgy in Munich. Regardless of the reforms that had perhaps already begun, he was highly displeased with the state of affairs, especially the manner in which the mass was celebrated. In a letter written to Lauretano, Tumler makes specific mention of several problems with the clergy, the musicians, and the sacred vestments and ornaments of the church. It was Tumler's opinion that, despite the long religious tradition of Bavaria, "the observance of the divine rites had almost ceased in the Bavarian court."⁴⁰ He had this to say about the priests in Munich:

The priests, whose office it was to say Mass at court, were so ignorant that, other than the one Mass known to them, they scarcely knew how to read another, much less celebrate it. [They were accustomed there] either to omit the prayers of the Hours (thought to be nonsense), or, in discharging [their obligation] out of reverence for the duke, they caused anyone listening to laugh, because of their clumsiness.⁴¹

Tumler also made numerous references to the poor condition in which the sacred vessels and vestments were kept, noting that they were "used irreligiously...and torn as well as dirty."⁴²

Tumler's complaints regarding the musicians involved their appearance and their manner of singing. "The Choir was completely ragged....The high singer read through the mass in a wicked manner, without the respect owed it."⁴³ This account, again appearing in a letter to Lauretano, gives more details:

³⁹ Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 276.

⁴⁰ Culley, *Jesuits and Music*, I, 287. English Translation from Culley, 90.

⁴¹ Ibid. English Translation from Culley, 90.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 275.

The singers were no better than the priests. They omitted what we call commemorations, [and], having left out the antiphons of the Blessed Virgin, [thus] shortened Vespers. They raced through the psalms, irreverently, pressed right around the priest at the altar with his ministers, also goaded anyone working more slowly, and urged him to hurry. You would have said they were going to exhale all their devotion from gaping mouths, when from their places [in choir], they responded *Gloria tibi, Domine, Et cum spiritu tuo*, or *Amen*. They prolonged each of these (with noisy and confused sounds) for such a long time, that you could [during that time] sing the Gospel or Epistle in the Mass without hurrying.⁴⁴

In the margin of the original manuscript there is a comment made by Lauretano in a letter to Tumler, “What more indeed...did you expect from singers chosen from rabble? They are more interested in eating and drinking than in the liturgy; and they sell their services to whoever offers more.”⁴⁵

Tumler brought these complaints to Wilhelm, who listened eagerly to the Jesuit’s advice on how the worship service could be reformed. Wilhelm directed Tumler to give an address to the clergy, nobility, and musicians in order to explain how to reform the worship service. This assembly was by now largely opposed to Tumler and the changes he planned to introduce.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, work quickly began on the reforms, spurred on by Tumler’s hope of having a Roman-style celebration in December.⁴⁷ Fushban gives an account of how the duke and duchess worked endlessly on the task and enlisted many skilled craftsmen to work on the sacred items for the church. The duchess occupied herself with the production of choir-robos, as well as other church clothes in the Roman tradition. Meanwhile the goldsmiths and carpenters worked under Tumler’s guidance to restore the church building, as well as of the sacred vessels.⁴⁸ Tumler also spent much

⁴⁴ Culley, *Jesuits and Music*, I, 288. English Translation from Culley, 91.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 91n.,.

⁴⁶ Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 276.

⁴⁷ Culley, *Jesuits and Music*, I, 288.

⁴⁸ Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 276.

time with the clergy, instructing them on the proper way to say canonical prayers and celebrate mass.⁴⁹

The first Roman-style celebration was held in 1581 for Vespers on the Vigil of Christmas. The Duke was delighted with the celebration and had very high praises for Tumler. Wilhelm told the Jesuit that he had the authority to take whatever actions were needed to complete his reforms. On January 15, 1582 Tumler sent to Rome for numerous items to aid him, including choirbooks; tones for the psalms, the responsories, and the four Passions; and sacred objects, such as cloths and lamps, in the style of the Pope's personal belongings.⁵⁰ Many members of the court did not share Wilhelm's enthusiasm for the reforms, most notably the musicians, and Fushban even points to Lasso as being particularly stubborn on the issue. The musicians were quite uncomfortable with all of the new demands that were placed on them. Things came to a head when Tumler insisted that the choir not wear secular clothes for processions, but rather choir robes. They also were not allowed to wear their swords during mass, which appears to have greatly upset them. They were forced to obey, however, and the revisions soon took hold.⁵¹

A "Solemn Holy Week Celebration"

Shortly after the Christmas Vigil celebration, Wilhelm declared that the reformed liturgy was to be used not just in Munich, but throughout all of Bavaria, upon punishment of death if not enacted. Tumler then set his sights on Holy Week of 1582, and in January

⁴⁹ Culley, *Jesuits and Music*, I, 288. English Translation from Culley, 91.

⁵⁰ This list was taken partially from Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom* 276, and partially from Culley, *Jesuits and Music* I, 288.

⁵¹ Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 276.

gave the musicians and clergy instructions to make the celebration especially solemn.⁵²

While nothing is given in the accounts about Holy Week, we do know that Lasso's Mark and Luke Passions were composed in March of that year and then performed for the first time in Holy Week in April. It can easily be assumed that these new, much more restrained Passions were part of the solemn Holy Week celebrations. Lasso would have been well aware of the demand for solemnity, owing to the frequency of Tumler's formal speeches explaining the reforms.

It is impossible to know exactly what Tumler said during these discourses, but by examining contemporary Jesuit sources, what he would have viewed as a solemn Holy Week celebration begins to become clear. The most important book in the spiritual life of any Jesuit during the 16th century was the *Spiritual Exercises* by St. Ignatius Loyola. The *Exercises* are not a prayer book in the normal sense, but a manual for meditation on the life of Christ intended to cause a spiritual reawakening among Catholics. The book was not distributed among the general population, but instead a participant was led in the meditations by a Jesuit director. The *Exercises* were typically undertaken as part of a retreat, during which a leader held the only copy of the book, using it as a guide to instruct the listeners on topics and the length of each meditation. By the end of the retreat, the participants were spiritually revived and occasionally even joined the Jesuits. Many scholars have pointed to the *Spiritual Exercises* as being vital stimuli to the rapid growth of the brotherhood. When Pope Paul III confirmed the group in 1540 there were 10 members, by 1600 there were 5,000, and by 1613 over 13,000.⁵³

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation*, 90.

Loyola divided his *Exercises* into four “weeks,” each containing directions for meditation over a set period of time. While ideally the *Exercises* are to take a month to complete, there is much flexibility built in to allow for variation. Each week is clearly outlined with a series of prayers, preludes, and then “points” for meditation. The first week consists of an examination of the self, the second focuses on the life of Christ, the third on the crucifixion, and the last week on the resurrection. By the end of the fourth week the goal is for the participants to have “rid themselves of spiritual weakness and to acquire spiritual health and strength.”⁵⁴ The *Spiritual Exercises* were of central importance to any Jesuit, who would have participated in them and likely have led them many times throughout his life. In the words of Jesuit historian William V. Bangert, “The spirit that sprang from the fountains of Loyola and Manresa flowed through the channels of the *Spiritual Exercises* of the Society of Jesus into the hearts of thousands and became incarnate in the lives of the Jesuits.”⁵⁵

The *Spiritual Exercises* reveal the importance of the Passion story to the Jesuit philosophy. The third week centers on contemplation of Christ’s death, concentrating upon each incident of the Passion narrative. This section of the book is the climactic point of the four weeks, and the participant spends much time meditating on how Jesus “suffers all these things for [our] sins.”⁵⁶ Despite the power of this section, Loyola presents the Passion story with stark reality, rarely straying from the gospel text. The first prelude of the third week demonstrates this quality:

Call to mind the history of how Christ our Lord sent two disciples from Bethany to Jerusalem to prepare the Supper; and then Himself came there with the

⁵⁴ Loyola, Ignatius. *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, trans. from the original Spanish “autograph” (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1948), 7.

⁵⁵ Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 45.

⁵⁶ Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, 100.

other disciples; and how, after having eaten the Paschal Lamb, and supped, He washed their feet, and gave his most Holy Body and Precious Blood to His disciples, and made them a discourse, after Judas had gone out to sell his Lord.⁵⁷

The following excerpt, from the fourth point for meditation of the third week, could be considered the most emotional portion of the week, if not of the entire book.

Consider what Christ our Lord suffers in His humanity, or wills to suffer, according to the passage we are contemplating; and here begin with much energy to excite myself to sorrow, grief and tears.⁵⁸

This blunt and simple style permeates all of Loyola's *Exercises*, reflecting the general attitude of Catholicism as revealed by the Council of Trent. During the Council, the Jesuits acted as authorities on both Scripture and doctrine, always pressing for simplicity and avoiding all but the necessities in their decisions, and they continued to spread these ideals after the assembly concluded. While we cannot be sure of the Jesuits' philosophy of musical composition, Michael Mullet has demonstrated how the unembellished nature of the *Spiritual Exercises* was manifested in Spanish religious art in the mid and late 1500s. The guiding principles when depicting Gospel narratives, particularly of the Passion, were simplicity and realism, largely at the urging of Jesuit churches in Spain.⁵⁹ It is safe to assume that Tumler shared this opinion when desiring to establish a "solemn Holy Week celebration" in Munich, and that he possibly instructed Lasso to compose in such a manner, since, as we shall see, simplicity and realism are the primary features of Lasso's Mark and Luke Passions. It is also certainly possible that Lasso himself would have been well aware of the *Exercises*, as has been suggested by Alex Fisher, but there is no verifiable proof of this.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ibid., 98.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 99.

⁵⁹ Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation*, 204.

⁶⁰ Alex Fischer, "'Per Mia Particolare Devotione'".

It could easily be argued that the properties that manifest themselves in the later Passions, simplicity and realism, could just as easily have come from the Council of Trent's decrees, and not directly from Tumler. This is certainly the case for many composers, but it does not appear to explain fully Lasso's shift in compositional style. As has already been pointed out, all of Lasso's Passions were written at least ten years after the conclusion of the Council of Trent. He would have been aware of the proceedings of the Council, since he had been employed by Albrecht V, who had sent numerous representatives to Trent since 1556. Yet for some reason, Lasso seems to have ignored the Council when composing his Matthew and John Passions. It now appears that the composer needed some sort of urging, or possibly even a direct order to alter his approach in this genre. Walram Tumler could have provided just such a request in early 1582, and have had a direct influence on Lasso's Passion music, which will be suggested here by means of manuscript study followed by a musical analysis of all four Passion settings.

Chapter 2

The Passions of Orlando di Lasso

The Passion Tradition

When Lasso composed his four settings of the Passion text, there was an established tradition of polyphonic Passions dating back approximately 150 years. His settings are best understood within the context of this distinct genre in which separate Catholic and Protestant traditions were maintained throughout the 16th century. During the Renaissance, Passions did not undergo the same rigorous musical development as other sacred genres did, but instead remained closely tied with chant well into the 1700s. Sixteenth-century settings that do not strongly rely upon medieval recitation tones are rare, and Lasso's settings are no exception. It is certainly possible to trace changing musical techniques through Passion settings, but usually at a pace falling well behind changes in other sacred genres. Nevertheless, madrigalisms, for example, are present in Lasso's settings, as are the imitative techniques common after Josquin's generation. However, Lasso, like other composers, almost never used his Passions as a place for experimentation.

Rather than an increase in musical experimentation, the primary impetus for change in the style of Passion settings was most often liturgical or theological reform. In the 1570s and '80s there were three basic Passion traditions, all of which derived directly from religious changes in the 16th century. The Catholic Passions of Lasso's time were visibly affected by the Council of Trent and the work of the Jesuits, and are notable for

their musical restraint and general lack of emotion.⁶¹ The two Protestant styles of Passions also resulted from religious reform. The earliest settings, referred to as Longueval-Passions, combine text from all four Gospels and reflect changing ideas about the liturgy.⁶² The settings of North German Lutherans, often called Walter-Passions, are even more restrained than contemporary Catholic settings and demonstrate shifting ideas about music and worship.⁶³

The Catholic Passion tradition derives from at least the fourth century, when readings of the Passion text accompanied Holy Week celebrations. Throughout the next millennium, liturgical usage was standardized, resulting in the Matthew Passion being read on Palm Sunday, Luke on Tuesday of Holy Week, Mark on Wednesday of Holy Week, and John on Good Friday.⁶⁴ This remained the standard practice during Lasso's lifetime and continues to be followed in today's liturgy. The text originally was read by just one priest but there is evidence that as early as the 13th century there were multiple readers reciting separate parts of the story.⁶⁵ Most often this consisted of one cantor as the narrator, one as Christ, and one as the turba, all reciting on different pitches to further distinguish among the various characters. This led to a system of recitation tones that

⁶¹ The settings of Tomás Luis de Victoria, for example, which are discussed on page 23.

⁶² These Passion settings are named after the first known composer to use this technique, Antoine de Longueval, who was himself a Catholic; however, his setting was not widely used by Catholics and later in the century a Passion based on all four Gospels was much more widely accepted by Protestants. For an in-depth discussion of these Passion settings, see Kurt von Fischer, "Die Passion von ihren Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen. Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, eds. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, Hans Oesch, and Max Haas (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1973), 601. The manner in which Longueval combined the four Gospel texts is discussed in pages 25-27 of this study.

⁶³ Named after composer Johann Walter's two Passion settings.

⁶⁴ Fischer, "Die Passion von ihren Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," 586.

⁶⁵ For more on Passion narratives recited by one cantor see Michel Huglo, *Lev Livres de Chant Liturgique* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1988), 18-21.

was still standard in Lasso's time, with the words of Christ recited on f, the narrator on c', and the turba on f'.⁶⁶

A mid 15th-century manuscript from Füssen contains a monophonic setting of each Passion, as well as instructions for creating polyphonic settings and suggestions concerning performance practice.⁶⁷ The authors of the manuscript used the standard recitation tones to compose a polyphonic setting of the turba texts in which three voices enter on f-c'-f' and cadence on c-c'-e' for each segment of text, as is shown below in Figure 1.⁶⁸ Although some polyphonic settings of the Passion existed at least as early as 1430, this manuscript formalized polyphonic Passion composition in Germany, where the genre thrived throughout the 15th and 16th centuries.

Figure 1. Füssen Manuscript⁶⁹



The majority of Catholic Passions, including all four of Lasso's compositions, are responsorial settings, which consist of a polyphonic setting for the turba, with the words of Christ also occasionally set polyphonically. The evangelist's part was not set by the composer; instead the cantor recited the narration on the predetermined Passion tones.

⁶⁶ Fischer, "Die Passion von ihren Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," 589.

⁶⁷ Harburg, Fürstlich Ottingen Wallersteinische Bibliothek, Ms. II.2.2.°6.

⁶⁸ Here, and for the duration of this study, c' = middle C.

⁶⁹ Taken from *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* X (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1962), plate 62.1.

This part is never found in the manuscripts since they were not needed for the choir.⁷⁰

The vast majority of Passions are settings of the Matthew and John gospels. It is probable that these two were preferred because they were proper to the most important days of Holy Week; Matthew on Palm Sunday, and John on Good Friday.

The best known post-Tridentine Catholic composer to set the Passion besides Lasso was Tomás Luis de Victoria. His two settings, of Matthew and John, reflect a compositional restraint that emphasizes text clarity, a common feature of Catholic responsorial Passions of the late 16th century. His works do not rely upon music to express sentiment or to convey the drama of the crucifixion. Instead, they provide a detached view of the Passion, devoid of emotion.⁷¹ Both settings are mostly homorhythmic, although the Matthew Passion contains some florid counterpoint. Every section incorporates the standard recitation tones. Example 1 shows two sections from the John setting, composed in 1585, on the text “Crucifige, crucifige eum,” and “Non hunc, sed Barabbam.” The similarity between Victoria’s “Crucifige eum” and the setting of that text in the Füssen manuscript prepared 150 years earlier, shown in Figure 1, is clear.

⁷⁰ Basil Smallman provides an in-depth discussion of responsorial Passions in *The Background of Passion Music; J.S. Bach and his Predecessors* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), 132-36.

⁷¹ Idid., 63.

Example 1. Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Passio secundum Johannem*⁷²

a. “Non hunc, sed Barabbam”

Non hunc, sed Ba - rab - bam.

Non hunc, sed Ba - rab - bam.

Non hunc, sed Ba - rab - bam.

Non hunc, sed Ba - rab - bam.

b. “Crucifige eum”

Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - um.

Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - um.

Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - um.

Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - um.

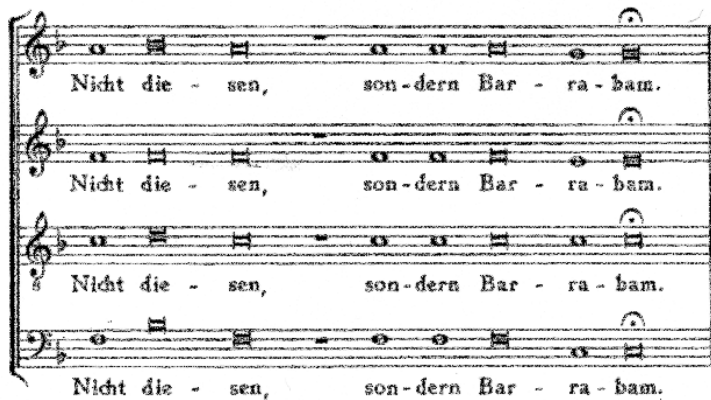
Even more lacking in emotional expression, the settings of Johann Walter, who was Martin Luther’s primary musical advisor, demonstrate the influence that Protestant reforms had on Passion composition. In these two settings, again of the gospels according to Matthew and John, both from ca. 1550, Walter makes a clear departure from the melismas and complicated polyphony that characterized pre-Tridentine Catholic compositions. The words come through even more clearly than in the above example from Victoria, the style is more restrained, and the text is now sung in German. This manner of Passion setting became widespread in much of Protestant Germany during

⁷² These examples are taken from *Thomae Ludovici Victoria, Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, ed. Philippo Pedrell (Lipsiae, Breitkopf et Härtel, 1902-13), 171.

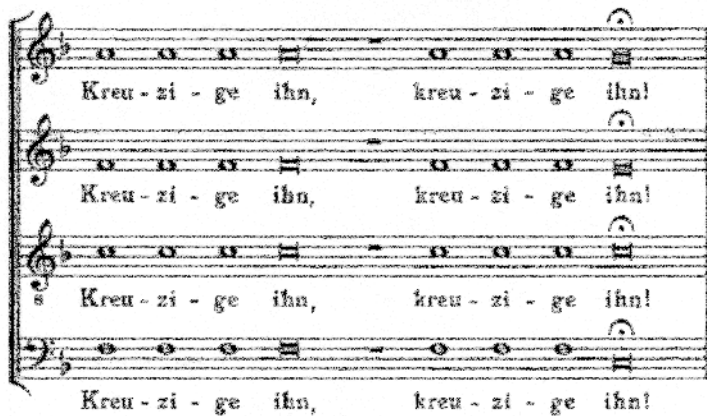
Lasso's lifetime. Example 2 shows Walter's settings of "Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam," and "Kreuzige ihn," the same text shown in Example 1. These examples come even closer to the instructions found in the Füßen manuscript.

Example 2. Johann Walter, *Passio secundum Johannem*⁷³

a. "Nicht diesen, sondern Barabbam"



b. "Kreuzige ihn"



The one other common Protestant Passion type in Lasso's lifetime is rather more expressive than those composed by Victoria or Walter, but diverges far from a liturgical function in the Catholic Church. The setting by Antoine de Longueval, presumably

⁷³ These examples are taken from Johann Walter, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4, ed. Otto Schröder (Kassel, Bärenreiter; St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 29-30.

written in 1504, was falsely attributed to Obrecht later in the century by German printers.⁷⁴ The Longueval Passion is based mostly on Matthew's account; however, the composer drew material from each Gospel, notably including all seven of Christ's last words, which are scattered among the four accounts. The work is broken into three sections and set in a motet-like style, relying heavily on imitation and melismas. Although Longueval was himself a Catholic, his Passion differs from most later Catholic settings, being continuous and containing polyphonic music for the narrator as well as for all other characters. A common feature of this work, and one that would certainly not have been accepted after the Council of Trent, is that characters often interrupt each other. Most striking are the numerous entrances of the narrator before the words of Jesus have been completed. The example below begins with Jesus exclaiming "Sitio" (I thirst),⁷⁵ but before two of the voices have concluded the Evangelist enters with new text, shown by the marking E in the altus.

Example 3. "The Longueval Passion"⁷⁶

The image displays a musical score for a four-part setting. The staves are arranged vertically. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the staves. The first staff (Soprano) begins with 'sus:' and 'Si - ti - ol'. The second staff (Alto) begins with 'Si - ti - ol' and 'Et de - de - runt e - i'. The third staff (Tenor) begins with 'sus:' and 'Si - ti - ol'. The fourth staff (Bass) begins with 'Si - ti - ol' and 'Et de - de - runt'. The music is written in a style typical of the early 16th century, with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature.

⁷⁴ Fischer, "Die Passion von ihren Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," 601.

⁷⁵ John 19:28

⁷⁶ This example taken from Jacob Obrecht, *Werken van Jacob Obrecht*, vol. 7, ed. Johannes Wolf (Amsterdam; G. Alsbach, 1908), 48.

Lasso's Passions hold a place between the three examples given above. He does not restrain himself to the extent of Victoria, nor does he use a vernacular text like Walter. Concerning the other extreme, Lasso does not follow the Longueval type Passion,⁷⁷ which often places musical interest over a clear telling of the story. There is still a strict reliance upon the recitation tones in Lasso's Passions, and his text setting is generally clear, but he attempts to make his works noticeably more dramatic and musically compelling than many of his Catholic counterparts. It is presumably for these reasons that Lasso's works served as a model for Catholic composers well into the 18th century, and were still frequently performed as late as the 1740's.⁷⁸

The Matthew Passion

Lasso's Matthew Passion was his most successful and enduring work in the genre. Published twice during his lifetime, the composition continued to appear in manuscripts until 1745. The first printed version is found in the fourth volume of his *Patrocinium Musices*, published in 1575;⁷⁹ it was then reprinted by Le Roy & Ballard in Paris in 1586. Although the actual date of its composition is not known and Lasso's original manuscript for the Matthew Passion is not extant, Kurt von Fischer and others have suggested that it was probably written in 1574 or 1575.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ For a discussion of other Passions based on the Longueval text, see Basil Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music*, 25-7. One notable setting was written in 1578 at the Württemberg court in Stuttgart by Ludovicus Daser, who was Lasso's predecessor as Capellmeister in Munich before leaving the post. This setting was not examined for this study, and it is not evident that Lasso ever saw Daser's Passion.

⁷⁸ Jerome Roche, *Lassus* (London: Oxford University Press, 1982), 46.

⁷⁹ Orlando di Lasso, *Patrocinium Musices IV* (Munich: Adamus Berg, 1575). RISM 1575a, L877.

⁸⁰ Kurt von Fischer, "Vorwort," in *Lasso, Orlando di, Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe*, vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), vi-vii. Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532-1594. Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958), 651-2.

Included in the *Patrocinium Musices* is a dedication to Kaspar Fras, the Benedictine Master Abbot of Weihestefan, a monastery neighboring Munich. It is evident that Fras appreciated Lasso's music and apparently had a close relationship with Wilhelm V, then Prince of Bavaria: Figure 2 below presents a facsimile of the original dedication, a transcription, and an English translation.⁸¹

⁸¹ I would like to thank Bernhold Schmid of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences for providing the image of this dedication. I would also like to thank Dr. Barbara Haggh-Huglo for the transcription, and Michel Huglo, Barbara Haggh-Huglo, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, and Bonnie Blackburn for the English translation.

Figure 2. *Patrocinium Musices IV*, Dedication⁸²

REVERENDISSIMO IN
Christo Patri Domino Gaspari Fra-
sio, Abbati Monasterij Vuey-
hensteffan, etc.
Orlandus Lassus,
S. P. D.



Vm planè mihi constet, quanto amore me, meamq[ue] Musicem, Pater Reuerendissime, prosequaris, quan-
taq[ue] voluptate inde afficiaris, vtpote qui tum in ea oc-
cinenda, tum in iudicando strenuissimi Athletæ præ-
clarissime munere fungaris, tu vnus, cui ob tot, tanta-
que & officia, & merita in me olim in amplissimo illo
tuo Cœnobio sæpè ac sæpius effusissimè collata plu-
rimū debeo: tu inq[ue] vnus verè in præsentiarū mihi dignus visus es, cui quar-
tam hanc Partem meæ Musices, maioribus formis, liberalitate Illustrissimi
Vuillelmi Principis nostri clementissimi impressam, dicarem. Hoc igitur
qualecunq[ue] munus, perinde ac summæ meæ in te obseruantia testem accipi-
to, meq[ue] in eorum albo & diario ascribito, qui quàm maximè summum tui
animi candorem, tuamq[ue] egregiam virtutem & colunt & admirantur.
Vale, Monachio Kalendas Iunij, &c.

A 3

REVERENDISSIMO IN Christo Patri, Domino Gaspari Fra-/sio, Abbati Monasterij
Vuey-/hensteffan, etc./ Orlandus Lassus,/ S. P. D. [=Salutem plurimam dedit]/

Cum plane mihi constet, quanto amore me, meamq(ue)/ Musicem, Pater Reverendissime,
prosequaris, quan/taq(ue) voluptate inde afficiaris, utpote qui tum in ea oc/cinenda, tum
in iudicando strenuissimi Athletæ prae/clarissime munere fungaris, tu vnus, cui ob tot,

⁸² Orlando di Lasso, *Patrocinium Musices IV*.

tanta/que & officia, & merita in me olim in amplissimo illo/ tuo Coenobio saepe ac saepius effusissime collata plu/rimu(m) debeo: tu inq(uam) unus vere in praesentiaru(m) mihi dignus visus es, cui quar/tam hanc Partem meae Musices, maioribus formis, liberalitate Illustrissimi/ Vuillelmi Principis nostri clementissimi impressam, dicarem. Hoc igitur/ quaecunq(ue) munus, perinde ac summae meae in te observantiae testem accipi/to, meq(ue) in eorum albo & diario ascribito, qui quam maxime summum tui/ animi candorem, tuamq(ue) egregiam virtutem & colunt & admirantur./ Vale, Monachio Kalendas Iunij, &c./

To the most Reverend Father in Christ, Dominus Gaspar Frasius, Abbot of the Monastery of Weihestefan. Orlandus Lassus gives many greetings.

Since it is plainly evident to me with how much love you accompany me and my music, most Reverend Father, and with how much pleasure you are affected by it, seeing that both in singing it and in judging (it) you discharge most resplendently the office of [i.e. conduct yourself like] a most strenuous soldier of the faith; you, the one man to whom I owe the most for so many and such great services and benefits conferred on me in the past, often and more than often, in your most distinguished monastery; you, I say, seemed to me truly the only man at present worthy for me to dedicate to him the fourth part of my music, printed in a larger format through the liberality of my most illustrious Prince William [V]. Please accept therefore this gift, such as it is, as a witness to my complete devotion to you: inscribe me in the album and diary of those who most highly revere and admire the purity of your soul and your outstanding virtue. Farewell. From Munich, 1 June [1575].

Sections of the Matthew Passion also appear in manuscripts well after Lasso's lifetime. Two manuscripts prepared between 1707 and 1714, Freising, Dombibliothek, Ms. 2, and Mus. Ms. 3066 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, contain only the *turbae* of the Passion. Neither manuscript supplies Lasso's name, but the music is the same as that printed in 1575. In 1745, the *turbae* of the Passion were copied again, this time with an added basso continuo. Figure 3 below shows the first page of the organ music, which includes the attribution "I'Orlandi" at the top right. The first words of each section are written into the score.

[illegible]

⁸³ Taken from *Orlando di Lasso, Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe*, vol. 2, xxviii.

the High Priest and Pontius Pilate. When a third voice is added for Judas, Lasso assigns it to the tenor, and for Pilate he adds the altus.

Lasso incorporates the traditional Passion recitation tones in almost every setting of the turba. The most common starting pitches are bassus on f, tenor II on f', tenor I on c', altus on a', and superius on c''. These occur in nine of the nineteen turba sections. In the other ten the bassus starts on f, and the superius starts on c'' in every section except two. The other three voices are set on any pitch of the F major triad. The traditional Passion recitation tones also dictate the closing pitches of a C major triad, which Lasso adheres to in all cases but one.

The twenty-two polyphonic sections for individual characters are based on the same recitation tones. The most common pitches for the two voices are f and c'. When Lasso employs three voices, he most often doubles the f in the highest voice, although there is one instance in which the three voices start on a triad.⁸⁴ The only occurrence of a voice not beginning with one of the notes of the F major triad is Peter's first denial of Christ, when the two voices enter on b-flat and f'.⁸⁵ Every single two-voice setting ends on either unison or octave c's. For the three-voice settings, the most common ending consists of the lower voice on c, middle voice on e, and highest voice on c'.

The John Passion

Verifying Lasso's authorship is difficult for the John Passion, because the earliest known source provides no attribution. The work first appears in Mus. Ms. 2750,

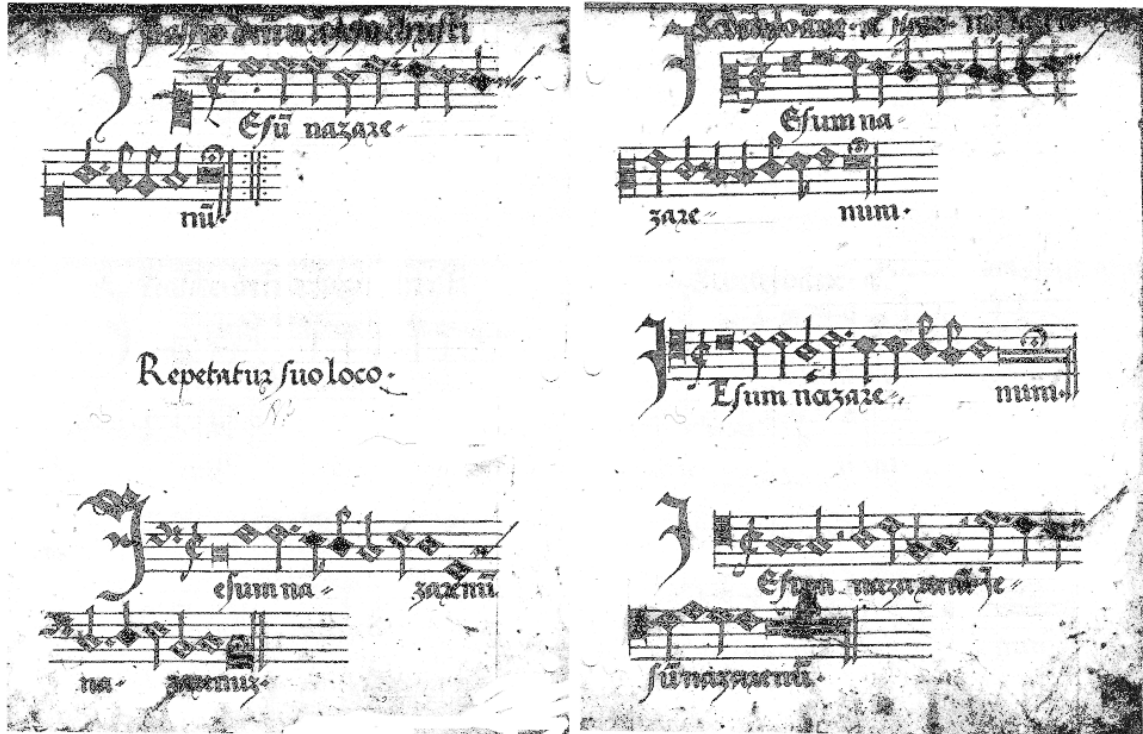
⁸⁴Section 34: Pilate – "I am innocent of this man's blood."

⁸⁵ This is the only denial set polyphonically, since this is the only time Peter directly responds, as opposed to the narrator responding for Peter. It is not clear why Lasso chose to alter the starting pitches for this text, the only occurrence in the Matthew Passion in which he does so.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and includes only a date, March 1580.

Additionally, the manuscript contains two masses by Lasso and one mass by Francesco Flori, who also acted as Lasso's copyist.

Figure 4. The John Passion, first opening⁸⁶



Kurt von Fischer demonstrates that there is more than enough evidence to assume that Lasso wrote this John Passion, most likely shortly before it was copied in March for use in the Holy Week celebrations of 1580.⁸⁷ The musical style of this setting matches Lasso's style more closely than that of Flori. There is a melodic line used in Lasso's three other settings, for example, that appears frequently in the John Passion.⁸⁸ It is also

⁸⁶ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2750, fols. 3'-4.

⁸⁷ Fischer, *Orlando di Lasso, Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe*, vol. 2, vii.

⁸⁸ This melody will be discussed in Chapter 4.

logical that Lasso would have composed a setting according to John before writing the Mark and Luke Passions, which were comparatively rare in the 16th century.

The one other source of this Passion also does not provide attribution, but its inclusion with two of Lasso's other settings also suggests it is his. Mus. Ms. 73, again in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, holds Lasso's Mark, Luke, and John settings together in the same binding. This manuscript was prepared in 1652 for the House of Saint Gregory, a Jesuit-led poorhouse in Munich founded by Albrecht V.⁸⁹

Lasso set the John Passion in the same style as the Matthew, using polyphony for all characters except Christ and the narrator. Once again the turba is set in five voices, although Lasso never adds the sixth voice found in the Matthew setting. The words of the crowd are again set in a homorhythmic, motet style. The individual characters, which in the John Passion include Peter and his accusers, Pilate, and the High Priest, are set most often with two voices in imitation. Lasso again adds the third voice for some occurrences of Pilate.

The John Passion incorporates the traditional recitation tones, although transposed. This setting is the only one to begin each section on pitches from the C major triad, and to conclude each on a G major triad. This is the case for both the turbae and the individual characters. It was not common to set the John Passion a fourth lower on a C triad; the vast majority of settings are on F, including the examples given above by Victoria and Walter. Lasso's reason for doing is beyond the scope of this study, and his motives must remain unclear for the time being.

⁸⁹ Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532-1594*, 651-2.

The Mark Passion

The earliest known source of the Mark Passion is Mus. Ms. 2749 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. The first opening is shown in Figure 5a. The setting was anonymous, but Fischer and Boetticher have demonstrated that this setting was almost certainly composed by Lasso.⁹⁰ The manuscript does provide a date on the last folio, March 3, 1582; see Figure 5b. Fischer has argued that Lasso most likely wrote this setting shortly before it was copied, for performance on April 10th during Holy Week in 1582. The Mark setting was also copied into Mus. Ms. 73 in 1652, with the attribution “Orlandi”.

Figure 5. The Mark Passion

a. first opening⁹¹



⁹⁰ Ibid., 651. Fischer, “Vorwort,” in *Lasso, Orlando di, Sämtliche Werke*, vii.

⁹¹ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2749, fols. 16’-17.

b. last opening⁹²



To bolster his case for Lasso's authorship, Fischer cites the note "Non dicitur" (not presented), which he identifies as being in Lasso's hand (see Figure 5b).⁹³ Although no definite reason has been given for Lasso's suppression of this section, a reading of the gospel reveals a possible explanation. The text comes from Mark 15:36:

One man ran, filled a sponge with wine vinegar, put it on a stick, and offered it to Jesus to drink. "Now leave him alone. Let's see if Elijah comes to take him down," he said.

Mark specifies that this was only said by one person, not the entire crowd. It is possible that Lasso did not realize this when he originally composed the work, and then went back to remove this section, since it would be intoned by the narrator.

⁹² Ibid., 26'-7.

⁹³ Fischer, "Vorwort," in *Lasso, Orlando di, Sämtliche Werke*, vii.

Lasso sets only the turba in this Passion. Including the one that he later removed, there are fourteen polyphonic sections, all of which are composed for four voices in a homorhythmic, motet style. There is one instance when he adds a fifth voice for the final pitch of a section by splitting the bass into two separate notes. This occurs with the text “Crucify Him!” and was apparently done to enhance the intensity of the passage. The Mark setting incorporates the same recitation tones as the Matthew Passion; every section opens with an F major triad, and the most common starting pitches are f-f’-a’-c’’. With the exception of two sections that will be discussed later, each ends on a C major triad.

The Luke Passion

Lasso’s Passion according to Luke originally appeared in Mus. Ms. 2749 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, directly after the Mark setting. There is no attribution in the manuscript, but owing to its proximity to the Mark Passion and its very similar musical style, Lasso’s authorship of the Luke Passion has never been questioned. Unlike the Mark setting, there is no date given in the manuscript; however, Kurt von Fischer has demonstrated that the Luke Passion was probably written shortly after the Mark.⁹⁴ According to Von Fischer, the first performance of this setting was likely on April 11th, one day after the Mark, in 1582.

⁹⁴ Fischer, “Vorwort,” vii.

Figure 6. The Luke Passion, first opening⁹⁵



There are fourteen polyphonic sections in the Luke Passion, all set in a homorhythmic, four-voice motet style. Lasso's Luke Passion is very similar to the Mark in that he sets only the turbae. He also uses the very same model for recitation tones: almost every section opens with f-f'-a'-c'' and closes with c-c'-e'-c''. The one exception to this rule is the fourth section, "Domine si percutimus in gladio."⁹⁶ This section opens Bb-bb-d'-f'', and is the only section in either the Mark or the Luke settings to open with something other than the f recitation tone.

Immediately preceding this text is one of the most peculiar sections in all of the four settings, on the words "See, Lord, here are our two swords." The four voices enter

⁹⁵ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2749, fols. 27'-28.

⁹⁶ "Lord, shall we strike with our swords?"

in typical fashion, but soon the lower two voices drop out, leaving the superius and altus alone until the final pitch. These two voices each have a melisma that lasts approximately fourteen beats.

Example 4. *Luke Passion*, “See, Lord, here are our two swords.”⁹⁷

The image displays a musical score for a four-part vocal setting (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a keyboard part. The lyrics are "Do - - mi - ne, ec - - ce gla - di - i" and "du - - - o . . . hic." The score is written in G major (one sharp) and common time. The Soprano and Alto parts have long melismas on the word "gla - di - i". The Tenor and Bass parts drop out after the first phrase. The keyboard part features a melisma on the word "du - - - o . . . hic." which is marked with a fermata and a repeat sign.

This section is unlike anything else in Lasso’s four Passion settings. Even in the Matthew and John settings, which are overall much more melismatic in character, there is nothing of this length. These imitative melismas seem even more out of place in the

⁹⁷ All modern transcriptions of Lasso’s Passions used in this chapter are taken from Orlando di Lasso, *Sämtliche Werke, neue Reihe*.

Luke setting, which contains very few melismas, suggesting that they had particular significance for Lasso. As was discussed in Chapter 2, Lasso and the other musicians had been strongly criticized for wearing swords during mass, and it is likely that they were banned during the “solemn Holy Week celebration.” Lasso may have been making a declaration regarding the swords, possibly aimed directly at Walram Tumler, the Jesuit reformer. There is no doubt that Lasso emphasizes this text more than any other, perhaps referring defiantly to the fact that even the disciples carried swords. It is unclear if Tumler allowed this section to be performed during Holy Week, since it seems to go against most of what the Jesuit prescribed. However, no markings on the heavily-used manuscript indicate that this section should be abridged or cut. It would therefore appear that this section was performed as written in 1582. Whether or not Lasso was displeased with the liturgical reforms thrust upon his musicians is unknown, but he might have been using this music to make a statement about these reforms.

Chapter 3

Analysis of the Four Passions

Lasso composed the Mark and Luke Passions in a very different religious and political climate from that surrounding the Matthew and John settings. The command from his employer and the Jesuit reformers for a “solemn Holy Week celebration” placed upon Lasso a set of restrictions and objectives that, as far as is possible to determine, were not present during the composition of his two earlier Passions. Walram Tumler, following the Jesuit tradition, demanded from Lasso a realistic portrayal of the Passion.⁹⁸ While it is impossible to know exactly what the composer thought about this stipulation, it is clear that the new condition manifested itself, whether Lasso was willing or not, in the two settings written during Tumler’s stay in Munich.

The primary way that this requirement influenced Lasso’s Passion settings of 1582 is not simply in the reduction of melismas and text repetitions, although these qualities do play a large part in the stylistic disparity, but in the composer’s perception of the works. Regardless of the numerous circumstantial differences, all four Passions share the primary liturgical function intended by Lasso, and their relatively similar manner of composition, is due to the nature of the genre and Lasso’s personal style of composition. The differences to be explored in this chapter relate to Lasso’s understanding of each setting of the Passion as a work of art, in addition to his foremost concern with its functional role. Determining this, and whether his conception of the Passion changed

⁹⁸ See Chapter 2.

from one setting to the next, is crucial to understanding how much effect the Jesuit's reforms had on Lasso's composition of liturgical music.

Common Musical Characteristics

To isolate individual artistic expression in Lasso's Passions, one must first keep in mind the musical characteristics common to every setting. The feature that is most noticeable is imitation, which permeates almost every section of each Passion setting. In two-voice sections, one voice typically enters with an ascending or descending melodic line, which is then imitated by the other voice at the interval of a fifth, a fourth, or very rarely, an octave. The imitation occurs most often after the length of a breve of the first voice, less often after a semibreve, and usually lasts for two or three measures before the parts diverge for the remainder of the section, although Lasso occasionally returns to imitation in the middle of a section. In Example 1, section seven from the Matthew setting, Peter exclaims, "Even if all fall away on account of you, I never will."⁹⁹ This setting is quite typical of the two-voice settings in the Matthew and John Passions, and includes imitation for the first three measures and then again briefly in measure eight, where Lasso uses the natural pause in speech for the beginning of an additional point of imitation.

⁹⁹ Matthew 26:33. This and all other English Bible translations are taken from the *New International Version*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2002.

Example 1. *Matthew Passion*, no. 7

S. Et si o-mnes scan-da-li-za-ti fu-e-rint in.....

A. Et si o-mnes scan-da-li-za-ti fu-e-rint.....

.....te, e-go num-quam scan-da-li-za-bor.

.....in te, e-go num-quam scan-da-li-za-bor.

Imitation is also employed in the four-voice and five-voice settings, although it is not as extensive or fundamental as in the two-voice sections. In the multi-voice settings, imitation usually only lasts for two beats. Lasso occasionally adds another point of imitation, often after a comma in the text, much as in Example 1, in measure eight.

Example 2, section 14 of the Luke setting, employs imitation in three of the voices.

Example 2. *Luke Passion*, no. 14

S. Si tu es..... Rex Ju-dae-o-rum, sal-

A. Si tu es..... Rex Ju-dae-o-rum, sal-vum....

T. Si tu es Rex Ju-dae-o-rum, sal-

B. Si tu es Rex Ju-dae-o-rum, sal-



Another common feature of all the Passions is a cadential figure often placed by Lasso in the highest voice. This figure, slightly varied, occurs sixteen times in the Passions, and is found at least once in all four settings, although far more frequently in the John and Matthew settings than in the Mark and Luke. The reason for the discrepancy is most likely that the two later settings each have only fourteen sections, as opposed to John's thirty-four and Matthew's forty-one, which gives far fewer opportunities to employ the melody. It is also conceivable that Lasso desired to use the melody less in the later Passions to separate them from his earlier work. Example 3a gives the end of the second section in Mark, with the cadential ending of the superius in brackets on the word "pauperibus" (to the poor). Example 3b is the twenty-fourth section of Matthew, when Pilate asks Jesus, "Are you the King of the Jews?" Here the uppermost voice, the tenor, consists only of the cadential figure. While the melody in itself is not extremely unique, its usage in all four settings could be seen as evidence of Lasso's authorship.

Example 3. Use of the cadential melody

a. *Mark Passion*, no. 2, mm. 12-17

b. *Matthew Passion*, no. 24

Lasso occasionally alters this figure to create effective text painting. One such instance occurs in section twenty-three of the *Matthew Passion*, shown in Example 4. Lasso has already used the cadential formula seven times before this section, and he immediately follows it with a bold statement of the melody shown above in Example 3b. The text for this section, “Non licet eos mittere in corbonam: qui a pretium sanguinis est” (It is against the law to put this into the treasury, since it is blood money) occurs directly after Judas has returned the bribe money to the chief priests.¹⁰⁰ The word “blood” is the penultimate word of the setting, and falls directly with an occurrence of the cadential

¹⁰⁰ Matthew 27:6.

melody. Lasso alters the melody slightly by lowering the uppermost note from f to e-flat. The fact that Lasso uses an e-flat is not in itself cause for notice, since he uses the pitch rather often throughout the four settings, but the fact that it distorts such an important melody causes it to be more noticeable than it would be otherwise. The note is also prepared by the e-flats in the first tenor and bass voices. In this way, Lasso intensifies the effect of the word blood.

Example 4. *Matthew Passion*, no. 23

S. Non... li-cet e - os mit - te-re in... cor - bo -

A. Non li-cet e - os mit - te-re in cor - bo -

T.I. Non li-cet e - os mit - te-re in cor-bo - nam:....

T.II. Non li-cet e - os mit - te-re in cor - bo -

B. Non li-cet e - os mit - te-re in cor - bo -

nam: qui - a pre - ti - um san - gui - nis... est.

nam: qui - a pre - ti - um san - gui - nis est.

... qui - a pre - ti - um san - gui - nis... est.

nam: qui - a pre - ti - um san - gui - nis... est.

nam: qui - a pre - ti - um... san - gui - nis est.

In another technique that links the Passions, Lasso frequently raises the ending pitch of sections that end with a question, imitating the natural rise of the voice to indicate the interrogative construction. In the John, Luke, and Mark Passions this occurs at every question. In the latter two settings the normal ending pitches are on a C major triad, but the two questions in Mark's account and the five questions in John's end on notes of the F major triad. As discussed in the previous chapter, the John setting is based on a different recitation tone that normally concludes on G. As in the Mark and Luke settings, Lasso alters the ending pitches for the twelve questions in this setting, changing from G to C. The example below shows a setting from the John Passion with the normal recitation tones, in this instance Peter saying, "I am not", together with the section immediately preceding these words, the question "You are not one of his disciples, are you?" which ends on pitches from the C major triad.

Example 5. Recitation tones in questions

a. *John Passion*, no. 4

b. *John Passion*, no. 3

Although Lasso does not alter concluding pitches often in the Matthew account, there are signs to indicate that he was considering the practice. The most obvious is the one time Lasso ends a section on pitches different from the normal concluding tones of a C major triad, and instead closes on F. This occurs in the sixteenth section, on the text “Prophecy to us, Christ. Who hit you?” and is one of only two questions asked by the turba in Matthew’s account. In addition to this example there are two instances in which a question is asked in the middle of a section, and both times Lasso pauses on notes from the F major triad, linking it with the question in section sixteen. Example 6a shows the first six measures of the second section, in which the disciples ask Jesus, “Why this waste? This perfume could have been sold at a high price and the money given to the poor.” There is a very clear cadence in the fourth measure on the word “waste”, followed by a pause before the statement is concluded. The first nine measures of section fourteen are presented in Example 6b, which includes the High Priest’s question “He has spoken blasphemy! Why do we need any more witnesses?”¹⁰¹ Here the pause is not quite as explicit as in the other example, but there is still a cadence on F because of the question.

¹⁰¹ Matthew 26:65.

Example 6. Questions in the *Matthew Passion*

a. no. 2

5

S. Ut quid per-di-ti-o haec? po-tu-it e-nim

A. Ut quid per-di-ti-o haec? po-tu-it e-nim

T. I Ut quid per-di-ti-o haec? po-tu-it e-nim

T. II Ut quid per-di-ti-o haec? po-tu-it e-nim

B. Ut quid per-di-ti-o haec? po-tu-it e-nim

b. no. 14

4

T. Bla-sphe-ma-vit: quid

B. Bla-sphe-ma-vit: quid ad-huc e-

5

ad-huc e-ge-mus te-sti-bus? Ec-ce nunc au-

ge-mus te-sti-bus? Ec-ce nunc au-

Treatment of the Turba

Another feature that the four Passions have in common is the treatment of major characters. Lasso often goes to great length to differentiate musically separate members of the turba or individual characters. He achieves this primarily by picking a certain

quality of the character and representing it with standard devices, such as melismas for the pleading of the disciples, or staggered entrances and wide ranges for the anger of the Jews. Lasso's treatment of the different characters that make up the *turbæ*¹⁰² does not change significantly among the Passions. This indicates that Lasso believed it was crucial for a realistic telling of the story, as well as for a compelling piece of art, to portray characters in a way similar to their description in the Gospels. This is a marked dissimilarity from the methods of some contemporary composers working in German lands, notably the Protestant Johann Walter, who made no effort to differentiate characters with particular musical techniques in his Passions.

In the majority of the settings for the disciples, Lasso sets their words in such a way that their pleading and confusion is easily discernible. This is mostly accomplished with text repetition and melismas throughout the four Passions. These techniques are by no means limited to the words of the disciples, but the constant downward motion of their melismas heightens this effect. The example below contains two settings, from Mark and Matthew, of the text "Num quid ego sum, Domine?" (Surely not I, Lord). At this moment the disciples are vehemently denying to Jesus that they will betray him.¹⁰³ In Lasso's setting from the Matthew Passion (see Example 7a), the beseeching nature of the disciples is made apparent by the repeated overlapping of the words. In Lasso's Passions the text is usually clear, due to the homorhythmic texture; however, on beat one of the fourth measure, the composer aligns three different syllables to emphasize the disciples' bold proclamation that they would never hand Jesus over to the Jews. This moment is more chaotic than almost every other *turba* setting. Example 7b, from the Mark setting,

¹⁰² The disciples, Jews, and chief priests.

¹⁰³ See Mark 14:19, Matthew 26:22, and note that this part of the story does not occur during the part of the Passion that was typically read during Holy Week in the Luke and John gospels.

shows Lasso's use of melisma to achieve a similar effect. Instead of each disciple speaking more frequently, they speak for a longer period of time. A possible reason for the difference in technique is clarity of the text.

Example 7. Treatment of the disciples

a. *Matthew Passion*, no. 5

S. Num-quid..... e - go sum, Do - mi-ne?.....
 A. Num - quid..... e - go sum, Do - mi-ne?
 T. I Num - quid e - go sum, Do-mi-ne, numquid e - go sum, Do-mi-ne?.....
 T. II Num - quid e - go sum, Do-mine, sum, Do - mi-ne?
 B. Num - quid e - go..... sum, Do - mi-ne?

b. *Mark Passion*, no. 4

S. Num - quid e - go, num - quid e - go?
 A. Num - quid e - go?
 T. Num - quid e - go?
 B. Num - quid e - go?

The chief priests are also present in all four settings. One might assume that Lasso would attempt to indicate musically that they are the villains of the story, as Jesus

himself proclaims on account of their handing him over to Pilate.¹⁰⁴ The music does not meet this expectation, however, because the sections involving the chief priests do not stand out as particularly dramatic and contain few apparent examples of text painting. Lasso hardly uses any melismas or dramatic text repetition to set their words in any of the Passions. Whether intentionally or not, he portrays them as cold and spiritually dead, markedly different from the disciples and Jews, whom he presents as alive and passionate. By doing this, Lasso offers a very different picture of this group, but one that is also found in the Gospels. In Matthew 23:27 Jesus says of the chief priests, “Woe to you, teachers of the law and Pharisees, you hypocrites! You are like whitewashed tombs, which look beautiful on the outside but on the inside are full of dead men’s bones and everything unclean.” Lasso’s portrayal of this quality can be seen in the tenth setting of the John Passion, shown below, in which the chief priests explain to Pilate, “If he were not a criminal, we would not have handed him over to you.”¹⁰⁵ The parts are sung in a homorhythmic style, and Lasso avoids all of his usual techniques for expressing passion: text painting, melismas, and text repetitions.

¹⁰⁴ John 19:11.

¹⁰⁵ John 18:30.

Example 8. *John Passion*, no. 10

S. Si non es - set hic ma - le - fa - ctor, non ti -

A. Si non es - set hic ma - le - fa - ctor, non

T. I Si non es - set hic ma - le - fa - ctor, non

T. II Si non es - set hic ma - le - fa - ctor, non

B. Si non es - set hic ma - le - fa - ctor, non

5

- bi tra - di - dis - se - mus e - um.

ti - bi tra - di - dis - se - mus e - um.

ti - bi tra - di - dis - se - mus e - um.

ti - bi tra - di - dis - se - mus e - um.

ti - bi tra - di - dis - se - mus e - um.

The group that makes up the bulk of turba material in the Passion story is the crowd of Jews demanding Jesus' crucifixion. As would be expected, Lasso mostly presents this group as large, unruly, and at times chaotic. This is best seen when the crowd shouts, "Away with this man! Release Barabbas to us!" "Prophesy to us, Christ. Who hit you?" and "Crucify Him!" The only staggered entrances of the Mark Passion are found when the crowd shouts, "Prophetiza"¹⁰⁶ at Christ, shown in Example 9a. Lasso also employs text repetition in the Matthew account to add excitement, and causes the

¹⁰⁶ Mark 14:65.

illusion of more people shouting, “Barabbam!”(Example 9b). Each voice sings the word twice, noticeably the bass, which has an octave jump between repetitions, seemingly adding another voice to the chaos.

Example 9. Settings of the Jews

a. *Mark Passion*, no. 6

Pro - phe - ti - za, pro - phe - ti - za.

Pro - phe - ti - za.

Pro - phe - ti - za, pro - phe - ti - za.

Pro - phe - ti - za.

b. *Matthew Passion*, no. 29

Ba - rab - bam, Ba - rab - bam.

Ba - rab - bam, Ba - rab - bam.

Ba - rab - bam, Ba - ra - bam, Ba - rab - bam.

Ba - rab - bam, Ba - rab - bam.

Ba - rab - bam, Ba - rab - bam.

Treatment of Individual Characters

It is in the treatment of individual characters that Lasso's early Passions fall clearly on the side of artistic expression, often at the expense of realism. Of the significant individual characters,¹⁰⁷ two, Pilate and Peter appear only in the Matthew and John settings, while the last role, Judas, is found only in the Matthew Passion.¹⁰⁸ These characters are set most often for two voices, although at times Lasso employs a third voice for artistic effect. As mentioned above, all of these sections begin with, and contain, a great deal of imitation. Lasso differentiates among the individual characters in ways similar to his treatment of the turbae, by means of melismas, range, imitative character, harmonic structure, and text repetition. Another technique used by Lasso to distinguish the roles from one another is to use different voices to represent individual figures. Judas and Peter, for example, are most often set for superius and altus voices, while Pilate is usually sung by the tenor and bass.

Although Peter appears only three times in the Matthew Passion and twice in the John, Lasso's treatment of the disciple reveals the care he devoted to expressing a character's development. For Peter's first appearance in the Matthew setting, "Even if all fall away on account of you, I never will,"¹⁰⁹ Lasso sets the text in such a way that it does not readily stand out from the rest of the Passion, as seen in Example 10a. There are no melismas, extreme ranges, or text repetitions in this setting. In the next section, shown in Example 10b, after being told that he would deny Jesus three times before the rooster crows, Peter exclaims "Even if I have to die with you, I will never disown you." Lasso

¹⁰⁷ There are of course other individual characters, such as Pilate's Wife and the High Priest, but they do not play as large a role, and do not receive special treatment in the music.

¹⁰⁸ John's account of the Passion story begins after Jesus was betrayed by Judas; thus he does not appear in the story.

¹⁰⁹ Matthew 26:33.

sets this section with greater intensity by adding melismas and repeating the words “non te negabo” (I will not deny you), representing Peter’s protests to Jesus. The disciple’s next and last appearance is his denial of Christ, shown in example 10c. Here Lasso expands Peter’s melismas and once again employs text repetition to show the character’s agitation.

Example 10. The development of Peter in the *Matthew Passion*

a. no. 7

Example 10a, no. 7, is a musical score for Soprano (S.) and Alto (A.) parts. The Soprano part begins with the lyrics "Et si o - mnes scan-da-li-za - ti fu - e - rint in.....". The Alto part begins with the lyrics "Et si o - mnes scan-da-li-za - ti fu - e - rint.....". The Soprano part continues with "..... te, e - go num - quam scan - da - li - za - bor." and the Alto part continues with "..... in te, e - go num - quam scan - da - li - za - - - bor.".

b. no. 8

Example 10b, no. 8, is a musical score for Soprano (S.) and Alto (A.) parts. The Soprano part begins with the lyrics "Et - - - i - am si o - por - tu - e -". The Alto part begins with the lyrics "Et - - - i - am si o - por - tu - - e - rit.....". The Soprano part continues with "rit me mo - - ri te - - - - - cum, non" and the Alto part continues with "..... me mo - ri..... te - - - - - cum,".



c. no. 18



In these three examples the composer delineates Peter's development in a way that goes beyond realism, or at least a purely literal reading of the story. Lasso shows the disciple's growing fear and agitation, reflecting the Gospel's description of Peter who, following his declamation in Example 10c, runs away and weeps bitterly after hearing a rooster crow the third time.¹¹⁰ In so doing, however, Lasso uses a procedure that does not rely upon a strict reading of the text, having Peter repeat words. This is seemingly insignificant, since it is quite easy to imagine the disciple pleading with his accuser and repeating that he is not a follower of Jesus, but the fact that this technique is present signifies that Lasso's primary concern was not a liturgical telling of the story. His main objective with regard to Peter is to show in music the disciple's descent.

Determining Lasso's treatment of Pilate is more difficult, since he does not treat the character with consistency throughout his numerous appearances. With the exception of one setting for Judas, Pilate is the only character Lasso sets for three voices. Between the Matthew and John Passions, ten out of Pilate's twenty-two sections are trios. It is

¹¹⁰ Matthew 26:75.

conceivable that Lasso wanted to demonstrate Pilate's power by occasionally providing him with a third voice. However, it is difficult to be certain about the logic behind Lasso's decision. For example, Pilate's text, "What shall I do, then, with Jesus who is called Christ?" (Matthew 27:22) is set for two voices, while "Why? What crime has he committed?" (Matthew 27:23) is set with three. It therefore appears that the primary reason for the additional voice does not rely upon the text, but is for musical and artistic reasons.

Further complicating this issue, at least concerning the John Passion, are the wide variety of voice pairings Lasso uses to represent Pilate. Of the fifteen appearances of Pilate in the John setting, eight are for tenor and bass, one for soprano and tenor, one for soprano and alto, two for soprano, alto, and tenor, two for soprano, tenor, and bass, and one for alto, tenor and bass.¹¹¹ This is the only instance in which Lasso changes voice assignments for a character in any of the Passions. As with the number of singers, there appears to be no textual reason for changing which voices represent Pilate. This may indicate that Lasso's reasons were purely musical and that he used the voices necessary to achieve the desired sound, demonstrating once again that Lasso was not as concerned with a literal telling of the Passion story in the John setting as he was with producing a work of art.

Lasso's treatment of the other significant character, Judas, is similar to that of Peter in that one can easily trace the development of the fallen disciple throughout the Matthew Passion. The settings for Judas are notable for their extreme use of melisma, far more than for any other character. Shortly before the composition of the Matthew

¹¹¹This is not the case in the Matthew Passion, in which both two-voice settings are for tenor and bass, and all five three-voice settings are for alto, tenor, and bass.

settings, the Council of Trent had declared that certain musical techniques, such as the melisma, should be avoided in liturgical music in favor of greater text clarity. Lasso knowingly uses melismas to represent the most deceptive character in the story.

Obviously, the composer used this tool for other characters, as has already been pointed out, but the length and excessive melismas for Judas differentiates him from the others.

Two of Judas's first sections (Examples 11a and b), demonstrate Lasso's use of the melisma to show the disciple's deviousness.

Example 11. The development of Judas in the *Matthew Passion*

a. no. 6, "Surely not I, Rabbi."

Example 11a is a musical score for a duet between Soprano (S.) and Alto (A.). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The Soprano part begins with the lyrics "Num - quid e - go sum, Rab - - -". The Alto part begins with the lyrics "Num - quid e - go sum, bi?". The Soprano part features a melisma on the word "Rab" with a long, sustained note. The Alto part features a melisma on the word "bi?" with a long, sustained note. The score is written on two staves, with the Soprano staff on top and the Alto staff on the bottom.

b. no. 9, "The one I kiss is the man, arrest him."

Example 11b is a musical score for a duet between Soprano (S.) and Alto (A.). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The Soprano part begins with the lyrics "Quem-cum - que o - scu-la - tus..... fu -". The Alto part begins with the lyrics "Quem-cum - que o - scu-la - tus fu - - -". The Soprano part features a melisma on the word "tus" with a long, sustained note. The Alto part features a melisma on the word "tus" with a long, sustained note. The score is written on two staves, with the Soprano staff on top and the Alto staff on the bottom.



Judas's last line is shown in Example 12, and it is here that we see the character's development through Lasso's compositional technique. At this point Judas confesses that he has betrayed an innocent man, and Lasso greatly alters his approach and attempts to show Judas seeking redemption. He reduces the length of melismas, and more importantly adds a third voice. In the case of Pilate, Lasso sought to show the character's power through the addition of a third voice, but for Judas it would appear to be largely for musical reasons. By adding the third voice Lasso is able to conclude the section on a triad (something he never did for Pilate) and is able to use imitation for three voices.

Example 12. *Matthew Passion*, no. 21



Text Repetitions and Melismas

The two areas in which Lasso's earlier and later Passions differ most from one another are in the uses of text repetitions and melismas. There are many instances in each setting when Lasso uses these techniques in the interest of realism, but the sheer number of occurrences of both kinds of embellishment and the ways in which they are used in the Matthew and John settings mark a clear difference in compositional process. More so than any other characteristic, Lasso's use of these techniques reveals the shift from an artistic portrayal of the Passion to a realistic telling of the story.

In the Matthew setting repetition occurs twenty-one times and in the John Passion there are twelve such occurrences. The Mark and Luke Passions have noticeably fewer reiterations, seven and two respectively. Lasso's purpose for using text repetition can be divided into two separate functions. More commonly, he employs repetition for a realistic effect, and it is used in this way in all four Passions. Examples include repetitions of the crowd shouting "Crucify Him!" or "Barrabas." The other function of repetition, for musical reasons, appears only in the Matthew and John settings. Lasso employs the additional text to lengthen a section in order to extend a melodic line or for a harmonic resolution.

The only section that contains text repetition in each of the four Passions is the setting of the words “Crucify Him.” For each instance Lasso adds at least one repetition of “crucifigatur” or “curcifige.” The purpose of employing repeated words in each instance is to show the size and anger of the crowd of Jews. By using more repetitions, Lasso is able to suggest that more than four, five, or six voices are present (see Example 13).

Example 13. “Crucify Him”

a. *Matthew Passion*, no. 31

S.I. Cru-ci-fi-ga-tur, cru-ci-fi-ga-tur.

S.II. Cru-ci-fi-ga-tur, cru-ci-fi-ga-tur.

A. Cru-ci-fi-ga-tur, cru-ci-fi-ga-tur.

T.I. Cru-ci-fi-ga-tur, cru-ci-fi-ga-tur.

T.II. Cru-ci-fi-ga-tur, cru-ci-fi-ga-tur.

B. Cru-ci-fi-ga-tur, cru-ci-fi-ga-tur.

b. *John Passion*, no. 22

S. Cru - - ci - fi - ge, eru - - ci - fi - ge...
 A. Cru - - ci - fi - ge e - um, eru - ci - fi - - ge e -
 T. I Cru - - ci - fi - ge, eru - ci - fi - - ge e -
 T. II Cru - - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - - - um,
 B. Cru - - ci - fi - ge, eru - - ci - fi - - ge...

e - - um, cru - - - ci - fi - ge e - - um.
 um, cru - - ci - fi - ge e - - - - um...
 um...
 cru - - ci - fi - - - - ge e - - - - um.
 e - - - - um, cru - - - ci - fi - - ge e - - um.

c. *Mark Passion*, no. 8

S. Cru - - ci - fi - ge e - - - um...
 A. Cru - ci - fi - - ge, cru - - - ci - fi - ge e - - - um.
 T. Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - - - - ge e - um.
 B. Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - - ci - fi - ge e - - - - - um.

d. *Luke Passion*, no. 12

S. Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - - um.

A. Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - - um.

T. Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - - um.

B. Cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge, cru - ci - fi - ge e - - um.

Of the four settings, the Matthew and John are more dramatic and chaotic, although in this instance the Luke does not fall far behind. Lasso added a sixth voice, a second soprano, to the Matthew setting, thus increasing the power of this section. While he did not include the extra voice in the John setting, he achieves the same effect through octave leaps and descents in the alto and second tenor voices (measure two). The Mark setting contains a similar leap in the bass (measure two). This is a technique often employed by Lasso during hectic sections in all four settings. Noticeably different among these examples are the staggered entrances present in the Matthew and John settings that are absent from the Mark and Luke. This technique is rarely used in the later settings and only occurs during sections in which the Jews are shouting at Jesus.

Other examples of dramatic text repetition also occur during particularly frenzied sections, usually involving the crowd heckling Jesus, such as the uproar of “Prophecy to us, Christ. Who hit you?” Lasso uses no repeated text in the Luke setting, and this text is not present in John’s account. In the Mark and Matthew settings, Lasso uses repetition, although in very different ways. Mark’s gospel has only the word “Prophetiza,” while

the Matthew account contains the full text given above. The repeated text in the Mark setting is clearly there for dramatic reasons, marked by the octave leap in the soprano and the only instance of staggered entrances in this Passion. These two features together reveal Lasso leaning towards realism in depicting the chaos of the crowd shouting at Christ. The setting of this text in the Matthew Passion is oddly much more restrained than in the Mark, making this one of the only exceptions to what is expected from his Passions. Both of these sections are shown in Example 14.

Example 14. "Prophecy"

a. *Mark Passion*, no. 6

S. Pro - phe - ti - za, pro - phe - ti - za.

A. Pro - phe - ti - za.

T. Pro - phe - ti - za, pro - phe - ti - za.

B. Pro - phe - ti - za.

b. *Matthew Passion*, no. 16

S. Pro - phe - ti - za no - bis, Chri - ste, quis est, qui

A. Pro - phe - ti - za no - bis, Chri - ste, quis est, qui

T. I Pro - phe - ti - za no - bis, Chri - ste, quis est, qui

T. II Pro - phe - ti - za no - bis, Chri - ste, quis est, qui

B. Pro - phe - ti - za no - bis, Chri - ste, quis est, qui

quis est, qui te per - cus - - - sit?

te per-cus - sit, quis est, qui te per-cus - sit, quis est, qui te per-cus - sit?

te per-cus - - - sit, quis est, qui te per - cus - - - sit?

quis est, qui te per-cus - sit, quis est, qui te..... per-cus - - - sit?

est, qui te per-cus - sit, quis..... est, qui..... te per-cus - sit?

The primary way that different uses of text repetition affect each of Lasso's Passions is in the degree to which they are used to enhance realism in a particular setting. The Matthew and John settings contain numerous repetitions that are in no way realistic in terms of the story and are used for musical and artistic reasons. This is most clearly seen when the text of an individual character is repeated, though there is no scriptural reason to do so. For instance, in Example 15a from the John setting, Lasso repeats Pilate's words "Quid est" in the phrase "Quid est veritas?" (What is truth?) in one of the voices, whereas it seems clear that Pilate said the line only once before walking away from Jesus.¹¹² Musically the text repetition is necessary for the bass to continue its melodic line, but this demonstrates that Lasso's primary concern in this instance is not a realistic portrayal of the story. A similar occurrence is found in the Matthew Passion, see Example 16b, when Pilate asks the crowd, "Which one do you want me to release to you: Barabbas, or Jesus who is called Christ?" Lasso repeats the text "an Jesum," again in the bass in a setting for three voices.

¹¹² John 18:38

Example 15. Musical text repetition

a. *John Passion*, no. 16

T. Quid est ve - ri - tas?

B. Quid est, quid..... est..... ve - ri - tas?

b. *Matthew Passion*, no. 26

A. Quem vul - tis di - mit-tam vo - bis: Ba - - - - -

T. Quem vul - tis di - mit-tam vo - - - - - bis: Ba - - - - -

B. Quem vul - tis di - mit-tam vo - - - - - bist..... Ba - - - - -

- rab-bam,..... an Je - sum, qui di - ci-tur Chri - - - - - stus?

- rab-bam,..... an Je - sum, qui di - ci - tur.....Chri - - - - - stus?

- rab-bam, an Je - sum, an Je - sum, qui di - ci - tur Chri - stus?

The instances shown in these examples might appear to be insignificant, but the complete absence of any such repetitions in the Mark or Luke settings reveals a very different compositional intention. In these two examples Lasso is primarily concerned either with increasing the dramatic tension or with developing a melodic idea, not solely with telling the story. The leap in the bass in Example 15a is quite striking and adds to the drama of the moment when the conversation between Jesus and Pilate comes to a

close. In Example 15b the text repetition in the bass allows Lasso to move the harmony through D towards G in measures 8 and 9, eventually reaching a final cadence on C.

These techniques are obviously not lacking in the Mark and Luke Passions; Lasso uses the same harmonic progression seen in Example 15b frequently in both Passions. It is significant, however, that in the later works Lasso does not distort the text in any way to arrive at the same cadence. Example 16 contains the last six measures of the eighth section in Luke, in which Lasso follows the same general harmonic plan without repeating the text.

Example 16. *Luke Passion*, no. 8

As in Lasso's use of text repetition in the Passions, he uses melisma in two different ways; they can either enhance the realism of the story or be used purely for musical reasons. As expected, the melismas in the Mark and Luke Passions are almost all used to heighten the drama of the story.¹¹³ These instances are similar to the one

¹¹³One main exception of this is the very lengthy melisma involving the disciples' swords that was discussed in Chapter 2, pp 37-9.

shown in Example 7b, in which Lasso enhances the protests of the disciples with the lengthy, descending melismas in the superius and bassus.

The Matthew and John Passions contain numerous melismas intended for dramatic effect, such as Judas's "Surely not I, Rabbi," shown in Example 11, and Peter's denial of Jesus shown in Example 10, as well as many that were included for musical reasons. A prime example of a musical melisma is found in the first setting of the John Passion, in which the Jewish soldiers exclaim that they are searching for "Jesus of Nazareth." Lasso writes a lengthy melisma on the word "Nazarenum." This is certainly a significant moment in the story, since it will eventually lead to Christ's crucifixion, but it does not merit the treatment given it by Lasso from a textual point of view.

Example 17. *John Passion*, no. 1

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor I (T. I.), Tenor II (T. II.), and Bass (B.). The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are "Je - sum Na - za - re -". The Soprano and Alto parts have long, descending melismas on the word "Na - za - re -". The Tenor and Bass parts have shorter, more direct phrases. The Bass part has a long, descending melisma on the word "Na - za - re -".

The Deity of Jesus

The previous example also reveals the most significant feature of Lasso's early settings that is all but absent from the latter Passions. With the exception of the text sung by the disciples, in which Lasso uses melismas to heighten emotions, almost all of the melismas in the Matthew and John Passions fall on the words "God," "Son of God," "Jesus," or "King." From numerous examples, a few instances where this occurs are presented below. In Example 18a the High Priest sings a lengthy melisma on the word, "God," in "I charge you under oath by the living God: Tell us if you are the Christ, the Son of God." This also can be seen in Pilate's statement "Here is your King." shown in Example 18b.

Example 18. "Spiritual" Melismas

a. *Matthew Passion*, no. 13

T. Ad - ju - ro te per De - um vi - - - - - vum,
B. Ad - ju - ro te per De - um vi - - - - - vum,
vum, ut di - cas no - bis, si tu es Chri -
ut di - cas no - bis, si tu es Chri - stus, Fi -
stus, Fi - li - us De - i.
- li - us De - i.

b. *John Passion*, no. 28



By constantly emphasizing these words, Lasso proclaims the deity of Jesus, in contrast to his depiction of the sinful nature of man in the parts sung by Peter and Judas. Although Lasso might have accomplished this by setting the words of Christ polyphonically, this would have gone against the tradition of Catholic Passion settings. Instead, he adds weight to all the texts that speak of Jesus' divinity by setting them with melismas. Lasso perceived his Matthew and John settings as works of art that were created to magnify the glory of Jesus.

This is not the case in the Mark and Luke Passions from 1582. Other than one possible exception, the tenth section in the Mark setting, on the words "Hail, King of the Jews!", there are no melismas in either setting used to enhance a text relating to Jesus' divinity. This reveals a shift away from a setting used to glorify Christ in an artistic manner, to one that centers solely on a realistic telling of the Passion story. The latter settings are not lacking in artistic quality, but it is apparent that Lasso's ideas about the purpose of a Passion setting changed drastically in the presence of Walram Tumler. The three examples below, from the Mark and Luke settings, contain text that likely would have been set with melismas in the earlier works but here are devoid of the technique. Example 19a is a setting from the Mark Passion of, "He saved others, but he can't save

himself! Let this Christ, this King of Israel, come down now from the cross, that we may see and believe,”¹¹⁴ in which Lasso does nothing to emphasize “Christus” or “Rex Israel.” The two following examples, both from the Luke setting, include similar text, “If you are the Christ, tell us,”¹¹⁵ and “Are you then the Son of God?”,¹¹⁶ neither of which contain melismas.

Example 19. Lack of “Spiritual” Melismas

a. *Mark Passion*, no. 12

S. A - li - os sal-vos fe - cit, se - i - psum non pot-est sal -

A. A - li - os sal-vos fe - cit, se - i - psum non pot-est sal - vum..

T. A - li - os sal-vos fe - cit, se - i - psum non pot - est sal-vum

B. A - li - os sal-vos fe - cit, se - i - psum non pot-est sal-vum

vum fa - ce - re. Chri - stus Rex Is - ra - el de-scen-dat nunc de cru -

.....fa - ce - re. Chri - stus Rex Is - ra - el de-scen-dat nunc de cru -

fa - ce - re. Chri - stus Rex Is - ra - el de - scen-dat nunc de

fa - ce - re. Chri - stus Rex Is - ra - el de - scen-dat nunc de

¹¹⁴ Mark 15:31-32

¹¹⁵ Luke 22:67

¹¹⁶ Luke 22:70

ce, ut vi-de-a-mus et cre-da-mus.

ce, ut vi-de-a-mus et cre-da-mus.

cru-ce, ut vi-de-a-mus et cre-da-mus.

cru-ce, ut vi-de-a-mus et cre-da-mus.

b. *Luke Passion*, no. 6

S. Si tu es Chri-stus, dic no-bis.

A. Si tu es Chri-stus, dic no-bis.

T. Si tu es Chri-stus, dic no-bis.

B. Si tu es Chri-stus, dic no-bis.

c. *Luke Passion*, no. 7

S. Tu er-go es Fi-li-us De-i?

A. Tu er-go es Fi-li-us De-i?

T. Tu er-go es Fi-li-us De-i?

B. Tu er-go es Fi-li-us De-i?

Lasso's Passion settings of 1582 share many of the qualities of his earlier works in the same genre. His treatment of major characters indicates that there was little change in his theological understanding of the story. There is also little change in the basic compositional tools he employed in the four settings. It is the extent to which Lasso used these tools, however, that reveals that a fundamental shift had occurred between 1580 and 1582. The early works demonstrate a desire on Lasso's part to go beyond the setting of a liturgical Passion to create a work of art that expresses the deeper elements of the story and displays his own religious faith. While these two features occasionally make an appearance in the later settings, the drastic reduction in text repetitions and melismas show that Lasso desired primarily to give a realistic account of the story and to fulfill the Jesuit demand for a "Solemn Holy Week celebration."

Conclusion

From Humanism to Realism

Numerous religious and political developments in the latter half of the 16th century helped to shape Counter-Reformation Passions, but none had a more direct effect on Lasso's settings than the liturgical reforms of the Jesuit priest Walram Tumler. Prior to Tumler's arrival in Munich in 1581, Lasso's Passions were expressive, often featured dramatic tone-painting, and were conceived as artistic compositions in addition to their having a liturgical function. The settings of 1582, written during the height of Catholic reform in Bavaria, do not share these characteristics. They were largely restrained, simple works that incorporated realism as an essential compositional element.

This shift, from the humanistic to the realistic, is how the influence of Tumler most clearly manifested itself in Lasso's late Passions. Lasso went to great length in the early settings to enliven the characters musically and portray their development throughout the story. The Apostle Peter's original confidence in the presence of Jesus, represented by means of clearly audible text and a homorhythmic style, becomes deception and remorse, shown through melismas and text repetitions. The growing deceit of Judas is even more clearly conveyed by Lasso through intensifying melismas that serve to make his text almost inaudible, especially when he betrays Jesus to the Chief Priests.

The humanistic element of the early Passions is also seen in Lasso's treatment of certain words, a device which he perhaps used to express his faith. For almost every occurrence of "God," "King," or "Christ," Lasso enhances the text with melismas that

seem to offer praise to God. These embellishments are not realistic representations of the story, since often the character speaking is mocking Jesus. Lasso changes the meaning of these texts by causing the characters to honor Christ, and thus he imposes his own beliefs onto the story and creates a work of personal devotion, as well as a functional composition.

These two central features of Lasso's humanistic Passions, animated characters and overt worship, are not present in the Mark or Luke settings. These contain occasional moments in which Lasso adds drama to some roles, such as melismas and text repetition for the disciples pleading with Jesus, but he does not impose the same rigorous character development found in the first two Passions. In addition, words such as "God" or "Christ" are set no differently from any other text, reflecting the fact that, in their context, these words were not meant as praise. This style of blunt realism matches other Jesuit-influenced art closely; most notably Spanish painting that depicts the suffering and pain of Christ.¹¹⁷ The simplicity of the writings of contemporary Jesuits Ignatius Loyola and Peter Canisius is also mirrored in Lasso's latter settings. In these writings, most notably Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, the reader is confronted with a stark telling of the Passion story, which contains nothing beyond the account given in the Gospels.

These correlations could change the way we understand the Jesuits influence on music during the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits' desire for a simple and realistic compositional style, which derived directly from their theology, could have had greater influence on Catholic music across Europe than we now realize. The failure to recognize the Jesuits as an influence, at least with regard to Lasso's Passions, probably originated from the common misconception that the Order was in some way opposed to music. This

¹¹⁷ Michael Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation*, 204.

idea has been refuted by recent scholarship, and we now know that they were not against music per se, but merely critical of the expressive, florid nature of much mid 16th-century Catholic composition.¹¹⁸

The goal of a simple and realistic style matches closely the principles set forth by the Council of Trent, which not coincidentally, were also heavily influenced by the Jesuits.¹¹⁹ However, at least with regard to Lasso's Passion settings, the Council's decrees were not enough to alter his compositional style. The Council's decisions needed to be imposed directly in order to affect the composer's methods. This is the area in which the Jesuits were most effective, and perhaps they can be best understood as Counter-Reformation enforcers, roaming among Catholic courts, eager to influence music, art, and theology anywhere and everywhere. Obviously, this idea is not new to this study or even to musicology, but the role the Jesuits had in directly affecting Counter-Reformation music has not been fully appreciated.¹²⁰

The changes in Lasso's Passions can also help us to comprehend the extent to which religious reforms in German lands affected all elements of culture and worship. Wilhelm V was intent on differentiating his court from the Lutherans to the north and drawing closer to Roman-style worship. Lasso was therefore probably encouraged to do everything as Walram Tumler instructed in order to make Bavaria a haven for Catholics. It is clear from contemporary sources that Lasso was not entirely pleased with the restrictions placed upon him and his musicians; however, the urgings of his employer

¹¹⁸ Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music, I*. It should also be mentioned that by having Lasso compose settings of the Mark and Luke Passions, the Jesuits were in fact encouraging composition by expanding the music for the lesser days of Holy Week.

¹¹⁹ William Bangert, *History of the Society of Jesus*, 25.

¹²⁰ Outram Evennett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1968), 44.

Wilhelm, who was also his friend, compelled him to meet the requirements of the Jesuits.¹²¹

What remains to be seen is the extent to which this influence affected Lasso's later sacred compositions. This topic is already under investigation by some scholars,¹²² but the composer's many sacred compositions from the 1580s have yet to be analyzed in this light. The most compelling question is, for how long after their departure did the Jesuits influence on Lasso's sacred music continue? If he maintained a relatively simple style for his functional works, then this could indicate that his own beliefs may have been affected, or that Wilhelm V continued to pressure Lasso to compose uncomplicated music. If his style reverted quickly, then this would be a clear example of how reforms directly affected the two later Passions, but not the composer's late works as a whole.

Lasso's four Passion settings offer a glimpse into how the intense liturgical reforms of the Counter-Reformation may have directly affected his compositional style. These compositions also provide insight into his relationship with, and reaction to, Jesuit-led reforms. It is only in the context of these reforms, and all the theological and liturgical concerns that went along with them, that we can fully understand the change of style Lasso adopted in the course of setting the Passion texts.

¹²¹ Andreas Cardinal Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 276-78. It should also be pointed out that, despite the extensive correspondence between Lasso and Wilhelm available today, neither makes any mention of Walram Tumler or the Jesuit's reforms. These letters are available in translation in Horst Leuchtmann, *Orlando di Lasso: Briefe* (Weisbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976).

¹²² David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*; Alexander Fisher, "Per Mia Particolare Devotione."

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