

INTRODUCTION

Nicola Vicentino dei Vicentini was born in Vicenza in 1511 and died around 1576–77 in Milan. His name and birthplace are recorded in a document concerning his appointment as chapel master in Vicenza in 1563.¹ His date of birth can be assumed from two references in his treatise *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice* (Rome, 1555): the woodcut giving his age as forty-four and his assertion that he was thirty-nine in 1550. The year of his death, shortly after the plague that ravaged northern Italy in 1575 and again in 1576, is given by Ercole Bottrigari in *Il Desiderio* (Venice, 1599).²

Vicentino studied in Venice under Adrian Willaert sometime during the 1530s. His first book of five-voice madrigals (Venice, 1546) proudly announces his indebtedness to his “unique” and “divine” master.³ Given the unexceptional music in this collection, Vicentino’s comments about his new or rediscovered styles of composing, allegedly influenced by Willaert, amount to little more than the customary platitudes.

Vicentino styled himself “Don” on the title-page, indicating that he should be considered a distinguished priest. Several other documents corroborate his vocation.⁴ Possibly this title of respect was accorded to Vicentino when he entered the service of Ippolito II d’Este, cardinal of Ferrara. Just as we cannot ascertain when Vicentino began and ended his studies with Willaert, so we cannot say when he joined and quit the retinue of the cardinal. It is possible, however, to suggest some reasonable hypotheses. For the years of study under Willaert, the mid- to late 1530s are plausible. The somewhat younger Gioseffo Zarlino began his studies under Willaert at the age of twenty-four in 1541. Vicentino was

1. Giovanni Mantese, *Storia musicale vicentina* (Vicenza, 1956), p. 47, note 36, and Henry W. Kaufmann, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino* (American Institute of Musicology, 1966), p. 16, note 8. An advertisement of the arciorgano gives a similar form of his name. [*Descrizione dell’arciorgano*] (Venice, 1561), section 1. Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, facing p. 172. For a description of this broadsheet, see note 41, below. A letter dated 1570 implies that Vicentino was then fifty-nine years of age (see note 44, below).

2. The circumstances of Vicentino’s death are given by Bottrigari in the text and marginalia on p. 41 (MacClintock translation, [American Institute of Musicology, 1962], p. 52).

3. Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, eds., *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale e profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700* (Pomezia, 1977).

4. The Vicentine record of 1563 lists him as *clericus*, and Ghiselin Danckerts calls Vicentino *capellano* to the cardinal of Ferrara in his *Sopra una differentia musicale* (Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 56A, no. 15b (ca. 1555–56) Bk. I, chaps. 1 and 2. For more information on this manuscript, see note 9, below. Another set of documents (Venice, 1549) alludes to Vicentino as the Reverend Father Nicola (see App. I).

twenty-three in 1534 when, he claimed, he began research into the theory and practice of ancient Greek music.

In order to understand Vicentino's association with the cardinal of Ferrara, we should review briefly the career of this prince of the church.⁵ According to the custom of the day, Ippolito II, the second son of Duke Alfonso I and Lucrezia Borgia, was destined to serve the church, and his elder brother, Ercole II, inherited the duchy of Ferrara. Ippolito was named archbishop of Milan at the age of ten and succeeded to the see a year later upon the sudden death of the incumbent, his uncle Ippolito I.⁶ In 1538 Ippolito II was sent by his brother, now the duke, to France to gather support for the Estense claim to the duchy of Milan after the death of Duke Francesco II Sforza in 1535.⁷ Nothing came of these intrigues except that François I persuaded Pope Paul III to name Ippolito, now royal counselor to the house of Valois, a cardinal *in pectore*. When the duke of Ferrara signed a peace treaty with the pope in 1539, Ippolito's status was announced in a public consistory in March of the same year. He arrived in Ferrara on 6 August 1539 and, after appropriate celebrations, went on to Rome on 18 October to receive his red hat from the pope. These events mark the start of the cardinal's lavish public career.

Ippolito II began to gather a retinue of Italian men of letters, artists, and musicians in the late 1530s and early 1540s.⁸ Perhaps this is when he heard about Nicola Vicentino, the priest who claimed that with proper support and encouragement he could revive the fabled secrets of ancient Greek music. Although the exact timing of Vicentino's enlistment in the cardinal's service is not known, the early to mid-1540s are probable years. Several documents indicate that Vicentino was with the cardinal in Rome

5. After 1561 it was customary to call Ippolito II "cardinal of Ferrara" to distinguish him from his nephew Luigi d'Este, known as Cardinal d'Este. Luigi's elevation to the cardinalate in 1561 was arranged by his uncle with Pope Pius IV, who needed Ippolito's services at the time. Like his uncle, Luigi Cardinal d'Este was a cultivated man; he patronized Torquato Tasso between 1565 and 1572, before Tasso was appointed court poet by Duke Alfonso II, Luigi's elder brother.

6. Lodovico Ariosto dedicated an early version of *Orlando furioso* (1516) to Ippolito I d'Este, his patron until 1517. The young Adrian Willaert also worked for Ippolito I at around the same time.

7. The ties between the Estensi and the French royal family were close. Duke Ercole's wife was Princess Renée of France.

8. Among those who enjoyed the cardinal's patronage were Celio Calcagnini, humanist writer, professor of Greek and Latin, and co-founder of the Accademia degli Elevati in Ferrara; Marc-Antoine Muret, humanist, poet, and commentator; Pirro Ligorio, antiquarian and architect, designer of the Casino, a retreat in the gardens of the Vatican, for Pope Pius IV, as well as of the Villa d'Este for the cardinal; Pierre Sandrin, choir master at the cardinal's court between 1552 and 1561; and the composer Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.

in the fall of 1549, the year Ippolito replaced Jean Cardinal du Bellay as the official envoy of the king of France to the Holy See.

On 10 November 1549 Pope Paul III died. During the ensuing three-month conclave Ippolito II made a strong bid for the papal tiara. He failed because the pro-French electors were outnumbered by a coalition of reformers and pro-Imperial electors. Pope Julius III emerged as a compromise candidate on 8 February 1550 and pacified Ippolito with a gift, the governorship of Tivoli. There the cardinal passed many summers at the sumptuous Villa d'Este.

In 1551, in spite of Ercole's attempt to remain neutral, the Este family was embroiled in Italian territorial wars. Spanish and Florentine forces besieged Siena, a strategic city under French protection. Because Henri II of France considered the Sienese an unruly and duplicitous lot, he found it necessary to appoint a series of lieutenants-governor in an effort to hold on to the city. One of these was Ippolito, who tried to defend Siena in the French king's name from 1 November 1552 to 5 June 1554. Vicentino went to Siena with his patron, and he later used the stay in this city to excuse the delayed publication of his treatise.

After Ippolito's discharge, the cardinal returned first to Ferrara and then to Rome. On 13 March 1555 Pope Julius III died. In the short conclave that followed, the pro-French faction once again tried to have Ippolito II elected, and the pro-Imperial faction once again opposed him. A reform-minded group backed the eventual winner, Marcellus II, whose pontificate lasted barely a month (9 April–1 May). Ippolito seems not to have made a bid for the papacy at the next conclave, at which the severe and ascetic Pope Paul IV was elected. During Paul's pontificate, the cardinal of Ferrara kept a low profile. But when Paul IV died on 18 August 1559, a four-month conclave once more thrust the cardinal into prominence as the pro-French candidate. He was blocked, as usual, by the pro-Imperial faction. A third group organized the election of Pope Pius IV on 25 December. While Ippolito was sequestered in conclave, Duke Ercole II died. Ippolito devoted the early part of 1560 to the festivities and practicalities of crowning a new duke of Ferrara, his nephew Alfonso II d'Este.

Unlike Paul IV, the affable Pius IV liked the cardinal of Ferrara and decided to put to use Ippolito's diplomatic expertise and intimate knowledge of the French court. The upsurge of Calvinism in France was particularly troubling to the papacy at this time, when the Council of Trent was being reconvened. To settle the religious turmoil, the pope in 1561 appointed Ippolito confidential envoy to the court of the queen mother, Catherine de Médicis. The cardinal went to Ferrara on 22 July,

and he left Italy on 7 August 1561 with a large entourage that included Jacopo Laynez, general of the Jesuits and chief theologian of the Council of Trent. Ippolito did not return to Italy until 1563.

The period 1564–65 was spent mainly in Rome. In 1566 Duke Alfonso II went to fight the Turks in Hungary and named his uncle governor of the Ferrarese duchy in his absence. The remaining years of Ippolito's life were uneventful, as he gravitated to the peripheries of secular and religious politics. He continued to enjoy his leisure at the Villa d'Este, where he died on 2 December 1572. He was buried at the Church of San Francesco in Tivoli.

The evidence shows that, especially from 1549 to 1563, the cardinal of Ferrara was an important figure not only on the French and Italian political scene but also at the papal court. He undertook diplomatic and military commissions in Italy and France on behalf of both religious and secular authorities. He was *papabile* no fewer than three times. Retainers of prominent persons have been known to assume postures they consider commensurate with the exalted rank and destiny of their patrons. Thus, some of the high drama described by participants in the musical events between 1549 and 1555 can be ascribed to Ippolito's pride—and to Vicentino's.

The first document linking Vicentino to the cardinal of Ferrara is an unpublished treatise by the musician and theorist Ghiselin Danckerts. The manuscript exists in three versions: the first draft was written sometime in or shortly after June 1551, the second after May 1555 (two copies), and the third around 1559–60.⁹ Danckerts, a member of the Sistine Chapel since 1538,¹⁰ was elected one of two judges on 2 June 1551 to preside over a public debate on the ancient musical genera between Don

9. *Sopra una differentia musicale* (Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. R 56A), nos. 15a, 15b, and 33, respectively. The first two are autographs: no. 15a is a rough draft dated “in questo anno 1551”; no. 15b, the only version to contain copies of the documents on the debate, must have been written after Vicentino's treatise appeared on 22 May 1555 because Danckerts makes insulting remarks about Vicentino's copies of the documents. This version exists in another copy, Ms. R 56B, which opens with a letter “To the Readers” (“L'Autore alli Lettori,” in Maria Augusta Alves Barbosa, *Vicentius Lusitanus: Ein portugiesischer Komponist und Musiktheoretiker des 16. Jahrhunderts* [Lisbon, 1977], pp. 187–89). The third, no. 33 (ca. 1559–60), is a revised clean copy by another hand; less virulent and more erudite in tone, it was probably intended for publication. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent references are to no. 15b.

10. Danckerts was dismissed in 1565 during the post-tridentine reform of the papal choir. Of him the record states: “He has no voice, is exceedingly rich, given to women, useless.” Lewis Lockwood, “Danckerts, Ghiselin.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London and New York, 1980), 5: 220.

Vicente Lusitano and Vicentino.¹¹ Vicentino lost the debate. From what Danckerts and Vicentino wrote about the aftermath, it seems that the cardinal and his chaplain were upset and outspoken about the unfavorable verdict.¹² For this reason Danckerts hastened to defend his opinion in writing soon after the debate (first version of 1551). He set this matter aside until Vicentino published his treatise (which contained his side of the story), then made extensive revisions of the first draft, adding personal invective and malicious gossip, as well as his own version of the events and the documents they engendered. These circumstances warn us that Danckerts is no more trustworthy a source of information than Vicentino.

In the second version Danckerts slyly recounts an episode designed to depict Vicentino as a charlatan who inveigled the gullible.¹³ Apparently, in the fall of 1549 some retainers of Niccolò Cardinal Ridolfi¹⁴ approached Vicentino with a request that he teach them to sing his “new” chromatic and enharmonic music. He refused, it was reported, because he sought the proper reward for his fifteen years of hard work (a job in the papal choir, surmised Danckerts)¹⁵ and also because he feared that the fruits of his labors would be stolen. The singers must have persevered, however, for a notarized contract was drawn up on 25 October 1549 by Felice de Romaulis, notary of the Apostolic Chapel.¹⁶ The contract stipulated that Vicentino would instruct five or six singers, provided that, on penalty of the considerable sum of 200 to 300 scudi,¹⁷ no one would reveal the secret of the genera for a period of ten years. No one was tempted to

11. The other judge was Bartolomé de Escobedo. Lusitano, a Portuguese theorist and composer, may have been a singer in the papal choir. He became a Protestant around 1561 and left Rome for Strassbourg.

12. Danckerts, *Sopra una differentia*, Bk. I, preface; Ms. R 56B, “To the Readers” (see note 9, above); and Vicentino, *Lantica musica*, Bk. IV, chap. 43.

13. *Sopra una differentia*, Bk. I, preface.

14. Niccolò Ridolfi, nephew of the sister of Pope Leo X, was made a cardinal in 1517. He was bishop of Vicenza and Urbino and archbishop of Florence.

15. This statement places the beginning of Vicentino’s studies in 1534, when he was twenty-three years old. As will be seen shortly, it is an accurate report.

16. Felice de Romaulis, a highly respected notary in Rome, opened an independent practice in 1552, the date of his first business register.

17. It is difficult to ascertain the buying power of sixteenth-century currency. A few relative statistics, however, indicate that the penalty was severe. The Roman scudo in 1551 was worth slightly more than the Florentine scudo and the Venetian ducat. The latter coins were equivalent to seven lire (20 soldi made up one lira, and 12 denari made up a soldo) whereas the Roman scudo was equivalent to 7.5 lire (seven lire, ten soldi). A skilled craftsman in Venice could make up to 20 soldi a day, a less skilled one about 10 soldi. In the early sixteenth century, the complete maintenance of a schoolboy cost on average 15 scudi a year.

breach the contract because, according to Danckerts, the secret proved worthless.

However low Danckerts' assessment of Vicentino's secret may have been, there can be no doubt as to its value for Vicentino. Moreover, Vicentino's fear of intellectual espionage was not entirely unfounded. Such things did happen—as in the scandalous case of Niccolò Tartaglia and Girolamo Cardano.¹⁸ Tartaglia had become famous after winning a public challenge in algebra in 1535. He refused to divulge his weapon—a solution to cubic equations—in order to use it to make money by taking on all comers in open mathematical combat. Through persistent flattery and vows of silence, Cardano wormed the secret out of him and then published it in the *Ars magna* (Nuremberg, 1545), giving due credit to Tartaglia. Tartaglia was furious. He resorted to such vile slander that he lost the respect of the scientific community, even though he was the injured party. But Cardano's story, like Vicentino's, is an instance of human frailty, not quackery.

In view of Vicentino's plans in the fall of 1549, his insistence on the protective contract was quite reasonable; at that time he had pending, or so he thought, the publication of his book in Venice. There are two documents related to this event: first, the formal petition to the doge and the Signory of Venice for a printing license and privilege as well as a ten-year monopoly; second, the granting of that printing privilege by the Council of Ten (see Appendix I).¹⁹

The wording of the documents, for all its legalism, is vague as to the precise nature of the material for which Vicentino requested privilege and monopoly. We know that a petitioner had to submit a copy of his work to be assessed by two readers appointed by a committee of the University of Padua. After a vote by the members of the Senate, the Council of Ten either granted or denied the petition.²⁰

Neither the reports nor the names of the readers in Vicentino's case have come down to us. The minute of the Council of Ten refers simply to "works" on the practice of the chromatic and enharmonic genera. But

Palestrina's salary in 1551 as director of the Julian Choir was six scudi per month.

18. A prolific writer on the sciences, Cardano pronounced on musical matters, including Vicentino's archicembalo. See *Opera omnia* (Lyons, 1663), Bk. III, chap. 602; *Writings on Music*, edited by Clement A. Miller (American Institute of Musicology, 1973), p. 220.

19. Richard J. Agee, "The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1982), pp. 8–14 and 101–2; the documents are transliterated by Agee on pp. 222–23 (nos. 26 and 27). My translations appear in App. I, below.

20. The Senate, about 120 members in all, was responsible for day-to-day legislation. On 30 October 1549, 112 senators were present.

the petition suggests that Vicentino had in mind two types of material—the treatise, to which he (or the notary) alludes with the generic title “The Practice of the Chromatic and Enharmonic Genera,” and collections of vocal music composed in the two genera. The existence of such collections (now lost) is proved by information in the tracts of Bottrigari and Gandolfo Sigonio.²¹ Vicentino certainly would not have considered publishing compositions in the genera before the appearance of his treatise had established him as an authority on the subject.

The Roman and Venetian documents of 1549 indicate that Vicentino was planning to publish, and soon: most likely a version of the treatise. Why nothing appeared in Venice in the years immediately following 1549 is not known. Negotiations with a printing firm may have been stalled for any number of reasons, probably financial, given the complex notation required for the chromatic and enharmonic genera. Even after the publication of his treatise (Rome, 1555) Vicentino did not rush into press with his radical chromatic and enharmonic music. Instead, he traveled around the centers of northern Italy with a group of singers who, under his direction, performed this strange music—not always with success, it seems. Vincenzo Galilei reports that at a concert before notables in Ravenna (probably in the early to mid-1560s) the a cappella performance of an enharmonic madrigal by Vicentino ended in a shambles when one of the singers lost his place and could not be set aright.²²

In June 1551, about a year and a half after Ippolito’s first and most promising bid for the papacy, Vicentino and Lusitano engaged for the better part of a week in their public disputation on the genera. The narrative given here attempts to amalgamate, where possible, the two versions of the events given by Danckerts and Vicentino.²³

21. Bottrigari, *Il Melone secondo* (Ferrara, 1602), pp. 4 and 7, and Sigonio, *Discorso intorno a’ madrigali et a’ libri . . . da D. Nicola Vicentino* (Ferrara, 1602), pp. 32–35. The internal and external evidence suggests that Vicentino’s first and second books of four-voice madrigals, which included chromatic and enharmonic compositions, appeared in the late 1560s or early 1570s. Maria Rika Maniates, “The Cavaliere Ercole Bottrigari and His Brickbats: Prolegomena to the Defense of Don Nicola Vicentino Against Messer Gandolfo Sigonio,” in *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past: Essays in Honor of Patricia Carpenter*, edited by David Bernstein and Christopher Hatch (Chicago, 1993), p. 160.

22. *Discorso intorno all’uso dell’enharmonia* (1587–91), fols. 9r–9v, edited by Frieder Rempff in *Die Kontrapunkttraktate Vincenzo Galileis* (Cologne, 1980), p. 166. Galilei also reports that in Venice in 1560 one Giacomo Finetti, a disciple of Vicentino’s, admitted that he had to abandon his master’s enharmonic music in order to make a proper living. Aside from Galilei’s praise of Finetti’s keyboard skill and fine contralto voice, nothing is known about this musician.

23. *Sopra una differentia*, Bk. I, preface and chaps. 1–5, and Vicentino, below, Bk. IV, chap. 43.

Because it is impossible to reconstruct the oral confrontation between the two protagonists, we cannot assess accurately the justice of the verdict against Vicentino. The extant written documents show that both men based their arguments on passages from *De institutione musica*, by Boethius, and that they read antithetical meanings into the same citations. Mostly they talked at cross-purposes and fought, in Bottrigari's words, like two blind pugilists flailing the air.²⁴

The precipitating cause of the debate was a polyphonic setting of the plainchant *Regina coeli*, performed at a private concert given by Bernardo Acciaiuoli-Rucellai at his palace on the Tiber.²⁵ In the presence of many guests, Lusitano and Vicentino began arguing about whether the composition belonged to the diatonic genus, Lusitano taking the positive side and Vicentino the negative. So heated did the altercation become that Vicentino challenged Lusitano to a formal debate in public, staking two gold scudi on the outcome.²⁶ Since the proceedings began in early June, we can assume that the concert probably took place at the end of May.²⁷ We can also assume that besides Lusitano there were present other members of the papal choir, Danckerts included. Did this group sing the *Regina coeli*? Was the motet composed by Lusitano?²⁸ Did the presence of the cardinal of Ferrara spur Vicentino to make his flamboyant and quixotic gesture?

On the morning of Tuesday, 2 June, the papal choir sang the Solemn Mass of the Most Blessed Sacrament at Ippolito's titular church in Rome, Santa Maria in Aquiro degli Orfanelli alla Capranica.²⁹ Then, before the choir members and many prelates, the debate was inaugurated. The two contestants affirmed the gist of their previous argument, the wager between them, and the selection of two judges from the papal choir,

24. *Il Melone discorso armonico* (Ferrara, 1602), p. 17.

25. Danckerts *Sopra una differentia*, Bk. I, chap. 2. Bernardo Acciaiuoli-Rucellai, who was related to an eminent Florentine banking family, took over the Roman banking firm and the name of another Florentine, Luigi Rucellai, on Luigi's death in 1549. See Bk. IV, note 79, for the concert.

26. See note 17, above. The reference to *scudi d'oro* might have been made to distinguish the well-known Roman gold coins from a special mintage of silver scudi in 1551.

27. The different drafts of the preface to Danckerts' treatise give slightly different starting dates. See Barbosa, *Vincentius Lusitanus*, p. 204, note 3.

28. Robert Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano: New Light on His Career," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962): 74–75.

29. Danckerts, *Sopra una differentia*, Bk. I, chap. 2, and this edition App. IV. The warrant signed by the two contestants on 7 June 1551 is reproduced only by Danckerts. Its authenticity was witnessed by four persons: [Giovanni] Battista Preccarese (Procarese) l'Aspra on 24 November 1555, [Don] Iacopo Martelli on 14 April 1555, Stefano Bettini on 29

Danckerts and Escobedo. Vicentino and Lusitano also agreed to accept the verdict without recourse to appeal. It seems to have occurred to someone at that point that so abstruse a debate could lead to a split verdict. For this reason, it was decided to elect a third judge, Giulio da Reggio (Julio da Rezzo), who was supposed to cast a deciding vote if the other two judges could not agree.³⁰ The proceedings were then adjourned.

The events of 2 June were the preliminaries. The debate proper began on 4 June in the presence of the cardinal of Ferrara at the Palazzo Monte Giordano, his magnificent residence in Rome. When it was over, Ippolito asked for a verdict and encountered an obstacle. Danckerts had been called away from Rome on personal business. In Danckerts' absence, Escobedo maintained that he and da Reggio did not constitute a valid jury. The cardinal commanded the two men to consult with Danckerts and to bring down a verdict no later than 7 June.

Danckerts returned to Rome on the morning of 5 June. As he recalled, his two colleagues told him what had transpired the day before. Because their accounts were contradictory, Danckerts refused to accept their evidence and requested instead written abstracts from the debaters. The same day, Vicentino wrote him a short deposition and Lusitano a longer one. Vicentino's recollection of the circumstances is slightly different. He gives the impression that only he was asked to provide Danckerts with a short memorandum, as it were, and that on learning of this circumstance, Lusitano hastened to write a much longer letter. This imputation of furtive and unsportsmanlike behavior was obviously conditioned by later events, in particular—if Vicentino is to be believed—Lusitano's humiliation at the hands of the cardinal and his subsequent attempt to stave off further public embarrassment.

After Mass on Sunday morning, 7 June, a final session was held at the Apostolic Chapel in the Vatican at Ippolito's request. This was a formal event, conducted in public before the judges, the papal choir, a group of ecclesiastical dignitaries, and an assembly of learned persons. The dignitaries included Ieronimo Maccabeo, bishop of Castro and director of the chapel, Monsignor Marcantonio Falcone, bishop of Cariati and a close friend of the cardinal of Ferrara's, Annibale Spadafora, archimandrite of Messina, and Giovan Francesco Caracciolo, abbot of Sant'Angelo

April 1556, and Antonio Barrè on 1 May 1556. For information on the last three, who also witnessed Vicentino's copy of the sentence, see below, Bk. IV, note 107. The first signatory, a young man, later joined the papal choir.

30. *Sopra una differentia*, Bk. I, chap. 2. Other than his alleged expertise in music, no information about Giulio da Reggio is available.

a Fasanella.³¹ Since Ippolito was unable to attend, one of these prelates, most likely Monsignor Falcone, acted as his official representative.

First the warrant was read aloud, and then it was signed by the contestants to confirm its accuracy. Vicentino and Lusitano then embarked on a lengthy dispute. They argued their respective positions well, reinforcing their assertions with many references to musical authority. It seems that the judges found it difficult to keep track of the score. They therefore suggested that the contestants renounce their oral combat in favor of the letters they had sent to Danckerts two days earlier. Vicentino and Lusitano apparently agreed to this more dispassionate manner of ending the debate, for neither would cede ground to the other in the heat of personal combat. The depositions were produced, and each contestant read his aloud to the audience. The judges, having already studied the documents in detail, came to their decision shortly after the readings. The sentence, against Vicentino, was drawn up and signed that day.

In the preface to his treatise, Danckerts admits that he was angered by the reports brought to him by Falcone of Vicentino's clamorous slandering of the judges, the judgment, and the members of the papal choir. It was such insolent behavior, aggravated by the subsequent appearance of Vicentino's treatise, that prompted him to write down the events as he remembered them. Danckerts denounces Vicentino for propagating lies and falsifying documents and signatures. This accusation of lying cannot be proved, however, since discrepancies in the accounts of the debate may have arisen from faulty memory of past events. The second accusation, a serious one, can be assessed from the two sets of documents.³²

A comparison shows that, minor variants aside, there are two issues of substance: the signatures and the nomenclature of the diatonic genus. In Danckerts' version of the documents, the disputed genus is always called "diatonic," whereas Vicentino three times cites his own usage as "purely

31. Ieronimo Maccabeo de Toscanello, canon of St. Peter's basilica and bishop of Castro, was director of the pontifical chapel from 1550 to 1564. Marcantonio Falcone was elected bishop in 1545. The aristocratic Spadafora family had been a political force in Messina since the fifteenth century; in the mid-sixteenth century, several of its members held the rank of senator. Giovan Francesco Caracciolo, the second son of the lord of Salvia, was a member of a wealthy and powerful Neapolitan family. Following a long-standing family tradition, he took over the Abbey of Sant'Angelo a Fasanella from his uncle, Marino Cardinal Caracciolo, governor of Milan. The names of these persons, as well as the sequence of events on 7 June, are given in Danckerts, *Sopra una differentia*, Bk. I, chap. 1.

32. Three of the four documents were published by Danckerts and by Vicentino: the sentence and the letters to Danckerts from Vicentino and Lusitano, respectively. The warrant was printed only by Danckerts (see note 29, above).

diatonic.”³³ The phrase “purely diatonic” also appears three times in the text surrounding the documents. Early in the chapter, these words refer twice to Vicentino’s alleged remarks during various phases of the confrontation. The third time the words appear during an explanation of a passage from Boethius and encapsulate Vicentino’s contention that the presence of melodic major and minor thirds adulterate the pure diatonic genus, transforming it into the mixed diatonic common to the music of his day.

Danckerts condemned Vicentino for adding the word *semplice* to the original documents, as well as for telling the story in such a way that the verdict seemed unjust and inapposite. To use Danckerts’ sarcastic words, the dispute was never “about such purely diatonic music as against diatonic music doubled with a lining.”³⁴ Intriguing is Danckerts’ implicit suggestion that had Vicentino argued at the outset about the “pure diatonic,” the outcome of the debate might have been different. Vicentino certainly clarified his definition of pure and mixed diatonic music in 1555.³⁵ And shortly after the debate, even Lusitano moved closer to Vicentino’s position on the subject of the genera.³⁶

At the end of the sentence Vicentino indicates that four persons signed and testified to the effect that the sentence and the two depositions were faithful copies of the originals: Don Iacopo Martelli, Vincenzo Ferro, Stefano Bettini (called Il Fornarino), and Antonio Barrè. Three of these signatories (Martelli, Bettini, and Barrè) are identical with the ones listed by Danckerts. After reading the names listed by Vicentino, Danckerts summoned the men to his house, where, he claims, they professed astonishment when confronted with the offending page and insisted on repudiating their signatures. Danckerts recounts this story. Apparently he was concerned only that three of his signatories also signed for Vicentino, although Vicentino (according to Danckerts) had doctored the documents by adding *semplice*, “pure,” to the word *diatonic*. Did Vicentino

33. These self-references occur twice in his letter to Danckerts and once in Lusitano’s letter. See Bk. IV, notes 87 and 92.

34. “Da la qual Musica Diatonica semplice, o, Diatonica foderata, o doppia.”

35. In the treatise, the word *semplice* appears many times: for instance, to refer to the pure diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic modes (Bk. III, chaps. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 48) and to the pure genera (Bk. I, chap. 4).

36. *Introduzione facilissima & novissima di canto fermo, figurato, contraponto semplice & in concerto, con regole generali per far fughe differenti sopr’ il canto fermo . . .* (Rome, 1553), “De tre generi della musica,” fols. F2v–F3r. In the facsimile of the 1561 edition by Giuliana Gialdroni (Lucca, 1989), this section is on pp. 22v–24v. See Gialdroni, “Introduzione,” p. xiii.

fabricate his witnesses? It seems unlikely, especially since one of them (Barrè) later published the treatise in which his ostensibly unauthorized signature appears. Did Dankerts fabricate this incident? More likely, he exaggerated the reaction of the group. It is impossible to decide who, if anyone, is telling untruths. Certainly Barrè's name appears below the sentence, both in the first (1555) and in the second (1557) printing of Vicentino's treatise.

The sentence must have been delivered to Ippolito within a few days, if not directly on Monday, 8 June. A copy of it, recalls Vicentino, was presented in person by Lusitano, so anxious was he to collect his reward. The cardinal read the sentence aloud and enjoined Vicentino to pay up, which he did on the spot. Lusitano received his two gold scudi. He also received an unwelcome reward, a tongue-lashing from the cardinal before the assembled throng.

Much has been made of a statement by Vicentino about the timing of the verdict and the writing of the sentence.³⁷ Vicentino was often a careless writer. In this case he discusses at length the written depositions of 5 June and then says that the decision was made and pronounced four or six days later—that is, 9 or 11 June. These dates correspond roughly to the time Ippolito was apprised of the verdict. They do not, however, correspond to the date of the sentence, 7 June, which came four or six days after the start of the debate, depending on whether one considers it to have begun on 1 or 3 June. Between these dates comes the first formal gathering of the disputants, five days before the signing of the sentence. Vicentino's phrase "four or six days later" may refer not to the immediately preceding events of 5 June but rather to the beginning of the story. Such logical and syntactical interstices are not unusual in his writing.

In the event, Vicentino tells us that a few days after learning of the decision, the cardinal and his retinue left for Ferrara. After that they went on to the besieged city of Siena. In 1555 they were again in Rome. Two conclaves took place that year, one on the death of Julius III, and one on the death of Marcellus II. Toward the end of the second conclave, Vicentino's treatise made its appearance in Rome, on 22 May.

By late 1555 Vicentino must have been back in Ferrara, for on 15 December of that year he wrote a letter from that city to Guglielmo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua. In it he refers to a published work (probably the treatise) and ten five-voice madrigals which had been sent to the

37. Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome, 1828), Bk. I, note 424, and Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, pp. 30–31.

Mantuan court.³⁸ Vicentino inquires humbly whether the madrigals had been performed and admits that since they belong to a new practice, they might appear strange to the uninitiated. From this comment we may infer that these madrigals were composed in the chromatic and enharmonic genera. Sensing that they had not been well received, Vicentino closes his letter with an offer to send others in the common style, recommending them as easy to sing. In the treatise the phrase *musica communa* alludes to the ordinary “diatonic” music of his day—that is to say, music that in his opinion used not only the major semitone and whole tone of the diatonic genus but also the minor third of the chromatic and the major third of the enharmonic. The distinction between a novel, hence demanding and reserved, practice as opposed to a common, hence simple and popular, one is announced as an aesthetic and social principle in the treatise. Every normative and prescriptive rule given by Vicentino follows from this distinction.

The next documented event in Vicentino’s life is the second printing of the treatise by Barrè in Rome in 1557. Except for the date on the title page and feeble attempts by a house editor to correct some errors in pagination, the two versions are identical.³⁹

Ippolito left for France on 23 July 1561. Since little is known about Vicentino’s activities between 1561 and 1563, it is tempting to surmise that he accompanied his patron.⁴⁰ It seems more likely that Vicentino was giving concerts of his chromatic and enharmonic music in Italy during the 1560s. He was at that time searching for a post. This is made clear in the closing paragraphs of a handbill about the *arciorgano*, an organ built along the lines of the *archicembalo*, that appeared in Venice on 25 October 1561.⁴¹ On 9 January 1563 he received the appointment

38. Franz X. Haberl, “Das Archiv der Gonzaga in Mantua,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 1 (1886): 33, and Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, p. 34, note 90.

39. I compared the 1555 edition to the 1557 edition located in the Euing Music Collection, University of Glasgow Library, Scotland.

40. There are some documented French connections, but these date from the 1570s. Vicentino’s *Passa la nave mia* appeared in Adrien Le Roy and Robert Ballard’s *Mellange de chansons* (Paris, 1572). In a letter to Orlando di Lasso dated 14 January 1574, Le Roy says that the French king, Charles IX, was fond of chromatic music, especially Vicentino’s. In the preface to the *Premier livre des amours de Pierre de Ronsard* (Paris, 1578), Antoine de Bertrand affirms Vicentino’s belief that the subtle intervals of the enharmonic genus are singable. Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, pp. 42–44.

41. See note 1, above. The handbill has sixteen sections, clearly marked by overhanging paragraphs. Vicentino’s interest in an appointment is stated in sections 15 and 16. In section 2, Vicentino gives the name of the builder of the *arciorgano*, Vincenzo Colombo, a renowned organ maker at San Marco and other Venetian churches between 1558 and 1588.

of chapel master at the Cathedral of Vicenza. He stayed there until 19 January 1565.⁴²

The period between 1565 and 1570 is a blank. Vicentino may have enjoyed a pension from the cardinal of Ferrara that enabled him to continue his peregrinations around northern Italy, supplementing his income with gifts from patrons before whom he performed his music. But he may also have been based in Milan as early as 1565. This possibility is suggested by a letter of 31 March 1565 sent to Milan by the bishop, Carlo Cardinal Borromeo, during his work to reform the papal choir in Rome. The cardinal writes that he is gathering Masses to supplement the one ordered from his choir master at the Duomo, Vincenzo Ruffo, and asks his subordinate to commission a chromatic Mass from Vicentino, if the latter is in Milan.⁴³

The last three extant documents from Vicentino's lifetime are connected with Milan. In a letter of 25 March 1570 to Prince Wilhelm, later duke of Bavaria, Vicentino refers to himself as the rector of San Tommaso in Milan.⁴⁴ Intended as a prelude to a request for a position, the letter is filled largely with self-congratulations, although it records the sending to Munich of compositions in the three genera. This music may account for a record of payment to Vicentino made by the Milanese agents of the Bavarian court on 14 December 1570.⁴⁵ The other documents are collections of vocal music for five voices: the fourth book of motets and the fifth book of madrigals, published in 1571 and 1572, respectively, by the Milanese printer Paolo Gottardo Ponzio.⁴⁶ Both publications refer to Vicentino as "arch-musician," a title given him in the lost books of four-voice madrigals discussed by Sigonio and Bottrigari. Like the extant fifth book of madrigals, the lost books were prepared by pupils, admirers, and friends of the arch-musician.

42. See note 1, above, and Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, p. 36.

43. Lewis Lockwood, "Vincenzo Ruffo and Musical Reform after the Council of Trent," *Musical Quarterly* 43 (1957): 149–50.

44. For a translation and reproduction of the original, see Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, pp. 40–41 and facing p. 40, respectively.

45. Giuseppe Caimo, also of Milan, received the same payment as Vicentino. Kaufmann *Life and Works*, pp. 42 and 45–46.

46. There survives only the quintus part-book of the motets, discovered in 1957 by H. Colin Slim in the archives of the Duomo of Piacenza. Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, pp. 42 and 86, notes 123 and 108. The madrigals were edited by a disciple, Ottavio Resino, about whom nothing else is known.

Vicentino's Sources

Whether Vicentino can be called a humanist depends on how the term is defined. Most historians of the Renaissance would consider a humanist of the period to be a scholar engaged in the recovery of ancient Greek and Roman culture and in editing, translating and interpreting the original documents. By this definition Vicentino was not a humanist, for there is no evidence that he dealt with original documents or artifacts or that he even read much of the ancient literature on music available in translation.⁴⁷ However, he undoubtedly was affected by and participated in the humanist movement, since he was trying to revive a practice that had been neglected since ancient times.

Some scholars have called those who, like Vicentino, aimed at recapturing the legendary powers of ancient music “musical humanists.”⁴⁸ Vicentino surely fits into this category. It is evident that he had read or heard about the ability of ancient Greek music to sway human passions, to attract and tame animals, and to cure physical and mental ailments. Such stories were widely disseminated.

Vicentino's main source was Boethius. Although Boethius compiled his work in the middle of the sixth century and wrote in Latin, he based his treatise on ancient Greek sources. Vicentino and his contemporaries did not realize how dependent Boethius was on his Greek models and how faithfully he followed them, but he showed good instincts in trusting Boethius' authority. Vicentino cited Boethius frequently—118 times by name, usually with precise references to chapter and book of *De institutione musica libri quinque*. Although we cannot identify the edition or manuscript Vicentino used, the citations in the text are consistent with both the *editio princeps* of the complete writings of Boethius published in Venice by Giovanni and Gregorio de Gregori in 1492 and the reprint of it by the same printers in 1499. This is especially evident in the references to chapters from Books IV and V of Boethius, which follow the chapter numbering of these editions rather than that of the manuscripts, as do later editions and translations.⁴⁹

47. Among those who take this position are Karol Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th-Century Italy*, p. 41 and pp. 39–40, and Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, 1985), p. 253.

48. For example, Carl Dahlhaus, “Musikalisches Humanismus als Manierismus,” *Die Musikforschung* 35 (1982): 122–24 and 128; Paul Oskar Kristeller, “Music and Learning in the Early Italian Renaissance,” in his *Renaissance Thought II* (New York, 1965), p. 156; and Edward E. Lowinsky, “The Musical Avant-Garde of the Renaissance,” in *Art, Science and History in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1967), p. 135.

49. The Latin edition by Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867) and the English translation

Counting the references to Boethius does not by itself tell us much unless we evaluate them in the context of references to other authors, the preponderance of which are allusions rather than explicit citations. With respect to Boethius, Vicentino admits that the “Book on Music Theory” relies on the *Fundamentals of Music*, and this regardless of whether the source is acknowledged in a formal manner. Thus, the 36 references to Boethius in this section of Vicentino’s treatise are acknowledged by inference, if not by citation. Boethius is also a source in the five “Books on Music Practice,” where 19 of the 82 references are tacit. Thus, we can say that of the 118 references to Boethius, 99 are acknowledged.

The number of modern sources is quite high: 26 persons (equally split between musical and nonmusical authors) receive 241 references. Although the references in this category outnumber those to Boethius, those to no single author do so. The two highest numbers of citations, 50 for Lusitano and 40 for Vicentino himself, must be adjusted to exclude references to the story of the public debate. This done, the self-references to Vicentino virtually disappear, leaving the field to Franchino Gaffurio (33 references) and Lusitano (now reduced to 25), the latter citations having to do with material in his treatise. Among these, the references to improvised counterpoint (about half of the total) are tacit whereas the rest, concerning Lusitano’s poor grasp of the genera, are cited for all the world to see. Of the 30 references to Danckerts, only one, a sardonic allusion to chessboard canons, is tacit (for the sake of decorum?). In contrast, all 14 allusions to Lodovico Fogliano are tacit, even though Fogliano was probably Vicentino’s source on matters of ancient tuning and modern temperament. One might suspect Vicentino of deliberate subterfuge, but he also relied heavily on Gaffurio’s *Practica musicae* (Milan, 1496)—and remembered to acknowledge this authority only once out of 33 allusions. Other references could be classified as explicit if we accept that pronouns such as *they* and *many* qualify as references to specific people. This is true of six of the 11 references to Heinrich Glarean, except that in this case such vague phrases as “some people,” “some authors,” and “others” function as circumlocutions about modal theories of which Vicentino disapproves.

Although it is not clear that sixteenth-century musicians distinguished medieval from ancient sources, I shall separate the two categories for the sake of clarity. Vicentino’s medieval sources receive 92 references within

by Calvin M. Bower (New Haven and London, 1989) rely on the manuscripts. The German translation by Oscar Paul (Leipzig, 1872) uses printed sources and hence contains the chapter numbering used by Vicentino.

a relatively small group of 13 authors. The sources fall into two groups: biblical, religious, and specifically patristic literature on the one hand and music theory on the other. The references to Boethius outnumber all other medieval references. Among the fathers and doctors of the Church, St. Thomas Aquinas stands first, with six references, all of them tacit. At the other end of the scale is St. Athanasius, with two references, one explicit and one tacit. Aquinas is overshadowed by two music theorists: Guido of Arezzo, with 33 explicit references, and Jehan de Murs, with 17, of which only two are unacknowledged.

Among the ancient sources apparently used by Vicentino are 23 authors, who receive 62 references. The most frequently cited is Aristotle, with 22 references (including citations to the *Physical Problems*, which at that time was included in his canon, as well as to Porphyry's introduction to the *Categories*; in accordance with tradition Vicentino does not name Porphyry and accepts this book into the canon). Seven of these references identify Aristotle simply as "the Philosopher." The next most frequently cited are Cicero, Quintilian, and Vitruvius, with four references apiece; only Vitruvius is named (once). Euclid has a single, explicit reference in the text. The significant omission in this category is Ptolemy, whose diatonic syntonon tuning lies at the heart of Vicentino's theory of the genera.

How did Vicentino come to know what was said in sources he may not have bothered to identify? Opinion has it that Vicentino heard about these works from learned friends and reported their evidence as best as he remembered it.⁵⁰ This mustering of humanist opinions gives a qualified response to the question of Vicentino's learning. It helps us address the problem of evaluating his erudition, though few scholars concede that it explains the presence of remarks on ancient music that are not taken from Boethius. When proposing associations between Vicentino and specific humanists, scholars most frequently list the following men: Gian Giorgio Trissino, Giambattista Giraldi Cintio, Francesco Patrizi, and Lilio Gregorio Giraldi.

Giraldi, an erudite humanist, was born in Ferrara but spent his life elsewhere. His sojourn in Rome as papal secretary ended in 1527, long before Vicentino arrived in the entourage of the cardinal of Ferrara. In *De deis gentium* (Leyden, 1545) Giraldi dedicated the sixth book, on the

50. Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, pp. 20–21; Claude V. Palisca's comment, reported in *Studi Musicali* 3 (1974): 97; Giulio Cattin, "Nel quarto centenario di Nicola Vicentino teorico e compositore," *Studi Musicali* 5 (1976): 36; and Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music*, p. 41.

gods of the underworld, to one Nicolaus Vicentius whose brother Benedictus had died recently.⁵¹ Many years later, in 1570, Vicentino seems to allude to “family,”⁵² in a document that gives his name in Latin as “Nicolas Vicentinus.” The vagaries of sixteenth-century spelling make it impossible to ascertain the identities of the Nicolaus and Benedictus Vicentii known to Giraldi.

Patrizi would seem to be a likely member of the Ferrarese humanist circles in which Vicentino moved.⁵³ But although Patrizi maintained close connections with members of the court of Ferrara throughout his life, he himself did not reside in that city until 1578, when he became professor of Platonic philosophy at the University of Ferrara. He occupied this chair, created for him by Duke Alfonso II, until 1593. Vicentino had left the service of Ippolito II in 1563, however, and by 1570 was situated in Milan. Nor did the timing of their earlier stays in Venice coincide.⁵⁴ It would seem that opportunities for personal contact between the two men were limited.

Nonetheless, because Patrizi had a prestigious position in Ferrara when he published the first two “decades” of his famous Neoplatonic work, *Della poetica* (Ferrara, 1586),⁵⁵ it is customary to call him a Ferrarese humanist. Vicentino’s writing, by contrast, betrays a Neo-Aristotelian and scholastic mode of thought. Patrizi’s discussions of ancient music in *La decata istoriale* (Books I and IV, but especially VI and VII) and to a lesser extent in *La decata disputata* (Book IX) have nothing to do with Vicentino’s theories.

The moderns mentioned by Patrizi are both Florentines: Galilei, whose *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* (Florence, 1581) he had read, and Giovanni de’ Bardi, with whom he had apparently consulted.⁵⁶ That Patrizi should mention the Estense encouragement of Vicentino’s chromatic and enharmonic music does not prove that he had any personal

51. Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, p. 20, and Cattin, “Nel quarto centenario,” p. 36. According to Giraldi, Benedictus was a learned man who studied with Calcagnini (see note 8, above). No mention is made of Nicolaus’ profession.

52. “Tum amicis tum parentibus.” See notes 1 and 44, above.

53. Claude V. Palisca, “A Clarification of ‘Musica Reservata’ in Jean Taisnier’s ‘Astrologiae,’ 1559,” *Acta Musicologica* 31 (1959): 152, and Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, pp. 19 and 112, notes 28 and 44.

54. Vicentino was there in the mid- to late 1530s; Patrizi in the mid-1550s to the late 1560s, between trips to Cyprus.

55. The other five of the ten planned decades, in order of completion between 1587 and 1588, are *La decata ammirabile*, *La decata plastica*, *La decata dogmatica universale*, *La decata sacra*, and *La decata semisacra*. The seven decades are available in a modern edition by Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli. 3 vols. (Florence, 1969–71).

56. *La decata istoriale*, Bk. VI (Barbagli, 1: 329 and 330).

knowledge of the music or the man. In the dedication to Lucrezia d'Este, duchess of Urbino, the name of Don Nicola Vicentino appears as the last of the illustrious musicians patronized by her family. The preceding names in this decidedly retrospective list are: Guido, Fogliano, Josquin Desprez, Willaert, and Cipriano de Rore.⁵⁷ Telling is the absence of Luzzasco Luzzaschi, who dominated music at the court of Ferrara between 1570 and 1596.

If Patrizi's knowledge was firsthand, then Vicentino did not exaggerate the ducal family's interest in his experimental music. If secondhand, then Patrizi's source may have colored his perception of Vicentino's importance. Who could that source have been? Bottrigari's close friendship with Patrizi during his self-imposed exile in Ferrara (1576–87), his ardent championship of Vicentino, his touting of Vicentino's book to others, and the names on the list suggest that the learned Bolognese humanist gave Patrizi this information.⁵⁸

Giambattista Giraldi Cintio—poet, dramatist, and literary critic—spent much of his productive life in Ferrara, the city of his birth. After holding the chair of philosophy at the University of Ferrara for about a decade, he succeeded his teacher, Celio Calcagnini, as professor of rhetoric. When Cintio's patron Duke Ercole II died in 1559, the wily Giovanni Battista Nicolucci (called "Il Pigna") managed to engineer Cintio's departure from court.⁵⁹ After a few years of steadily declining health, Cintio returned to Ferrara, where he died in poverty.

During his heyday, however, the highly esteemed Cintio was court secretary and tutor to the future Duke Alfonso II. If Vicentino taught his experimental music to the ducal heir, it is probable that the two men knew each other. Moreover, all Cintio's dramatic works were produced at court. The staging of these works must have put Cintio into contact with musicians. Aside from incidental music, which need not have concerned the playwright, the tragic choruses that closed each act were intended for polyphonic vocal setting. Unfortunately, most of the music written for these performances is lost.⁶⁰

57. Barbagli, 1: 4.

58. Maniates, "The Cavaliere Bottrigari and His Brickbats," pp. 138 and 140.

59. In his *Discorsi intorno al comporre de i romanzi, delle comedie, e delle tragedie* (Venice, 1554), Cintio printed a preliminary poem to Il Pigna, "his pupil." Pigna then published *I romanzi* (Venice, 1554): in his dedication to Luigi Cardinal d'Este, Pigna not only denied having studied with Cintio but also accused the older man of appropriating a youthful essay of his. There ensued an acrimonious public argument, in which Pigna emerges as a clever but unsavory character. The letters of self-defense written by Cintio are available in Camillo Guerrieri Crocetti's edition, *Scritti critici* (Milan, 1978), pp. 289–302.

60. There survive two choruses composed by Rore for a production of *Selene* in 1548.

Because no documents connect Vicentino with any productions of Cintio's dramas at court, the argument for linking the two men rests on a passage in the dramatist's *Discorsi* of 1554.⁶¹ This passage, the sole substantial allusion to music, seems to anticipate Vicentino's assertions about the proper social setting of ordinary and extraordinary music.⁶² But in context it has little to do with Vicentino's premise. To explain the derivation of the word *canto*, Cintio contrasts the modern gibberish sung by strolling minstrels in city squares with the praise of virtuous men customarily sung at aristocratic banquets in ancient Greece and Rome. Although both writers are dealing with decorum, Cintio's statement cannot be construed as an apology for extravagance and novelty. Rather, Cintio sought to emphasize the ancient precedent for the inherent nobility of the romance as a genre.

More tantalizing is the putative connection between Vicentino and Trissino, an important humanist active in Vicenza. The conjectures are as follows: first, Vicentino benefited from the learned discussions at Trissino's sumptuous Villa Cricoli near Vicenza; second, he was influenced either by Trissino's writings or collections of books; and third, he obtained his post at Ferrara through the good offices of Trissino.⁶³ Vicentino nowhere acknowledges Trissino's patronage, even in passing, however. Nor is the musician mentioned in any of the known documents on Trissino and his circle of friends and associates, even though music was a part of the daily regimen of members of the "Accademia Trissiniana."

Any circumstantial evidence must be examined apart from the web of conjectures outlined above. The idea that Trissino's definition of the epic in *La poetica* (Vicenza, 1529 and Venice, 1562) influenced Vicentino's definition of the extraordinary music reserved for the nobility must be rejected. For one thing, this definition was not published until 1562.⁶⁴ For another, it is but a paraphrase of Aristotle's *Poetics*, like everything else in Parts V and VI. Trissino implies that the heroic poem, like the ancient epic, ought to have heroic subject matter. As in the case of Cintio's work, the themes of *La poetica* are genre and decorum.

Trissino's studies at the University of Ferrara (ca. 1512–13) and his Ferrarese sojourn in exile (1538–40) were dominated by his mentor and

Wolfgang Osthoff, *Theatergesang und darstellende Musik in der italienischen Renaissance* (Tutzing, 1969), 1: 321–23.

61. Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, p. 210.

62. "Discorso sopra i romanzi," in *Discorsi*, pp. 6–7.

63. Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, pp. 17–18; Milton Kirchman, *Mannerism and Imagination* (Salzburg, 1979), p. 50; and Cattin, "Nel quarto centenario," pp. 32–37.

64. *La poetica, La quinta e sesta divisione*, pp. 6v and 24v. Facsimile. Munich, 1969.

friend, the illustrious Vicentine humanist Nicolò Leonicensino. Today Leonicensino is remembered chiefly for his pioneering scholarship in medicine and related fields, work that included translations (notably, of Galen of Pergamum) and critical writings on scientific method. In 1499 Leonicensino completed a Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Harmonics* for Gaffurio.⁶⁵ A manuscript copy came into the hands of Trissino when Leonicensino died. Apparently, Leonicensino had wished to give the translation to Pope Leo X, and Trissino fulfilled this intention by giving it to Pope Paul III.

Among the subjects that drew Trissino's interest, Vitruvius and classical architecture were particularly prominent. Vicentino names Vitruvius in a passage that presents some of his most important comments on stylistics. Since Vicentino had access to any one of a dozen editions of Vitruvius printed in Italy after the editio princeps (Rome, 1492), however, it cannot be established that Trissino drew his attention to this well-known source. Trissino's veneration of Vitruvius is reflected in the work of his protégé, Andrea di Pietro da Gondola, to whom Trissino gave the name Palladio. Just as the patron transformed a stonemason into a humanist architect, could it be that he sparked the humanist aspirations of a music-maker?

Trissino made several trips to Rome with Palladio, and on one he presented the pope with a copy of Leonicensino's translation of Ptolemy. Relevant to this investigation is Trissino's letter of presentation, dated 13 August 1541.⁶⁶ According to Trissino, Leonicensino believed that the music of his day kept alive scarcely one-third of the dignity of ancient music, and this third, the diatonic, lacked the accuracy and perfection of the ancient genus. To explain why Ptolemy, Manuel Bryennius, and other Greek writers should be made available to musicians, Trissino points out that the proper divisions of the tetrachords recommended by Ptolemy have been lost. Even Boethius, the Latin authority for all theorists from Guido to the present, failed to elucidate the generic system as laid down by Ptolemy, as he might have intended to do in the incomplete fifth book of *De institutione musica*.

Given the circumscribed context of the letter, it is difficult to arrive at

65. For an assessment of Leonicensino as a translator of Ptolemy, see Palisca, *Humanism*, pp. 117–23.

66. The complete original Latin text is printed in F. Alberto Gallo, and Giovanni Mantese, "Nuove notizie sulla famiglia e sull'opere di Nicolò Leonicensino," *Archivio veneto* 72 (1963): 21–22. The central portion of the letter is also available in Latin in Bernardo Morsolin, *Giangiorgio Trissino* (Vicenza, 1878), pp. 500–501, and Gallo, "Musici scriptores Graeci," *Catalogus translationum et commentarium* (Washington, 1976), 3: 71–72; in Latin and English in Palisca, *Humanism*, p. 120; and in Italian in Mantese, *Storia musica*, p. 28.

an authoritative interpretation. Trissino seems to echo the main thesis of Vicentino's treatise as well as, with respect to the diatonic genus in modern music, the debate between Vicentino and Lusitano. This can be read into the Trissino's assertions, which match Vicentino's, about the two abandoned genera and the deficiency of the genus currently in use. These parallels, however, may be fortuitous. Trissino's talk of Ptolemaic genera is purely antiquarian and speculative in tone. There is no compelling reason to suppose that Trissino would have supported radical proposals to adapt the genera to modern practice.

Against a connection between the two men is the evidence that Vicentino seems not to have read Ptolemy's *Harmonics*. Surely Trissino would have allowed Vicentino to look at the manuscript had the musician been a member of his group. Even if Vicentino had only skimmed Leoniceno's translation, he could have pretended a thorough knowledge in order to lend weight to his argument. Vicentino refers repeatedly to the diatonic syntonon tuning, otherwise known as just intonation, but without giving it a name or citing a source—inconceivable omissions unless he had culled his facts from an unspecified secondary source. In all likelihood this source was the *Musica theorica* (Venice, 1529), by Fogliano. The evidence in the text points to a haphazard and inaccurate conflation of propositions and opinions taken from Fogliano's treatise, including the unattributed references to the tuning first named diatonic syntonon by Ptolemy.

This hypothesis rests on bits and pieces of textual evidence scattered throughout Vicentino's treatise, oddments that produce traces of a hidden source. Against the hypothesis stands the unequivocal reference to Ptolemy in Vicentino's 1549 application for a Venetian printing license. In that document, Ptolemy's name is associated with two neglected genera, the chromatic and enharmonic. These genera cannot be adapted to modern practice without the diatonic syntonon tuning. But the tuning of vocal music accompanied by a keyboard instrument is a complicated matter, aggravated by Vicentino's confusion between the premises of pure harmonic science and applied temperament. This situation seems to me the result partly of Vicentino's undisciplined temperament and partly of his faulty understanding of Fogliano's tunings for keyboard instruments.

What classical sources did Vicentino read? Like the learned Gaffurio and Zarlino, he did not read Greek.⁶⁷ But unlike them, Vicentino nei-

67. Few musicians could boast of this humanist skill. Palisca names Fogliano, a Modenese theorist patronized by the Este family, Bottrigari, and Francisco de Salinas (*Humanism*, p. 111). Gioseffo Zarlino, the great theorist and contemporary critic of Vicentino, commis-

ther commissioned translations of Greek works on music nor scrounged in libraries to find such manuscripts. We may therefore conclude that he used only material published in Latin or Italian. To understand the range of ancient sources that may have been used by Vicentino, we must ascertain which Greek texts on this subject had been translated and published before 1555.

The works of Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch were available, and they included the spurious *Physical Problems* and *On Music*, attributed to Aristotle and Plutarch, respectively. Other Greek authors on music theory, in rough chronological sequence, are: Euclid, Aristoxenus, Ptolemy, Cleonides, Porphyry, Gaudentius, Aristides Quintilianus, Michael Psellus, and Bryennius. Only Cleonides' *Introduction to Harmonics* was published, usually under the name of Euclid. This epitome of the *Harmonic Elements* of Aristoxenus duplicated information in the fifth book of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, which Vicentino knew.

Compendia on ancient lore contained sparse technical information, although their remarks on legend and performance practice were copious: these sources include two dictionaries (one by Julius Pollux and the lexicon ascribed to Suidas) and the *Deipnosophists*, by Athenaeus. None was available in translation. Under these circumstances, Boethius' *De institutione musica* became Vicentino's authoritative text. Vicentino did not bother with such humanist regurgitations of Greek sources as *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* (Venice, 1501), by Giorgio Valla or *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518), by Gaffurio. Indeed, he had little patience with speculative ruminations and scholarly pretensions.

Assessing Vicentino's erudition is not easy, given his careless identification of sources. As we have seen, the only precise references are to Boethius' *De institutione musica*. For the rest, the editor must rely on repetition or paraphrase of facts, concepts, terms, and phrases. Although I identify probable sources in the notes to this edition, a few problems merit comment here.

Vicentino makes two statements that are so general as to defy source specificity. The first is an allusion to the miraculous powers of ancient music described by many "authors." The legends about the prodigious effects of music were transmitted by innumerable ancient Greek and Roman as well as medieval writings. The four main themes of these writ-

sioned the physician and classicist Antonio Ermanno Gogava to translate Aristoxenus' *Harmonic Elements*. Gogava responded by first giving Zarlino a copy of his translation of Ptolemy's *Harmonics*, a source used by Zarlino in his *Le istituzioni armoniche* (Venice, 1558).

ings that I discuss here appear in the better-known stories, although I do not imply that Vicentino knew all the sources in which they occur.

Two themes concern nature—inanimate, as in the legend of Amphion and the stones of Thebes, and animate, as in the tale of Arion and the dolphin.⁶⁸ In the third, music is reputed to be a cure for all manner of physical ailments, from pestilence to snakebite and sciatica.⁶⁹ The legend of Orpheus contains all three themes and produces a fourth, the power of music to move the human passions and affections.⁷⁰ It is to the affective power of music that Vicentino alludes. This power was exemplified in three standard stories: Pythagoras and the Taorminian youth, Timotheus the Aulete and Alexander, and David and Saul.⁷¹ Ancient physicians, philosophers, mystics, and musicians were credited with the therapeutic use of music to heal mental disorders.⁷² Timotheus the Aulete, whose music moved Alexander so profoundly, was often confused with Timotheus of Miletus, who added strings to the kithara in order to perform chromatic melodies. This Timotheus was punished by the Spartans for his audacious subversion of musical and moral standards.⁷³

Vicentino's second statement classifies music according to genus and potential audience: diatonic music is fit for public venues and plebeian ears, as opposed to chromatic and enharmonic music, which is appropriate for private venues and aristocratic ears. This well-known passage is a conflation and reinterpretation of several ancient sources. Concepts of

68. Herodotus, *History*, 1.23–24; Strabo, *Geography*, 13.24; Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, 9.8.25; Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, 32.61 and 37.2–4; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 9.5.7 and 30.2–4; Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, 16.19.1–23; Clement of Alexandria, *An Exhortation to the Greeks*, 1.1.1; St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei contra paganos*, 1.14; Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis ex Ciceronis VI libro de rep. eruditissima explanatio*, 2.3.8; Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii libri II*, 9.908; and Cassiodorus, *Varia*, 2.40.

69. Gellius, *Noctes*, 3.10.13 and 4.13.1–4; Capella, *De nuptiis*, 9.926; and Boethius, *De inst. mus.*, 1.1.

70. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.1–77; Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, 32.63–65; Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation*, 1.1.1; Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis*, 2.3.8; Capella, *De nuptiis*, 9.927; Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae*, 3.12; and Cassiodorus, *Institutiones divinarum et saecularum litterarum*, 2.5.9, and *Varia*, 2.40.

71. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 1.10.32; Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, 1.1–8; Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation*, 1.5.2; St. Basil, *To Young Men on How They Might Derive Profit from Pagan Literature*, 9.8–10; Boethius, *De inst. mus.*, 1.1; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 2.5.9, and *Varia*, 2.40; Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, 4.13; and Euthymius, *Commentarius in psalterium*, “prologus” and 10.

72. Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History*, 8.28.1; Gellius, *Noctes*, 4.13.1–4; Capella, *De nuptiis*, 9.926; Boethius, *De inst. mus.*, 1.1; and Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 2.5.9.

73. Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, 32.67 and 33.57; Pausanias, *Description*, 3.12.10–22; and Boethius, *De inst. mus.*, 1.1.

classes of music (*nomoi*), regulated by the decorum of subject matter and associated with venerable and lofty music, appear in Plato and Pseudo-Plutarch, who also contrast the implied nobility of bygone practice to the coarseness and venality of the music popular in their day.⁷⁴ But neither associates the degeneration of music with the predominance of the diatonic genus, although Pseudo-Plutarch implies something of the sort.

Plato and Pseudo-Plutarch lament the defunct customs of honoring the gods and praising good men and Homeric heroes. More pertinent is Cicero's approval of the ancient patrician custom of singing the praises of virtuous men at private Roman banquets.⁷⁵ In Cicero we find a connection between edifying topics and social circumstances, namely, private lordly entertainment. Of course, Pseudo-Plutarch praised the music played in the ancient temple over the music performed in the theater of his own time. A similar distinction is implied in Aristotle's often-cited comparison of the theatrical music beloved by the vulgar class of mechanics and laborers with the ethical melodies sung to the lyre for the appreciation of freemen and educated persons.⁷⁶ None of these authors associates any of the genera with social distinctions.

There are, however, some remarks by Pseudo-Plutarch on the enharmonic genus that seem to have had a profound influence on Vicentino: in particular, the description of the history and practice of music among the very ancient Greeks before the degradation of the art.⁷⁷ Of special interest is the legend of the younger Olympus, who founded a new and lofty style by introducing the enharmonic genus, the only genus studied in the olden days, according to this source. This state of affairs was completely reversed by the debased practice of Pseudo-Plutarch's time. Lazy, incompetent musicians banished the noble and majestic enharmonic genus of the ancients, claiming that no one could hear its subtle intervals. They used instead the diatonic and chromatic genera.⁷⁸ The last remark provided Vicentino with evidence for his definition of "tempered and mixed music" and for the conclusion that in his own day the "pure diatonic" (as the ancient Greeks knew it) was neither

74. Plato, *Laws* 3.700a–b and 7.800c–e, and *Republic*, 10.607a, and Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Music*, 6.1133c, 27.1140d, 12.1135c2–f, and 40.1145e.

75. Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, 1.2.3 and 4.2.3–4. See also Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, 3.16.3 and Cicero, *Brutus*, 18.71.

76. Aristotle, *Politics*, 8.7.1342a.

77. Vicentino may have known the translation of *De musica* by Carlo Valgolio (Brescia, 1507). Palisca, *Humanism*, pp. 88–100, and *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 13–44.

78. Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Music*, 7.1133e, 11.1135b, 34.1143e, and 38.1145a–c.

understood nor practiced. This, of course, was the crux of the 1551 debate with Lusitano.

The references to Vitruvius present problems with respect to terminology and interpretation. Vicentino uses *modo/modi* to refer to the classical orders of architecture whereas Vitruvius used *genus/generum*.⁷⁹ The first Italian version (Como, 1521), brought out by Cesare Cesariano, Buono Mauro, and Benedetto Govio, used the rather infelicitous term *generatione*. The Venetian humanist Daniele Barbaro chose *maniera/maniere* for his Italian edition (Venice, 1556). In his translation of Leone Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (Florence, 1550), Cosimo Bartoli used *ordine/ordini*. Vicentino misread his source on the matter of the mixing of the orders. Vitruvius was a purist, although he did suggest the possibility of combining some pairs of orders.⁸⁰ This misinterpretation may have been prompted by the commonplace notion that the Romans used a "composite" order, one emulated by the moderns.⁸¹

Another source problem concerns Vicentino's division of the whole tone into five minor dieses. Tantalizing though it is to suggest that he took this division from Marchetto of Padua,⁸² the evidence does not support this conjecture. The parallel is striking, but it is more likely that Vicentino encountered the idea in an intermediary source, such as Fogliano, Gaffurio, or Pietro Aaron. I have already discussed the evidence for Fogliano's influence, and he is not the only "modern" hidden in the text.

79. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 4.1.1–3, 4.3.1, 4.6.1 and 6, and 4.8.4–5.

80. *De architectura*, 4.6.6, 4.1.2–3, and 4.8.5. Isidore twice mentions the five genera of columns given by Vitruvius: Doric, Ionic, Tuscan, Corinthian, and Attic, in his *Etymologiarum*, 15.8 and 19.10.

81. For example, Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani* (Florence, 1550), "Introduzione alle tre arti del disegno . . . e prima dell'architettura," chap. 3. A letter of 1519 to Pope Leo X, written by Raphael and probably Baldassare Castiglione, alludes to Roman buildings with several manners (*di più maniere*). See *Raffaello nei documenti*, edited by Vincenzo Golzio (Vatican City, 1936), pp. 91–92.

82. *Lucidarium in arte musicæ plane* (1317–18), edited by Jan W. Herlinger (Chicago, 1985), pp. 231–68. See Herlinger, *Lucidarium*, p. xx, and Karol Berger, *Musica ficta* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 24–25 and 29.

The Treatise

For the most part, the organization of the treatise is logical. But as is often the case with large works of this period, the sequence of ideas from book to book or from chapter to chapter does not always form a coherent pattern. Certain chapters were added later, and the degree of integration depends on their placement and on the nature of the book into which they were inserted.

Two additions occur in “Book IV on Music Practice.” Chapter 43, the last in the book, gives Vicentino’s account of the public debate, even though this subject is more apposite to Book III, where the genera are explained. Still, there can be no doubt that chapter 43 was appended to Book IV some time after 1551. The other addition, adapted from Lusitano, is chapter 23, on improvised counterpoint. It appears in the midst of a set of chapters on written counterpoint, and its ostensible link to the preceding chapter is extremely weak. It might be argued that the similarity to Lusitano was a coincidence, were it not for the categories described. Lusitano’s treatise was published in 1553. Either this chapter was inserted between 1553 and 1555 or Vicentino saw a manuscript copy of Lusitano’s work between 1549 and 1553.

Vicentino writes in an unself-conscious style that moves easily from the pedestrian didactic to the partisan militant. The exception is the chapter on the public debate, where he mimics the legalistic tenor of the proceedings while betraying the depth of his anger and resentment. Vicentino often digresses within chapters to matters that are tangential to the topic at hand. These digressions—on style, decorum, genre, singing, performance practice, and theology—are often more interesting than the topics they interrupt. To read Vicentino’s prose is to follow the natural flow of his ideas as they occurred to him.

Given Vicentino’s casualness, it is not possible to determine exactly the order in which books were written. The outer books seem disconnected from the central section on music practice. “Book V on Music Practice” (on the archicembalo, actually) could stand on its own. The link between the “Book on Music Theory” and the books on music practice is more ambiguous. Certainly, the music theory section provides a background for the music practice. But the omission of the music theory would not impede the reader’s understanding of the material in the music practice. These discontinuities are to some degree reflected in the prose and organization of the three parts distinguished here: “Book on Music Theory,” books I–IV on music practice, and book V on the archicembalo.

Vicentino was less a learned antiquarian than a practical theorist, a bias frequently cited by scholars to account for the uneven quality of the writing. Although it is true that readers find themselves alternating between admiration and exasperation, the flaws result not from Vicentino's lack of erudition but rather from his lack of concentration, especially with respect to technical subjects that require sustained systematization. For instance, egregious errors mar his method for solmizing the genera, his lists of intervals on the archicembalo, and his dismissal of Glarean's four extra modes—all practical topics. His instructions for tempering the archicembalo, a subject on which harmonic science and practical mechanics should reach a workable compromise, raise more problems than they solve. Where humanist erudition is seminal—for unaccompanied vocal tuning in the genera—Vicentino confounds two incompatible premises: the Ptolemaic, based on the mathematics of superparticular whole-number ratios, and the Aristoxenian, based on the geometry of irrational partitions of interval sizes. The result is a hopeless muddle.

In contrast, his knowledge of ancient sources helped shape a singularly astute, though controversial, concept of decorum that places his ideas in the vanguard of musical rhetoric, especially stylistics. Vicentino had no models in the field of music theory. The originality of the treatise, then, lies in its philosophy of music, no matter how poorly argued it may be. Vicentino talks about three levels of style: high, middle, and low. He dismisses low subjects because they are frivolous and stresses the gravity of church music, warning composers against debasing it with popular material. He repeatedly enjoins musicians to use their judgment in differentiating chamber from church music, solo ensembles from large choral forces, and so on.

His postulate for vocal chamber music—that its purpose is to express the text—pertains to ordinary and extraordinary vocal music alike. Both styles have in common a set of rules for increasing the intelligibility of the words. These rules represent what we now recognize as standard techniques for observing the prosody of language. They do not, however, suffice for depicting passions and poetic imagery. Vicentino makes it clear that the latter goal requires the deployment of various interval sizes, from the tiniest to the largest, each assigned a gradation of tenseness or slackness, depending on its size, speed, and melodic direction. In a highly expressive style, these interval sizes include a range of enharmonic inflections, from the minor diesis (one-fifth of a whole tone) to the major octave (a perfect octave enlarged by one minor diesis).

In common music for untutored ears, the recommended techniques are limited to those that impart a modicum of stylish flair and textual

clarity without disrupting the docile conventions expected by the public. Vicentino specifies these techniques and their logical disposition in three chapters devoted to the beginning, middle, and end of a composition. This is probably the first systematic application of rhetorical tools to musical structure, here described in such terms as *good* and *bad*, *modern* and *outdated*. And yet Vicentino makes it clear that the criteria of logic and coherence severely hamper the potential for high style and expressiveness.

For Vicentino, the structural elements of music are comparable to the columnar scaffolding of buildings and to the linear design of paintings. Such elements as generically inflected intervals correspond to architectural or visual ornaments. In extraordinary music for cultivated ears, the eloquent portrayal of the words allows—indeed demands—an incredible variety of ornaments. Even structural elements can be bent out of shape, as it were, so long as these aberrations depict the text. Vicentino flaunts the chaotic effect of the genera by elevating it to an aesthetic dictate for stylized style. The cadence of the human voice is the main vehicle of emotive resonance. And the minute steps of the genera provide the most flexible means of imitating vocal inflection. Singers, he says, must overcome their innate laziness and learn to vary their technique, following the model of orators. All irrational and unruly techniques are acceptable when they produce “marvelous effects.” These effects do more than compensate for any lack of logical coherence; the more graphic and surprising they are, maintains Vicentino, the more moved the listeners.

He presents a meticulous list of words and images, each with its own representation by means of melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic figures. These are the precious ancient secrets wrested from oblivion, which the brutish ears of common folk cannot appreciate. This sort of stylization is reserved for the refined ears of discerning patrons of music. Vicentino does not deny the artificial, contrived, and affected qualities of this style. On the contrary, he makes a virtue of them.

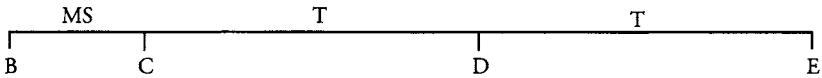
The implication is clear. Receptive listeners will understand that his adaptation of ancient music to modern practice enables them to participate in the lofty exercise of music described by so many ancient authors. He wrote what he thought were reasonably progressive works for large choirs, for example, but he reserved his truly radical works for the solo ensembles of aristocratic chamber music.

The sincerity of Vicentino’s humanist aspiration cannot be doubted. His belief in the value of resurrecting the secrets of ancient music was genuine in that he tried to realize a vision of the sublimity of Greek

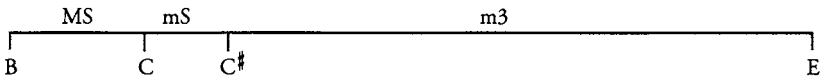
music. Because this revival was to take place in modern polyphony, Vicentino assessed the modern adaptation as superior to its model—a sort of emulation. The feasibility of his technical precepts is another matter, however. To attribute their deficiencies to his meager knowledge of classical sources is to misconstrue the problem. Simply put, he failed to grasp the inconsistencies between what he read and what he wrote. Scientific enquiry was not his strong suit, and no amount of reading would have corrected this weakness.

The best way to introduce the subject of the genera is first to consider the sizes of the intervals relative to each other and then to discuss their tuning. If we take the tetrachord hypaton, B-E, the division of the fourth would yield the intervals seen in example 1.

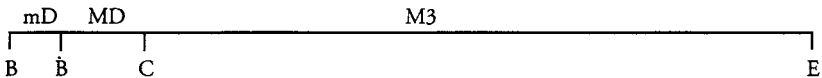
Division 1: diatonic



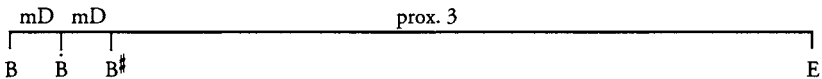
Division 2: chromatic



Division 3: enharmonic



Division 4



Example 1 Intervals in the Genera

Example 1 shows that the smallest interval is the minor diesis, even though in theory any minor diesis could be split into two commas. The major diesis (equal to two minor diesies) is the same size as the minor semitone. Which name is used will depend on the spelling of the interval: for example, \dot{B} - \dot{C} , is a minor diesis whereas \dot{C} - \dot{C}^\sharp is a minor semitone. Three minor diesies make up the major semitone. Thus, a whole tone contains five minor diesies: \dot{B} - \dot{B} , \dot{B} - \dot{B}^\sharp , \dot{B}^\sharp - \dot{C} , \dot{C} - \dot{C} , and \dot{C} - \dot{C}^\sharp , for instance.

The fourth division in example 1 shows one way to write a major third enlarged by a minor diesis (\dot{B}^\sharp - \dot{E}), an interval Vicentino calls “proximate major third.” (The major third from \dot{B}^\sharp is \dot{E}^\sharp .) Another way would be to

keep the intervals as shown in Division 3, the enharmonic genus, but to inflect the last pitch, E, up one minor diesis, changing it to \dot{E} . This alteration also creates the outline of an inflected fourth (a proximate fourth in Vicentino's terms) between B- \dot{E} .

Vicentino's rules for composing in the genera, either pure or mixed, are easy to understand. How they work out in practice is more difficult to unravel. The inconsistency of Vicentino's description of tuning systems need not trouble us here, because the verification of intervals does not depend on choosing between the two tunings he confuses in his text. One may verify the admissibility of intervals by using the integer ratios of Ptolemy's diatonic syntonon tuning, espoused by Vicentino's critic Zarlino and known today as just intonation. In many places in his treatise Vicentino seems to have in mind the diatonic syntonon, for he names its ratios for the whole tone (10:9 and 9:8), minor third (6:5), major third (5:4), minor sixth (8:5), major sixth (5:3), as well as for the perfect fourth (4:3), perfect fifth (3:2), and octave (2:1). A ratio for the major semitone is not specified; however, it (16:15) can be extrapolated by subtracting the "sum" of the 10:9 and 9:8 whole tones from the fourth.⁸³ As I pointed out earlier, Vicentino does not elucidate this tuning in a systematic manner, nor does he name it or its ancient expositor.

When Vicentino describes the species of intervals belonging to each genus, he speaks of a single melodic line. In this respect he seems to follow the practice of ancient musicians, as understood by the humanists of his day. He departs from this view when he insists that generically inflected melodies can be combined in a contrapuntal texture written according to the procedures of received practice in the mid-sixteenth century: that is, polyphony featuring imitative points, homophonic passages, and canon (though he dislikes canon because its abstract technical nature causes composers to disregard the projection of the text). Within this practice, composers may bend the rules of treatment of dissonance by introducing unruly and irrational interval species in order to express the affective nature of the words. The extent to which this should be done will depend on the social circumstances of the composition—the nature of the text, the performers available, the venue, and the audience. These are matters of decorum. Pertinent here is the technique of using the genera in polyphonic composition.

The intervals of the fourth, fifth, and octave are common to all genera. Because these intervals define the structure and limits of the eight

83. There are also some approximate and some erroneous ratios given in Bk. V. The latter include 21:20 for the minor semitone and 14:13 for the major semitone.

modes, their size may be inflected chromatically or enharmonically in linear sequence but never in simultaneous alignment.⁸⁴ Intervals larger than the fifth, being compound, do not affect the genus. Hence, large and compound intervals may be used in any of the genera. Each genus, however, has a set of steps proper to it alone, and any member of this set suffices to define the genus. It follows therefore that a melody in, say, the chromatic genus cannot retain its purity when adulterated by steps proper to either the diatonic or the enharmonic, except when such offending intervals are separated by rests. Mixing the genera is certainly permitted, but the composer must understand how and when to do so.

Music in the pure diatonic genus is restricted to the linear intervals of the diatonic major semitone and the diatonic whole tone. The intervals proper to the pure chromatic genus are major semitone, minor semitone, and minor third. Microtonal inflection is included in the following steps of the pure enharmonic genus: minor diesis (half of a minor semitone), major diesis (the same as a minor semitone), and major third.

From this description it is evident that each pair of genera has one interval in common: the diatonic and chromatic share the major semitone, whereas the chromatic and enharmonic share the minor semitone. Therefore, the major semitone is foreign only to the enharmonic genus, just as the minor semitone is foreign only to the diatonic genus. Each of the other intervals—the minor diesis, whole tone, minor third, and major third—is exclusive to one genus.

Vicentino maintains that inasmuch as modern composers deploy major and minor thirds and, to a lesser extent, minor or accidental semitones in the polyphony of his day, such music is not purely diatonic but rather a mixture of the genera. This was the issue he debated with Lusitano. Even if Vicentino had made it clear at the beginning that he was differentiating “pure diatonic” from “mixed diatonic” music, the debate would probably have shifted ground to become a wrangle about the status of thirds: were thirds simple or compound intervals? If they were classified as simple, Vicentino would have won. But if they were considered compound, Lusitano could have argued that they were made up of whole tones and semitones, intervals already present in the diatonic genus. In the event, Vicentino in his treatise doggedly refers to ordinary practice as “tempered and mixed music.” Any compositions with minor semitones or thirds in their melodic contours must be classified as tempered and mixed diatonic music.

84. Vicentino writes proximate fourths, fifths, and octaves only in secular chamber music: proximate fourths and fifths appear often whereas proximate octaves are rare, though not unknown.

Of course, one could write polyphony in the pure diatonic genus, a very limiting choice, according to Vicentino. Much more striking are compositions in the pure chromatic and pure enharmonic genera. In his treatise Vicentino provides examples of the three pure genera. He also recommends mixing the genera by means of various performance options, all of which entail selecting various combinations of written accidentals.⁸⁵

The above excursus is clear as far as it goes. It explains the use of the adjective *mixed* by Vicentino with respect to ordinary or common practice. It does not, however, explain his use of *tempered*. The assumption behind example 1 is that there is a geometric (visual) division of intervals, an assumption characteristic of Aristoxenian tuning. Vicentino, of course, knew nothing about Aristoxenus' method except the allegation that it was "irrational," an allegation made by Boethius and later writers on the basis of remarks attributed to Ptolemy and other ancient theorists.

Because Vicentino himself recommends using the instrument to help singers master the subtle intonation of the genera, it is best to abandon the diatonic syntonon in favor of the thirty-one-note tuning system on the archicembalo. In this tuning Vicentino combines temperament (in order to approximate the just thirds and sixths of the diatonic syntonon) and enharmonic inflection (in order to divide the whole tone into five dieses). The use of temperament explains the adjective *tempered* with respect to ordinary practice, insofar as thirds in this tuning are almost completely just or pure. And thirds, according to Vicentino, come from the chromatic and enharmonic genera. The division of the whole tone into five dieses, coupled with tempered thirds, allows the composer to deploy minor semitones, major dieses, minor dieses, and proximate steps and leaps of all sizes in the extraordinary and refined music that features the chromatic and enharmonic genera.

Book on Music Theory

This little book lays out the theoretical basis in the abstract for the ensuing five books on music practice. Although, as Vicentino avers, its contents are derived mostly from Boethius, some material comes from other authors. In terse, unimaginative prose Vicentino surveys in rapid succession and in more-or-less logical sequence the Pythagorean ratios, the ancient tetrachords, the monochord, the three genera, the fourth-, fifth-, and octave-species, the eight modes, the range of stationary and movable steps, and the division of the whole tone into two semitones,

85. The way these options work in Vicentino's compositions in the treatise is explained in "Mixing the Genera," below.

five dieses, and ten commas. The concluding chapter is a tedious apologetic list of omissions from the Boethian canon.

The material is usually straightforward, except for a few oddities. For instance, the chapter on how to find the harmonic mean (according to Isidore of Seville) has no bearing on anything else in the book. More troubling is Vicentino's statement that the eight modes are derived from the octave-species. The modal structure he describes, based on Gaffurio's system of the eight church modes, does not correspond to that of the ancient octave-species copied from Boethius, even with the addition of the eighth mode, attributed to Ptolemy. Many music theorists in this period made facile assumptions about the octave-species and the modes similar to that put forward by Vicentino. Most of them glossed over the discrepancies and did not try to tell their readers how the ancient octave-species changed into the species they knew. Few went so far as to describe both systems in such minute detail, and none would have done so while asserting that the two were matching sets.

Book I on Music Practice

The main burden of Book I is to explain the linear intervals available in melodies composed in the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera. Before laying out this pitch repertory, Vicentino indulges in historical speculation, some of it fairly accurate and some highly fanciful. From the achievements of Guido of Arezzo, especially in solmization, he goes on to the notational inventions of Jehan des Murs. Here Vicentino inserts a digression on the social usage of the genera according to propriety; we are to understand that as an innovator Vicentino belongs to an august tradition.

He next presents his solmization system, designed to accommodate the inflections produced by the three genera. But the gamuts in chapter 5 are theoretical constructs with little, if any, practical benefits. In order to arrive at a closed system Vicentino had to devise solutions that deviated from standard solmization patterns. This is confusing in a system that is so complex it requires a set of five syllables to pass from one diatonic whole tone to the next—actually, two different sets of five, one going up and one down. To add to the confusion, the hapless reader encounters unexplained applications of “*mutatio mentalis et vocalis*”⁸⁶ and many errors and omissions in the music examples.

86. On “*mutatio vocalis et mentalis*,” see Aaron, *Libri tres de institutione harmonica* (Bologna, 1516), Bk. I, chap. 13, and Stefano Vanneo, *Recanetum de musica aurea* (Rome, 1533), Bk. I, chap. 21.

All patterns, regular and irregular, are deployed so as to make it possible for a singer to go through the gamut twice, once in the soft and once in the hard hexachord. The natural hexachord is affiliated with the other two and may be used whenever necessary or convenient. It should be noted that the bifurcated system of hexachords is relatively new in the mid-sixteenth century.

The bulk of Book I is devoted to detailed descriptions, illustrations, and characterizations of each interval, beginning with the comma, continuing through the minor enharmonic diesis and the major enharmonic diesis (or minor semitone), and finishing with the proximate imperfect fifth, the natural fifth, and the accidental fifth. Perhaps tired of his own pedantry, Vicentino lumps the rest (the larger intervals) into a single chapter and quickly closes the book with a Tree of the Division in an attempt to schematize the intervals within the octave.

The characterization of each interval according to its direction and speed calls for a battery of adjectives, the most frequent of which are *tense* (coupled with *cheerful*) and *slack* (coupled with *sad*). Such adverbs as *very* and *somewhat* indicate degrees of intensity, as do stronger adjectives like *sweet*, *gentle*, *vivacious*, and *imperious*.

Book II on Music Practice

Having described linear intervals, Vicentino turns to progressions in two or more steps and for two or more voices. Book II deals essentially with matters of voice-leading in part music that is limited to the ordinary vocabulary of the tempered and mixed diatonic genus. The polyphonic handling of the pure chromatic and enharmonic as well as the hybrid genera is put off to Book III. Hence, Book II can be categorized as a section on the rudiments of composition.

For the most part, the chapters follow in logical sequence, starting with the unison and ending with the fifteenth and twenty-second. The introductory chapter, on the principles of composition, is redundant and needlessly complex, but it nonetheless introduces some intriguing criteria of aesthetic value. Noteworthy in this book are the chapters on the tritone, the imperfect fifth, hidden parallel octaves, free dissonances, syncopation of various kinds, leaps, and rates of motion. The music examples usually bear such prescriptive captions as "for two voices," "for eight voices," and "for four or more voices." These are clear but by no means consistently applied. The reader will also find descriptive captions: "good," "not too good," "bad," "better," "old-fashioned," "not too modern," and "doubtful."

Vicentino does not expand the detailed characterization of melodic intervals to include intervals in simultaneous alignment, despite his emphasis in the introductory chapter on the importance of matching linear and simultaneous intervals in counterpoint—that is, on taking care not to negate the character of a linear sequence with inappropriate simultaneous progressions. Only imperfect simultaneous intervals—thirds and sixths, both major and minor—are accorded characterization. Even so, it is not clear how their deployment would affect the character of a composition. In the last chapter Vicentino makes some helpful comments on tempo, thus picking up one of the threads in his opening on compositional goals.

In addition to several digressions on the sins committed by singers, this book contains commentaries of differing length and cogency on such subjects as natural number, mathematical unity, and Trinitarian doctrine. Although the thrust of the book is eminently practical, Vicentino injects some passing remarks on harmonic science, chiefly with respect to the mathematical definition of imperfect consonances.

Book III on Music Practice

The intriguing feature of Book III is the music illustrating the genera, pure or mixed, in modern polyphony. Vicentino's exposition of the genera follows a set pattern. He first describes the species of fourths, fifths, octaves, and modes in each genus. He then goes on to discuss cadences and closes with an example. Near the end of the book he prints three compositions, each of which mixes the genera in a different way. The book ends with a rambling and confused account of stationary and movable steps.

The closing chapters on the mixed genera are balanced by the opening ones on the pure genera. The pure diatonic genus, according to Vicentino, is to be distinguished from the tempered and mixed diatonic used in the music of his day. The structure of the eight pure diatonic modes, as in the "Book on Music Theory," is derived not from the seven octave-species of ancient music but rather from the church modes. Nonetheless, the names (Dorian and Hypodorian through Mixolydian and Hypermixolydian) and, by inference, the ethical qualities imputed to these allegedly ancient modes are ascribed by Vicentino to the ancient Greeks.

Transposition with one flat ("on the soft hexachord") or with several flats ("feigned music") introduces the eight modes as they appear in the tempered and mixed diatonic. A digression at the start of this excursus brings together the subjects of Vitruvius and architecture, painting and

perspective, the importance of the text, and the decorum of modal stability and modal anarchy. The description of the ordinary modes concludes with a snarled misconstruction of Glarean's extra modes, which Vicentino dismisses out of hand. After describing pure diatonic cadences using only diatonic major semitones, Vicentino demonstrates the pure diatonic mode in a four-voice composition without a text (see example 26).

The next eight chapters, on cadences in ordinary practice, concentrate mainly on commonplace techniques. However, Vicentino's comments on diminished cadences, avoiding the cadence, and voice function (soprano and bass in particular) are generally perceptive and occasionally innovative. A single chapter on composing for five parts closes off this section.

The next section concerns composition in the pure chromatic genus. The description of species, modes, and cadences is condensed into eight chapters. This section ends with the illustration of a cheerful chromatic motet for four voices, *Alleluia. Haec dies*.

In the final section, five chapters suffice to deal with enharmonic species, modes, and cadences. Vicentino inserts one chapter on mixing the species of the genera. It should be noted that his treatment of genus and species, here and elsewhere, is less than a model a clarity. The music example is a fragment of a pure enharmonic madrigal for four voices, *Soav'e dol'ardore*.

Each of the next three chapters demonstrates how to mix the genera in a composition. Two partial four-voice madrigals, *Dolce mio ben* and *Madonna, il poco dolce*, can be performed in five different ways. In the four-voice secular Latin work, *Musica prisca caput*, in honor of his patron Ippolito II, the genera are presented in succession: diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. Vicentino concludes with a somber five-voice liturgical motet in the pure chromatic genus, *Hierusalem, Hierusalem*.

Book IV on Music Practice

Book IV has been called *musica poetica*, an apt term insofar as the book covers compositional techniques from rudimentary to advanced levels.⁸⁷ The first thirteen chapters present routine lessons on notation, for the benefit of composers and performers. The next three chapters—on how to begin, continue, and end a composition—raise the level of the discourse. From this point on, technical rules are always qualified with respect to genre, style, and decorum.

Before embarking on the rules of counterpoint, Vicentino gives the

87. Kaufmann, *Life and Works*, p. 147.

reader recommendations on spacing and texture, on avoiding barbarisms in pronunciation, on varying the tempo, and on deploying major and minor thirds to achieve happy and sad moods, respectively, along with a warning to singers not to inflect thirds without considering the text. The next seven chapters proceed from a discussion of two-voice counterpoint to one about composing for two and three choirs. As noted earlier, this pedagogical sequence is interrupted by a chapter on improvised counterpoint based on Lusitano.

Chapters 29 and 30, on prosody and the representation of moods and images of a text, are central to Vicentino's aesthetic. They lead naturally to an exposition of more sophisticated techniques. But only after an oddly placed chapter on proportions does Vicentino deal with such advanced compositional procedures as fugue (syntactic imitation), canon, and double and invertible counterpoint. The final chapters have a practical goal: they tell the reader how to find unwritten canons, how to check for errors, and how to conduct. In the latter, Vicentino advises singers to project the spirit of the music, taking as their model the art of the orator. Book IV ends with the story of the debate.

Book V on Music Practice About the Instrument Called the Archicembalo

Book V is replete with repetitive lists, examples, and exercises geared to teaching and to learning by rote. The usefulness of this material must be questioned, especially in view of the high incidence of typographical and/or authorial errors and omissions.

The archicembalo, with its two manuals and six ranks of keys (three on each manual), was legendary.⁸⁸ In the opening chapters of Book V, Vicentino describes the dimensions of the instrument: it is about 194 centimeters long, 77.6 centimeters deep, and 21.4 centimeters high. The keyboard spanned three and a half octaves from 1F to 1c'. Vicentino had drawings made of the two manuals of the keyboard, which are reproduced here as figures 1–3.⁸⁹

As an aid to the discussion of the two manuals and their tuning, Appendix II presents a schematic drawing of the keys in one octave for each manual. The first manual has 19 keys per octave: 7 diatonic white keys in the first rank, 5 black keys in the second rank, and 7 shorter black keys in the third rank. The second manual has 17 keys per octave: 7

88. Luzzaschi's prowess on the archicembalo is mentioned by Botttrigari in *Il Desiderio*, p. 41 (MacClintock translation, p. 51).

89. See also App. II. The names of the keys on the archicembalo are prefaced by Arabic numbers to indicate the ranks from 1 to 6.

white keys in the fourth rank, 5 black keys in the sixth, and 5 shorter black keys in the sixth. Thus, each octave has 36 keys in all, and the entire keyboard encompasses 130 keys from 1F to 1c'. Appendix II and figures 2–3 will confirm that the highest rank in each manual contains “split” black keys except for the short keys in the third rank that split the diatonic semitones of the first rank. When referring to keys of the archicembalo, the translation includes first the rank on which the key appears and then the modern spelling of the note.

Vicentino describes two different tuning systems for the archicembalo. The first of these produces a thirty-one-note octave. As near as can be determined, the first two ranks of keys on the first manual are tuned in meantone. The third rank of 7 keys splits the 5 black keys of the second rank and adds 2 half-size upper black keys between the diatonic semitones. These 12 black keys divide the major semitone, whether diatonic or chromatic, into one major and one minor diesis. Thus, the first manual produces a nineteen-note octave.

The fourth rank, first on the second manual, is one diesis higher than the first rank on the first manual. The 7 keys on the fourth rank divide the minor semitones between white and black keys on the first manual into two minor dieses. The 5 keys on the fifth rank divide the minor semitones between black and white keys on the first manual into two minor dieses. As a result, the thirty-one notes in the octave are one diesis apart. This sort of “equal temperament” is audible only when the instrument is played in the three genera mixed together. In the diatonic genus, or in the diatonic and chromatic genera combined, the tempering reverts to meantone. Indeed, the first tuning system of the archicembalo is meant to substantiate Vicentino’s contention that the music of his day was in the tempered and mixed diatonic.

It must be said that the role of the sixth rank of keys in the first tuning system is not at all clear. Vicentino intended to have 7 split black keys in this rank but could only fit in 5. These 5 keys divide the minor diesis between the white keys of the first rank and fourth ranks into two commas. In some circumstances, not always accurately described or illustrated, the comma keys are supposed to produce consonances closer to pure sizes than the other inflections possible on the instrument. But this rank is incomplete and hence limited in function.

The sixth rank, however, is indispensable to the second tuning system. The 17 keys of the second manual are tuned by perfect fifths from the appropriate keys on the first manual, which is still in meantone. By following Vicentino’s careful instruction for fingering, a performer can play

thirty almost-pure major and minor three-note or four-note vertical sonorities, out of a possible thirty-four. Intriguing though this second system may be, it is clear that everything Vicentino has to say in the rest of the fifth book takes the first tuning system as a point of departure.

Five chapters are devoted to illustrating the seven octaves from 1A to 5G^b on each of the 5 keys (minus the comma rank) that divide the whole tone into five minor dieses. Chapter 59, double the length of the chapters just mentioned, is an interminable lesson in clef reading. Vicentino shows the player what each of the seven octaves looks like in the clefs that house its natural diatonic notation, as well as in eight other clefs that use chromatic and enharmonic accidentals to reproduce the natural diatonic pattern.

Discounting the comma keys in the sixth rank (about which more below), the keys on the other five ranks of the archicembalo produce a thirty-one-note octave. In chapters 8–38 Vicentino attempts to list and illustrate, chapter by meticulous chapter, every single perfect and imperfect consonance, together with all the available inflections above and below each of the 31 keys. This attempt, though valiant, fails. He forgets 4F altogether. With regard to the other keys, it is rare that Vicentino's long verbal lists of consonances tally with the music examples.

His description of major and minor semitones, whole tones, and minor dieses is less pedantic and more instructive. But here as elsewhere, problems arise from Vicentino's use of such directional terms as *ascending* and *descending*. In the act of playing, the placement of fingers and hands may contradict the direction of linear intervals. For instance, a "downward" movement—that is, to the left on the keyboard—from 1A to 6A produces the step of an ascending comma; a backward shift by the hand away from the body from 2G[♯] to 3A[♯] produces an *ascending* minor diesis, whereas the same motion from 2B^b to 3A[♯] on a split key produces a *descending* minor diesis. Clearly, players of the archicembalo had their work cut out for them. And it is not surprising that Vicentino, too, should have been confused from time to time.

Notation also adds to the confusion. There are no enharmonic equivalents, in the modern sense of the term, in the thirty-one-note octave: for instance, 2G[♯] is not the same as 3A^b. But the system needs to be a closed one. Thus, pitches described occasionally as "C[♯]" and "F[♯]" are the enharmonic equivalents of 5D^b and 5G^b, respectively, and pitches notated occasionally as C^b and F^b are the enharmonic equivalents of 4B and 4E, respectively.

The only extant keyboard instrument that resembles Vicentino's archicembalo is the one-manual harpsichord built by Guido Trasuntino

of Venice in 1606 for Camillo Gonzaga, count of Novellara.⁹⁰ This instrument has a thirty-one-note octave and lacks the sixth rank, a feature that supports the hypothesis that this rank is not required for the first tuning system. Instead of putting the fourth and fifth ranks on a separate manual, Trasuntino hit on the more practical solution of splitting the “accidental” keys (his are white whereas Vicentino’s are black) into two sets of two split keys, making a total of four for each, and inserting a narrow split key instead of a single half-key between the diatonic semitones. This arrangement makes the instrument easier to play.

The Diatonic, Chromatic, and Enharmonic Compositions

I should like now to discuss the compositions written by Vicentino according to the rules of the genera: first a purely diatonic work; then two purely chromatic works; and finally a purely enharmonic work. After considering the problems inherent in Vicentino’s methods of mixing the genera, I shall discuss the three works in the mixed genera. Finally, I shall analyze the example in the genera reprinted by Vicentino from Lusitano’s treatise.

A Diatonic Composition Without Words

Pure diatonic music is harsh. It cannot express the words because of its paucity of consonances; particularly noticeable is the absence of major and minor melodic thirds. Of course, Vicentino overlooks the presence of simultaneous major and minor thirds produced by contrapuntal voice-leading. To show what such counterpoint would be like, he creates a four-voice example without a text. When he later recapitulates the compositions in the genera, he excludes this work, since it is merely an academic exercise, not a composition. The exercise is strict.⁹¹

90. Pictures of this instrument, now in the Museo Civico of Bologna, are available in John Henry van der Meer, “Trasuntino,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 13: 626; Raymond Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord* (London, 1959), Plates 13A–B; Wilhelm Dupont, *Geschichte der musikalischen Temperatur* (Nordlingen, 1935), p. 53. The archicembalo attributed to Vicentino by Cardano (see note 18, above) bears little resemblance to the instruments described here. Bottrigari mentions the existence of three instruments—the archicembalo kept in Ferrara and an arciorgano made in Rome for the late cardinal of Ferrara and another made in Milan under the supervision of Vicentino. Just before he died, Vicentino was apparently working on the construction of yet another archicembalo. See *Il desiderio*, p. 41 (MacClintock translation, pp. 51–52); also note 88, above.

91. The eight melodic thirds all have intervening rests. Because all the semitones must be diatonic, not even the penultimate note in the soprano should be raised.

Alleluia. Haec dies

This pure chromatic motet for four voices shows that if it is not too outrageous, chromatic music can be sung in church by any ordinary choir. Since *Alleluia. Haec dies* is an Easter text, the motet must project a joyous rather than a sad mood. For this reason, notes Vicentino, he has introduced a few major thirds from the enharmonic genus on significant words. The words are “and rejoice,” and Vicentino uses for them the ascending major third, an interval with a markedly cheerful character.⁹² The motet has a relatively stable harmonic design.

Hierusalem, Hierusalem

More somber, in keeping with its liturgical function, is the pure chromatic motet for five voices. The text is the refrain for the three lessons in the first nocturne for matins on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. Vicentino singles out the opening fugue because it presents the chromatic tetrachord, and he alternates the order of the two semitones and the minor third. This contrapuntal deployment of the tetrachord produces constant semitonal inflection and fluctuation between minor and major sonorities. With small circles of fifths and third-related vertical sonorities, the fluctuation results in mildly unstable harmony.

Soav'e dol'ardore

Vicentino demonstrates pure enharmonic music with the first fourteen measures of a four-voice madrigal. Though fragmentary, *Soav'e dol'ardore* indicates some of the problems endemic in writing enharmonic counterpoint. Discounting note repetitions, the piece has seventy melodic intervals. Of these, fifteen (about 22 percent) do not belong to the enharmonic genus: four minor thirds, eight major semitones, and three whole tones.⁹³ Only the bass is a pure enharmonic melody.

One could excuse the three descending minor thirds (mm. 5 and 7) and three of the major semitones (mm. 11–14) as text-oriented exceptions, since the first group sets the words “sweet passion” and the second

92. Vicentino's count of major thirds is not accurate. There are, as he says, two in the soprano (mm. 17–18 and m. 19), one in the alto (m. 15), and one in the bass (m. 18). But the tenor has only one major third (mm. 15–16); the part also features two ascending whole tones (m. 17 and mm. 17–18), which Vicentino neglects to mention.

93. Minor thirds: soprano, m. 7; tenor, mm. 5 and 11; bass, m. 7. Major semitones: soprano, mm. 13–14; alto, m. 5, mm. 1–12, and m. 12; tenor, mm. 4, 5, 13, and 13–14. Whole tones: alto, m. 5; tenor, mm. 5 and 12.

the word *sighs*. Minor semitones and minor dieses would have projected the words just as effectively, however. One suspects that these lapses, like others noted below, result from Vicentino's grappling with the exigencies of harmony and counterpoint. Enharmonic inflection creates "proximate" intervals, that is, intervals enlarged or reduced by one minor diesis. When writing in the enharmonic genus, the composer must alter many legitimate melodic intervals into proximate size—including fourths, fifths, and sometimes octaves. But in *Soav'e dolc'ardore* Vicentino uses this device to camouflage seven extraneous melodic steps (10 percent of the total): two major semitones, two whole tones, and three minor thirds.⁹⁴

Scrutiny of the simultaneous sonorities in this excerpt shows that each of them, regardless of how eccentric the spelling may seem, is a perfectly aligned major or minor vertical sonority. These sonorities take precedence over, and indeed are the reason for, the melodic anomalies noted above. The strangeness of the harmony arises from the constant shifts between the diatonic and the enharmonic vertical sonorities formed by the linear contours of the four voices.

Mixing the Genera

Dolce mio ben and *Madonna, il poco dolce* are the first halves of two four-voice madrigals that exemplify ways of mixing the genera by means of various performance options. According to Vicentino each work can be sung in five ways: diatonic, chromatic, chromatic and enharmonic, diatonic and chromatic, and diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. He gives details of only the first three options, however. In the diatonic, the singers ignore all accidentals. In the chromatic, they sing the flats, sharps, and naturals, but not the superscript dots. In the enharmonic, they sing all the accidentals, including superscript dots. From these instructions, we may extrapolate the procedures of the fourth and fifth options. To combine the diatonic and chromatic, the singers would ignore all superscript dots and sing some, but not all, of the other accidentals. To mix the three genera, they would sing all the superscript dots and omit some of the other accidentals. These strategies are logical in the context of Vicentino's rules for defining the melodic content of each genus in its

94. Enlarged major semitones: soprano and alto, mm. 3–4. Reduced whole tones: soprano, mm. 4–5 and 9. Enlarged minor third: tenor, mm. 4–5. Reduced minor thirds: bass, mm. 5–6 and 13. Four extraneous intervals have intervening rests, two of them enharmonically inflected: minor third (soprano, mm. 5–6 and 8–9); proximate minor third (alto, m. 13); and proximate whole tone (tenor, mm. 10–11).

pristine state. But the applicability of the five options in the two compositions seems capricious at best. Each madrigal is based on a distinct premise, which in turn raises several different problems, some apparently irremediable. Vicentino was either hasty or lazy. He seems not to be aware, on the one hand, that each madrigal exhibits only one unproblematic option or, on the other hand, that neither can be performed in all five ways.

Dolce mio ben

The only option for performing *Dolce mio ben* that poses no difficulties is the third, using all the accidentals for the chromatic and enharmonic genera. The madrigal exhibits neither melodic nor harmonic irregularities. That this was the original version of the composition is corroborated by Vicentino's description of the work as a completely chromatic madrigal with a few enharmonic intervals.

Because of the prominence of melodic thirds, both major and minor, there can be no purely diatonic version of this work. The first option, therefore, works only if the key signature is observed as a means of transposing the mode. Omitting the key signature, which Vicentino associates with modes five and six in modern polyphony, produces far too many diminished and augmented intervals between B and F. The omission of the accidentals does away with minor semitones (or major dieses) and minor dieses, but does not eliminate the forty melodic thirds; it can only change their species.⁹⁵

Dolce mio ben is in the tempered and mixed diatonic, so to speak. Even so, there are three dissonant vertical sonorities and one dubious simultaneous alignment. The latter (first half of m. 17) occurs on the second note of a melodic tritone in the bass. The former (first half of mm. 5, 9, and 21) are the products of carelessness, inasmuch as Vicentino failed to realize that omitting the flats on the thirds of these sonorities would not harmonize the now naturalized notes with their uninflected fifths and octaves. Leaving the flats in does not solve the problem, for all the intervals formed by the flattened notes would become proximate, producing enharmonically inflected vertical sonorities. The alternative—lowering the flattened notes (g^b and d^b) to f' and c' respectively—breaks the rules by introducing melodic minor semitones.

95. Six thirds in the soprano: mm. 2–3, 4, 12–13, 17, 20, and 22; fourteen in the alto: mm. 1–2, 2, 6, 7–8, 9–10, 10, 11–12, 12 (two), 14, 17–18, 19, 21, and 21–22; twelve in the tenor: mm. 3, 5, 8, 10, 12 (two), 14–15, 17, 22, 23, 24, and 24–25; and eight in the bass: mm. 3, 3–4, 5–6, 10, 13, 15, 17–18, and 19–20.

In the “sweet chromatic” version, we encounter the same set of problems in a slightly different guise. The second notes of three prohibited melodic intervals—all minor enharmonic dieses—form enharmonically inflected vertical sonorities that are foreign to a chromatic work.⁹⁶ Omitting the flats produces the melodic interval of the major semitone, a species permitted in the chromatic genus; however, the resulting simultaneous sonorities would then be same as the dissonant ones in the diatonic version. Changing the flattened notes (g^b and d^b) to the natural pitch below (f and c) not only “corrects” the simultaneous sonorities in question but also follows the rules of the pure chromatic genus. All in all, the second option works better than the first, though not as well as the third.

Although the fourth option, a combination of the diatonic and chromatic genus, permits the singers some discretion in the use of accidentals, it does not of itself solve the problem of the three dissonant sonorities (mm. 5, 9, and 21). It is necessary to correct these in the same way they are fixed in the purely chromatic option. The final option, which combines all three genera, is workable only if the intervals of the enharmonic genus are never omitted. Their presence ensures that the problematic sonorities discussed above are consonant major sonorities. In choosing which other accidentals to keep, the singers must take care to sing all the flats on the first half of m. 17 in order to avoid the problem noted above with respect to the first diatonic option.

Madonna, il poco dolce

There is only one faultless and hence unproblematic way to perform *Madonna, il poco dolce*: by means of the fifth option, which combines the three genera. Again, the key signature and all enharmonic inflections must be observed, whereas discretion may be exercised in the use of other accidentals. A passing-note on the second beat of m. 31, on the words “to weep,” produces the sole enharmonically inflected “major triad” in the composition. This sonority must be sung as written: otherwise, there will occur intolerable dissonances like those noted in *Dolce mio ben*. The other four performance options entail problems of varying degrees of complexity.

To perform the diatonic option, the singers must omit not only all the accidentals written in their parts but also the key signature. Since the

96. First half of mm. 5 and 21: d , a , d^b , g^b . First half of m. 9: A , e , d^b , a^b and A , a , d^b , e^b . The major thirds in these sonorities are enharmonically enlarged and the minor thirds correspondingly reduced.

madrigal is in G Dorian, retaining the key signature would produce a number of diminished and augmented intervals between B^b and E. This is exactly the opposite solution to the one suggested for the diatonic option of *Dolce mio ben*. Nonetheless, *Madonna, il poco dolce*, with its forty-five melodic thirds, is also in the tempered and mixed diatonic genus.⁹⁷

Harmonic problems akin to those found in the diatonic version of *Dolce mio ben* appear in greater numbers in this madrigal. Because the diatonic option of *Madonna, il poco dolce* lacks a B^b, a total of nine diminished vertical sonorities result, involving the pitches B, D, and F in a variety of simultaneous alignments.⁹⁸ One cannot avoid these awkward alignments by keeping the key signature intact, because doing so would produce another thirteen diminished sonorities, some lasting an entire measure.⁹⁹ Moreover, the lowering of G^b and D^b to G and D, respectively, as required for major sonorities in the enharmonic genus, results in ten dissonant sonorities.¹⁰⁰ For possible solutions, see the discussion of the diatonic option of *Dolce mio ben*.

The chromatic option for *Madonna, il poco dolce* necessitates the singers observing the key signature and all accidentals except for the superscript dots. Even with the application of these flats, sharps, and naturals, the incidence of linear intervals that are extraneous to the chromatic genus is so high as to nullify its purity: sixty-one whole tones, nine major thirds, and four minor dieses—about 25 percent of the total (discounting repeated notes).¹⁰¹ The harmony features the same enharmonically

97. Eight thirds in the soprano: mm. 9–10, 12, 21, 25, 28, 32, 32–33, and 42–43; fourteen in the alto: mm. 2–3, 3, 12, 12–13, 14, 16, 28, 29, 30–31, 31, 32, 34–35, 39–40, and 41–42; nine in the tenor: mm. 2–3, 12–13, 13, 15, 16, 26, 27, 34, and 40–41; and fourteen in the bass: mm. 2, 4, 7–8, 8, 8–9, 13 (two), 17–18, 22–23, 25, 31–32, 32–33, 33, and 38–39.

98. First beat of mm. 22 and 31; second beat of mm. 24 and 31 (the latter with a dissonant e' in the soprano); third beat of mm. 30 and 41; last half of mm. 21, 33, and 34.

99. First and fourth beat of m. 37; second beat of m. 31, with a dissonant f in the tenor; third beat of m. 24; fourth beat of m. 29; first half of mm. 6, 8, 10, 25, and 41; all of mm. 15, 18, and 39.

100. First half of mm. 2, 5, 23, 27, 28, and 29; beat 3 of m. 36; last half of mm. 4, 20, and 40.

101. Thirteen whole tones in the soprano: mm. 2–3, 3 (two), 3–4, 9, 10, 11–12, 12, 12–13, 31–32, 34, 35–36, and 39–40; twelve in the alto: mm. 2, 3, 9 (two), 13, 15, 15–16, 19–20, 24, 31–32, 37, and 37–38; twenty-five in the tenor: mm. 3, 3–4, 4, 7–8, 8, 11 (two), 14–15, 15–16, 17–18, 22–23, 25, 29, 30, 32–33, 33–34, 34–35, 36–37, 38, 38–39, 41 (two), 41–42, 42, and 42–43; and eleven in the bass: mm. 3, 3–4, 9, 10, 11 (two), 13, 14–15, 18–19, 33–34, and 38. Four major thirds in the alto: mm. 2–3, 12–13, 31, and 39–40; four in the tenor: mm. 15, 16, 21–22 (proximate), and 40–41; and one in the bass: m. 33.

inflected sonorities as *Dolce mio ben*, but they occur more frequently in spite of the small number of melodic minor dieses.¹⁰² The way to eliminate these sonorities, which are foreign to the chromatic genus, is the same as in *Dolce mio ben*.

The third option calls for the singing of all accidentals, including superscript dots. Since the enharmonic genus joins with the chromatic, all the melodic major thirds and minor dieses are acceptable; however, the melodic whole tones are not. Of course, all the erstwhile major vertical sonorities, which featured disallowed proximate thirds in the purely chromatic option, now become consonant. Harmonic problems have been resolved, although the melodic contours still exhibit impurities. The result of the fourth option is the opposite, for the mixing of the diatonic and chromatic genera ensures that the ratio of foreign melodic intervals is sharply reduced (only nine thirds and four dieses). But the harmony retains the eleven problematic sonorities associated with the chromatic version.

Musica prisca caput

A secular Latin motet for four voices that sets a prose text in honor of Vicentino's patron, Ippolito II Cardinal d'Este, *Musica prisca caput* is the most successful composition in the treatise. There are no signs of negligence or indolence. A few slips, perhaps, in the linear genera, but these could be forgiven for the sake of faultless harmony and hints of theoretical justification.

The composition is divided into three continuous sections, one in each genus—diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic—that match the meaning of the text. The first (mm. 1–15) consists of whole tones and major semitones in linear sequence. This section shows the pure diatonic genus. The harshness attributed to this genus by Vicentino, one surmises, is intended to portray the “darkness” in which ancient music has languished.

Extraordinary, even radical, chromatic vocabulary in the second section (mm. 15–30) represents the “antique and sweet numbers,” now rediscovered and rejuvenated. The appearance of enharmonic harmony in the last section (mm. 31–48) builds to a climax. The name Ippolito is always accompanied by enharmonic vertical sonorities. At the end, the

Two minor dieses in the soprano: mm. 26–27 and 43–44; one in the alto: m. 40; and one in the tenor: m. 36.

102. First half of mm. 2, 5, 23, 27, 28, and 29; beat 2 of m. 31; beat 3 of m. 36; last half of mm. 4, 20, and 40.

notion of “high” is depicted by an enharmonic octave leap surrounded by diatonic notes and the sending of Ippolito’s deeds “above the heavens” by two proximate octaves in succession. The rhetorical gesture is unmistakable.

The fact that the first section of this motet, while unremarkable, has neither melodic nor harmonic errors shows that it is possible to compose a relatively short piece of vocal music in the pure diatonic genus. Therefore any dissonant and awkward moments in the first option of either *Dolce mio ben* or *Madonna, il poco dolce* cannot be excused as the inevitable outcome of pure diatonic counterpoint.

For some reason, the purity of the genus in the diatonic section of *Musica prisca caput* is not matched by the chromatic and enharmonic sections. The pure chromatic genus is adulterated by ten extraneous intervals.¹⁰³ Most occur near the end and hence might be excused as cadential ornaments. Be that as it may, these foreign intervals make up almost 9 percent of the melodic steps in a homophonic and homorhythmic section. There are four intervals that are foreign to the pure enharmonic genus.¹⁰⁴ Seven disallowed intervals are masked by enharmonic inflection.¹⁰⁵ These eleven extraneous intervals account for 12 percent of the melodic steps.

Not all the melodic errors in genus are explicable in terms of voice-leading between consonant simultaneous sonorities, although some do fit this category. Vicentino suggests another justification in his description of the tripartite division of the text, each verse of which is set in turn to the species of the diatonic, the chromatic, and the enharmonic genus. The key word here is *species*, for species refer to a specific size and type of interval, genus to a specific sequence of species. It is possible, then, to have a chromatic enharmonic species in the pure enharmonic genus, if the species in question entails a spelling normally associated with the chromatic. It is also possible to compose music consisting of the species of a genus, thereby indicating that the genus need not be pure. Although Vicentino is by no means consistent in his technical terms, the wording used to describe the application of the genera in *Musica prisca caput* seems not to be accidental.

103. One whole tone in the soprano: m. 19; two whole tones in the alto: mm. 28–29 and 29; four in the tenor: mm. 28 (three) and 28–29; two in the bass: mm. 29–30 and 30. One proximate major third in the alto: mm. 26–27.

104. One major semitone in the soprano: m. 39. Three minor thirds in the bass: mm. 38, 41–42, and 42.

105. One proximate major semitone: alto (mm. 39–40). Two proximate whole tones: alto (m. 43) and tenor (mm. 45–46). Four proximate minor thirds: alto (mm. 31–32), tenor (m. 38), and bass (mm. 34 and 45–46).

Lusitano's Polyphonic Example of the Genera

In the last chapter of Book IV, Vicentino rehashes the debate with Lusitano, agonizes over the unfavorable verdict, and attempts to vindicate himself by mustering additional arguments for his cause and by excoriating the judges and his adversary for their manifest stupidity. He ends with a fusillade against a bit of counterpoint in the mixed genera that was composed by Lusitano, which he inaccurately reprints toward the end of this chapter.¹⁰⁶

Before examining Lusitano's example and Vicentino's blistering comments, we should consider what Lusitano had to say about the genera.¹⁰⁷ His remarks, though concise, are not models of clarity. An adherent of Pythagorean tuning (the diatonic ditoniaion), Lusitano defines the steps of the diatonic genus as tone, tone, and minor semitone; the steps of chromatic genus as minor semitone, major semitone or apotome, and minor third; and the steps of the enharmonic genus as diesis, diesis, and major third. A diesis has two commas, a minor semitone four commas, and a major semitone five commas. His notation is intended to depict graphically the size of these intervals—two crossed lines for the diesis, four for the minor semitone, and five for the major semitone.¹⁰⁸ From the text and music example, it is evident that Lusitano needs three kinds of "sharps"—two-stroke (*), four-stroke (‡), and five-stroke (⌘)—to indicate the number of commas by which an ascending step is raised above any given pitch. He does not describe the notation of descending steps, except for a passing reference to the flat for the downward major semitone: this means simply that a flattened note forms a minor semitone above a natural note and a major semitone below a natural note. Lusitano does not explain when one should use the four-stroke sharp as opposed to the flat for an ascending minor semitone. In Lusitano's example, there is only one integral minor semitone—at the end of the alto voice. Its spelling is discussed below.

In melodies, the diesis may split the minor semitone of the diatonic and chromatic genera. The major semitone, Lusitano states, is not divided in any of the genera, although in his opinion one may break it up into a diesis and another unspecified interval of three commas. He justi-

106. From *Introdutione facilissima & novissima*, fols. F2v–F3r (Galdrone facsimile edition, pp. 22v–23r). The original bears the caption "Esempio come si metteno in consonantie" (Example of how they [the Genera] are harmonized).

107. Vicentino quotes part of the relevant passage in Bk. IV, chap. 43.

108. In Vicentino's text these distinctions are not observed, either because of his own or the printer's negligence. This is why example 43 in the introduction is taken from Lusitano's treatise.

fies this unequal division by comparing it to the division of the whole tone (made up of nine commas)¹⁰⁹ into a minor and major semitone. The major semitone, we are to understand, is sung only in the chromatic genus. Under ordinary diatonic circumstances, the whole tone is made up of two minor semitones (four commas apiece) and one comma. It is not clear why Lusitano bothers with the hypothetical division of the major semitone. All major semitones in Lusitano's example are undivided, though at first glance the notation might suggest otherwise.

Vicentino makes no attempt to deal with the linear sequence of intervals in the individual voices, probably because he did not understand it. In the top three voices, the intervals are collocated in such a way as to demonstrate the mixture of the genera. But Lusitano's idea of the function of accidentals is singular. It seems that some, but not all, of the accidentals are cumulative—that is to say, certain signs must be read only with respect to the preceding pitch, and hence the system works only in one direction: in this case, in ascending order. At any given point, the performers are supposed to look at the next note in order to discover how many commas higher they should sing. For instance, C^x would indicate different pitches, depending on whether it came between C and C[†] or between C[†] and D.

This distinction between notation and pitch may seem easy enough to master once singers become accustomed to it, but it cannot be and indeed is not consistent. Unless natural notes, regardless of their placement, correspond to stable pitches, mayhem will ensue. And confusion reigns when natural notes are spelled with accidentals, as at the end of the alto voice, where B[⊛] (indicating five commas above the preceding B^b) is to be read as equivalent to B[†]. This pitch forms a major semitone above the preceding B^b and a minor semitone below the succeeding C. The B^b itself is meant to signal the minor semitone above A. Why did Lusitano not use A[†] for this pitch? He had to write a B^b, inasmuch as the minor semitone above A has been mediated by a diesis; therefore, a four-stroke sharp after a two-stroke sharp would raise the pitch in question six commas above A instead of four. So, like natural notes, flattened notes must be read as equivalent to stable pitches. Only sharps are cumulative.

The splitting of the diatonic minor semitone is easy to find. In the alto, A goes to B^b via A^b; the latter forms a diesis with the pitches before and after it. A similar sequence occurs in the tenor where E goes to F via E^b. Also easy to locate are two undivided major semitones: one in the soprano (C to C[⊞]) and one in the tenor (F to F^x). Another integral major

109. *Introduzione facilissima & novissima*, fol. A4r (Galdrone facsimile edition, p. 4v).

semitone—the one with the odd spelling (B^b to B^{\times})—occurs in the alto. The cumulative effect of the “sharps” is best seen in the splitting of two minor semitones in the chromatic genus, both of which follow upon major semitones formed by a five-stroke sharp after a natural note. Thus, in the soprano, the minor semitone C^{\times} to D is divided into two dieses by C^* , and likewise in the tenor, F^{\times} to G is split into two dieses by F^* .

Example 2 shows all the divisions. It corroborates Lusitano’s assertion that the whole tone contains nine commas.

<i>Soprano</i>	c'	c'^{\times}	c'^*	d'	e'	
<i>Number of commas</i>		5	2	2	9	
<i>Alto</i>	a	a^*	b^b	b^{\times}	c'	
<i>Number of commas</i>		2	2	5	4	
<i>Tenor</i>	e	e^*	f	f^{\times}	f^*	g
<i>Number of commas</i>		2	2	5	2	2

Example 2 Lusitano’s Chromatic-Enharmonic Melodies in the Soprano, Alto, and Tenor Parts

Vicentino’s sole remark on the melodic contours is to insist, as he does everywhere in the treatise, that the semitone in the diatonic genus must be major, not minor. As for harmony, Vicentino erupts in mock horror at the numerous false fifths, fourths, and thirds exhibited by the example. In order to corroborate these criticisms, it is best to translate Lusitano’s pitches into their counterparts in the thirty-one-note tuning system of the archicembalo. Just how Lusitano imagined his chromatic and enharmonic inflections would work in Pythagorean tuning is a moot point. Example 3 reproduces in diagram format the nine vertical sonorities made by the four voices in Lusitano’s example.

Soprano	c'	d^b	d^b	d'	d'	d'	d'	d'	e'
Alto	a	a	a	a	a	\grave{a}	b^b	b	c'
Tenor	e	\grave{e}	\grave{e}	f	g^b	\grave{g}^b	g	g	g
Bass	A	A	A	d	d	d	g	g	c
Sonorities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Example 3 Lusitano’s Example with Vicentino’s Spellings

In example 3, sonorities 1, 4, 8, and 9 present no problems, provided the alto voice sings the correct pitch for the penultimate note. False fourths and fifths are seen in sonorities 2, 3, and 6. False major thirds appear in

sonorities 2 and 5. In sonority 5, the size of the major third produces a false minor third as well. The reverse occurs in sonority 7. In addition, sonorities 3 and 6 substitute a false fourth for the major third. In tandem with other voices, this false fourth produces a false sixth in sonority 3, and a false minor third in sonority 6. Certainly, in terms of the tuning for chromatic and enharmonic inflections put forward by Vicentino, Lusitano's example is nonsense. Had Vicentino taken the time to correct Lusitano's errors, the result would have been something like what is shown in example 4.

Soprano	c'	c' [#]	d' ^b	d'	d'	d'	d'	d'	e'
Alto	a	a	à	a	a	à	b ^b	b	c'
Tenor	e	e	è	f	f [#]	g ^b	g	g	g
Bass	A	A	À	d	d	d	g	g	c
Sonorities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Example 4 Lusitano's Counterpoint Corrected after Vicentino

A Note on the Translation

The translation is based on *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* printed in Rome in 1555 by Antonio Barrè. The second printing in 1557, also by Barrè in Rome, does not offer variant readings because it was made from the 1555 plates. No attempt has been made to record the countless typographical errors found in the text, but editorial alterations of substance are recorded either in the text or the notes, as appropriate. The page numbers of the original are given in brackets throughout the text, as, for example, [3r] for recto page 3.

Every effort has been made to produce a fluent and natural English translation without altering the original textual meaning. At the same time, the different modes of writing—Vicentino's voices, as it were—have been allowed to speak from the translated pages. Thus, the reader can discern Vicentino the theorist, Vicentino the theologian, Vicentino the pedagogue, Vicentino the pedant, Vicentino the polemicist, and so on. The sole major alteration of Vicentino's text occurs in Book V, chapters 9–39, where the prose lists of consonances available above and below the various keys on the archicembalo are reduced to tables. The reader may compare this method of presentation with Vicentino's in Book V, chapter 8, where the translation follows the prose of the original.

In the notes I differentiate between two kinds of in-text references: unequivocal sources and probable or likely identifications assayed by author, quotation, or paraphrase. Clear-cut sources are simply cited. Uncertain sources are either prefaced by a word like *probably* or placed in the context of a specific discussion of source problems. In a few complex instances the reader is referred to the discussion in the introduction. In all cases, definite and likely sources are limited to those available in printed editions in Latin and/or Italian. All ancient Greek sources (names and titles) in the bibliography and index are given in English and Latin. The latter forms show how the sources would have appeared to readers of Latin, like Vicentino.

The reading of musical notation requires exactitude in even the simplest examples, let alone in Vicentino's more radical experiments. For this reason, all editorial changes in the transcriptions have been recorded. Additions appear in square brackets. In keeping with Vicentino's notation for enharmonically inflected notes, the music examples feature superscript dots above all such notes. Again, editorial additions are enclosed in square brackets. Where notes, rests, or accidentals have been altered in any way, the original notation is given in the list of errata below.

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