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MUSICOLOGICAL STUDIES
AND DOCUMENTS

11

The Life and Works of
Nicola Vicentino
(1511 - c. 1576)

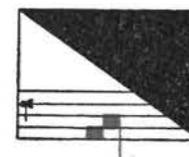
MUSICOLOGICAL STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS

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THE LIFE AND WORKS
of
NICOLA VICENTINO

(1511 - c. 1576)

By
Henry William Kaufmann



AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY

1966



FOR HELEN

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF

NICOLA VICENTINO

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P R E F A C E

Despite the controversial position of Nicola Vicentino among sixteenth-century musicians, no full-scale inquiry into his life and works has been essayed previous to this study. It is hoped that the present investigation will add some pertinent information to our knowledge of the musical and theoretical developments of the *cinquecento*.

The study begins with a systematic examination of the known facts of Vicentino's life. The second chapter contains a stylistic analysis of all his music. In the third chapter, his theoretical writings are examined in detail. The fourth chapter is an attempt to relate the *reservata*-problem, with which Vicentino has been associated, to Mannerism, a stylistic phenomenon, chiefly in the visual arts, which dominated the period from 1520 to 1580.

The writer wishes to express his gratitude for the help he received in the course of preparation of this work. Thanks are due especially to the Samuel S. Fels Foundation for a generous grant, to Professor A. Tillman Merritt, Curator of the Isham Memorial Library, and Dr. Nino Pirrotta, Professor of Music and Librarian of the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library, for their invaluable assistance and stimulating advice, and to Miss Mary Lou Little and staff of the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library and Miss Olga Buth and staff of the Ohio State Music Library for their patient and unfailing cooperation.

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New Brunswick, N. J., September 1964.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE

Nicola Vicentino was born in 1511 in the North Italian town of Vicenza, near Venice. The year of his birth can be deduced from information contained in his treatise *L'antica musica...*¹ The frontispiece of this work shows a print of a portrait of the author to which is appended the following legend: *Nicolas Vicentinus Anno Aetatis Suae XXXXIII*. Since this publication first appeared in 1555, with the writer's age clearly stated as forty-four, the year 1511 as his date of birth can be assumed to be correct. This is confirmed later in the book by Vicentino's remark that he began his work "in the fortieth year of my life, in 1550, the Holy year in the most happy pontificate of Pope Julius III..."² The phrase "in his fortieth year" refers, of course, to some period of time after the thirty-ninth birthday, but before the fortieth birthday has been reached. Simple subtraction will thus corroborate the date of Vicentino's origin as 1511.

Two erroneous dates of birth have had some currency among older scholars. The first of these, 1513,³ was probably derived from the 1557 edition of *L'antica musica...*, which reproduced the frontispiece portrait of the original edition in an exact copy without any compensating change in the author's age. To those who did not know the earlier edition, the resultant arithmetical error was an understandable one. However, since the author's statement of the year in which he began his *opus* also remained unaltered, a closer examination of the treatise would have revealed the discrepancy in time.

The second incorrect date can be traced back to Filippo Bonnani's *Gabinetto Armonico...* which includes the statement that "such an

¹ Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica...* (Rome: Antonio Barrè, 1555).

² «nella mia età de gl'anni quaranta nel mille cinque ce[n]to e cinquanta, l'anno Santo nel felicissimo Pontificato di Papa GIULIO III...». *Ibid.*, foll. 10-10 v.

³ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, in his *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: Johann Gottlieb Immanuel Breitkopf, 1790-1792), II, 724, indicates that Vicentino was born in Rome in 1513. This error in the place and date of birth was cited and corrected by F. J. Fétis, «Vicentino (Nicolas)», *Revue musicale*, III (1828), 445, n. 1.

author [Vicentino] lived in the time of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, his patron, that is, around the year 1492, under Alexander VI".⁴ This error is obviously due to Bonnani's confusion of Ippolito II, Vicentino's patron, with the latter's uncle, Ippolito I, who lived from 1479 to 1520. Walther cites this information, albeit with some misgivings, in his *Lexikon* of 1732.⁵ The same mistake is repeated in a late nineteenth century list of instrument makers compiled by Count Valdrighi, who gives 1492 as a "verified date" for the period in which Don Nicola was active.⁶

Vicenza has always claimed Vicentino as one of her sons.⁷ The chief source that positively associates him with that city has only recently come to light. Research in the local archives by Giovanni Mantese has uncovered a document which states that "all unanimously and in agreement elect... Nicolas de Vicentini, a Vicentine cleric..." as chapel master.⁸ The phrasing of the musician's name in this document has led Mantese to believe that his cognomen was Vicentini, a common surname to this day in the diocese of Vicenza. In the archivist's opinion, Vicentino was really a corruption of the family name Vicentini, rather than an indication of the place of birth.⁹

Both usages, however, are definitely indicated in a contemporary sixteenth-century source. In a little-known broadsheet describing the

⁴ «Viveva tal'Autore in tempo del Cardinale Ipolito [sic!] d'Este suo Mecenate, cioè circo l'Anno 1492, sotto Alessandro VI.» Filippo Bonnani, *Gabinetto armonico pieno d'istromenti sonori...* (Rome: Giorgio Placho, 1722), p. 90. A second edition of this work, entitled *Descrizione degl'istromenti armonici d'ogni genere del Padre Bonanni*, «revised, corrected, and enlarged» by Giacinto Ceruti (Rome: Venanzio Monaldini, 1776), p. 109, repeats the same erroneous information.

⁵ Johann Gottfried Walther, «Vicentino (Nicolò)», *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek 1732*, facsimile ed. Richard Schaal (Kassel & Basel: Bärenreiter, 1953), p. 634. Walther seems to have been the source for a similarly worded entry in a sixty-four volume German encyclopedia of the eighteenth century. Cf. *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste...* (Leipzig & Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1732-1750), XLVIII, 845.

⁶ «Date accertate». Luigi Francesco Valdrighi, *...Nomochelieurgografia antica e moderna; ossia, Elenco di fabbricatori di strumenti armonici...* (Modena: Società tipografia, 1884), p. 97.

⁷ See, for instance, Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria, *Biblioteca, e storia di quei scrittori... di Vicenza...* (Vicenza: Gio. Battista Vendramini Mosca, 1772-1778), IV, 147.

⁸ «...omnes unanimes et concordés elegerunt... Nicolaum de Vicentinis clericum vicentinum...». Archivio capitolare, Atti dei nodari, Libro II Roan, fol. 37, as quoted in Giovanni Mantese, *Storia musicale vicentina* ([Vicenza]: Banca cattolica del Veneto, [1956]), p. 47. An abbreviated form of this extract first appeared in an article by Mantese, «La cappella musicale del Duomo di Vicenza», *Note d'archivio*, XIX (1942), 180, where it is identified as document N. 9.

⁹ Mantese, «La cappella musicale...», *Ibid.*

arciorgano,¹⁰ the inventor's name appears as Don Nicola Vicentino di Vicentini,¹¹ thereby verifying clearly the hypothesis not only about his place of birth but also about his cognomen.

Little is known of his early years in Vicenza, although it may be surmised, in view of his later activities, that Don Nicola came under the influence of the great Vicentine humanist, Giangiorgio Trissino. Among Trissino's friends was the physician and scholar, Nicolò Leonicensino, who had translated the *Harmonics* of Klaudios Ptolemy into Latin as an act of homage to Pope Leo X.¹² Years later, Trissino sent the translation to Pope Paul III, accompanied by a letter dated June 19, 1541, in which he revealed the tenor of earlier sixteenth-century thinking about music which activated the learned circles of Vicenza. In this document, Trissino wrote:

...How much, however, is lacking in the music of our times I believe is known not only to you, the most learned of all, but also, I am of the opinion, is not unknown even to those of mediocre erudition. For, besides the enharmonic and chromatic, which two genera this age does not know, even the diatonic, which is the exclusively employed gender, does not have that exquisiteness and perfection which the ancients enjoyed...¹³

Perhaps the proximity of Vicenza to Venice where Willaert was actively engaging in chromatic experiments may have prompted the

¹⁰ This work, printed without title on a single sheet, is commonly referred to as *Descrizione dell'arciorgano* (Venice: Nicolo Bevilacqua, 1561). For further information on this publication, see *infra* Chapter III, pp. 172-3. See also Henry W. Kaufmann, «Vicentino's *Arciorgano*: An Annotated Translation», *Journal of Music Theory* (April, 1961), 32-53.

¹¹ A similar form of the composer's name appears in Stefano Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano...* (2d ed.; Venice: Carlo Palese, 1785), I, 226, where he refers to Don Niccolò Vicentino de'Vicentini as a musician who attempted to adapt the genera and modes of antiquity to new practical music.

¹² Mantese, *Storia musicale vicentina*, p. 27. Leonicensino, born at Lonigo near Vicenza in 1428, practiced medicine in the service of the d'Este court until his death at Ferrara in 1524. He was renowned as a reformer of medical techniques in the Renaissance. *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker* (2d ed.; Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1929-1935), III, 744-745. A later sixteenth century writer referred to him as the doctor «who first revived ancient Greek medicine [for use] in the schools». («...che primo ridusse nelle schuole i medici antichi Greci.»). Guasparo Sardi, *Historie ferraresi* (Ferrara: Francesco Rossi de Valenza, 1556), p. 211.

¹³ «Quantum autem Musicae huius nostri temporis desit, non modo, omnium doctissimo, tibi notum esse arbitror, sed cuius etiam mediocris eruditionis non ignotum esse censeo. Nam praeter harmonicum et chromaticum, quae duo genera haec aetas non novit, ipsum quoque diatonicum, quo solo genere utitur, non ita exquisitum et perfectum habet, ut antiqui habuere.» Bernardo Morsolin, *Giangiorgio Trissino-Monografia d'un gentiluomo letterato nel secolo XVI* (2d ed.; Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1894), p. 425. A translation of this letter into Italian can be found in Mantese, *Storia musicale vicentina*.

polemic discussions on this subject at Trissino's Villa Cricoli. At any rate, Vicentino himself soon came in personal contact with the ideas and teachings of Willaert. On the title page of the Vicentine musician's first book of madrigals, he calls himself "student of the one-and-only Adrian Willaert",¹⁴ and in the preface to the same work, he states that he had

spent some time with the divine Adrian Willaert (I say divine because no name enters my mind with which I can better and more deservedly honor him)...¹⁵

How long Vicentino studied in Venice can not be determined. At some time during this period he was ordained to the priesthood,¹⁶ but his major activities seemed to be connected with the theoretical examination of the problems associated with the practical use of the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic genera. Ghiselin Danckerts, in recounting an episode which occurred in 1549, stated that the composer had been concerned with similar efforts for at least fifteen years, that is, from about 1534, when the chromaticist was twenty-three years of age.¹⁷

It is also not known when Vicentino arrived in Ferrara. Despite numerous assertions to the contrary,¹⁸ he seems not to have been directly connected with the court chapel, since his name does not once appear in the account books of the Ferrarese court.¹⁹ The musician was probably employed by Cardinal Ippolito from the very beginning, especially since later documentary evidence points to this exclusive sort of service. Danckerts, for instance, refers to Vicentino as the Cardinal's chaplain (capellano [!]).²⁰ A document from

p. 28, n. 1.

¹⁴ «Del Unico Adrian Willaerth Discipulo...» Nicola Vicentino, *Madrigali a cinque voci... Libro primo* (Venice, 1546), fol. [a 1].

¹⁵ «...dispensato alquanto di tempo appresso il divino M. Adriano Willaert (divino dico per non me occorrere nome con che possi piu & meritamente honorarlo)... *Ibid.*, fol. [a 1] v.

¹⁶ Burney refers to Vicentino as «an ecclesiastic, of the Benedictine order». [Charles Burney], *A General History of Music... (1789)*, ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Dover Publications, [1957], II, 137. No contemporary source has been discovered to corroborate this statement.

¹⁷ Ghisilino Danckerts, «Trattado... sopra una differentia musicale». *Bibl. Vallicelliana* (Rome), MS. 56, fol. 385 v.

¹⁸ Edmond vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas...* Brussels: C. Muquardt, G.-A. van Trigt, and Schott, 1867-1888), VI, 379, asserts that Vicentino became chapel master of the court of Ferrara. Similar statements can also be found in Pietro Canal, «Della musica in Mantova», *Memorie del reale istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, XXI (1879), 730, and Ferdinand Keiner, *Die Madrigale Gesualdos von Venosa* (Leipzig: Oscar Brandstetter, 1914), p. 15.

¹⁹ Walter Weyler, «Documenten betreffende de Muziekkapel aan het Hof van Ferrara», *Vlaamsch Jaarboek voor Musiekgeschiedenis*, I (1939), 92.

²⁰ Danckerts, *op. cit.*, fol. 385.

the archives of Modena, dated 1554, which lists the singers of Cardinal Ippolito, shows the name of Don Nicola.²¹ Furthermore, in a letter sent by the composer in 1555 to the Duke of Mantua, he definitely identifies himself as "Don Nicola Vicentino, Musician of the most Illustrious and most Reverend [Cardinal] of Ferrara".²²

Although he lacked an official connection with the ducal court, Vicentino apparently gave musical instruction to several members of the family of Duke Ercole II.²³ The Duke's son, Prince Alfonso, not only approved of the chromatic and enharmonic music of Vicentino, but "has learned it with great speed and favor".²⁴ Alfonso's aunt, the nun Sister Leonora, took time from her devotional exercises to become proficient not only in the theory and practice of the three genera, but also in their performance on instruments.²⁵ Other members of the noble household instructed by Vicentino included Ercole's daughters Lucrezia²⁶ and Leonora, and probably Anna, their sister, as well.²⁷ Even Duke Ercole II himself and his brother Cardinal Ippolito II participated in the singing and playing of Vicentino's music.²⁸ Don Nicola may well have been one of the musicians admired by Benvenuto Cellini when he visited the Duke and the Cardinal in 1540. Although displeased with his reception by the nobility, Cellini did write that

all the good he had had from there [Ferrara] had been the dealings with Cardinal Salviati and the Cardinal of Ravenna, and with some very skilled musicians of that place, but no one else.²⁹

²¹ «Cantori del Card. Ippolito II d'Este». Archivio di stato in Modena, Casa ducale Hippoliti II. Instrumentorum registrum, 1535-1559. Quoted in Weyler, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

²² For the full text of this letter, see *infra*, pp. 33-34.

²³ The names of the noble students whom he tutored are given by Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. 10 v.

²⁴ «...l'ha con somma celerità e gratia imparata...». *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Francesco Patricius [Patrizi], in a work dedicated to Lucrezia after she became the Duchess of Urbino, lauded the musical fame of the d'Este family and its patronage of such musicians as L. Fogliani, Josquin, Willaert, de Rore and Vicentino. *Della poetica... La deca istoriale...* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1586), preface, sig. °3 v. See also Chapter III, note 44.

²⁷ Anna's musical talents are praised by Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus [Lilio Gregorio Giraldi] in the third dialogue of the *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum, Dialogi decem...* in *Operum quae extant omnium...* (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1580), II, 86. Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche... di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome: Società Tipografica, 1828), I, 342, n. 424, also cites a letter from the humanist Bartolommeo Ricci to Duke Ercole II, written in 1548 on the occasion of Anna's marriage, in which her musical abilities are eulogized.

²⁸ Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ «Quanto io v'avevo auto di buono si era stata la pratica del cardinal Salviati e quella del cardinal di Ravenna, e di qualcuno altro di quelli virtuosi

The succeeding years were important ones for the growing recognition of Vicentino's work. In 1546 his first book of five-voiced madrigals appeared at Venice,³⁰ and two years later the initial composition of this collection, "La pastorella mia", was published in an intabulation for lute by Julio Abondante.³¹

It may well have been during the early years of this decade that the musician was honored with the dedication of a literary composition. The Ferrarese humanist, Lilio Giraldi, in his sixth "Syntagma" from the *De Deis gentium...*³² entitled "De Plutone, Proserpina, et Caeteris Deis inferis", inscribed the discourse "ad Nicolaum Vicentinum".³³ Since the fifth "Syntagma" was finished on November 17, 1543,³⁴ two years before the completed *De Deis gentium...* was presented to the world,³⁵ it appears that the discussion "Of Pluto, Proserpina, and other deities of the underworld" was written between 1543 and 1545. The subject matter of this essay seems to have been prompted by the untimely death of Nicola's brother, Benedictus.³⁶ Since, as a result, no mention at all is made of musical matters, the evidence for identifying Nicolas Vincentius with Don Nicola Vicentino is by no means incontrovertible.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Vicentino traveled in humanistic circles and was well acquainted with the literary and linguistic problems of his age. In the preface "to the reader" in *L'antica musica*,³⁷ for instance, he states that he is not certain whether it was more difficult to dig out from obscurity the practice of ancient music or to make use of the vulgar tongue—the latter difficulty compounded by the fact that there seemed to be as many rules for writing Italian as there were writers.³⁸ He even listed some of the variations

musici, e non di altri...». Ulrico Martinelli, ed., *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini* (Milan: Antonio Vallardi, 1930), p. 246.

³⁰ See n. 14. For a description of the contents of this work, see *infra* Chapter II, pp. 50-52.

³¹ Julio Abondante, *Intabulatione di lautto libro secondo...* (Venice: Hieronimo Scotto, 1548), foll. A3 and A3 v. For a transcription of this work into modern notation, cf. Oscar Chilesotti, «Di Nicola Vicentino e dei generi greci secondo Vincentio Galilei», *Rivista musicale italiana*, XIX (1912), 550-552.

³² For the text of the complete work *De deis gentium, varia & multiplex historia, libris sive syntagmatibus XVII comprehensam...*, see Giraldi, *op. cit.*, I, 1-530. «Syntagma sextum» is found *ibid.*, pp. 184-209.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ According to Nicola Turchi, «Giraldi, Giglio Gregorio», *Enciclopedia italiana*, XVII (1933), 279, the work was first published in 1545. On the other hand, Franck L. Schoell, «Les mythologistes italiens de la renaissance et la poésie élisabéthaine», *Revue de littérature comparée*, IV (1924), 8, gives the earliest publication date as 1548.

³⁶ Giraldi, *op. cit.*, I, 185.

³⁷ «Alli lettori». Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. A2 v.

³⁸ This probably refers to the *questione della lingua* which agitated the

in spelling which were then common, but decided finally on the Tuscan usage as the preferred one. By highlighting the problem with off-hand references to the changing shapes of Proteus and the varied disguises of Vertumnus, he revealed, in addition, an intimate knowledge of classical mythology.

Of course, many of these observations may have been occasional gleanings from the rich harvest of his more erudite colleagues, especially since the musician's own knowledge of Latin did not appear to be of the highest order.³⁹ Moreover, most of the other dedications indicated by Giraldi were offered to persons of noble or exalted station or to those who had already received some mark of recognition and prestige in intellectual circles.

It is, of course, possible that Giraldi was included among the "gentlemen" to whom Don Nicola taught his theories. When he began writing his theoretical treatise, *L'antica musica...* in 1550 "to show the world that I have not begrudged the labor of many years, whether to learn [for myself] or to be useful to others...",⁴⁰ Vicentino had already taught his precepts

to many...and especially in this famous city of Ferrara, where I find myself at the present time, giving to its inhabitants knowledge of the theory of this art, and reducing it into practice with our compositions; we have made clear to many lords and gentlemen the sweetness of this harmony with which they are by no means [merely] inspired but are busy learning it with all consummate diligence.⁴¹

Quite a different interpretation of the chromaticist's labors is given by his unfriendly contemporary, Ghiselin Danckerts,⁴² who considered

literary world of the sixteenth century. «There were two main problems facing the writers of the Cinquecento: (1) should the language of literature be archaic (14th c.) or contemporary? (2) should it be Tuscan or non-Tuscan?» Robert A. Hall, Jr., «Italian Literature», in Joseph T. Shipley (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Literature* (New York: Philosophical Library, [1946]), II, 614.

³⁹ See, for instance, the poor Latin construction in a letter which Vicentino sent from Milan to the Duke of Bavaria, *infra*, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁰ «Et io, per dimostrare al Mondo, che non ho perdonato alla fatica di molti anni, si per imparare, come per giovare ad altri...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. 10.

⁴¹ «...a molti... & particolarmente in questa inclita città di Ferrara, dov'al presente mi trovo, dando altrui della Teorica di questa arte cognitione, & con le compositioni nostre, riducendola in pratica, à molti Signori e gentilhuomini intender facciamo la dolcezza di questa armonia, di cui senza modo invaghiti si sono con ogni esquisita diligenza per impararla affaticati...» *Ibid.*, fol. 10 v.

⁴² The archives of the Papal Chapel indicate that «Ghisellinus Dankert», a cleric of Liege, joined the Sistine choir on March 22, 1538. A. Celani, «I cantori della cappella pontificia nei secoli XVI-XVIII», *Rivista musicale italiana*, XIV (1907), 99.



the chromatic and enharmonic genera unsuitable for singing.⁴³ According to this critic, Vicentino, while on a trip to Rome with the Cardinal, had been approached by many, impressed with his "charlatanism", to unveil the mysterious science of which he boasted. He refused, stating that he would not reveal the fruits of his efforts until he had obtained a position commensurate with the fifteen years that he had spent in his difficult work. Danckerts implied that this could only mean that Don Nicola wanted a post in the Papal chapel. Finally, however, he was prevailed upon, and on October 25, 1549, he had a deed drawn up before a notary in which he agreed to teach five or six persons of the household of Cardinal Ridolfi how to sing certain pieces in the two aforementioned genera, on the condition that none of them would communicate in any form, either spoken or written, for a period of ten years, anything that he had learned from Vicentino, on pain of a large fine. They all promised, and according to Danckerts, the promise was easily kept, since the good people so instructed found that their new musical knowledge was hardly worth communicating, and certainly not worth the obligation of paying an indemnity to their professor.⁴⁴

The central event in Vicentino's life, and by far the best documented, was his famous debate with the Portuguese musician, Vincenzo Lusitano. The final portion of the fourth book of *L'antica musica...* is completely devoted to the question,⁴⁵ but an even more full description of the affair can be found in the treatise of Danckerts, which, although it dates from 1556, contains within its pages attestations by both parties involved in the debate. Many of the criticisms against Vicentino in this manuscript must, however, be taken *cum grano salis*, since Danckerts admits freely that he had been angered by reports brought to him by Marcantonio Falcone, Bishop of Cariati and a close friend of the Cardinal of Ferrara, that Don Nicola had indulged in slanderous remarks imputing the musical ability of the members of the Papal Choir.⁴⁶

The chronology of the events surrounding the dispute is outlined in the "original warrant of the debate together with the wager and the deputation or election of the judges",⁴⁷ signed in Rome on June 7, 1551, by Vicentino and Lusitano. The following witnesses testified

⁴³ Danckerts, *op. cit.*, fol. 385 v.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 385 v-386. This extract from the treatise of Danckerts is also given in Adrien de la Fage, *Essais de diphthéographie musicale* (Paris: O. Le-gouix, 1864), I, 227-228.

⁴⁵ Vicentino, foll. 95-98 v.

⁴⁶ Danckerts, *op. cit.*, fol. 385 v. Danckerts was provoked by these remarks not only into giving his version of the debate, but also into writing at length, in the same treatise, on the «true» nature of the three genera and the «errors» involved in mixing them.

⁴⁷ «Cedola originale della differentia con la scommessa e deputatione, o,

in 1556 that they had seen the original pledge with the signatures of the two debaters: Battista Preccacese, surnamed l'Aspra, Giacomo Martelli, Stefano Bettini, and Antonio Barrè.⁴⁸

The controversy was sparked by a performance of a composition based on the "Regina Cœli" which was sung at a private academy held in Rome at the home of Bernardo Acciaiuoli, or Rucellai, as he was otherwise known.⁴⁹ In the discussion which followed, Vicentino asserted that no composer knew the gender of the compositions which he wrote or which were commonly sung every day.⁵⁰ Lusitano, in

elettione delli Giudici». *Ibid.*, fol. 388-389. The following alterations to the wording of this caption have been added by another hand: The phrase «Copia de la» has been inserted before the word «Cedola»; «fatta sopra una» has been written above «della»; «o, elettione» has been crossed out; the words «et altre cose» have been added at the end of the statement.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 389. No further information has been found about Martelli. According to Celani, *op. cit.*, p. 756, «Giovanni Battista Aspro Procarese» was not admitted to the Papal choir until October 20, 1563, but since he was born at Aspro, near Rome, he must have been active in the Eternal City at an earlier date. Stefano Bettini, also known as Fornarino because of his earlier work as a baker, was attributed to be a student of Goudimel. Hermann Mendel, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon* (Berlin: R. Oppenheim, 1870-1883), I, 603. Celani, *op. cit.*, p. 755, states that he was of Bolognese origin and was admitted to the Papal choir as a contralto on May 29, 1562. Besides being a singer in the Papal choir, Antonio Barrè was also a music publisher. Claudio Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani* («Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana», 32; [Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1958]), p. 18.

⁴⁹ Bainsi, *op. cit.*, I, 343, n. 424, suggests that this performance took place sometime at the end of May, 1551.

⁵⁰ Vicentino's argument was premised on a particular interpretation of the genera which he later amplified in his treatise. For instance, instead of considering the tetrachord as a unit, he felt that the use of any one of the component members was sufficient to identify the gender. Thus, chromatic could be represented 1) by the series: minor third, half-step, half-step; 2) by the minor third alone; 3) by a half-step alone. Similarly, the major third alone could be interpreted as evidence for the existence of the enharmonic gender. In essence, then, the music commonly sung was in reality a mixture of the three genera. Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. 95. This type of interpretation was not limited to Vicentino alone, although he was practically the only theorist to include the enharmonic in his consideration of mixed genera. Bermudo, for example, speaks of a semichromatic gender which combines the diatonic and chromatic: «Quatro generos ay de Musica eneste tiempo, co[n]viene asaber diatonico, Chromatico Enarmonico, y Semichromatico. Este genero Semichromatico, es compuesto de eldiatonico y del chromatico, y es lo ahora tañen y cantan en composicion.» Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales, 1555*, facsimile ed. Macario Santiago Kastner («Documenta Musicologica», Series I, No. XI [Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1957]), fol. 22, col. I. This opinion is repeated in the treatise of a less well-known Spanish theorist, Martin de Tapia: «No ay hombre que no alabe (y con gran razon) la musica de este tiempo, y es mezclade de el genero Diathonico y Chromatico.» [Martin de] Tapia, *...Vergel de musica...* (Burgo de Osma: Diego Fernandez de Cordova, 1570), fol. 44 v. Morley similarly remarks that the «kind of music which is

return, offered to prove, in the name of all musicians, that he *did* know the gender of the pieces written in his day.⁵¹ The argument became so heated that both laid down a sum of money as a wager, the payment of which was subject to the judgement of two learned and expert musicians, the Papal singers, Bartolomeo Escobedo, "a priest of the diocese of Segovia",⁵² and Ghiselin Danckerts.

On the morning of June 2, 1551, the disputants met at the Church of the Orfanelli alla Crapanica [sic!] ⁵³ where the Papal Choir was singing at the behest of the Cardinal of Trani. After presenting further arguments which apparently either bored or confused everyone present, it was decided to elect a third judge, Giulio da Rozzi, who would cast the deciding vote, should Danckerts and Escobedo disagree. The debaters furthermore agreed to abide unequivocally by the decision of the judges.

There were apparently several meetings during which the question was agitated.⁵⁴ At one of these sittings, which took place on Thursday, June 4, 1551, before Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, the two adversaries continued their arguments, offering more reasons for their respective opinions. The Cardinal finally asked for a decision from the judges. Unfortunately, Danckerts had been called away before this meeting, and because of his absence, Escobedo demurred to the Cardinal's proposal, explaining that the original terms of the dispute required Danckerts' opinion, and that da Rozzi's verdict could not be substituted validly, since he had been elected to vote only in the case of a deadlock between the two original judges. Ippolito thereupon enjoined Escobedo and da Rozzi to refer the whole matter to Danckerts, and asked for a decision by the following Sunday.

usual nowadays is not fully and in every respect the ancient Diatonicum... so that it must needs follow that it is neither just Diatonicum nor right Chromaticum». Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (London: J. M. Dent, [1952]), p. 103. He continues with the observation that a point used by organists, consisting of the notes e, f, f-sharp, g, g-sharp, a «is not right Chromatica, but a bastard point patched up of half Chromatic and half Diatonic. Lastly it appeareth... that those virginals which our unlearned musicians call Chromatica... be not right Chromatica but half Enharmonica...». *Ibid.*

⁵¹ For more theoretical details of these viewpoints, see *infra* Chapter III, pp 117-118.

⁵² «...prete segobien Dioc...» Vicentino, *loc. cit.* Celani, *op. cit.*, p. 98, states that Escobedo became a member of the Pontifical choir on August 23, 1536.

⁵³ This edifice on the Piazza Capranica, commonly known as S. Maria in Aquiro, was the titular church in Rome of Cardinal Ippolito II. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica...* (Venice: Tipografia emiliana, 1840-1861), XXII, 105.

⁵⁴ Orlando di Lasso may have been included in the «audientia di molti dotti» (Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. 96 r.) who attended the discussions of Vicentino and Lusitano. Adolf Sandberger (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso. Sämtliche*

When Danckerts returned, he was informed by his colleagues of all that had occurred. Ghiselin refused to accept hearsay evidence, and requested that both contenders submit their views in writing. The two theorists complied with this request immediately.⁵⁵

In a document dated June 5, 1551, Vicentino summarized his position as follows:

...I have proved to Vincente Lusitano what the music [is] that we sing today and which everyone commonly sings. He says that it is diatonic. I have explained to him the rules of the three genera, that the diatonic is sung with the steps of a tone and tone and semitone, and there must never intervene in its steps anything else but tone and semitone, as he himself has confessed to be the truth; but in our singing and procedure with the voice, this is a thing well-known to the world, that we progress in song with the incomposite ditone [major third], as from *ut* to *mi*, and also with the incomposite trihemitone [minor third], that is, as from *re* to *fa* and from *mi* to *sol*, without any intermediate tone or semitone such as *re mi fa* would be in the diatonic gender. Therefore this *re fa* and *mi sol* is the trihemitone or semiditone or step of the minor third which is in the chromatic gender, and the incomposite ditone, which in practice we call *ut mi* and *fa la*, is [part] of the enharmonic gender. For this reason, I have explained to him that the music which is sung today is composed of a mixture of all three genera, without [the need for] the many species of the chromatic gender, such as sharps and flats, which are placed as accidentals to aid the consonances that break the diatonic order. Therefore on the basis of the above explanation which you will see [corroborated] in Boethius, the music which we sing is a mixture of the three genera and is not diatonic, as Vincente Lusitano says...⁵⁶

Werke, Vol. II: *Madrigale von Orlando di Lasso* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1894]), Part I, p. xxiv. Sandberger directly credits Lassus's introduction into the field of chromaticism to a knowledge of the work of Vicentino. Adolf Sandberger, «Orlando di Lasso e le correnti spirituali del suo tempo», *Rivista musicale italiana*, XLIV (1940), 188. See also *infra*, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁵ The information submitted by Vicentino and Lusitano also appears, with slight variations in the text, on foll. 95 v and 96 of Vicentino's *L'antica musica...*

⁵⁶ «...Io ho provato a M Vicencio lusitano, ch[e] la Musicha ch[e] noi cantamo oggi di et ch[e] comunamente ogniuno canta; lui dice: ch[e] Diatonicha, io li ho dichiarato le regule de li tre generi, ch[e] el diatonico v[er]à cantato p[er] li gradi de tuono et tuono, et semiton, et mai li ha da intravenir ne li suoi gradi altro ch[e] tuono et semituono come lui istesso, ha co[n]fessato esser il vero, ma nel n[ost]ro cantar[e] et proceder co[n] la voce: questa e cosa publica al mondo, ch[e] procedemo nel canto co[n] li ditoni incomp[os]iti, come seria, da ut a mi, et co[n] el triemtonio incomp[os]ito, ch[e] e, come da re fa. et mi sol. sencia alcuna cosa di mezzo di to[n] et semiton, come, re mi fa. ch[e] e, nel Diatonico, sich[e] questo re fa. et mi sol. è el triemtonio over semiditono, over passo di 3.^a minore, ch[e] è nel genere cromatico, et el ditono incomp[os]ito, ch[e] in pratica dicemo, ut mi, et fa la; è del genere Enharmonico, si ch[e] li ho dichiarato ch[e] la Musica, ch[e] si canta de oggi di, è composita, et mista. de tuti le tre generi, sencia le molte specie del genere chromatico, come sono li ✕ diesis, et li b moli, ch[e] accidentalmente si meteno

Lusitano sent the written statement of his argument to Danckerts on the same day:

...I believe that I have proved before the most reverend Cardinal of Ferrara that I understand in which gender music that the musical composers compose is [written], on the basis of three chapters of Boethius, namely the second of the first book and the twenty-first of the same book, in which Boethius says, 'In all these [the various tetrachords], the voice proceeds according to the diatonic songs, by semitone, tone and tone in [one] tetrachord; again, in the second tetrachord, by semitone, tone and tone, and [so all the others] in turn. Therefore whatever progresses, as it were, from tone to tone is called diatonic. However, the chromatic, which indicates color, now, as it were, the first mutation from an order of the above kind, is sung by semitone, semitone and three semitones [trihemitone], for the complete fourth is a consonance [consisting] of two tones and an incomplete [minor] semitone. This term, which is called chromatic, is, moreover, derived from [those transparent] surfaces which, when they are moved around, change into another color. The enharmonic, in truth, is that more closely knit [gender] which is sung in all tetrachords by diesis, diesis and ditone, etc.' I wish to prove with these preceding words that the compositions which the musical composers compose are clearly in the diatonic gender, since their songs proceed in many tetrachords by semitone, tone and tone, and there is not even once in any place an integral progression of the other genera, that is, chromatic and enharmonic; and I have proved the species of the said gender through the same Boethius, in book four, chapter five,⁵⁷ which begins, 'Now, therefore, a description is given [of the diatonic gender],⁵⁸ namely in this manner, that it is simply and chiefly that which we call Lydian.' Don Nicola has replied that such a song was not diatonic, because there were in it semitones and ditones which were [steps] of the chromatic and enharmonic, and I answered that these things were not in use in one tetrachord, as Boethius says, and that [Vicentino's observations] were deficient in the true knowledge of the chromatic, that is the progression by semitone and semitone; and of the true progression of the enharmonic by diesis and diesis. And [I add] that the ditone and semitone are found primarily and more naturally in the diatonic gender than in any of the others, and if said Don Nicola wants to call it mixed, he should not first speak of the diatonic gender; and I say that one ought never to desist from speaking of the diatonic gender; and thus I affirm, and pray your Excellency that you may wish to confer with your colleague about these reasons of mine and to give judgment on Sunday, as was promised to the most illustrious Cardinal of Ferrara...⁵⁹

ditta dechiaratione ch[e] vederette in boetio, la Musicha ch[e] noi cantamo sié mista de tuti tre li generi, et no[n] é diatonica, como dice M. Vincencio Lusitano...» Danckerts, *op. cit.*, fol. 389 v.

⁵⁷ Chapter six in Godefredus [Gottfried] Friedlein (ed.), *...Boetii... De institutione musica...* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1867), p. 318. Friedlein considered the *proemium* as his first chapter; hence the difference in the numbering.

⁵⁸ The phrase «diatonicis generis» given by Boethius has been omitted in the Lusitano quotation. *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ «...io credo haver provato ante el R[everendissi]mo Cardinale di Ferrara, dintender de che genere sia la Musica che li musici compositori componono p[er] tre capituli del boetio, s[cilicet] p[er] il ii del p[ri]mo libro

These very quotations, supplemented with the observations made by Boethius in the twenty-third chapter of his first book on music were used by Vicentino to refute Lusitano's argument. In every case described by the medieval theorist, the components of the genera were made up of incomposite intervals, that is, intervals expressed as integers and not subdivided in any way. The tones, for instance, were not split by sharps, flats and naturals "as they are in musical practice".⁶⁰ Neither did the minor third or trihemitone, despite its name, consist of three separate semitones, but was expressed as a single unit, *re fa* or *mi sol*. "The step of this trihemitone does not have any division placed in the middle", he wrote, and hence would be found only in the chromatic gender. Boethius similarly insisted on the incomposite nature of the ditone or major third, and, to Vicentino, this interval appeared in an integral form only in the enharmonic. Furthermore, the quotation from Boethius's fourth book given by Lusitano was incomplete, for in practically the very next sentence, Boethius spoke of the mixture of the genera:

et p[er] el xxi del medemo libro en el quale boetio dice: In omnib[us] his secu[n]du[m] diatonu[m] ca[n]tilene procedit vox p[er] semitoniu[m] tonu[m] ac tonu[m] in uno tetrachordo: Rursus in alio tetrachordo per semitonium tonu[m] et tonu[m] ac deinceps. Ideiq[ue] vocatur diatonicum quasi quod per tonu[m] ac per tonu[m] progrediatur. Chroma autem quod dicitur color quasi iam ab huiusmodi intentione p[ri]ma, mutatio. Cantatur per semitoniu[m] et semitonium et tria Semitonia: tota enim Diatessaron consonantia est duorum tonor[um] ac semitonii, sed non pleni. Tractum est autem hoc vocabulum ut diceretur chroma, a superficiebus que cum permutantur, in alium transeunt colorem. Enharmoniu[m] vero quod est magis coaptatum est quod cantatur in omnib[us] tetrachordis per diesim et diesim et diatonu[m] et cetera. Volendo io provar con queste parole preterite che li compositioni che li musici compositori componono. sta chiaro esserno del genere diatonico, poi che li canti loro procedeno in molti tetrachordi p[er] semitono tono et tono, et de li altri generi. [cioè] Chromatico et Enharmonico, non cè in Loco nisuno pur una sola volta un progresso integro: et ho provato le spetie del dito genero per el medemo boetio e nel libro quarto, capitolo quinto, che comencia: Nunc igitur descriptio facta est in eo scilicet modo qui simplicior est ac principis, quem lidiu[m] nuncupamus. Et don Nicola Vicentino rispose che el tal canto non era del genere diatonico, perche ivi erano semiditoni et ditoni li quali erano de li generi Chromatico et Enharmonico. Et io rispose. che queste cose non erano in uno Tetrachordo como dice boetio, et che manchava il vero cognoscime[n]to del Chromatico [cioè] la progresion per diesim et diesim, et che il ditono, et semiditono p[ri]mo stano nel genere diatonico che en nisuno de li altri como p[ri]mo et piu natural secondo che dice Boetio: Et che si eso don Nicola vol chiamarlo mixto non lasa p[ri]mo de dirse Diatonico genere. et io cosi dico che non se deve de lasar de dir genere diatonico, et cosi me afermò et prego ala S[ignor]a V[ost]ra voglia con el compagno suo conferir queste mie ragioni, et dar sententia domeneca cosi come ha promeso al Ill[ustrissi]mo Cardinale de Ferrara...» Danckerts, *op. cit.*, foll. 390 v-391.

⁶⁰ «...come si fanno nella prattica Musicale...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*. fol. 96 v.

...the explanation of these modes [e.g. the Lydian] is not now under consideration. In order, however, for the mixed description to run through the three genera and for the proper number of figures to be applied in every place for the maintenance, namely, of proportions, a number is devised for the tones and dieses which can satisfy all this...⁶¹

According to Vicentino, the Portuguese theorist eventually adopted the concept of mixed genera in his own *Introduzione facilissima*... published in 1553. In the passage cited from this work,⁶² Lusitano discussed the genera in practically the same terms that Boethius had used, with special emphasis on the incomposite nature of both the trihemitone and the ditone. Since Vicentino had placed his own particular interpretation on these passages, it does not necessarily follow that Lusitano actually diagnosed them in the same way. There is nothing else in the *Introduzione* to warrant a fundamental change of attitude on its author's part. Vicentino, furthermore, could not have been too convinced of his adversary's modified position since he took especial pains to point out and deride misconceptions and errors in Lusitano's treatment of non-diatonic music. He was particularly scornful of Don Vicente's identification of the semitone, *mi-fa*, as minor rather than major and of "the false fifths and not good thirds"⁶³ which appeared in an example published at the end of the *Introduzione*, and quoted in *L'antica musica*:⁶⁴

Example 1

a) a special sign = indicating a major semitone
b) a diesis

⁶¹ «De quibus modis nunc disserendum non est. Ut vero per tria genera currat mixta descriptio et in omnibus propria numerorum pluralitas apponatur, ad conservandas scilicet proportiones, vel tonorum atque dieseon, excogitatus est numerus, qui haec omnia possit explere...» Friedlein, *loc. cit.* This passage is also quoted in Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 97.

⁶² *Ibid.*, fol. 97 v. The original text can be found on foll. 25 v-26 of Vincentio Lusitano, *Introduzione facilissima, et novissima, di canto fermo, figurato, contraponto semplice, et inconcerto*... (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1553).

⁶³ «...delle quinte false, & terze non buone...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 98.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* The original example appears in Lusitano, *op. cit.*, fol. 26.

On Sunday, June 7, 1551, the two adversaries presented themselves for their final debate in the apostolic chapel of the Vatican, before the assembled Papal singers and such luminaries as Gieronimo Maccabeo, Bishop of Castro and the Papal chapel master, Hannibale Spatafora, archimandrite of Messina, and Giamfrancesco Caraccioli, abbot of S. Angelo Fasanello,⁶⁵ as well as many other learned scholars. The final sentence, signed by Escobedo and Danckerts, was delivered in favor of Lusitano and against Vicentino:

Having invoked the name of Christ, etc., we, the above-mentioned Bartolomeo Escobedo and Ghisilin Danckerts, by this our definitive judgment and decision⁶⁶ in the presence of said congregation and of the above-mentioned Don Nicola and Don Vincente, present, alert, listening and petitioners for the said sentence, we pronounce, sentence and judge the aforesaid Don Nicola for not having proved, either orally or in writing [anything] on which the views of his proposition may be founded. On the other hand, Don Vincente, as it seems, has proved orally and in writing that he competently knows and understands what the gender is of the compositions which composers commonly compose today, and which one sings every day, as anyone can see from his [detailed] information [given] above. And for this reason, the said Don Nicola ought to be condemned, as at the present time we condemn him in the wager made between them as [recounted] above. And so we, the aforesaid Bartolomeo and Ghisilin here below affix our signatures in our own hands. Dated at Rome, in the apostolic palace and the chapel of the aforementioned, this seventh day of June, in the year stated above [which is] the second year of the pontificate of our most holy Lord, Pope Julius the third.

I, Bartolomeo Escobedo, have declared as above and have signed my name in my own hand.

I, Ghisilino Danckerts, have declared as above and have signed my name in my own hand.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Danckerts, *op. cit.*, fol. 387 v. Bains, *op. cit.*, I, 344, n. 424, suggests that Caraccioli was present as an envoy of Cardinal Ippolito II.

⁶⁶ «Laudo» or «Laudèmio» is a legal term referring to an arbitrator's decision in a dispute. In feudal times, the term indicated the amount of tax paid to the lord of a manor on the sale of an inheritance. The acceptance of the stated sum meant that the sale had been approved. Adrien de la Fage, *op. cit.*, I, 230.

⁶⁷ «Christi nomine invocato, & c. Noi Bartholomeo Escobedo, e Ghisilino Danckerts Giudici sopradetti, per questa nostra Diffinitiva sententia e laudo, in presentia della detta Congregazione e delli sopradetti Don Nicola e Don Vincentio presenti intelligenti Audienti e per la detta sententia instanti: Pronuntiamo Sententiamo e Laudiamo il predetto Don nicola non haver in voce ne in scritti provato sopra che sia fondata la sua intentione della sua proposta. Immo per quanto pare in voce et in scritti, il detto Don Vincentio ha provato ch[e] lui competentemente conosce et intende di qual genere sia la compositione che hoggi di co[m] munemente li compositori componono: è si canta ogni di; come ogniuno chiaramente di sopra nelle lo informazioni potrà vedere, e per questo il Detto Don Nicola dover esser condannato, Come per la present[e] lo condanniamo nella scommessa fatta tra loro come di sopra. E cosi Noi Bartholomeo è Ghisilino sopradetti ce sottoscrivemo di nostre proprie mani.

Baini asserts⁶⁸ that Vicentino's account of the same affair is so patently self-contradictory that Danckerts' version must be accepted as the more accurate of the two. Some of these contradictions are of minor significance. Vicentino, for instance, stated that the decision against him had been handed down some four-to-six days after he and Lusitano had submitted their arguments in writing. Yet immediately before this statement, he had declared that his letter had been sent just after the debate had taken place before Cardinal Ippolito, on the day Danckerts was absent, that is June 5.⁶⁹ Since the decision was dated June 7, only a two-day interval at most had elapsed. The Cardinal, however, had not attended the last meeting at which the decision had been reached, and was apprised only later of the outcome of the affair. The theorist may well have intended the aforementioned four-to-six day period to indicate the time that had elapsed between the writing of his letter to Danckerts and the transmission of the final decision to Ippolito.

Vicentino remarks that the sentence was delivered in writing to the Cardinal

in my presence, by the hand of the above mentioned Don Vincente [Lusitano]. My illustrious Lord, after having read the sentence, told me that I had been condemned to pay the two golden *scudi* and such being the case, I paid them then-and-there.⁷⁰

To Baini,⁷¹ this implies that Vicentino heard the verdict for the first time on this occasion, a fact patently contradictory to the statement in the *Sententia* that the judgement was delivered on June 7,

before.. the above mentioned Don Nicola and Don Vincente, present, alert, listening, and petitioners for the said sentence.⁷²

There is nothing, however, in Don Nicola's words to indicate that he was hearing this news for the first time. He was merely recounting

Dat[um] Romae in Palatio apostolico et Capella predetta Die septima Junii Anno supradicto Pontificatus S[anctissimi] mi D[omini] N[ostri] D[omi]ni Julii Pape tertii anno secundo.

«Pronuntiavi ut supra Ego Bartholomeus escobedo & de manu prop[ri]a me subscripsi.

Pronuntiavi ut sup[ra] Ego Ghisilinus Danckerts q[ui] sup[ra] & manu p[ro]p[ri]a me subscripsi.»

Danckerts, *op. cit.*, fol. 391 v.

⁶⁸ Baini, *op. cit.*, I, 346, n. 424.

⁶⁹ Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. 95.

⁷⁰ «...in mia presentia, per mano del sopradetto Don Vincentio. L'illustrissimo mio signore, doppò letta la sententia mi disse ch'io era sententiato à pagare li due scudi d'oro, & così allhora, allhora li pagar.» *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Baini, *op. cit.*, I, 345, n. 424.

⁷² «...in presentia... delli sopra detti Don Nicola, & Don Vincentio, presenti intelligenti, audienti, & per la detta sententia instanti.» Vicentino, *L'antica*

the circumstances under which the Cardinal had learned of the verdict, after which the whole affair could be terminated by the payment to his adversary of the money placed in wager. Had Vicentino intended to alter the facts of the case he would hardly have ventured to publish the *Sententia* which shows clearly that he was present when the decision was handed down.

To the theorist, the ideas for which he was fighting were, it seems, of far greater significance than the mere chronology of the circumstances under which they were expounded. He published the sentence

so that all can judge well our differences, and consider whether the verdict was fairly given, and if our differences were understood by the judges. Now the reasons which were sent in writing by me and by the afore-mentioned Don Vincente Lusitano and the judgement are here below faithfully copied, without fraud, neither subtracting nor adding a word, nor even a dot more or less, copied from the authentic copy made by the afore-mentioned judges, and sent to the most illustrious and most Reverend [Cardinal] of Ferrara, so that all can read...⁷³

The accuracy of his copy can easily be determined by comparing it with the same documents given in the Danckerts' manuscript.⁷⁴

In a burst of self-justification, however, Vicentino was moved to recount

the words which the illustrious Cardinal rightly and justly spoke to Don Vincente about the injustice and the wrong which the judges had done me; I would not have wished to gain one hundred *scudi*, if it had meant having such true words spoken by a Prince of his stature, in the presence of so many witnesses which were there present, who will give true witness and testimony of the fact...⁷⁵

Lusitano was apparently so affected by this harangue, that when he learned that Vicentino

wished to have it [the judgement] printed, he made several attempts to recover it from the most illustrious Cardinal, and for several days he

musica..., fol. 98 v.

⁷³ «...acciò che ognuno possi giudicare bene, le nostre differenze, & considerare se la sententia fu data giustamente, et sè le nostre differenze furno intese dalli Giudici. Hora le ragioni che furno mandate in scritto da me, & da il sopradetto Don Vincentio Lusitano & la sententia, sono qui sotto copiate fidamente senza fraude ne di diminuire, ne di augmentare alcuna parola, ne pur di un punto di più, ne di meno, copiate dalla copia autentica, fatta dalli sopradetti Giudici, & mandata allo Illustrissimo & Reverendiss, di Ferrara, come qui ognuno potrà leggere... *Ibid.*, fol. 95 v.

⁷⁴ See n. 55.

⁷⁵ «...le parole, che per ragione, & per giustitia, disse lo illustrissimo Cardinale à Don Vincentio della ingiustitia, & del torto che mi facero li Giudici; che io non havria voluto haver guadagnato, cento scudi, & che mi fusse stato detto tal parole giuste da un simile Prencipe, alla presentia de tanti testimonii che erano ivi presenti, i quali ne daranno vera fede, & testimonianza...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. 95.

came for that purpose to the home of Monsignor Preposito de Troti, to whom the most illustrious [Cardinal] had entrusted said judgement.⁷⁶

The events of the next few years after the debate are briefly outlined in the treatise, *L'antica musica*.

Some days later [after the wager had been paid], it was necessary for my lord and master to leave Rome for Ferrara, and after we had dwelled there for some time, his most illustrious and most Reverend Highness had to go to Siena, where a war against the inhabitants of the city was being waged, and we stayed in that place with much uneasiness, although not for a long time...⁷⁷

The "short" stay in Siena lasted for almost two years. The Sienese anxious to rid themselves of the Spanish tyranny under Charles V, requested the aid of Henry II of France, who complied by sending Cardinal Ippolito as his personal representative. The Cardinal arrived in the republic of Siena on November 1, 1552, and assumed complete charge of the situation.⁷⁸ His efforts were apparently not very successful, because he was ordered from Siena by the King,⁷⁹ and left "with the rest of his court" on June 5, 1554.⁸⁰ Ten months later, on April 17, 1555, Siena capitulated to the Emperor, after a long and bitter siege.⁸¹

Music helped to alleviate some of the severity of these hard times. The men building the fortifications were cheered on "with the sound of trumpets and drums".⁸² The Cardinal even had one of his entourage who played the *flauto alla svizzera*⁸³ stand on top of a hill overlooking the forts and play this instrument "so that everyone stopped to listen to it as a most rare thing".⁸⁴ Ippolito had also brought along with him a French musician, Pierre Sandrin, to

⁷⁶ «...la voleva far stampare, quanta instantia faceva, per rihaverla, dallo Illustriss. Cardinale, & quanti giorni veniva per quella, da Monsignor Preposto de Troti, alquale lo Illustriss. haveva fidata detta sente[n]tia.» *Ibid.*, fol. 95 v.

⁷⁷ «Dapoi alquanti giorni occorse, al mio Signore & Patrone, partirsi di Roma per Ferrara, & poi ivi dimorati che fumo alquanto di tempo, fù necessario à sua Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima andare à Siena, ove in quel tempo fù mosso guerra à Sanesi, & con molta inquiete habitamo in quella, non per lungo tempo...» *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Alessandro di Girolamo Sozzini, «Diario delle cose avvenuto in Siena dai 20 luglio 1550 al 28 giugno 1555», ed. Gaetano Milanese, *Archivio storico italiano*, II (1842), 92. This work was written in 1587.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁸⁰ «...con il resto della sua corte...» *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

⁸² «...con suoni di trombe e di tamburi...» *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸³ A type of fife «which, from its use by the Swiss in conjunction with the Drum for military purposes, was generally known in the sixteenth century as the 'Swiss Pipe'.» Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music...* (London: Methuen & Co., [1910]), p. 155.

⁸⁴ «...che ognuno lo stava a scoltare per cosa rarissima.» Sozzini, *op. cit.*,

serve as chapel master,⁸⁵ and perhaps under his leadership, Vicentino and others participated in musical performances which would offer a respite from the Cardinal's military obligations.

After leaving Siena, Don Nicola and his master returned to Ferrara, and

having dwelled there for a short while, my lord and patron was occasioned to return to Rome, where, with the aid of God, we now find ourselves.⁸⁶

The same year, 1555, marked the printing of the first edition of Vicentino's treatise, interestingly enough by the publisher, Antonio Barrè, one of the witnesses who had signed the *Sententia*. This may have been the "opera stampata" which Don Nicola sent to the Duke of Mantua, along with other works, for the edification of the Mantuan court. When his offerings remained unacknowledged, Vicentino wrote a letter to the Duke, dated December 15, 1555, which showed that the musician was again in Ferrara.

Nicola was, in all probability, taking advantage of the good relations that had been established, because of the marriage of Margherita, daughter of Duke Guglielmo of Mantua to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, to try to attract the attention of the court of Mantua and its musicians.⁸⁷ The letter reveals several interesting facts, not only about the chromaticist's activities, but also about his musical philosophy:

Most excellent Lord and my ever most respected Master! Some days have passed since I sent to your Excellency, through the courtesy of Messer Ascanio Pera, one of my published works, together with ten madrigals in five parts,⁸⁸ and up to now, I have not heard from anyone whether they have been sung: I think that to anyone not very proficient, such a new practice will appear strange. For the time being, I send to such as these, a madrigal in six parts, and a motet in seven parts, and a dialogue in twelve parts, which are easy to sing: almost as if they were composed [according to the precepts] of common music⁸⁹ so that the not too proficient should not despair, and thus, little by little, in using such [compositions], they will sing every kind of music, such as we compose today; and reverently kissing your hands, as your most devoted and insignificant servant, I offer and recommend myself to you [in the hope] that God may grant your desired wishes.

p. 93.

⁸⁵ François Lesure, «Un musicien d'Hippolyte d'Este: Pierre Sandrin, *Collectanea historiae musicae II* («Historiae musicae cultores biblioteca») [Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1956]), p. 247.

⁸⁶ «...per poco tempo, ivi dimorati, occorse al mio Signore & Patrone ritornare à Roma, ove con l'aiuto di Dio hora siamo...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica...* *loc. cit.*

⁸⁷ Canal, *op. cit.*, p. 730.

⁸⁸ Canal, *ibid.*, claims that these madrigals are from the first book published in 1546, but offers no proof to corroborate his statement.

⁸⁹ For a discussion of the term «common music», see *infra* Chapter IV,

Your Excellency's most devoted servant, Don Nicola Vicentino, musician of the most Illustrious and most Reverend [Cardinal] of Ferrara.⁹⁰

Despite Vicentino's passionate advocacy of the "new practice", he was practical enough to write music that contained fewer difficulties in order to win a hearing for his creations. What is especially significant in this document is the implication that mid-sixteenth century musical composition could be categorized into three types: 1) a "musica communa" which indubitably adhered to the precepts of older theory, 2) a "new practice" demanding great skill in performance because of its inherent difficulties, and 3) an intermediate classification which was easier than the new music, since it took its point of departure from the "musica communa", but which could serve technically and stylistically as a transition between the two more extreme types. In view of the light which these Mantuan compositions could have thrown on the problems of style in the *Cinquecento*, it is indeed regrettable that they have been lost.

The information about the next years of Vicentino's life is relatively sparse. In 1557, the second edition of *L'antica musica...* appeared, again published in Rome by Barrè. This edition, and the earlier version of the treatise, may have inspired Zarlino's diatribe against certain chromaticists which first appeared with the publication of his *Le istituzioni harmoniche...* in 1558.⁹¹

Undoubtedly, Zarlino was thinking of Vicentino when he wrote:

pp. 34, 208.

⁹⁰ «Eccell.mo S.or et P.ne mio sempre osser.mo Sono alquanti giorni ch'io mandai a V. Eccel. una mia opera stampata, insieme con X. Madrigali a V voci, per Ascanio Pera, et fin hora non ho inteso da alcuno se sono stati cantati; io credo, che ad alcuno non troppo pratico, di tal nuova Pratica gli parà strana. per hora mando a quella, un Madrigale a. 6. voci, et uno Motetto a. 7. et uno Dialogo a. 12. che sono facile da cantare, et quasi fatti della comuna Musica; accio che, li non troppo pratici, non si disperino, et che così apoco, apoco usandosi canteranno ogni sorte di Musica, come facciamo noi, per hora, et riverentemente baciandoli le mani, come suo devotissimo et minimo servitore, me gli offero et raccomandando, che Dio la felicità come desidera. di Ferrara il giorno XV-XII del LV.

D. V. Eccell.

Devotissimo s.re

Don Nicola Vicentino, Musico dell. Illmo et R.mo di Ferrara.»

Archivio di stato, Mantova, 8. 1252 (Carteggio degli inviati e diversi (1540-1557). A copy of this document was sent to the author by Dr. Knud Jeppesen. The letter is also cited by Canal, *op. cit.*, p. 731, and by Fr. X. Haberl, «Das Archiv der Gonzaga in Mantua, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Giov. Pierluigi da Palestrina», *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 33.

⁹¹ These opinions remained basically unchanged in the subsequent editions of this work. See, for instance, the chapter entitled, «Opinioni delli Chromatisti ributtate», Gioseffo Zarlino, *Istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de i Franceschi Senese, 1573), Bk. III, chap. ixxx, pp. 357-358.

“And though some persons today think that they are writing ancient chromatic and enharmonic harmonies, this is hardly true.”⁹² Later, after some discussion of the genera, he makes an oblique reference to one of the issues of the famous debate of 1551:

I believe...that we have given sufficient answer to those who insist that we are using the chromatic and enharmonic genera in composing when we are only using steps from these genera.⁹³

Criticism of this kind did not seem to deter Vicentino from his experiments. By the year 1561, he had completed not only the *arcicembalo* discussed in the fifth book of *L'antica musica...* but had also built an *arciorgano* constructed along similar lines. The latter instrument, also capable of reproducing the sounds of all three genera, was briefly described in a publication dated October 25, 1561.⁹⁴

These and the ensuing years were particularly busy ones for his patron, Cardinal Ippolito. He served as Papal legate to Catherine de Medici in France, was actively engaged in the deliberations of the Council of Trent, and took his brother's place as a regent of Ferrara, while Alfonso II was in Hungary.⁹⁵ These frequent absences of Ippolito may have induced Vicentino to seek his fortune elsewhere, for in the *Descrizione dell'arciorgano* of 1561, Don Nicola served notice of his availability for a new position:

The inventor of this *arciorgano* has wished to publish [a description of] it, so that if any one of those princes who delight themselves in favoring those inventions which bring benefit to the arts and sciences, and consequently to the world, should like the pleasure of hearing it or putting it into practice, if he can take advantage of it, let that generous prince know that the said inventor will give him the *clavicembalo*, the *arciorgano* and *himself* [author's italics] by offering to teach the way of playing it to anyone who would be desirous of it and also to teach those two genera of music which are not in use today that can be sung in the churches and in the chambers...⁹⁶

⁹² «Et se bene alcuni hanno opinione di comporre a i nostri giorni le antiche harmonie Chromatiche & le Enharmoniche, non è però così; ...» *Ibid.*, chap. lxxiv, p. 347.

⁹³ «Parmi... che a sufficienza habbiamo risposto a quelli, che vogliono, che noi allora usiamo il Chromatico, & l'Enharmonico nelle compositioni, quando usiamo le chorde de i già detti Generi...» *Ibid.*, chap. lxxviii, p. 352. See also n. 50 *supra*.

⁹⁴ See n. 10 *supra*.

⁹⁵ Luigi Simeone, «Ippolito II d'Este», *Enciclopedia italiana*, XIV (1932), 398.

⁹⁶ «L'Inventore di questo Arciorgano l'ha voluto pubblicare, a fine, che se ad alcuno di quelli Principi che si diletano di favorire quelle inventioni che diano giovamento a l'arti & a le scientie, e consequentemente al mondo; piacesse d'udirlo, o di porlo in pratica se ne possi prevalere facendo, saperea quel generoso Principe che'l detto inventore, gli donarà il Clavicembalo, l'Arciorgano, e se stesso offerendosi d'insegnare il modo di sonarlo ad ogn'uno che n:

By the year 1563, he had, at any rate, left the service of the Cardinal and assumed the post of chapel master at the Cathedral of Vicenza, his native city.

The Cathedral archives report that he received his appointment on January 9, 1563, shortly after the death of the previous incumbent, Alessandro da Padova.⁹⁷ His duties included not only the supervision of the musical activities of the chapel but also the "teaching of music to the clergy..."⁹⁸ This new life apparently did not please Vicentino, since he only remained in his post until the end of the following year. An entry in the archival records dated January 16, 1565, confirms this fact:

...the venerable priest Don Nicola, previously appointed chapel master in said church, is going to leave this city and has resigned from the said office of chapel master...⁹⁹

Whether or not Vicentino had any connection with the famous *Accademia Olimpica* founded in 1555¹⁰⁰ cannot be definitely ascertained. Certainly a man with his humanistic leanings would have been invited to participate in any deliberations of an *Accademia* in a relatively small place like Vicenza, especially since this association of cultivated connoisseurs was known to be vitally interested in music.¹⁰¹

Where Vicentino went after he left Vicenza remains unclear. Galilei states that Don Nicola, at some time in his career,

had a number of pupils who, particularly while he played the enharmonic, sang that genre of music composed by him. He let this music be heard in all the principal cities of Italy and I personally heard it at various times and places on a number of occasions.¹⁰²

A performance before the President of Romagna at Ravenna is mentioned in particular, since it ended in a catastrophe because one of the singers lost his place and could not be set straight again. Some of these performances must have taken place before 1560, since Galilei refers to one of Vicentino's pupils, Giacomo Finetti by name,

sarà desideroso, & appresso d'insegnar di cantare quei due generi di Musica, che hoggi non sono in uso i quali si potranno cantare, nelle chiese & nelle camere...

⁹⁷ Archivio capitolare, Atti dei nodari. Libro II Roan, fol. 37. Quoted in Mantese, *Storia musicale vicentina*, p. 47, n. 36.

⁹⁸ "...docendum clericos musicam..." *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ "...ven. dominus presbyter Nicolaus alius deputatus magister Cappellæ in prefata ecclesia est recessurus ex hac civitate et renuntiavit officium predicatum Magistri Capelle..." Archivio capitolare, Atti dei nodari, Libro I Roan, fol. 51, quoted, *ibid.*, p. 47, n. 37.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² "...haveva... alquanti suoi scolari, che in quel mentre ch'egli sonava

whom he had met at Venice in that year and who told him "that wishing to settle down, he found it necessary to lay aside his master's enharmonic and attend to other things".¹⁰³ It is possible, however, that Vicentino continued his campaign for the enharmonic throughout Italy even after he left Vicenza.

Milan apparently was one of the cities that he was likely to visit. This is implied in a letter by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo sent from Rome on March 31, 1565, to his vicar, Nicola Ormaneto of Verona:

I shall await Ruffo's Mass; and if Don Nicola who favors chromatic music should be in Milan, you can also ask him to compose one¹⁰⁴—thus by the comparison of the work of many excellent musicians we will better be able to judge this intelligible music...¹⁰⁵

Later evidence indicates that Vicentino eventually settled in that city in some official connection with the diocese of Milan, although the first known verification of a Milanese position dates only from 1570. In a letter written March twenty-fifth of that year, he identified himself as "Rector" of Saint Thomas', Milan.¹⁰⁶ The use of the title "Rector" might indicate that Don Nicola, as has been suggested,¹⁰⁷ was now functioning only as a parish priest—a rather surprising activity for a trained musician. In fact, however, the

l'enharmonio imparticolare cantavano quella tal sorte di musica, dal medesimo composta: la qual musica fece udire per tutte le principali città d'Italia et io in particolare l'udii in diversi tempi et luoghi, più volte...» The quotation and translation are taken from Claude Victor Palisca, «The Beginnings of Baroque Music; Its Roots in Sixteenth Century Theory and Polemics» (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1953), pp. 341-342.

¹⁰³ "...che havendo egli voluto trovare ricapito gli era stato di mestiere lasciare da parte l'enharmonio del suo maestro, et attendere ad altro.» *Ibid.*, p. 342.

¹⁰⁴ Whether Vicentino ever composed such a work remains unknown. Certainly no Mass, chromatic or otherwise, is extant today.

¹⁰⁵ «Aspettarò la Messa del Ruffo; et se costì in Milano si trovasse don Nicola della musica Cromatica, potreste pregarlo anchor lui che ne componesse una, pche dal paragone di molti musici eccellenti meglio si potrà far giudicio di questa musica intelligibile...» [Archivio dei Barnabiti, Rome], MS di San Carlo Borromeo, Lettere di governo, Vol. I, foll. 26v-27, quoted by Lewis H. Lockwood, «Vincenzo Ruffo and Musical Reform after the Council of Trent», *The Musical Quarterly*, XLIII (1957), 350. The English translation of this letter appears, *ibid.*, p. 349.

¹⁰⁶ Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Geheimes Haus-archiv, Akt 607. This letter has been reprinted in Bertha Antonia Wallner, «Urkunden zu den Musikbestrebungen Herzog Wilhelms V. von Bayern», *Gedenboek aangeboden aan Dr. D. F. Scheurleer op zijn 70sten Verjaardag* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1925), p. 370. Wallner includes a salutation: «Serenissimo Guilhelmo, Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariae utriusque Ducis, Domino suo colendissimo. Landshutam» («To the most serene William, Count of the Rhenish Palatinate, and Duke of half of Bavaria, to your most esteemed Lordship, at Landshut.»), which is not part of the original document as found in the archives, but pertains rather to the whole collection of letters of which this one is a part. For the full text of this letter and its translation, see *infra* n. 116 and pp. 40-41.

¹⁰⁷ Wallner, *op. cit.*, p. 373, and Lockwood, *op. cit.*, p. 350, n. 24.

same term, in the sixteenth century, was used with a musical connotation in such phrases as "Rector Chori" or "Rector puerorum et cantus",¹⁰⁸ so that there was really no break in his life-long activities. Indeed both the Borromeo letter and the one written by Vicentino make reference to continued interest in chromaticism and related musical matters.

Cardinal Borromeo's remark is of especial significance because of his concern with music at the deliberations of the Council of Trent,¹⁰⁹ and as a member of the Cardinals' Commission of 1564-65 which met after the close of the Council to deal with the reform of church music in Rome.¹¹⁰ The Council had dealt only with the basic attitudes that were to be held in the matter of reform,¹¹¹ and had gone so far as to point out the negative features of some of the music that had been used in the past, but the details of musical and stylistic criteria were left an open question.¹¹² For this reason, it was theoretically possible for liturgical music to be written in a most advanced idiom, if it respected the fundamental religious requirements of the reformed style.

As early as 1555, Vicentino had formulated some of these "correct" attitudes in *L'antica musica*:

Now the composition... of Masses and Latin words ought to be serious and not very frenzied, because the Masses and Psalms, being ecclesiastical, it is only right that the treatment of those [pieces] should be different than that of French chansons, madrigals, and *villotte*. Notice that some composers write contrary to the subject of the Mass, because they wish it to proceed with dignity and to be filled more with devotion than with lasciviousness; and others compose a Mass on a madrigal, and on a French chanson, and on a *battaglia*, so that when such compositions are heard in church, they impel everyone to laughter, so that it appears almost as if the temple of God had become a place for the recitation of lascivious and ridiculous things, as if it were on a stage where it was permissible

¹⁰⁸ [Charles du Fresne] du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. Léopold Favre (Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887), VII, 64.

¹⁰⁹ The sessions of the Council of Trent were held 1545-1547, 1551-1552, 1562-1563. The work of the Council was confirmed in the bull «Benedictus Deus» issued by Pius IV in 1564, and in the official Roman catechism which appeared in 1566. Edward Maslin Hulme, *The Renaissance the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe* (rev. ed.; New York: Century Co., [1915], pp. 430-443. For an account of the background to the musical deliberations of the Council, see K. G. Fellerer, «Church Music and the Council of Trent», *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXIX (1953), 576-594. See also Lockwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-372 for pertinent aspects of post-Tridentine musical reform.

¹¹⁰ Fellerer, *op. cit.*, p. 586, and Lockwood, *op. cit.*, p. 344, especially n. 7.

¹¹¹ For instance, recommendations were made that music should uplift the faithful, that the meaning of the words should be clear at all times, and that any expression that had secular connotations was to be avoided. Fellerer, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

¹¹² Karl Weinmann, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919), p. 7.

to perform every kind of ridiculous and lascivious musical buffoonery. One should not be surprised if, in these times, music is not held in high esteem, since it has been applied to low things such as *balli, napolitane*, and to *villotte* and other ridiculous things, contrary to the opinion of the ancients who reserved it only for the singing of hymns of the gods and of the great deeds of men. Certainly one ought to have much respect and make a great differentiation in writing a composition to be sung in church, from one to be sung in the chamber, and the composer ought to exercise his careful judgment and write his compositions according to the subject and ideas of the words...¹¹³

As a musician, Nicola was not quite ready at this time to eliminate the technique of writing church music based on secular sources which provided either a *cantus firmus* on which to build a piece, or an entire composition to parody. On the other hand, he most admired those creations which went "contrary to the subject", that is, which avoided the musical implications of the source material and modified it in such a way that, despite its secular origin, a work commensurate with the dignity and seriousness of the church service would result. In the long run, the composer who derived his inspiration from the ideas expressed in the text would write the most suitable type of music, since his judgment would be influenced, by this careful attention to the meaning of the words, to make a distinction between a sacred and a secular style.

These sentiments alone would have endeared Vicentino to the Cardinal of Milan, although one could, in addition, venture the supposition that because of the close friendship of Borromeo and Cardinal Ippolito II, some kind of personal recommendation of the chromaticist may have been involved. Certainly the extremely progressive views of "don Nicola della musica Cromatica" seemed to offer no handicap, since Cardinal Borromeo was perfectly willing to accept, for liturgical consideration, a composition in a rather "advanced" idiom. The inclination to look with favor on a work of this kind throws an interesting light on the question of the nature of post-Tridentine musical "reform". At least, it

¹¹³ «...hora il comporre... sopra Messe, & sopra parole Latine dè esser grave, et non molto furioso, perche le Messe, & Psalmi essendo Ecclesiastici, è pur il dovere, che il proceder di quelle sià differente, da quello delle Canzone Franzese, & da Madrigali, et da Villotte, avenga che alcuni compositori, componano, alla riversa del soggetto, della Messa, perche quella vuole il proceder con gravità, & piu pieno di divotione, che di lascivia; & alcuni comporrano una Messa sopra un Madrigale, & sopra una Canzone Franzese, ò sopra la battaglia, che qua[n]do nelle chiese s'odeno tali compositioni, inducono ogniuno al ridere, che pare quasi che il tempio di Dio, sia diventato luogo, da recitare cose lascive, & ridicolose, come se'l si fusse in una scena, ove è lecito recitar ogni sorte di Musica da Buffoni, ridicolosa, et lasciva. non è da maravigliarsi, s'ài questi tempi la Musica non è in pretio; perche è stata applicata à cose basse, come sono a Balli, a Napolitane, & a Villotte, & altre cose ridicolose, contra l'opponione de gli Antiqui, liquali osservavano quella solamente per cantare gli Hymni de gli Dei, & i gran fatti de gli huomini, certamente molto

clearly demonstrates that Borromeo bore no strong predisposition towards the more conservative composers of the day. On the contrary, he was evidently prepared to expect a serious attempt to write "intelligible" sacred music from a musician he knew to occupy a position far to the left on the current musical horizon.¹¹⁴

Whether the Cardinal was directly involved in securing Vicentino's position at St. Thomas' cannot be ascertained, although the appointment would most likely have needed his official approval. The letter of March 25, 1570, which identifies Don Nicola as "Rector" of this church indicates, however, that the musician was even then hoping for a better position. This document, now in a collection of letters sent by Hans Fugger to Duke William V of Bavaria, was, in all probability, originally forwarded to the Duke by his Milanese agents Prospero and Gasparo Visconti,¹¹⁵ and reads as follows:

Most serene and illustrious Prince and my most revered Lord!

Sixty years have already passed in which I have labored not a little in the study of music, in order that I might attain something praiseworthy so that I might gather the things worthy of such excellence for my friends as well as my relatives. Since indeed, in the judgment of all, your benevolence and magnanimity not only surpasses [all others], but is truly praised as princely, for I do not doubt that you enjoy this excellence, for this reason, they [the friends, etc.] have taken the trouble, with the assistance of your courier, to send some of my compositions. And for my works there are provided new scores and improved harmonies arranged for the instruments [called] the archicembalo and arciorgano. And in truth there are found one-hundred-and-thirty-two varied sounds which in the vernacular are called keys. And since this chromatic and enharmonic

rispetto si dè havere, & gran differe[n]za si farà a comporre una compositione, da cantare in Chiesa, a quella che si ha da cantare in camera, & il Compositore dè havere il suo giuditio limato, & comporre le sue compositioni secondo il soggetto, & il proposito, delle parole...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*... fol. 84v (incorrectly numbered 79).

¹¹⁴ Lockwood, *op. cit.*, p. 351. Borromeo's tolerance of musical radicalism may have disposed his nephew, Don Carlo Gesualdo, to chromaticism, although Borromeo died before Gesualdo produced any of his «advanced» compositions. Benvenuto Disertori, «Un libro italiano su Carlo Gesualdo (Il Principe di Venosa e Leonora d'Este di F. Vatielli)», *Rivista musicale italiana*, XLV (1941), 23.

¹¹⁵ Wallner, *op. cit.*, p. 370. The Visconti were actively engaged in procuring the best artists and musicians for the Bavarian court. Hans Fugger, on the other hand, was known as a patron of the arts in his own right, but would often recommend these artists to friends whom he thought might be interested. Georg Lill, *Hans Fugger (1531-1598) und die Kunst, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Spätrenaissance in Süddeutschland* («Studien zur Fuggergeschichte», 2: [Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1908]), p. 3. Bavaria, in the sixteenth century, consisted of a loose federation of principalities, including, among others, Upper and Lower Bavaria and the Rhenish Palatinate. At the head of this complex stood the Duke of Bavaria with his court at Munich in Upper Bavaria. The heir to the throne usually resided at Landshut, the capital of Lower Bavaria. In 1570, the powerful Wittelsbach dynasty was represented by Albert V, Duke of Bavaria, and his son, William, both of whom were renowned patrons of the arts, especially music. M. Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1906-1912), I, 427-428, 447-448.

Seu. mi ac Ill^{me} Princeps. et D. D. mi Off^{ma}

Jam sexaginta elapsi sunt anni, in quibus Musice non-
parvo studio insudavi, ut tandem aliquo laude dignum
contingerem: ut tam amicus tum parentibus et in huius-
scemodi virtutis dignis collocarem. Idem, cum iudicio omnium
tua benignitas, ac animi magnitudo sit non solum
agere honoranda: verum et tanquam Princeps benignus
amotus extollenda cum te hac virtute oblectari non dubite:
ob id non nullas quibus mens tantillenas opera tui non sibi
mittere curavi: et instrumentorum Archicembali Arci-
organi partitiones nove ac perfecte harmonie non esse
colliguntur qua mea adiuvente: verum et centum tri-
genta huc voces infirmes inveniuntur que in lingua
vernacula tacti dicuntur, et cum id genus Chromatici
ac Kenarmonici, hic passim suavi delectatione accipiuntur
ad auditum, arbitrium non gratam tibi facere: max. In
hanc sententiam venire nulli dubium sit ob hoc singularis-
sime Princeps, has tibi dedicare volui, ut celsitudini tue
messis in te amicus, et ad maiora paratum facile intelligat-
tur. Idem, vultu sereno accipere exoro. Vire felix: Medico
lami die xxv Martij. M. D. LXX.

Severissime Altitudinis tue:

P. Nicolas vicentinus.
scti Thome Rector
Mecolani:

25 Martij 1570

servus minimus.

Vicentino's letter to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, 25 March, 1570
Bayerisches Hausarchiv, München, Hauptstaatsarchiv Abt. III, Geheimes



gender is accepted and heard with sweet delight everywhere, I have decided to let you have the pleasure, since there is no doubt that you will come to the same judgment. Wherefore, my unparalleled Prince, I wish to dedicate these [compositions] to you, so that my feeling towards your Highness might be known, and may be easily understood as preparation for greater things. I beg you to accept this with a serene countenance. Prosper! At Milan, on the twenty-fifth day of March, 1570.

To your most serene Highness,

P. NICOLAS VICENTINUS
Rector of St. Thomas in Milan
your most humble servant.¹¹⁶

No trace of the compositions mentioned in this letter can be found. They were apparently further examples of Vicentino's chromatic and enharmonic writing, which, in the composer's estimation, were now "accepted and heard with sweet delight everywhere" and which he was sure the Duke would also enjoy. Don Nicola's reference to his specially constructed instruments may also have been a subtle appeal to Duke William to use his influence to have them included in the new technical Museum at Munich, which had been founded through the efforts of the humanist, Samuel Quicquelberg.¹¹⁷

The hope of a new position at the Bavarian court is implied in the tone of the entire letter. This request must have borne some fruit, since the Bavarian archives record payments made both to Vicentino and the Milanese organist and composer, Giuseppe Caimo. The relationship between these two musicians has already been surmised on stylistic grounds,¹¹⁸ but the archival documents clearly in-

¹¹⁶ «Ser[enissi]me ac Ill[ustrissi]me Princeps. et D. D. mi Coll[endissi]me. Iam sexaginta elapsi sunt anni in quibus Music[ae] non parvo studio insudavi. ut tandem aliq[ui]d laude dignum contingerem: ut tum amicis tum parentibus et in huiuscemodi virtutis dignos collocarem. Idq[ue] cum iudicio o[mn]ium tua benignitas, ac animi magnitudo sit non solum ante ponenda: verum et tanquam Princeps huiuscemodi extollenda, cum te hac virtute oblectari non dubite[m]. obid non nullas quibus meas cantillenas opera tui nuntii mittere curant: et instrumentor[um] Archicembali Arciorgani partitiones nov[ae] ac perfect[ae] harmoni[ae] non esse colliguntur op[er]a mea adinvent[ae]. verum et centum triginta due voces informes inveniuntur qu[ae] in lingua vernacula tasti dicuntur. Et cum id Genus Chromatici ac Henarmonici, hic passim suavi delectatione accipiatur ac auditur, arbitram rem gratam tibi facere, max[im]e in hanc sententiam venire nulli dubium sit ob hoc singularissime Princeps. has tibi dedicare volui. ut celsitudini tu[ae] meus in te animus. et ad maiora paratum facile intelligatur. Idq[ue] vultu sereno accipere exoro. Vive felix: Mediolani die XXV Martii: MDLXX.

Serenissime Altitudinis tu[ae]:

P. Nicolas Vicentinus
s[an]cti Thom[ae] Rector
Mediolani:
servus minimus.»

¹¹⁷ Wallner, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

¹¹⁸ Theodor Kroyer, *Die Anfänge der Chromatik im italienischen Madrigal des XVI. Jahrhunderts* («Publikationen der internationalen Musikgesellschaft», IV: [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902]), p. 13.

dicating a personal connection between the two men, since both were in the employ of Duke William.¹¹⁹ In a letter of Gasparo Visconti to the Duke, dated December 14, 1570, the following payment is recorded: "I delivered ten crowns to Giuseppe Caimo, imperial musician, and the same to Nicola Vicentino".¹²⁰ In addition, the list of expenditures enclosed with this letter notes: "And furthermore to Giuseppe Caimo and Don Nicola Vicentino by order of your excellency—twenty golden crowns."¹²¹

The duties of the musicians involved are, however, not specified, and it is thus not at all clear that the two men actually entered the ducal service. It appears more likely that they were paid only for an occasional musical contribution to the court, either for compositions submitted or for performance on a specific occasion.

Whatever the circumstances, as far as Vicentino was concerned, there seemed to exist a continuing relationship with Milan. The year 1571 saw the publication of his fourth book of motets, *Moteta cum quinque vocibus*¹²² which was issued from the presses of the Milanese printer, Paolo Gottardo Ponzio.¹²³ The following year, 1572, Vicentino's fifth book of *Madrigali a cinque voci*, issued under the auspices of his student, Ottavio Resino, was printed by the same publisher.

At some time within this period, a single composition by Vicentino appeared in an anthology printed at Paris by Le Roy and Ballard. This piece, a madrigal to a text of Petrarch, the sonnet "Passa la nava mia calma d'oblio", is the only Italian work in the collection¹²⁴ and its publication gives direct evidence of the esteem in which the chromaticist was held by the French.

The close political association of Ferrara with France during the sixteenth century is a well-known historical fact. In addition, Cardinal Ippolito maintained a close association with the French domains as

¹¹⁹ Carlo Borromeo, much admired by Duke William, was instrumental in recommending several musicians to the Bavarian court, and thus may have proposed the candidacy of Caimo and Vicentino for a new position. H. Simonsfeld, «Mailänder Briefe zur bayerischen und allgemeinen Geschichte», *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXII (1902), Sec. III, pp. 531-532.

¹²⁰ «Decem cronos Josepho Caimo musicho imperatos tradidi et totidem Nicole Vicentio.» *Ibid.*, Sec. II, p. 263.

¹²¹ «E piu a Josepho Caimo et a don Nicola Vicentino per commissione di S. E. V 20 d'oro.» *Ibid.*, p. 264.

¹²² The author is greatly indebted to Dr. Colin Slim who discovered the *Quintus* part of this work in the library of the *Duomo*, Piacenza, Italy, in February 1957.

¹²³ Ponzio was an active publisher in Milan from 1570-1588. Sartori, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹²⁴ *Mellange de Chansons...* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1572). The contents of this work are listed in F. Lesure and G. Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard* (1551-1598) [Paris: Heugel, 1955], pp. 156-159.

Archbishop of Lyons, Auton, Auch, Orleans, and Morienne.¹²⁵ At the end of 1549, he had replaced Jean de Bellay as representative of the king of France at Rome,¹²⁶ and in 1552, Henry II had sent the Cardinal as his personal envoy to Siena.¹²⁷ Later, from 1561-1563, he had also served as the legate of Pius IV to Catherine de Medici, Queen of France.¹²⁸ Vicentino had become acquainted with many French musicians as a result of these contacts of his patron. One of these, Pierre Sandrin, who served as the Cardinal's chapel master in Siena,¹²⁹ revealed in his own works an interest in the newer experimental harmonies of the time, inspired, in all probability, by first-hand knowledge of the theories of Vicentino.¹³⁰

Eventually, Don Nicola's music found enough acceptance in France not only to merit publication, but also to win the esteem of the most exalted connoisseurs. A letter, dated January 14, 1574, sent by the publisher Adrian Le Roy to Lassus, who was then in the service of the Duke of Bavaria, is most revealing on that score.¹³¹ After some preliminary discussion involving an offer to Lassus to enter the service of Charles IX, Le Roy continues:

...Thus it is not necessary to put off coming for fear that the king will cool towards the music, for, in my opinion, he will continue to grow in this enthusiasm more than ever. I have presented him with your *Jeune Moine*¹³² which is as agreeable as it is marvelous. I have in addition presented him with some of your little chromatic [works] and the beginning of the *Sibyls*¹³³ which I had with me. After having seen that he showed some taste for these chromatic [writings] of Don Nicollo Vicentino, about whom he had a high opinion, and having heard these words spoken

¹²⁵ Simeone, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ See *supra*, p. 32.

¹²⁸ Simeone, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁹ See *supra*, pp. 32-33.

¹³⁰ See, for example, the expressive and chromatic chanson, «Amour si haut» published by Le Roy and Ballard in the sixth book of chansons (1556). A modern transcription of this composition by Kenneth Levy appears in *Anthologie de la chanson parisienne au XVIe siècle*, ed. Francois Lesure et al. (Les Remparts, Monaco: Louise B. M. Dyer, [1953]), pp. 60-61.

¹³¹ This letter has been transcribed in Lesure and Thibault, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37. It also appears in Adolf Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894-1895), Vol. III, Part I, pp. 309-310, but with several mistakes. Most patent error is the misreading of the name Don Nicollo Vicentino as the meaningless phrase, «en duy micelle Vicentine».

¹³² The chanson, «Un jeune moine est sorti du couvent», shows little evidence of chromaticism. A modern reprint can be found in Adolf Sandberger (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso. Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. XII: *Kompositionen mit französischem Text* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [n. d.], Part I, pp. 89-93.

¹³³ This indubitably refers to Orlando Lasso's *Prophetiae sibyllarum*, a highly chromatic cycle of four-voiced compositions consisting of an introductory «Carmina chromatica» and twelve sibylline prophecies. Modern ed. Joachim Therstappen [sic!] («Das Chorwerk», XLVIII; 3d. ed.; Wolfenbüttel: Mösel, [1937]).

from his own mouth: "Orlando wouldn't know how to make this kind of chromatic music"—to all this was replied that you had done so and that I had some with me, which is the reason why I presented them to him. But I can assure you that when he heard it, he was so delighted that I can't even write it to you, I told his Majesty that you had written much more, and that I thought I would receive them soon. Then he replied and ordered me to print them, fearing that they might be lost.¹³⁴

This admiration of the French for works involving the daring harmonic innovations promulgated by Vicentino is confirmed only a few years later by the composer, Anthoine de Bertrand. In the preface of his *Premier livre des Amours de Pierre de Ronsard*..., published at Paris by Le Roy and Ballard in 1578, Bertrand writes:

...Many have deemed it impossible for human voices to make good judgment of this [enharmonic] gender, and to replace them, instruments have been invented which express with certainty the smallest intervals, and one can not hope that man can adjust his voice so subtly except by means of such instruments. And if it is as Don Nicola asserts¹³⁵ and as I th'nk, that these last and most subtle divisions of tone can be sung by the voice, which with long practice will have been shaped to them, the all the more ought one to hope to have the secondary intervals as familiar as are the primary ones of the diatonic to us today.¹³⁶

Bertrand further averred his admiration for the ancient genera in his *Second livre des Amours de P. de Ronsard*... which also appeared in 1578 from the presses of Le Roy and Ballard.¹³⁷ In the introduction to this publication, the enharmonic gender is singled

¹³⁴ «...Soit qu'il ne fault que différer de venir, pour craincte que le Roy se refroidisse de la musique, car, a mon opinion, il croitra tousjours en ceste ardeur et plus que jamais. Je luy ay présenté vostre *Jeune Moine*, qu'yl a tant agréable que merveille. Je luy ay outre plus présenté quelque petite cromatique et commencement di Cibiles que j'voys par deça. Appres luy avoyr veu prendre quelque goust a celle Don Nicollo Vincentino, et de laquelle il faisoit grand cas, et ayant senty quelque propos présent de sa bouche disant: 'Orlando ne scauroit faire de ceste musique cromatique', a quoy fut respondu que aviés fait et que j'en evois quy a esté la cause que luy ay présentée. Mais je vous puis asseurer que quand il l'a ouye, qu'il en a esté sy revy que ne le vous puis escripte. J'ay dict a Sa Magesté qu'en aviez fait davantage et que je pensois bientost la recevoir. Alors il m'a respondu et commandé que je l'imprimasse, craignant qu'elle ne se perde...» Lesure and Thibault, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹³⁵ Vicentino, *L'antica musica*..., fol. 66 v.

¹³⁶ «...plusieurs ont estimé impossible pouvoir donner jugement de ce genre par voix humaines, au lieu desquelles, on a inve[n]té des instruments qui exprime[n]t certainement les sons des plus petis intervalles, & ne faut esperer que l'ho[m]me puisse compasser sa voix si subtilement que par le moyen de telz instrumens. Et s'il est ainsi come don Nicole assevre, & come ie l'estime, que ces dernieres & plus subtiles divisions du ton puissent estre chantées de la voix, qui avec un long usage y aura façonné, dautant plus tost devoit on esperer d'avoir les seconds intervalles aussi familiers que nous sont aujourd'huy les premiers du diatonique...» A facsimile of Bertrand's preface appears in Henry Expert (ed.), *Monuments de la musique francaise*... (New York: Broude Brothers, [n. d.]), IV, introductory pages.

¹³⁷ Modern reprint (including facsimile of the preface), *ibid.*, VI.

out for special attention, especially since many professional musicians were appalled either by its difficulty or its novelty. However, continues Bertrand:

...the most intelligent and those who hold some station above the vulgar herd are of quite a different opinion, for in several places they teach us that among the three known genera, the diatonic, the chromatic and the enharmonic, the sweetest, the most charming and the most excellent is the last.¹³⁸

Bertrand's esteem of Vicentino was definitely a posthumous tribute, although how soon after the chromaticist's demise it appeared can not be determined, since the date of Vicentino's death still remains uncertain. Most of the standard reference works give 1572 as the year in which Vicentino died,¹³⁹ the identical year incidentally in which occurred the death of his former patron, Cardinal Ippolito.¹⁴⁰ In favor of this date is the fact that Don Nicola's fifth book of madrigals was not published by the composer, but by his student, Ottavio Resino. This could be interpreted as an act of homage by a former disciple to the memory of his master, especially since Resino, in the dedication of this *opus*, suggests that the work was put together rather quickly:

...I come now to offer...these few, but well-matured fruits, which I have not long since stolen, as it were in haste from the flowery and cultivated garden of the Reverend Archmusician, Don Nicola Vicentino.¹⁴¹

On the other hand, there exists some evidence that Vicentino lived for at least a few years longer. First of all, the 1570 epistle of the composer,¹⁴² which, according to his own words, was forwarded to William by "your courier", does not appear among the series of

¹³⁸ «...le pluz entenduz & ceux qui tiennent quelque rang par dessus ce vulgaire grossier, sont de bien contraire oppinion, car en plusieurs endroitz ilz nous enseignent qu'entre les trois genres sçavoir Diatonique, Cromatique, & Enarmonique, le plus doux, le plus suave & le plus excellent est le dernier:...» *Ibid.*, introductory pages. The example of the enharmonic chanson, «Je suis tellement amoureux» (modern transcription, *ibid.*, pp. 27-30), which Bertrand cited in his preface, is especially interesting because the notation of the quarter tones is identical with the method prescribed by Vicentino, *L'antica musica*..., fol. 17.

¹³⁹ See, for example, *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, ed. Nicolas Slonimsky (5th ed., New York: G. Schirmer (1958), p. 1705; *Hugo Riemanns Musik-Lexikon*, ed. Alfred Einstein (9th ed., Berlin: Max Hesse, 1919), p. 1252; Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, [1954]), p. 328.

¹⁴⁰ Simeone, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴¹ «...vengo io hora ad offerire... questi pochi, ma ben maturi, & saporosissimi frutti, che io ho non ha guari anchora rubbati quasi alla sfuggita dal fiorito & coltivato giardino del Rever. Archimusco Don Nicola Vicentino...» Nicola Vicentino, *Madrigali a cinque voci*... (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1572), preface, p. [2].

¹⁴² See *supra*, pp. 40-41.

documents sent by Prospero and his cousin Gasparo from Milan to the Bavarian court. Instead it is found among the letters of Hans Fugger to Duke William, one of which, dated Augsburg, January 29, 1574, supplies the following significant information:

..Yesterday evening two Italian musicians together with a servant arrived here [Augsburg] from Milan. Mr. Prospero Visconti sends them to your princely Grace. They have brought me a letter from Visconti, and await the decision of your princely Grace as to how they should proceed in the future...¹⁴³

The names of these musicians are unfortunately not indicated, although at least one modern scholar has identified them as Caimo and Vicentino.¹⁴⁴ The "letter from Visconti", moreover, presents a puzzling problem because no such communication appears in the Fugger collection. On the other hand, there does exist the unexplained presence of the Vicentino document. Perhaps this letter is the one referred to as having come from Visconti, who may have decided to send it along personally with Vicentino, in order to refresh both Fugger's and the Duke's memory about the composer. If the composer was one of the "two Italian musicians" sent to Augsburg, there is no evidence that William decided to take him into his service permanently. Nor was Caimo any more successful, for at a later date, Visconti was still trying to obtain a Bavarian post for him.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, several pairs of musicians were being recommended by the Visconti at about the same time,¹⁴⁶ so that the evidence for the "two musicians" being Caimo and Vicentino is by no means incontrovertible.

More definite information about the last years of Vicentino's life is supplied by Hercole Bottrigari in his *Il Desiderio* (1594).¹⁴⁷ A little

¹⁴³ «...Gestern abent sein Zwen Italianisch Musici sambt einem diener vonn Mailandt alhier khum[m]en. Die schickht Herr Prospero Visconte E[uer] F[ürstlich]e[n] g[nad]e[n]. Die haben vonn Jm Visconte ein schreiben ann mich gebracht, unnd warten von E[uer] F[ürstlich]e[n] g[nad]e[n] bescheid, wie sich ferner verhalten sollen...» Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Akt 607 Fu.

¹⁴⁴ Berndt Ph. Bääder. *Der bayerische Renaissancehof Herzog Wilhelms V.* (1568-1579) (Leipzig: Heitz, 1943), pp. 226-227.

¹⁴⁵ Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, Sec. III, p. 531, suggests that the chief difficulty in obtaining a post for Caimo lay in the musician's determination to bring along his wife and two of his four sons. As late as October 1, 1575, Prospero Visconti was still recommending Caimo to the Bavarian court. *Ibid.*, Sec. II, pp. 356-357.

¹⁴⁶ For example, the lutenists Josquinus Salem and Giovanni Battista Borro engaged by Prospero Visconti on January 16, 1574, left for Bavaria on the twentieth of the same month, and could well have been the «Zwen Italianisch Musici» who appeared at Augsburg nine days later. *Ibid.*, pp. 322, 324.

¹⁴⁷ Hercole Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio ovvero de'concerti di varii strumenti musicali* (Venice, 1594), facsimile ed. Kathi Meyer («Veröffentlichungen der Musik-Bibliothek Paul Hirsch», 5; [Berlin: Martin Breslauer, 1924]). This work originally appeared in three editions, credited to three different authors.

known passage in this work¹⁴⁸ shows that Nicola was residing in Milan, supervising the construction of an *archicembalo* shortly before he died. In discussing this instrument, Bottrigari unequivocally states that, in addition to the instrument built for the Cardinal of Ferrara at Rome, there existed

...another, similarly constructed, also under the supervision of Don Nicola in Milan, where he then died the following year, after that terrible plague which afflicted not only that great and wealthy city, but also Padua, Mantua and other important cities of Italy together with most amazing Venice...¹⁴⁹

In the margin of the same page, the author indicates that the "contaggio grandissimo in Italia" occurred in the years 1575 and 1576, so that Vicentino may well have lived until late in the latter year.¹⁵⁰ As far as is known, this is the only comparatively contemporary source that mentions the death of Vicentino. For this reason, it seems logical to follow its lead and adopt 1576 as the date of Vicentino's demise, rather than the completely undocumented date, 1572, that is commonly given.

Most of the adverse criticism of Vicentino came from those musicians whose orientation was basically conservative, like Zarlino, or even reactionary, like Danckerts. These negative evaluations, coupled with the fact that Don Nicola technically lost the famous debate with Lusitano, have adversely colored the reputation of the chromaticist for posterity. Among many of his contemporaries, however, Nicola was held in the highest repute. Paolo Lomazzo, the celebrated theorist of the later mannerist painters, suggesting to his followers that musical instruments and the portraits of famous musicians were

The first, published in 1594 at Venice by Ricciardo Amadino, was ascribed to Alemanno Benelli, an anagram for Annibale Melone, the chapel master of the city of Bologna and choir director of San Petronio, who was a friend of Bottrigari. The second edition, which is the basis for the present facsimile was published at Bologna in 1599 by Hercole Bottrigari, its true author on the basis of the original manuscript, and was issued from the press of Gioambattista Bellagamba. The third edition, under the supervision of Artusi, was incorrectly attributed by him to Annibale Melone and appeared at Milan in 1601, published by the archiepiscopal press. All three editions are basically the same, except for the introductory six folios, consisting of the title-page, dedication and preface. *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxiii.

¹⁴⁸ Alfred Einstein, in a book review of the Meyer facsimile-edition of Bottrigari, was the first to call attention to this previously unnoticed comment on the time and place of Vicentino's death. *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* X (1927-1928), 118-119.

¹⁴⁹ «...un'altro similmente fabricato, pur sotto la cura di Don Nicola in Milano, dov'egli poi morì l'anno seguente, doppo quello atrocissimo contagio, che non solamente afflisse quella grande, & opulente Città: ma insieme con la stupendissima Venetia, Padoa, Mantoa, & altre importanti Città d'Italia...» Bottrigari, *op. cit.*, fol. 41.

¹⁵⁰ The Visconti letters make frequent reference to the plague, and show that the fall of 1576 was a particularly virulent period. Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*,

excellent subjects for painting, listed Willaert, Zarlino, and Vicentino as the chief writers of choral music.¹⁵¹ Francesco Patrizi, philosopher and literary historian, lauded the House of Este as the "rigeneratrice della Musica" (regenerator of music), starting with Guido d'Arezzo and including such luminaries as L. Fogliani, Josquin des Prez, Adrian Willaert, Cipriano de Rore, and finally, Don Nicola Vicentino.¹⁵² Luzzasco Luzzaschi, the organist of Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, not only did Vicentino the honor of learning to play his *archicembalo*, which, because of its complexity, seemed to frighten off conventional performers, but even wrote some compositions especially for this instrument.¹⁵³ In view of these more favorable opinions, only a few of which have been noted, the time has come for a complete re-evaluation of the importance of this *Cinquecento* musician, who, in helping to free theory from its bondage to the ecclesiastical modes, and in indicating new paths to follow with his experimental harmonies, anticipated many of the innovations of the future.

Sec. II, pp. 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379. Despite Bottrigari's assertion, corroborated in the Visconti letters, that the plague lasted through 1576, Moser has arbitrarily decided that «according to Bottrigari» («nach Bottrigari»), Vicentino died in 1575. Hans Joachim Moser, *Musik Lexikon* (3d. ed., Hamburg: Hans Sikorski, 1951), p. 1243.

¹⁵¹ Gio. Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura ed architettura* (Rome: Saverio del Monte, 1844), II, 195. This work was first published in 1584. The pertinent passage is also given in Luigi Parigi, *Laurentiana: Lorenzo dei Medici cultore della musica* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1954), p. 126, n. 130.

¹⁵² See *supra*, n. 26. See also Chapter III, p. 112, n. 44.

¹⁵³ According to Kinkeldey, these particular compositions of Luzzaschi have been lost. Otto Kinkeldey, «Luzzasco Luzzaschi's Solo-Madrigale mit Klavierbegleitung», *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft IX* (1908), 562.

CHAPTER II

THE MUSIC

The extant musical legacy of Vicentino consists chiefly of two books of madrigals. To these may be added a few isolated sacred and secular works in both published and manuscript sources, and several incomplete compositions, including a newly-discovered *quintus* part-book of motets. Since the madrigal books were separated in publication by a span of almost three decades, they can appropriately serve as the basis for an evaluation of the stylistic features which not only differentiate the younger Don Nicola from the mature composer of the last years, but also, in a sense, dramatize the startling innovations with which the name of this musician has been associated.

THE FIRST BOOK OF MADRIGALS

The first book, dating from 1546, bears the following title-page:¹

[ornament: a stylized leaf] Soprano [ornament: inversion of the same leaf] / Del unico Adrian Willaerth discipulo / Don Nicola Vicentino / Madrigali a cinque voci per theorica / et pratica da lui composti al nuovo modo / dal celeberrimo suo maestro / ritrovato, / Libro Primo / Con gratia & privelegio. / Venetiis MDXLVI.

The format of this edition² is that of a quarto, with the following collation: Soprano, a-d;⁴ Contralto, 3a-3d;⁴ Tenor [I], 2a-2d;⁴ Tenor [II], 4a-4d;⁴ Bass, A-D.⁴ Beginning with the second leaf of each part-book, pagination is indicated in Roman numerals, running consecutively from one to twenty-nine with these exceptions:

a) One of the compositions in this collection, a dialogue written for seven voices, necessitates the inclusion of two extra parts. A second contralto part is found in the first tenor book, and a third tenor part is included with the bass, thus extending the pagination in these books to thirty. In place of this extra page, the soprano, contralto and second tenor substitute a *tavola*, or table of contents.

¹ Only the second tenor part contains a printer's device, a crowned dragon surrounded by flames, that has not been possible to identify.

² This study was based on a microfilm copy of the original part books in the library of the *Società accademia filarmonica* of Verona, catalogue number 191 I.

b) In the bass part, page number nine is incorrectly labelled eleven, and pages twelve and thirteen are reversed so that the former appears on sig. [B4] recto and the latter on sig. [B3] verso.

The nineteen separate pieces which make up this collection are here arranged in tabular form for convenience of reference.

TABLE I

NUMBER ^a	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE ^b	SIGNATURE
I	La pastorella mia che m'inamora ^c	Girolamo Fraccastoro ^d	1	a2 recto
II	Quando vostri begli occhi	Jacopo Sannazzaro ^e	2	a2 verso
III	In quel ben nato		3	[a3] r
IV	Quando'l desir	Luigi Cassola ^f	4	[a3] v
V	Madonna, io trov' ogni bellezza in voi	Luigi Cassola ^g	5	[a4] r
VI	a Se mai candide rose b Le bionde trecce	Francesco Petrarca ^h	6 7	[a4] v b r
VII	a Fin che m'amasti amai b Ma poi che nuov'amor		8 9	b v b2 r

^a Subdivisions of longer poems into two or more musical sections are here indicated by the letters a, b, and c.

^b The pagination and signatures are given for the soprano alone through number XVII. From number XVIII on, due to the disruption of the regular order by the addition of two extra parts, each part-book will be indicated separately.

^c This madrigal also appears in a lute intabulation by Julio Abondante. See Chapter I, note 31.

^d [Lodovico Domenichi], *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss. autori nuovamente raccolte* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito di Ferrara, 1545-1547), I, 366. Girolamo Fracastoro (1478-1553), renowned physician, philosopher and astronomer, was appointed official doctor for the Council of Trent by Pope Paul III. His humanistic training was reflected in an ardent love for poetry and music. Arturo Castiglioni and Carlo Calcaterra, article «Fracastoro, Girolamo», *Enciclopedia italiana*, XV (1932), 829-830.

^e Sannazzaro's poem in the form of a Petrarchan madrigal is quoted in Walter H. Rubsam, *Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500)* [«University of California Publications in Music», Vol. 1, No. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943)], p. 30.

^f Luigi Cassola, *Madrigali* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito di Ferrara, 1554), fol. 37.

^g *Ibid.*, fol. 8 v.

^h The text is taken from the sixth verse of the *canzone* of Petrarch, «In quella parte dove Amor si sprona». Francesco Petrarca, *Il Canzoniere* («Biblioteca universale Rizzoli», 785-788; [Milan]: Rizzoli, [1954]), no. 127, p. 168.

TABLE I (CONT.)

NUMBER ^a	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE ^b	SIGNATURE
VIII	a Fiamma gentil b Tosto ch'ei sente	Giovanni Guidiccione ⁱ	10 11	b2 v [b3] r
IX	a Alma gentil b Deh sol degli occhi mei	Luigi Cassola ^j	12 13	[b3] v [b4] r
X	a Amor'io son si lieto b O cor felice	Luigi Cassola ^k	14 15	[b4] v c r
XI	a Da quei begli occhi b Et se in me'l vero	Luigi Cassola ^l	16 17	c v c2 r
XII	a O chiara luce b Quai d'eloquentia		18 19	c2 v [c3] r
XIII	a Se la mia donna miro b Ond'io ringratio amor	Luigi Cassola ^m	20 21	[c3] v [c4] r
XIV	Madonna che per voi semp'r ardo		22	[c4] v
XV	Mentre ch'io guardo fiso	Luigi Cassola ⁿ	23	d r
XVI	Si grand'e la pieta	Luigi Cassola ^o	24	d v
XVII	Deh cosi potess'io	Luigi Cassola ^p	25	d2 r
XVIII	Amor ecco ch'io moro	S. C. T. I C. II (with T. I part-book) T. II B. T. III (with B. part-book)	26 26 26 27 26 26 27	d2 v 3d2 v 2d2 v [2d3] r 4d2 v D2 v [D3] r

ⁱ Domenicho, *op. cit.*, I, 159. Guidiccione for a long time was considered the poet of Arcadelt's famous «Il bianco e dolce cigno». Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, [1954], p. 313. According to Einstein, however, the sonnet was attributed by Anton Francesco Doni to Cassola, but is really the work of Alfonso d'Avalos. Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), I, 186.

^j Cassola, *op. cit.*, fol. 39 v.

^k Cassola, *op. cit.*, fol. 16.

^l *Ibid.*, fol. 38.

^m *Ibid.*, fol. 9.

ⁿ *Ibid.*, fol. 33 v.

^o *Ibid.*, fol. 36 v.

^p *Ibid.*, fol. 8 v.

TABLE I (CONT.)

NUMBER ^a	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE ^b	SIGNATURE
XIX	a Inudita pieta (Capitolo de la passione di Christo)	S.	27	[d3] r
		C.	27	[3d3] r
		T. I	28	[2d3] v
		T. II	27	[4d3] r
		B.	28	[D3] v
	b Piange inferma natura	S.	28	[d3] v
		C.	28	[3d3] v
		T. I	29	[2d4] r
		T. II	28	[4d3] v
		B.	29	[D4] r
	c O sacro sangue	S.	29	[d4] r
		C.	29	[3d4] r
T. I		30	[2d4] v	
T. II		29	[4d4] r	
B.		30	[D4] v	
Tavola	S.	[30]	[d4] v	
	C.	[30]	[3d4] v	
	T. II	[30]	[4d4] v	

The work is dedicated to Countess Lucretia Chiericata, a member of that noble Vicentine family immortalized by Palladio in his Palazzo Chiericati.³ Lucretia, and her sisters Caterina and Lucilla, daughters of Count Guido da Thiene,⁴ were, like many of the sixteenth-century nobility, well-versed in the art of music and greatly admired by their contemporaries for their accomplishments in this field.⁵

In the course of his dedicatory preface, Vicentino speaks of his desire to publish this book of madrigals as "the first fruits, which, with the favor of the master [Willaert], have been produced by my feeble talent".⁶ He then goes on to say, after another compliment to the musical ability of the Countess, that she will not be surprised

³ This building was constructed in Vicenza between 1551 and 1557. Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (rev. ed.: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1945), p. 116.

⁴ Thiene, a small town in the province of Vicenza, was artistically important during the Renaissance, especially for a splendid collection of works of art, including many paintings by Veronese, which belonged to the Counts of Thiene. Mario Brunetti, article «Thiene», *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXXIII (1937), p. 766, col. 2.

⁵ Lodovico Domenicho, *La nobiltà delle donne* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito, 1551), p. 261. Vicentino, in his laudatory dedication, mentions the fact that the Countess had applied herself to the study of music from her earliest childhood.

⁶ «...li primi frutti quali co'l favore del maestro da'l mio debole ingegno

at this rare manner of composition; rather from this you will know and will show others how poor the past times have been, since they were deprived up to now of the true musical harmonies discovered with effort and ingenuity by my teacher..⁷

These remarks serve to confirm the statement made on the title-page that Nicola's compositions were written "in the new manner discovered by his very celebrated teacher". The question of the components of style which make up the "new manner" will thus be of paramount importance in the examination of the music of this first book.

The texts, by themselves, offer a limited clue to the nature of the stylistic change. Only one, Number VI, is written by a poet of great literary stature, Francesco Petrarca. Many of the others, despite an emphasis on involved and rather exaggerated metaphor, attempt to imitate the Petrarchan model. Einstein speaks of the poetry of these first madrigals as "partly commonplace and partly bombastic... Not one of these many madrigals and few sonnets can be called 'literary'..."⁸ He was obviously unaware of the excerpt from the Petrarchan *canzone*, of the madrigal of Sannazzaro, and of the author of the bulk of the remaining poems, Luigi Cassola, whom a contemporary poet numbered among the "saggi autori", that is, the poets recognized as such in literature.⁹ Objectively speaking, however, there can be little doubt that Cassola lacks invention and suffers, like most Petrarchans, from conventionality of expression, grandiloquence, sentimentality, and excessive formalism.¹⁰

Nonetheless, there is inherent in much of this poetry a new spirit which makes it eminently suitable for the musical treatment typical of the madrigal after 1530: *the poetic form gradually begins to lose rhythmic definiteness and concentrates on a freedom of formal structure, which is reflected in the music*. This structural latitude can be observed in the fact that of all the compositions in the first book, only one, the dialogue for seven voices, "Amor ecco ch'io moro", appears to follow, in its musical organization, the alternating plan of the text. Two groups of singers are employed, one consisting of Alto I, Alto III, Tenor II, and Bass, to represent the lover, and the

siano stati partoriti...» Vicentino, *...Madrigali... Libro primo...*, fol. [A1] v.

⁷ «...di questo modo raro di comporre, anzi da questo conoscerà et mostrerà altrui quanto miseri siano stati li tempi passati essendo stati privi per fin' hora delli veri concetti musicali con fatica et ingegno dal maestro ritrovati...» *Ibid.*

⁸ Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 412.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 171. The popularity of Cassola's *Madrigali* lasted throughout the sixteenth century and settings of his poems can be found in the works of Cara, Claudin de Sermisy, Claudio Veggio, Vincenzo Ruffo and Andrea Gabrieli. *Ibid.*, I, 172-173. Reese, *loc. cit.*, also mentions Arcadelt's settings of Cassola's «poesy of serenades».

¹⁰ Reese describes the *cinquecento* literary madrigal in these terms: «Superficially imitating Petrarch, it everlastingly complains of unrequited love.» *Ibid.*

other, of the Soprano, Alto II and Tenor I, to signify *Amor*, or love. These opposing combinations, differentiated in the main by the timbre of their lower and higher voice parts, emphasize the question and answer outline of the poem until all the voices join for the final epigrammatic point: "for sweet is the good that is acquired through suffering" ("dolc'è il ben che con martir se acquista") [measures 68 - 81].

Such formal clarity is not, however, by any means the rule, and may have been conditioned by the fact that the *Dialogo* was intended for performance in a larger room than was the more intimate and formally-subtle madrigal. In the twenty-eighth chapter of the fourth book of his treatise entitled "Rules for composing Psalms and Dialogues and other fantasies for two choirs" ("Ordine di comporre à due Chori Psalmi e dialoghi, e altre fantasie"), Vicentino writes:

In churches and other spacious and broad places, the music composed for four voices is little heard, even when there are many singers per part. Nonetheless, for variety and through the necessity of creating a big tone in such places, one can compose Masses, Psalms, Dialogues and other things, to be played with various instruments mixed with voices; and to make a greater sound, one can even compose for three choirs...¹¹

This technique, here applied in a more rudimentary fashion, was undoubtedly one of the compositional devices that Nicola learned from his teacher, famed among other things, for his polychoral writing. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that Vicentino's example of the dialogue-form, from the first book of 1546, antedated, by about thirteen years, Willaert's four dialogues in the *Musica Nova*, which Einstein claims established the pattern of this form for later composers.¹²

More generally, however, such schematized structures were adapted to the exigencies of the "new manner". Vicentino has been extremely arbitrary, for instance, in the treatment of the overall form of the text of the eighth madrigal, "Fiamma gentil". This poem, a sonnet by Guidiccione, is constructed in the conventional Petrarchan pattern, that is, a hendecasyllabic octave consisting of two quatrains with the rhyme scheme abba abba, and a hendecasyllabic sestet made up of two tercets in the pattern cde cde:

¹¹ «Nelle chiese, & in altri luoghi spatiosi et larghi, la musica composta à quattro voci fa poco sentire, anchora che siano molti Cantanti per parte, nondimeno & per varietà, & per necessità di far grande intonatione in tali luoghi, si potrà comporre Messe, Psalmi, & Dialoghi, & altre cose da sonare con varii stromenti, mescolati con voci; & per far maggiore intonatione si potrà anchora comporre à tre chori...» Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica* .. (Rome: Antonio Barrè, 1555), fol. 85.

¹² Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 421.

Fiamma gentil, che da begli occhi muovi
Et scendi per li miei veloce al core
Empiendol tutto d'amoroso ardore
Perch eterna dolcezza ardendo piovì
Tosto ch'ei sente la tua forza e i nuovi
Piaceri hor vola entr'al bel petto, hor fore
Si posa, & scherza in compagnia d'Amore
Cotanto l'arder suo par che gli giovì
Io per sola virtù de la faville
Che vive lasci in me perch'io non pera
Altro cor i piu pio nascer mi sento
O lealtà d'Amor, che si tranquille
Il desio degli amanti; o pietà vera;
Che cangi i cori & fai dolce il tormento.

The obvious expedient of composing such a literary genre in two sections, corresponding to its natural poetic division is, in this case, studiously avoided. The lyric, to be sure, is still treated sectionally by the musician, but the separation is made after the first quatrain. The asymmetrical organization which results is reflected in the relatively short first part of the piece and its proportionately longer second part. Furthermore, no attention at all is given to the rhyme schemes, since the music for this poem is "through-composed", avoiding any repetitions of phrases or motivic material.

Most typical for musical use, however, is the freedom of structure associated with the new madrigal poetry. In Cassola's "Alma gentil", the "chief poet of this springtime of the madrigal"¹³ has written an eleven-line lyric, with verses of varying length and meter:

Alma gentil, s'un vostro sguardo ha forza
Coi luminosi rai
Di serenar homai
Questa mia vita nubilosa, & tetra
Deh sol de gliocchi miei, almo, e sereno
S'a preghi human si move un cor di pietra
Deh mostratemi almeno
Anzi ch'io moia di pietate un segno
Et se qual servo indegno
Per la bassezza mia gratia non merto
Vagliami il duol, ch'ho per amor sofferto.

The resultant asymmetrical construction points up a relationship between text and music which, by the middle of the century, enabled the musician to emphasize the meaning of the poetic concepts and the interpretation of individual words of feeling and emotion, at the expense of formally regular musical design.

So important do the words become that they dominate the entire musical conception, even to the point of suggesting its complete or-

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 172.

ganization. Melodic contours, harmony and counterpoint, rhythm, tone-color are all effected by the text,

because music composed to words is not written for any other reason except to express the meaning, and the passions and the effects of these [the words] on the harmony: and if the words speak of reserve, in the composition one will proceed reservedly, and not excitedly; [if they speak] of joyousness, one does not make the music sad; and if of sadness, one will not compose happily; and when they are [words] of harshness, one will not make them sweet, and when suave, they will not be accompanied in another way, because they will appear as deformations of their meaning; and when fast [the composition] will not be sluggish and slow; and when [the words speak] of standing still, one will not run; and when they describe going together, it will be done [in such a way] that all the parts join together in a breve, because that will be heard better than a semibreve, or a minim; and when the composer wishes to compose slow movement sadly, the minor consonances will serve for this [purpose], and when happy, the major consonances and fast motion will be very appropriate; and even though the minor consonances are sad, nonetheless the rapid motion will make them appear happy, because the ears do not understand their sadness and weakness by reason of the speed of motion...¹⁴

The composer's desire to exploit the expressive possibilities of the text had produced aberrations even in the formally conceived *Dialogo*. "Be silent, do not grieve" ("Taci, non ti doler"), says love at one point (measures 32-36), and the music illustrates the concept of silence with quiet, slow-moving notes in the low registers of the voices. The admonition not to grieve which follows immediately is conveyed in terms of faster movement and the use of higher and brighter vocal ranges.

¹⁴ «...perche la musica fatta sopra parole, non è fatta per altro se non per esprimere il concetto, & le passioni & gli effetti di quelle con l'armonia; & se le parole parleranno di modestia, nella compositione si procederà modestamente, & non infuriato; & d'alegrezza, non si facci la musica mesta; e se di mestitia, non si componga allegra; et qua[n]do saranno d'asprezza, non si farà dolce; et quando soave, non s'acco[m]pagni in altro modo, p[er]che pareranno difforni dal suo concetto, & quando di velocità, non sarà pigro & lento: & quando di star fermo, non si correrà; e quando dimostreranno di andare insieme, si farà che tutte le parti si congiugneranno con una breve, perche quella piu si sentirà che con una semibreve, o con una minima: e quando il Compositore vorrà comporre mesto il moto tardo, et le consonanze minori serviranno à quello: et quando allegro, le consona[n]ze maggiori et il moto veloce saranno in proposito molto; et anchora che le consonanze minori saran[n]o meste, nondimeno il moto veloce farà parere quelle quasi allegra, perche gl'orecchi non capisseno la sua mestitia e debolezza per cagione della velocità del moto...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 86. This is a much more complete statement of the musical dependence on text than the more frequently cited remarks of Zarlino on this subject. See, for example, Erich Hartzmann, *Adrian Willaert in der weltlichen Vokalmusik seiner Zeit* («Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen» 15; [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1931]), p. 38 for a quotation of Zarlino's observations and an application of them to the works of Willaert.

Even more striking is the treatment of the Guidiccione sonnet, "Fiamma gentil".¹⁵ Any metrical regularity inherent in the poem is obviated musically by the melismatic treatment of the words selected for descriptive display. In addition, the symmetry of its eleven-syllable lines is often destroyed by the repetition of individual phrases in varied rhythmical patterns.

In this sonnet, the poet addresses himself to the gentle flame which moves from the eyes of his beloved to his own, and descends to his heart, filling it with amorous ardor, yet, at the same time, showering eternal sweetness on his burning desire. As soon as the heart feels the power of the flame and the new delights, it flies to the bosom of the beloved and hovers outside, frolicking in the company of love. The lover, solely by virtue of the few living sparks which the flame has left behind, feels another heart of greater piety come into being within him. The final tercet apostrophizes the loyalty of love which calms the desire of the lovers, and the true piety which changes the hearts and makes sweet the torment.

The "gentleness" of the opening phrase (measures 1-3) is possibly suggested by the use of simple and clear-cut harmonies, consisting mainly of those chords which, in modern terminology, are called primary triads, although, since this is the beginning of a composition, such a harmonic relationship would normally be expected. With the following phrase (measures 4-7), however, the word of motion, "muovi" occasions a melismatic expansion of the melodic line. The next section, "Et scendi per li miei veloce al core" (measures 8-12), contains two concepts which affect the musical delineation, albeit in different ways. The descending movement implied by the verb "scendi" is not depicted literally in the music. Rather, each part, except that of the contralto, treats this word with a rising melodic inflection. The expected drop in the line does not occur until the expression "per li miei" is reached—a treatment especially noticeable in the tenor voice with its dramatic downward leap of an octave.

In this way, at least the spirit of the text is followed, although the general practice of Vicentino in the first book shows a preference for exploiting the descriptive possibilities of the individual word. His more normal procedure can be seen in the musical setting of "veloce". Here, with sudden precipitousness, he crowds in a group of semiminims, reiterated in all the parts, which well exemplifies the speed he is trying to illustrate.

In the phrase which follows, "empiendol tutto d'amoroso ardore" (measures 13-17), the burning love with which the flame fills the lover's heart is conveyed musically by a return to the sonority of slower-moving note-values and a gradual filling-out of the harmony.

¹⁵ For the complete text, see *supra*, p. 55

Finally, with the portion of text which ends the first part of the piece, "perch eterna dolcezza ardendo piovi" (measures 18-27), the composer emphasizes the idea of "eternal sweetness" by a turn in the harmony from "major" to "minor" whenever the word "dolcezza" appears.

The second part of the madrigal shows a similar subservience to textual demands. Not only does the composer achieve a vivid representation by the use of florid melismas for pictorial words like "vola" (measures 37-39) and "vive" (measures 57-59), but he also illustrated the text with salient and pronounced rhythmic and harmonic artifices. The "frolicking in the company of love" (measures 44-50), for example, involves a complete change of time signature in all the parts from ϕ to $\phi\frac{2}{2}$ and a new, jaunty dance-like rhythm. Even more pertinent are the daring harmonic progressions used to depict the "true piety that changes the hearts and makes torment sweet" (measures 78-93). The constantly changing tonal-centers in these few measures will show that Vicentino was indeed employing a "rare manner of composition".

If schematized structures could be handled with such liberty, the freedom of the new madrigal poetry offered even more adventurous possibilities. Practically any composition in this first book will display the same kind of imaginative treatment of the poetic material. In fact, no purely technical analysis of Vicentino's manner of composing is really possible without this textual frame of reference. In the musicians own words, "the composer who wishes to begin any sort of composition must necessarily first consider that [subject] on which he has to compose".¹⁶ This "soggetto delle parole" will therefore be invoked in the ensuing discussion of the musical traits of the Vicentine master's style, if at any time it helps to explain his craftsmanship more clearly.

The melodic lines, when not involved in attempts at literal description, often fall into a precise declamatory style, typified by the frequent use of repeated notes and a limited vocal range within a given phrase. At the end of the contralto part of "Amor'io son si lieto" (number X, measures 79-84), this kind of writing on the words "in tanta liberta non servitude" attains almost recitative-like proportions. Yet only a few moments before (measures 72-75), using the same portion of the text, the composer's preference for a pictorial emphasis on "liberta" had given rise to an expansive bass-line full of wide and abrupt skips.

Sometimes it is even possible to combine the exigencies of word-

¹⁶ «Volendo il Compositore dar principio ad ogni sorte di compositione, è necessario che prima consideri sopra di che ha da comporre...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 78 v.

painting with a declamatory treatment. The low placement of the soprano part of "Alma gentil" (number IX, measures 60-62) well conveys the "bassezza" of which the text speaks without interfering with its *parlando*-like setting.

On occasion, the composer will indulge in melodic leaps of a seventh,¹⁷ or ninth,¹⁸ or even of the little-used major sixth,¹⁹ although in most cases these will only occur at the beginning of a new phrase after an intervening rest to soften the impact of such voice leading. That Vicentino was himself aware of the infrequency of these intervals in the contour of the line is shown by the practical exercises which he gives in his treatise for their correct intonation:

...to me it seems that it would be very useful to the singer to notate a rest, or a point of repose in the middle of a bad leap of a tritone, or of a major sixth, or of a seventh, or of a ninth...²⁰

He then suggests that the rest be placed on the staff in such a position that its visual location would suggest a contiguous simple interval which could serve as a point of departure for the intonation of the more difficult leap. For example, in the case of a tritone, it would be best to place the rest either a third or a fifth from the first note, since the singer, with these consonant sounds in his ear, could proceed easily to the concluding note of the dissonant leap. Similarly, the rest located at the octave could suggest a mental pitch reference for the subsequent sounding of the seventh or ninth.²¹

Sometimes the dissonant interval is introduced in a more subtle fashion, by being outlined gradually within the shape of the melodic curve, rather than being written directly. This procedure can be seen in the delineation of a minor seventh in the soprano part of "Alma gentil" (number IX, measure 21) where it gives rise to a rather disjunct and forward-moving melody.

Even more impetuous is the outline of the same interval in the contralto of "O chiara luce" (number XII, measure 42), in which, after an incisive initial leap of a fifth, the discordant seventh is completed by the skip of a minor third that then pushes on to its resolution in the final notes of the phrase.

¹⁷ See number XIII, soprano, measures 29-30.

¹⁸ See number XII, contralto, measures 86-87.

¹⁹ See number III, soprano, measure 46. No rest intervenes between the notes of this interval.

²⁰ «...à me pare che sarà molto utile al Cantante notare una pausa, over un sospiro fra un salto cattivo d'un tritono, ò d'una sesta maggiore, ò di settima, ò d'una nona...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 75 v. The *pausa* implies a rest of longer duration than the *sospiro*. A breve, semibreve or minim rest would probably represent the former, whereas the latter would be indicated by the use of the semiminim rest. The text, however, does not make a clear-cut distinction between the two.

²¹ *Ibid.* For instruction in how to sing «bad» intervals without any inter-

It should be noted that all the intervals, even the consonant ones, involved definite meanings of an expressive nature to the Vicentine musician. In differentiating the major from the minor third, he states:

...it has a different nature than the step of the natural minor third, because the minor step ascending is soft, and that of the major is animated and proud; and when it [the major third] descends, it is very soft and sad, and the step of the minor partakes of animation when it descends, so that they create diverse effects...²²

These attributes of the major third are later outlined in more detail:

The major third is an imperfect consonance, and is by nature lively and happy, and readily ascends by reason of its vivacity; and its ascending step or leap is animated, and descending it is soft, as I have said in [the discussion of] the steps; and this third one can compose in various ways. And note that when one goes to consonances with short steps, these are more suave and sweet...²³

The use of such terms as "consonance", "dissonance", and "resolution" immediately calls to mind the terminology of harmony and counterpoint. It is indeed true that the various factors involved in stylistic analysis cannot be completely separated, and, for that reason, it becomes necessary to discuss at this point two other features of Vicentino's treatment of melody that bear strong harmonic implications: 1) the bass-line, and 2) the cadential formula.

A close examination of any of these madrigals will show at once the independence of each of the voice-lines. All the parts are of equal importance, rather obviously when they are involved in imitative counterpoint, and more subtly when they come together in a polyphonically enlivened homophony. Only the bass adds to its linear function the role of harmonic support, emphatically stated in its frequent employment of leaps of a fourth or a fifth. A striking example of this type of bass can be seen in "Mentre ch'io guardo fiso" (number XV, measures 56-68). The opening notes of this excerpt are starkly harmonic in purpose; only in the closing measures does the purely chordal nature of the line undergo some melodic modification which helps to reassert its fundamental linearity. Although both aspects of writing can be found in these madrigals, Vicentino's

vening rests, see *ibid.*, fol. 77 v.

²² «...hà diversa natura dal grado della Terza minore naturale, perche il grado minore ascendente è molle, & questo della maggiore è incitato & superbo; & quando discende è molto molle & mesto: & il grado della maggiore partecipa de incitatione discendente, si che fanno diversi effetti...» *Ibid.*, fol. 22.

²³ «La Terza maggiore è consonanza imperfetta, et è di natura vivace et allegra, et volentiera ascende per cagione della sua vivacità; et il suo grado overo salto ascendente è incitato; et discendente è molle, come nelli gradi s'hà detto: et essa Terza si può comporre in variati modi. Et avvertirai che quando s'anderà alle consonanze con gradi corti, quelle saranno più soavi, et dolci...» *Ibid.*, fol. 34.

preference seems to lie in a type of treatment that respects the chordal function of the bass without losing sight of its essential melodiousness.

The term "cadence", to modern ears, has a definite harmonic connotation—a concept which does not correspond exactly to the "cadentia" of which the sixteenth-century theorists wrote. In fact, when Vicentino wants to indicate the complete close of a musical passage, he indulges in such circumlocutions as "when one wishes to pause, and to give an ending to the...clause".²⁴ On the other hand, he reserves the word "cadentie" for the *melodic* formulas which complement the rhetorical falling of the voice in speaking. So closely is the cadential pattern connected, in the theorist's mind, with the idea of signifying and paralleling "the end of the conclusion of speaking"²⁵ that he deplures those composers who ignore this principle, and who

in the beginning of their compositions, commence to make cadences, and give the hearer to understand that they want to conclude, and [thus] shut off their composition, before it has begun...²⁶

Each voice-part has its own typical melodic conventions, the so-called "atti delle cadentie" or cadential formulas:

The actions of the cadences, according to the parts, will make diverse steps and leaps, as, in four voices, one will see the soprano proceed with its own formula, and the contralto will make that [one] which agrees with it, and the tenor and bass all keep their own endings, according to the nature of their steps and leaps.²⁷

Despite the individuality of each of these vocal patterns, their coming-together at focal points in the musical texture cannot but help create recognizable designs of an harmonic nature. This fact is substantiated in the statement that:

many times it occurs to composers to put the cadence formulas of one part into another, for variety; and every time that one part uses the method of making a cadence of another part, the latter will take the cadential formula which the first part ought to make...²⁸

²⁴ «...che si vorrà pausare, & dar fine alla... clausula...» *Ibid.*, fol. 85.

²⁵ «...il fine della conclusione del parlare...» *Ibid.*, fol. 51.

²⁶ «...nel principio delle loro compositioni, incominciano far le cadentie, et danno ad intendere all'oditore che vogliono concludere, & sarrare la sua compositione, inanzi che la sia incominciata...» *Ibid.*

²⁷ «Gli atti delle cadentie, secondo le parti, faranno diversi gradi & salti, come à quattro voci si vedrà, il Soprano caminar con il suo proprio atto, & il Contr'Alto farà quello che gli converrà, & il Tenore, & il Basso tutti terranno i suoi termini, secondo la loro natura de gradi & de salti.» *Ibid.*, fol. 54 v.

²⁸ «...alcune volte occorrerà à gli Compositori che porranno gli atti delle Cadentie di una parte in l'altra, per variare: et ogni volta che una parte userà il modo di far la cadentia de un'altra parte, quella piglierà l'atto della cadentia

Again the importance of the bass-part for the organization of the harmony is stressed:

The reader should note that the bass is that which governs, and gives the grace of beautiful progression and the variety of harmony to all the parts, not only with respect to the procedure of going to cadences, but also for going to other passages.²⁹

In essence, then, it is possible to speak of cadences in the harmonic sense even when referring to sixteenth-century compositions, if one fundamental fact is kept in mind. To the *cinquecento* musician, it was the congruence of the separate voices, each with its stereotyped melodic formula, that produced the cadential harmony, whereas in later practice the reverse was often true: the harmony generated the design of the melody.

Of all the types of cadences described by Vicentino, one, in particular, has achieved especial significance because of its predominant usage in the first book of madrigals. Its characteristic feature is indicated in the treatise by the very chapter-heading under which it is described: "Explanation of cadences which do not conclude..."³⁰ and in the illustrations offered by the theorist with the superscription: "Example of cadences... which avoid their conclusion."³¹

Madrigal after madrigal gives evidence of Vicentino's predilection for this form of deceptive ending—a stylistic trait which assumes singular importance because of its relevance to the problem of *musica reservata*.³² The only source that discusses this much disputed term in technical language can be found at Besançon in an anonymous contrapuntal treatise dated 1571, which states: "In continuous rhythm...avoid the cadence so that what they call *musica reservata* is created."³³ Gustave Reese remarks that "the passage, by itself, can hardly be described as crystal clear",³⁴ but perhaps an examination of Vicentino's treatment of this cadential device may help to throw more light on the subject.

In practically every case in which this formula is used, it appears in the middle of a line of text, the sense of which would be interrupted were a full stop to occur. The only example of its use at the end of a composition can be found in "Quando il desir" (number IV,

che doveva far la prima parte che fece la sua...» *Ibid.*, fol. 57.

²⁹ «Il Lettore dè avvertire che il Basso, è quello che regge, & dà la gratia del bel procedere & la varietà dell'Armonia à tutte le parti, si al procedere per andare alle cadentie come anchora per andare ad altri passaggi.» *Ibid.*, fol. 55 v.

³⁰ «Dimostrazione delle cadentie che non concludeno...» *Ibid.*, fol. 53.

³¹ «Essempio delle Cadentie... lequali fuggano la sua conclusione.» *Ibid.*, fol. 53 v.

³² The *reservata*-problem is discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

³³ For a complete translation of the pertinent passages of this treatise, see Chapter IV, p. 192.

³⁴ Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

measures 76-77) where its function may well be pictorial, to underline musically the meaning of the last word of the poem, "ascole" or "hidden". Otherwise, the irregular cadential ending serves to keep the music in motion until the words provide a more logical stopping-place. This onward movement of the line may well be the factor that the Besançon theorist had in mind when he wrote of "continuous" rhythm.

Quite frequently, the harmonic underpinnings of the cadence will consist of a regular V-I progression, in which case the "avoidance" takes place only in the melodic formula itself.³⁵ On the other hand, it often happens that both melody and harmony participate in the "deception". This stratagem, which results most commonly in a V-VI relationship, can be seen in "Da quei begli occhi" (number XI, measures 20-21).

Even more surprising harmonic circumventions can occur. In the same composition (measures 15-16), the drive towards a strong cadence in G is suddenly disturbed by the whole-tone descent of the bass-line and the suspension of the critical lowered-seventh degree into the subsequent harmony. Such a deliberate avoidance of the leading-tone, by its clouding of the harmonic progression, contributes to a sense of motion and melodic continuity until the composer is ready to define a terminal point in his musical design by a more clear-cut expression of tonality. A veritable chain of these "avoided cadences" can be found in the second part of this same madrigal (measures 55-60).

Other instances of experimental harmony involving these formulas can be seen in "Madonna che per voi sempr'ardo" (number XIV, measures 10-13) where the a-minor tonal center is suddenly deflected up a minor third to C major (again a lowered seventh degree is used) and then quickly returns to a definitive a-minor cadence. Similarly, in "Mentre ch'io guardo fiso" (number XV, measures 49-50) a drive towards F-major is precipitated unexpectedly to g-minor.

The "avoided cadences" are not the only means of achieving a deceptive turn to the harmony. Sometimes the concluding melodic formula will resolve in its "normal" manner, but will be supported by a chordal structure that forces the motion to a different point of termination. "Amor io son si lieto" (number X, measures 37-38), for instance, makes use of a V-VI progression that is taught in most modern text-books as the standard for the deceptive cadence. "Da quei begli occhi" (number XI, measure 50), on the other hand, employs the less-common V-IV combination in a similar situation.

The element of surprise which these cadences invoke presupposes, of course, a strong sense of tonality and harmonic organization.

³⁵ See number III, measure 55, and number XII, measure 38.

This does not mean that the madrigal displays any rigid definiteness of mode or key. Einstein goes so far as to claim that "it would be mere pedantry to examine the madrigal from the point of view of the church modes", since "the so-called purity of the modes had become illusory long before 1530", the date he gives for the beginning of this new secular form.³⁶ Even the concept of key assumes an elastic character, because "within the frame of the chosen key, whether major or minor, every harmonic liberty is permitted if it serves the ends of individual expression".³⁷

Of the nineteen madrigals in Vicentino's first book, less than half begin and end in the same tonality.³⁸ Six of the madrigals move from a beginning in the tonic to a final cadence in the dominant.³⁹ Two of the pieces move in the relationship of tonic to supertonic,⁴⁰ one starts in the tonic and ends in the subdominant,⁴¹ and one, beginning in F-major, moves to a close on its mediant, A.⁴² This "commixtio" or interchangeability of the modes, although mentioned as early as 1476 by Tinctoris,⁴³ received its greatest impetus in the first decades of the sixteenth century with the reintroduction by Erasmus and Gafurius of the ancient term: "A Dorio ad Phrygium."⁴⁴ This expression referred primarily to the mixture of the first and third modes which the conservative Glareanus interpreted as: "from natural to less than natural, from good style to absurd, or from the pleasant to the unpleasant".⁴⁵ Nevertheless, even he admits that the examples of this particular technique as used by Josquin showed an artistry that made them acceptable.⁴⁶

Once the principle of combining these two different modes became

³⁶ Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 119. It should be noted, however, that sacred music was more hesitant to relinquish the church modes. The chief example of strict adherence to these modes can be found in the works of Palestrina. Knud Jeppesen, *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1927), p. 26.

³⁷ Einstein, *loc. cit.*

³⁸ Madrigals number II, III, IV, VI, VII, IX, XII and perhaps VIII and X. Number VIII begins with a B-flat chord, but is surrounded by F harmonies so that it is possible to conceive of the first chord as a sub-dominant in F. Number X starts with the single note c which gradually becomes part of an F complex as the harmony unfolds, the same tonality in which the piece ends.

³⁹ Numbers I, V, XI, XVI, XVII, XVIII.

⁴⁰ Numbers XIV, XV.

⁴¹ Number XVI.

⁴² Number XIX.

⁴³ Johannes Tinctoris, «Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum...», Chapter XIII, in E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi...* (Paris: A. Durand, 1864), IV, 24.

⁴⁴ Bernhard Meier, «The Musica Reservata of Adrianus Petit Coclico and its Relationship to Josquin.» *Musica Disciplina*, X (1956), 69.

⁴⁵ «de naturali in minus naturali, de bene composito ad absurdum, aut de placido ad insuavius.» Glareanus, *Dodekachordon*, II, 11, quoted by Meier *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*

an established procedure, it was a short step to the practice of approaching all the modes with similar freedom, and mixing them at will, especially if such aberrations from the norm could be explained in terms of the need for individual expression. Vicentino is quite clear on this point:

...many times the architects unite diverse manners of the ways of building in one structure, as in the celebrated Vitruvius one sees that the Doric manner will be united with the Attic, and the Corinthian with the Ionic, and they are so well tied together and united, that, although the manners be diverse, nonetheless the practical artisan, with his judgment, constructs the building proportioned with varied ornaments. So it happens to the composer of music, that with artistry he can make various commixtures of fourths and fifths of other modes, and with various steps can adorn the composition proportioned according to the effects of the consonances applied to the words. He ought very much to observe the tone or mode, when he will compose ecclesiastical things, since these expect answers from the choir or from the organ, as in the case of Masses, Psalms, Hymns, or other responses which await an answer. There are even some other Latin compositions which seek to maintain the correctness of the mode, and [on the other hand] some vernacular compositions which have a great deal of diversity in treating many and diverse passions, as in the case of sonnets, Madrigals or *Canzoni*, which in the beginning enter with happiness in speaking of their passions, and then in the end, they are full of sadness and death; and the same thing occurs in the contrary case. Now insofar as such pieces are concerned, the composer can go beyond the limits of the mode and enter into another, because he will not have the obligation of making any choir respond to the mode, but will only be obliged to give the spirit to these words, and with the harmony to demonstrate their passions, when they are bitter and when they are sweet, and when happy and when sad, and [always] according to their subject. And from this one gets the reasoning that every bad step, with bad consonance, can be used with words according to their effects. Therefore on such words one can compose every sort of step and harmony, and go outside the mode, and govern oneself by the subject of the vernacular words, according to that which has been said above...⁴⁷

The chief reason for staying within the confines of a given mode seems to be a purely practical one: for performers of church music with its frequent responsorial and antiphonal effects, any problems of intonation would be minimized by the retention of a common modal center of reference. In the through-composed madrigal, however, the changing moods of the text would indeed be reflected in the corresponding shifts of the tonality and the experimental harmonies with which they were associated.

⁴⁷ «...molte volte, gli Architetti accompagnano diverse maniere, de i modi del fabricare in una fabrica come si vede nel celebrato Vitruvio, che il modo Dorico, sarà accompagnato con l'Attico, & il Corintio, con il Ionico & sono talmente bene colligati, & uniti, anchora che le maniere siano diverse, nondimeno, il pratico artefice, con il suo giuditio compone la fabrica con varii ornamenti proportionata, cosi avviene al compositore di Musica, che con l'arte

Many of the "bad" harmonies in the first book can, in fact, be explained on the basis of the words. In the second part of "Fiamma gentil" (number VIII, measures 32-33), the concept of force. "forza", is conveyed by the use of dissonances, first of all by a secondary seventh chord, and secondly, by a complex which contains a suspension and its note of resolution sounded simultaneously. A similar handling of the word "forza" can also be found in "Alma gentil" (number IX, measures 5-6).⁴⁸

Dissonance treatment is not always related to this type of word-painting. Frequently the clash of harmonies seems to result from purely musical considerations and results in a harmonic mannerism that is peculiar to the style of Vicentino. The practice of sounding a suspension in one voice and its note of resolution at the same time in another voice is a case in point. For every time that this combination occurs in connection with text depiction, there are several instances in which no relationship with the words can be discerned. The composer simply seems to favor this kind of dissonance, especially in its most harsh form, that of the suspended fourth against the major third of the chord, and expects the listener to accept it as part of the harmonic idiom.⁴⁹

Other instances of dissonance treatment can be explained by reference to voice-leading and similar musical functions. Several of the harsh combinations of sevenths and ninths occur on weak portions of the beat and are the result of passing-tones and other ornamental combinations. The six-four chord and the diminished triad also arise from contrapuntal movements of the individual parts. On occasion, however, the diminished triad emerges as an independent complex.

puo far varie commistioni, di Quarte, & di quinte d'altri Modi, et con vari gradi adornare la compositione proportionata secondo gli effetti delle consonanze applicati alle parole, & dè molto osservare il tono, ò il modo. Quando comporrà cose Ecclesiastiche, & che quelle aspetteranno le risposte dal Choro, ò dall' Organo, come saranno le Messe, Psalmi, Hymni, ò altri responsi che aspetteranno la risposta. Anchora saranno alcune altre compositioni Latine che ricercheranno mantenere il proposito del tono, & altre Volgari lequali havranno molte diversità di trattare molte & diverse passioni, come saranno sonetti. Madrigali, ò Canzoni, che nel principio, intreranno con allegrezza nel dire le sue passioni, & poi nel fine saranno piene di mestitia, & di morte, & poi il medesimo verrà per il contrario; all'hora sopra tali, il Compositore potrà uscire fuore dell'ordine del Modo, & intrerà in un'altro, perche no[n] avrà obbligo di rispondere al tono, di nissun Choro, ma sarà solame[n]te obligato à dar l'anima, à quelle parole, & con l'Armonia di mostrare le sue passioni, quando aspre, & quando dolci, & quando allegre, & quando meste, & secondo il loro soggetto; & da qui si caverà la ragione, che ogni mal grado, con cattiva consonanza, sopra le parole si potrà usare, secondo i loro effetti, adunque sopra tali parole si potrà comporre ogni sorte de gradi, & di armonia, & andar fuore di Tono & reggersi secondo il soggetto delle parole Volgari, secondo che di sopra s'ha detto...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, foll. 47 v-48.

⁴⁸ See also the suspension and its simultaneous resolution on the word «duol» in number XVI, measure 11.

⁴⁹ See, for example, number XIII, measure 39

A striking example can be seen in "Da quei begli occhi" (number XI, measures 4-6) involving a b-d-f triad in fundamental position with a doubled root, one of which resolves by skip. On the other hand, the e-g-b-flat triad in the fifth measure of the same piece results more obviously from the movement of the contrapuntal lines, especially by virtue of the passing-tone function of its root; but this chord creates other difficulties. The effect both of the cross-relation between the soprano b-flat and the b-naturals in tenors I and II of the previous measure and that of the tritone between the same soprano note and the e-naturals of the alto and tenor II, evokes the sound of the dominant-seventh chord so well-loved by later composers, but not too common as an independent entity in the sixteenth century.

Vicentino is rather restrained in the use of these chords, but he is not averse, on occasion, to employ them without preparation. A dominant-seventh chord is written in combination with a four-three suspension in the final cadence of the first section of the Petrarchan sonnet "Se mai candide rose" (number VI, measures 61-62). More commonly, however, the seventh appears in a passing-tone or auxiliary-tone function, often with the interval of a major rather than a minor seventh, so that a rather startling aural effect is created.⁵⁰ Conversely, the dominant-seventh flavor of a cadence is retained in the frequent employment of the progression vii^o -I, or vii^o -I, sometimes even preceded by the ii₇ for greater tonal clarity.⁵¹

Cross-relations, like the seventh-chords, are employed sparingly in this book of madrigals, since the writing is predominantly diatonic in its conception. When such a relationship does occur, it is usually the result of the composer's desire to interpret the meaning of the text. In "Quando'l desir" (number IV, measure 66), at the words "Ah, amorous enticements, how much grief you have given me" ("Ahi, lusingh'amorose, quante doglie mi date"), the sigh on "Ahi" features this dissonance in its most prominent position, that is, between the b-natural in the bass-part and the b-flat of the soprano.

One other feature of Vicentino's harmonic style must be mentioned: his preference for the doubled major third in triads and in sixth-chords. At times the doubling seems to have descriptive implications. For example, one portion of the madrigal "O chiara luce" (number XII, measures 49-50) addresses itself to the clear light of the beloved's eyes that "illuminates the dark and blind world" ("il tenebros'e cieco mondo allumi"). The text of the two lower voices at this point emphasizes the word of darkness, while the three upper parts simultaneously deal with the concept of illumination. The focal

⁵⁰ See number X, measures 6 and 8.

⁵¹ See number VIII, measures 29-30.

moment in this passage occurs when all five parts sing together on a B-flat harmony, which, by its doubling and spacing, underlines the two contradictory aspects of the text. The bass, dropping a perfect fifth on the word "tenebroso" is reinforced by a low-lying major third, d, in the second tenor part.⁵² At the same time, the first tenor doubles the d at the octave on the word "allumi", thereby not only making the "bright" third of the triad more emphatic, but also separating the somber low voices from the lighter high voices.

Most of the time, however, this doubled interval appears in passages which do not lend themselves to pictorial interpretation and must then have been written merely on the basis of aural preference. It should moreover be kept in mind that the tunings⁵³ which Vicentino employed may well have served to tone down the prominence which this doubling receives in our tempered system:

We have in our archicembalo six kinds of thirds, three minor and three major, and among these are found two [that are] common to us in the natural order, which in practice are called minor third and major third, or semiditone and ditone. These we already have in use... Now follow four others, three [of which] are acceptable to the instrument, since they are better than those we use, because we have a third with one comma more than the minor, and this departs from the minor third, and since the third which we use is very weak, this augmentation by one comma gives it more breadth, because it proceeds toward the major third; and I have called it nearest [third to the minor third]. And there will be another third greater than minor in the instrument, which will contain an enharmonic diesis more than a minor, and this will participate [in the quality] of the major third, and this in fast motion can be used to good effect, because it is more than minor and less than major. Then it follows that in our instrument we have the major third with an additional comma; this will be accepted as very good, since it is not blunted, as is the one we use, and it consists of two sesquioctave proportions, as does the ditone of Boethius; and [finally] the major third with an enharmonic diesis which can occur in speedy [passages] but not to good effect...⁵⁴

⁵² Einstein states that the use of the low register is the «modern» way of symbolizing darkness. Sixteenth-century composers would have been more likely to have used black notation as a kind of eye-representation of the concept. Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 237-238. Vicentino's avoidance of such «conceits» is discussed *infra*, pp. 71-72.

⁵³ The whole question of tuning will be discussed in Chapter III, *passim*, especially, pp. 168-170.

⁵⁴ «Haviamo nel nostro Archicembalo sei sorte di Terza, tre minori, & tre maggiori, & fra queste se ne ritrovano due à noi communi, nell'ordine naturale, che in pratica si chiamano Terza minore, & Terza maggiore, ò semiditono & Dittono, queste già haviamo in uso, & di sopra hò detto quando sono composte & incomposte. Hora segue quattro altre, tre si accetteranno nello Stromento, che saran[n]o migliori di quelle che noi usiamo, perche noi havremo, una Terza piu di minore con uno comma, & questa si partirà dalla terza minore, et perche la terza minore che noi usiamo, è molto debile, questo augume[n]to di uno comma li dà piu gagliardezza, perche quella camina verso la terza maggiore, & l'ho dimandata propinquissima, & un'altra piu di minore, sarà nel stromento, laquale havrà uno Diesis Enarmonico di piu della terza minore,

On the basis of this passage, it can be assumed that the pitch of an interval such as the third would have been adjusted to the point that it was acceptable to the ear of the singer or player. The tempo of the composition also seemed to play a major role in the final choice of the interval to be used. The importance of the archicembalo lay precisely in the fact that it provided a selection of minutely differentiated tones which would enable a performer to accompany even the most subtle variations of pitch. Vicentino himself makes this claim in his discussion of the two natural tones with the proportions 8:9 and 9:10. Although he admits that the slight difference between these tones cannot be heard in singing or playing, nevertheless "in tuning instruments one comes to the recognition of [even] so small a difference".⁵⁵

Most of the harmonic observations which have been made depend upon and are inseparable from the consideration of the overall texture which Vicentino employs in the madrigals of the first book. In general the use of all five voices is fairly consistent, although the homogeneity of sound is regularly relieved by pauses which, in most cases, set off the beginnings of new text segments. The practice of using rests also serves a functional purpose, for the convenience of the singer:

When the composer composes any composition, he should take heed not to give too much trouble to the singer, and many times he ought to accommodate him with the rest (called *pausa* by the Greeks) which one places at the end of passages or conclusions of the Latin and vernacular speech...⁵⁶

Such an interruption in the sonority is always useful, especially in compositions of more than four parts,

because silence is always better than the singer who is not in tune, and it will make for a good sound when the parts enter one after the other in Latin and vernacular compositions for five or more voices.⁵⁷

che questa parteciperà della terza maggiore, & questa con il moto presto si potrà usar per buona, perche è piu di minore, & manco di maggiore, poi seguirà che nel nostro stromento havremo la terza maggiore con uno comma di piu, questa sarà accettata per molto buona, perche non è spontata come è quella che noi usiamo, & è di due sesquioctave proporzioni, come è il Dittono di Boetio, & la terza maggiore con uno Diesis Enarmonico, potrà passar correndo, ma non per buona...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 144 v.

⁵⁵ «...nello accordare li stromenti si perviene alla cognitione de si poca differenza...» *Ibid.*, fol. 143 v.

⁵⁶ «Quando il Compositore comporrà alcuna compositione, avvertirà à non dare troppo molestia al Cantante, & molte fiate dè accommodare quello con il riposo (detto da Greci Pausa); laquale si porrà nel fine de i punti, ò delle conclusioni del parlare latino, ò volgare...» *Ibid.*, fol. 75 v.

⁵⁷ «...perche sempre è meglio il tacere, ch'il cantare che non sia in proposito; & farà buon udire, quando le parti entreranno una doppò l'altra nelle compositioni latine, & nelle volgari à 5. & à piu voci.» *Ibid.*

The words play some part in the determination of the type of texture to be used. On occasion, for an expression like "sola"⁵⁸ or "taci",⁵⁹ the part-writing will thin out to a single voice. Or if the text speaks of "tre belle eccellenzie", the music will underscore the passage with three-part writing.⁶⁰ Imitation, however, plays a relatively small role in these madrigals, probably because so constructional a technique interfered with the composer's preoccupation with word-expression. When imitative passages do occur, they are treated with extreme liberty, often conveying the idea of imitation by means of rhythm rather than the succession of pitches.⁶¹ On the few occasions that pitch-succession remains recognizable, the entries unfold rather quickly and precipitously, as if the composer couldn't wait to get to the full sonority of the five voices. This fact is quite apparent at the beginning⁶² of "Da quei begli occhi" (number XI, measures 1-6). Even more crowded together and, incidentally, less exact, are the successive imitations of the motive with which "Madonna che per voi sempr'ardo" (number XIV, measures 1-4) begins.

As a general observation it would be more proper to speak of the texture of these madrigals in terms of free polyphony or "polyphonically animated homophony" (to use Einstein's phrase)⁶³ alternating with passages of almost pure chordal style. The imitative process, except for its use at the beginning of a composition,⁶⁴ occurs most frequently in connection with word-painting and is limited to extremely short descriptive motives associated with a single idea such as "lieto"⁶⁵ and "muova".⁶⁶ The chordal passages, which provide areas of sonorous contrast to the otherwise animated voice-leading, point up the growing harmonic orientation of the Vicentine composer. Free polyphony, however, remains by far the predominant texture in this first book. Moreover, it should not be overlooked that some of the most striking harmonic clashes are the result of this very freedom of linear movement.

The only exception to these general observations can be found in the final composition of the collection, the "Capitolo de la passione di Christo", which, because of the nature of this subject, seems to make use of more archaic practices. The archaism is, however, in-

⁵⁸ Number VII, measure 49.

⁵⁹ Number XIV, measure 36.

⁶⁰ Number VI, measures 50-56.

⁶¹ See for example, the handling of the word «veloce» described *supra*, p. 57.

⁶² Vicentino remarks that the use of imitation should be one of the points for special consideration when contemplating ways of beginning a composition. *L'antica musica*, fol. 78 v.

⁶³ Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 153.

⁶⁴ See note 78.

⁶⁵ See number VII, measures 25-27.

⁶⁶ See number VI, measures 95-97.

dicated more in a superficial manneristic reference to older methods of composition than in a real technical reversion to the past. Although *capitoli* with their alternating rhymed strophes of *terza rima* were written well into the sixteenth century, musical settings of these verses became less common as the century progressed, mainly because the highly schematic form of the poetry conflicted with the expressive ideals of the composers. Thus a composition supplied with the title *Capitolo* as late as 1546 almost seems to be a kind of musical obeisance to the late *quattrocento* and early *cinquecento* frottolists like Tromboncino and Cara and their contemporaries, among whom the form was prevalent.⁶⁷ Vicentino was probably acquainted with the Petrucci prints of their works, especially since the *frottola* and its related *formes fixes* had been closely associated with the artistic traditions of the Este family at both the Ferrarese and Mantuan courts.⁶⁸

In the treatment of this form, Vicentino proved to be as arbitrary as in his treatment of the sonnet. This *capitolo* is set in three *partes* of varying lengths so that the regularity of the poetic tercets is completely contradicted. The rhythmic unity of the individual lines is obviated, furthermore, by the practice of repeating portions of the text at will. The asymmetrical structure which results enables the composer to indulge in word-painting with the same freedom as in the settings of madrigal poetry.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the piece gives the impression of archaism just from its "look" on the printed page. Unlike the rest of the first book, this final composition is written mainly with breves, semibreves and even an occasional *longa*. These note values, especially the *longa*, are associated in the composer's mind not only with older practice and music of a serious nature,⁷⁰ but also with a slower tempo as well.⁷¹

This kind of "Augenmusik" is found relatively few times in Vicentino's works, and can often be explained as coincidental. In "Fin che m'amast'amai" (number VII, measures 98-100), the text "o grand'errore", especially in the soprano part, is given a very expansive treatment on the word "grande", which looks "big" because of the use of a breve and a dotted semibreve on the printed page. It is likely that Vicentino would have protested this type of conceit,

⁶⁷ See, for example, the fourth and eighth *frottole* books of Petrucci. Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci* («Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana», XVIII; [Florence: Leo. S. Olschki, 1948]), pp. 93-96, 121-123.

⁶⁸ Rubsamen, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially, pp. 25-26.

⁶⁹ See, for instance, the pictorial treatment of words like «basso» (measures 50-55) and «morte» (measures 211-213).

⁷⁰ Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 76 v.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 42 v.

especially since he was very outspoken against a related idea—the use of corresponding hexachord syllables to underline the meaning of the Italian words, *mi, fa, sol, la*:

... many times some composers consider it a fine manner of composing when in their compositions they accompany the vowels of the syllables of the words with the vowels of the syllables of the notes; this method is of little value and nothing will be found in this association except that the words are a little easier for the singer to pronounce; but with the good singer, this kind of association will not be taken into account, so that one sees that it is of little importance...⁷²

There also exists the feeling of earlier practice in the predominantly homophonic texture of this *Capitolo* and in some of the turns which the melody takes, especially the thinly disguised Burgundian-type cadences at measures 32-33 and 219-220. The total effect of this composition, in its pale coloring and attenuated expression, is reminiscent of the religious paintings of the mannerist Pontormo. It is perhaps only fitting that Vicentino, mindful of his priestly office, should conclude his first book on such a spiritual note.

THE FIFTH BOOK OF MADRIGALS

The fifth book of madrigals, which appeared twenty-six years after the first book, was published under the following title:⁷³

Canto, [within an ornamental frame supported by *putti* at either end] / Madrigali a cinque voci. / di l'arcimusico / Don Nicola Vicentino / pratico et theorico et / inventore delle nuove armonie. / Nuovamente posti in luce, da Ottavio Resino / suo discepolo. / Libro quinto. / [printer's mark] / In Milano. / Appresso Paolo Gottardo Pontio. MDLXXII.

The format of this edition is that of a quarto and the collation runs as follows: [A]-C⁴. Beginning with [A]² recto, pagination runs consecutively from three to twenty-three, with a table of contents, or *tavola* on the unnumbered last page. In other words, only those pages which contain music are designated with an arabic numeral; otherwise no numerical indication is given. The only apparent pe-

⁷² «...molte fiate alcuni Compositori hanno per una bella maniera di comporre, qua[n]do nelle compositioni loro accompagnano le vocali delle sillabe delle parole, con le vocali delle sillabe delle note; quest' ordine dà poco guadagno, et non si ritrova in questa compagnia se non che le parole sono un poco piu aggili al Cantante da pronuntiare, ma appresso il buon Cantante non si terrà conto di questa tal compagnia; si che si vede che è di poca importanza...» *Ibid.*, fol. 86. There is, to be sure, a more obvious reflection of *grande* in a breve that sounds a long while than the setting of the phrase «mi fa» to e and f, which might pass unnoticed.

⁷³ This study was based on a microfilm copy of the original part-books in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Catalogue number G. 223.

culiarity of printing lies in the substitution of the tenor for the soprano in the *canto* part-book at pages 18-19 and 22-23, and the relegation of the soprano part to the same pages in the tenor book. The work, as a whole, gives evidence of hasty and careless editing, since it contains innumerable typographical errors and omissions.

The twelve separate pieces which make up this collection are arranged in tabular form for convenience of reference:

TABLE II

NUMBER	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	SIGNATURE
I	Donna s'io miro		3	[A2] recto
II	Non s'incolpi la voglia		4	[A2] verso
III	Poi ch'el mio largo pianto ^a		5	[A3] r
IV a	Onde tolse amor l'oro	Francesco	6	[A3] v
b	Da quali angeli	Petrarca ^b	7	[A4] r
V a	Occhi miei dolci		8	[A4] v
b	Quando per mio destino		9	B r
VI a	Treccie di fila d'oro		10	B v
b	Voi fra tanti altri		11	B2 r
VII a	L'aura che il verde lauro	Francesco Petrarca ^c	12	B2 v
b	Candida rosa ^d		12-13	B2 v and [B3] r
VIII	Non pur quell'una bella ignuda	Francesco Petrarca ^e	14-15	[B3] v and [B4] r
IX a	O messaggi del cor	Lodovico	16	[B4] v
b	Sarà che cessi	Ariosto ^f	17	C r
X	Occhi lucenti e belli	Veronica Gambarà ^g	18-19	C v and C2 r

^a This text has also been set by Vincenzo Galilei. Einstein, *op. cit.*, III, 265-266.

^b Petrarca, *op. cit.*, number 220, p. 258. This text was also set by Willaert in his *Musica Nova* (1559).

^c *Ibid.*, number 246, pp. 279-280.

^d The title of this second part of the sonnet «L'aura che il verde lauro» does not appear in the *tavola*.

^e Petrarca, *op. cit.*, number 200, pp. 236-237.

^f [Lodovico Domenichi], *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori...* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito, 1553), p. 124.

^g Domenichi, *Rime* (1545-1547), I, 289. Veronica Gambarà (1485-1550)

TABLE II (CONT.)

NUMBER	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	SIGNATURE
XI a	Quando fra l'altre	Francesco	20	[C3] r
b	donne Da lei ti vien l'amoroso pensiero	Petrarca ^h	21	[C3] v
XII	La bella, Canzone da sonare ⁱ	[instrumental]	22-23	[C3] v and [C4] r

This book, in contrast to the first, contains a larger proportion of sonnets,⁷⁴ several by Petrarca and one by Lodovico Ariosto. These well known literary names attest to the poetic level of the texts which Vicentino has selected. Even those that are anonymous represent a less involved and less artificial style than the bulk of the poems in Book I. Vicentino has also set the poetry in a decidedly less arbitrary manner than he had used previously. With the exception of the sonnet "Non pur quell'una bella ignuda" (number VIII), which is through-composed, all the other settings of this poetic genre appear in the conventional two *partes*, but with the subdivision made rather logically according to the thoughts expressed in the text. Usually the separation will occur between the octave and the sestet,⁷⁵ although in "L'aura che il verde lauro" (number VII), the music follows the original Petrarchan division after the first quatrain. This bi-partite treatment of the text is also extended to the more freely constructed madrigals, mainly because of the composer's penchant for repeating individual words or phrases for emphasis. This formal organization into two distinct sections compensates for the resultant lengthening of the composition.

The most striking feature of the madrigals in this collection lies in the extremely chromatic nature of the writing. Practically every line of the music bristles with a profusion of accidentals, used freely

was a poetess whose exquisite compositions entitled her to first rank among the ladies of the Italian Renaissance. Rubsamen, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

^h Petrarca, *op. cit.*, number 13, pp. 21-22. This text was also set by Willaert in his *Musica Nova* (1559).

ⁱ A transcription of this piece into modern notation can be found in the preface by Gaetano Cesari to Giacomo Benvenuti (ed.), *Canzoni e sonate o più strumenti di Giovanni Gabrieli contenute nelle «Sacrae Symphoniae» del 1597*, Tomo II of *Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli e la musica strumentale in San Marco* («Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana», II; [Milan: Ricordi, 1932]), pp. [XLVI-XLIX].

⁷⁴ Numbers IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XI.

⁷⁵ See numbers IV, VI, XI.

on every degree of the scale. Even in the first book, Vicentino had been extremely careful to notate accurately, not only with respect to the sharps and flats, but particularly in the use of the natural sign \natural in the modern manner.⁷⁶ In the later book, a similar intention is apparent (if the numerous typographical errors are overlooked) in the meticulousness with which almost every degree-inflection is indicated. In fact, nothing is meant to be left to mere chance, especially since the arch-proponent of chromaticism would most likely have been rather self-conscious of that aspect of his style.

One peculiarity of notation discussed in the treatise reveals significantly the concern of Don Nicola for exactness and precision in transferring his musical concepts to paper. Ordinarily an accidental applies to the entire note-value that it inflects, but in the case of compositions in the chromatic and enharmonic species, a special flexibility is allowed "for the convenience of the words" ("per commodità delle parole"):⁷⁷

Now when the note has the sign of a \natural , or a \flat , or a sharp placed before said note on the same line or space, the whole note will be sung according to that [accidental] sign, which will be a major or minor semitone. And any note which will have any semitone sign in front of that note, a little below and close to it, the first half of it [the note] will be sung according to the semitone of that sign [which is] placed before and a little lower than the note, and the other half will be sung [at its] natural [pitch]. And then in the opposite case, when the note has any sign after itself, close to and a little below [it], the first half will be sung [at the] natural [pitch] and the other half according to the sign placed behind [the note]. And when the composer happens to write the \flat after the note, he will write it turned towards the latter part of the note, so that the singer sees that said \flat sign has to serve for the second half. And it will not occur [to him] to reverse the \natural because it has its body with two legs which appears just [the same] on one side as the other, but it will be written so near to the note that every practical [musician] will know it to be [intended] of that note which is after (?) the \natural and not for that one before (?) the \natural ...⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 412. Kroyer goes so far as to equate the relatively frequent use of accidentals in the first book with the «nuovo modo». Theodore Kroyer, *Die Anfänge der Chromatik im italienischen Madrigal des XVI. Jahrhunderts* («Publikationen der internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Beihefte», IV; [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902]), p. 100.

⁷⁷ Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 16 v.

⁷⁸ «Hora quando la figura avrà lo segno di \natural , ò di \flat , ovvero d'un Diesis cromatico, posto inante la detta figura nella riga medesima, ovvero nel spatio medesimo; tutta quella figura sarà cantata per quel segno che sarà semitono minore, ovvero maggiore; & ciascuna figura che avrà segno alcuno di semitono inante essa figura, un poco di sotto & appresso à quella, la prima metà d'essa sarà cantata per lo semitono di quel segno, anteposto un poco più basso della nota; & l'altra metà sarà cantata naturale, & poi per l'opposito. Quando la figura avrà alcun segno doppò sè, appresso, & un poco più abbasso: la prima metà sarà cantata naturale & l'altra metà per lo segno posto di dietro. Et quando occorrerà al Compositore scrivere il \flat , doppò la nota, scriverà quello

The illustrative example which Vicentino uses⁷⁹ is here given in its original form, with a transcription into modern notation:



The only instance in which consistent application of this method of notation occurs can be found in the four-voiced madrigal "Madonna il poco dolce", the first part of which is given in the treatise as an example of a composition which uses a mixture of all three genera.⁸⁰ Many of the madrigals in the first book show this unusual placement of accidentals before the note, but none after the note so inflected. The problem of whether these displaced symbols should be realized according to the theoretical suggestions of Vicentino or whether they should be considered merely as inexact indications of chromatic change is compounded by the fact that they occur as often on non-affective words as on affective ones. In addition, Vicentino's rather special realization does not always make the best musical sense. In reality it would seem more plausible to assume that sixteenth-century composers and printers were, in general rather imprecise in their location of these signs than to search for hidden "semitone slides" every time a sharp or a flat appears above or below its expected position.

The fifth book contains only two examples of such misplaced signs, the rest of the accidentals being located directly in front of the notes which they are supposed to modify. No "secrets" obviously exist in this chromatic art. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that even without the special notational symbols suggested by the theorist, its aural result—melodic movement by semitones—is manifestly a feature of the style of these madrigals. Many of the passages

voltate verso la parte di dietro da la nota, acciò ch'il cantante vegga che habbi da scrivere per metà doppio, per detto segno di \flat . & non occorrerà riversare il \sharp . perche ha il suo corpo con due gambe, che tanto appare da una parte qua[n]to da l'altra, ma si scriverà tanto appresso ad essa nota, che ciascun pratico conoscerà cio essere per quella nota che sarà dopò (?) il \sharp . & non per quella inante (?) il \sharp ...» *Ibid.*, foll. 16 v. 17. Vicentino's meaning would be clearer if the words «dopo» and «inante» were reversed.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 17. A similar practice also occurs in Vicentino's enharmonic species which, for purposes of notation, is indicated by a dot placed in various positions over the note. The dot directly over the middle of the note affects the entire pitch, whereas the same dot at the extreme left or extreme right of the note means that that part of the note will be sung in the enharmonic gender and the other part in the natural or diatonic. *Ibid.*, foll. 17-17 v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, foll. 68-69. This composition is transcribed and discussed in more detail in Chapter III, pp. 144-145.

containing an ascending or descending series of half-steps, which are notated in the conventional manner, could just as well have been represented by means of the innovations recommended by Vicentino, except for the fact that their rhythmic complexity militated against the adoption of a system which worked only in the case of even divisions of the note-value.⁸¹

Such a chromatic chain of semitones can be found on non-affective words in "Non s'incolpi la voglia" (number II, soprano, measures 18-20). In general, however, a melodic line of this type was employed primarily in conjunction with expressive words of the text. In "Poi ch'el mio largo pianto" (number III, soprano, measures 36-39), this sort of delineation appears on the word "haime" (alas); and in the second part of "Trecchie di fila" (number VI, measures 49-52), all parts, but particularly the soprano, express the concept "soave" (suave) in terms of half-step motion.

"Poi ch'el mio largo pianto" (number III) includes another unusual aspect of notation that harks back to a theory first stated in *L'antica musica*... In the treatise, Vicentino gives an example of a madrigal which he suggests should be performed in the following manner:

...one will begin first to sing the stated composition without any accidental sign, that is, without flats, and without naturals, and without sharps; and without the enharmonic diesis; this will be music that will not have any sweetness of harmony by reason of the diatonic mixture; and then the second time one will sing this [composition] with the signs of the flats and the naturals, and the sharps, [but] without the enharmonic dieses, and the whole chromatic composition will be sweet; and the third time one will sing with all the signs as they are written, and it will then be chromatic and enharmonic mixed, which will be sweet and suave: and so every kind of enharmonic and chromatic composition can be sung with the signs and without [them], which will change [their] nature. And one can even, in compositions written from this time on, make use of [this practice] so that if one were to add to these [compositions] some sharps and enharmonic dieses among the tones and the semitones, one would hear in these a great gain in the harmony...⁸²

⁸¹ The duration of the notes may also have played a part in the practical application of this system. The theoretical examples given by Vicentino that involve chromaticism employ no note-value smaller than the breve. In the case of the more subtle enharmonic gender, his illustrations range from the breve to the minim. This may imply that the closer pitch-relationship of the enharmonic to the diatonic could be sung more rapidly than that of the chromatic to the diatonic.

⁸² «...s'incomincerà prima cantare detta compositione senza alcun segno accidentale cioè, senza \flat . moli, & senza \sharp . incitati, & senza Diesis Cromatici, & senza Diesis Enarmonici: che sarà Musica, che non avrà troppo dolcezza di Armonia, per cagione della mistione Diatonica, & poi la seconda volta si canterà quella con i segni de i \flat . rotondi, & de \sharp . quadri, & con i Diesis Cromatici: senza i Diesis Enarmonici; & sarà tutta la compositione Cromatica dolce, & la terza volta si canterà con tutti i segni come sta scritta, & sarà allhora Cromatica & Enarmonica mista, che sarà dolce & soave: & così ogni sorte di compositione Enarmonica & Cromatica si potrà cantare con i segni

Only three modes of performance are indicated, but in the superscription that is placed over the example which follows the above text, the author remarks that the madrigal can be sung "in five ways, that is, diatonic, and then chromatic, and then chromatic and enharmonic, and then diatonic and chromatic, and then [finally] diatonic and chromatic and enharmonic".⁸³

Some remnant of this idea remains in the third madrigal of Book V, the afore-mentioned "Poi ch'el mio largo pianto". In the opening measures of this composition, at the word "pianto" (weeping), the performer in each of the parts except the bass is given the choice of singing either a minor or a major third on the first syllable "pian-". The notation, which appears as follows: \flat $\underline{\flat}$ or \sharp allows the soprano (measure 3), the tenor (measure 5) and the *quinto* (measure 8) to choose between b-flat and b-natural, whereas the alto (measure 4) has to decide between an f-natural or f-sharp. With the exception of these initial measures, no similar ambiguity manifests itself in the rest of the piece, nor in any of the other madrigals.⁸⁴ On the other hand, based on the observations made in the treatise and on this one practical example, the possibility arises that, in performance, a certain liberty in the treatment of accidentals was permissible and even desirable.

In any event, the chromaticism in the fifth book results in striking and unusual melodic and harmonic combinations, many of exceptional boldness for the time in which they were written. "Forbidden" melodic intervals abound on every page. Especially noticeable are the augmented second in "Non s'incolpi la voglia" (number II, soprano, measure 16), the diminished third in the soprano and the concurrent diminished fifth in the tenor of "Non pur quell'una bella ignuda" (number VIII, measure 20) and the unusual augmented third in the alto of "Laura che il verde lauro" (number VII, measures 8-9), accompanied simultaneously by the leap of an augmented fourth in the *quinto*-part.

The extraordinary intervals in this last-mentioned example highlight the penchant of Vicentino for successive chords the roots of which lie only a semitone apart. The sudden harmonic shift in this composition from an E-flat to an E harmony underlines the presence of these vocally difficult leaps. In the second part of the same sonnet

& senza, che mutera natura: & anchora si potrà giovare alle compositioni fatte da questi tempi, che sè si agiogneranno à quelle de i Diesis Cromatici, & de gli Enarmonici fra i toni, & fra i semitoni; si sentirà gran utile di Armonia in quelle...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 67 v.

⁸³ «...à cinque modi, cioè, Diatonico & poi Cromatico; & poi Cromatico & Enarmonico; & poi Diatonico, & Cromatico; & poi Diatonico, & Cromatico, & Enarmonico.» *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Kroyer, *op. cit.*, p. 104, remarks that to his knowledge notation of this type is unique to this one madrigal of Vicentino.

(measures 68-69), three consecutive triads are employed which involve a semitonal progression from the harmonies B-flat to B to C, but no concomitant melodic problem arises, since the individual lines also move by half-steps.

The kaleidoscopic nature of these chords occasions the frequent appearance of cross-relations, that become almost a commonplace of Vicentino's style. These dissonances occur not only with chords which progress by half-steps, but arise also in connection with another harmonic relationship favored by Don Nicola—that of triads whose roots lie a major third apart. Thus, in the very first madrigal of the book, "Donna s'io miro", a juxtaposition of a D and an F major triad produces a cross-relation between the notes f-sharp and f-natural (measure 3, tenor and bass), and a similar placement of consecutive E-flat and C major chords results in a clash between the e-flat of the former and the e-natural of the latter (measure 14, bass and soprano). Later in the same madrigal, an even more deliberate type of cross-relationship is used, one which exploits the major and minor aspects of a triad by using both forms of the third placed respectively on successive beats of the same harmony (measure 32, alto and tenor).

Sometimes the coloristic use of a cross-relation will produce a rather striking harmony. In "Non s'incolpi la voglia" (number II, measure 23), an augmented triad is the direct result of countering the note c in a C triad with the complex f-a-c sharp. An even more harsh combination occurs in "Treccie di fila d'oro" (number VI, measure 9) where the c-natural of the *quinto* is sustained while the soprano enters on a c-sharp. It can be argued, of course, that these last cross-relations do not exist *causa pulchritudinis*, but represent in both instances an oblique chromatic approach to the tonic, D, with the natural seventh of one part followed immediately by the raised seventh in the other. Nonetheless, a practical musician such as Vicentino must have been aware of the aural impact of his writing, despite any "logical" explanation that existed on technical grounds, so that the clash of tones resulted from preference as much as from the demands of linear writing.

Equally aggressive are the dissonances in the final section of "Poi ch'el mio largo pianto" (number III, measures 40-41) in which auxiliary-tones and passing-tones create the tense harmonic complex demanded by the poignancy of the word "haime". These examples show that Vicentino was well aware of the linear approach to music and made use of it to season his harmonic idiom.

Most important, however, is the strong feeling for tonality that controls the vertical relationship of the individual voices. So marked is the feeling for the progression of dominant to tonic that whole sections of his compositions are constructed along the circle of fifths. This type of harmonic scheme, outlined, for example, by the bass-part of "Occhi miei dolci" (number V, measures 52-57), can be

duplicated on almost every page of these madrigals and results in some rather extraordinary "modulations". Cadences appear on practically every degree and involve such unusual accidentals as a-flat, d-sharp, a-sharp, d-flat, and c-flat. Triads on D-sharp, F-sharp, B, D-flat, and A-flat indicate a significant broadening of the older concepts of modality. Despite Vicentino's attempts to relate even these daring chromatic ventures to the modal tradition,⁸⁵ the hegemony of the ecclesiastical modes appears to have been broken permanently.

The harmonic orientation of these madrigals is further accentuated by the predominance of homophonic writing, often in note-against-note style. There also exist many passages in the "polyphonically animated homophony" that was prominent in the first book. Short sections of imitative polyphony can at times be found at the beginnings of the various *partes*, but are invariably replaced by chordal or semichordal writings after the initial, closely-crowded entrances of the voices. In general the texture is affected by the abandonment of imitation as a constructional principle and the increased emphasis on the vertical relationship of the voices, especially insofar as this was relevant to the composer's concern with the expression of the words.

The pictorialism emphasized in the first book plays a much smaller role in these compositions. Once in a while, Vicentino will resort to earlier methods by representing words like "lieto" (happy) and "mesto" (sad) with faster and slower note-values respectively,⁸⁶ or by underlining the word "salti" (leap) with the skip of an octave in one of the parts.⁸⁷ More often, however, he will try a more subtle mode of delineation. In "Non s'incolpi la voglia" (number II), the poet bemoans the fact that his lyrics are an inadequate expression of his true feelings, but should fortune smile upon him and enable him to match his text to his ideal conception, "I would walk proud of my song". The meaning of these words, "io superbo del mio canto andrei" (measures 25-35), is depicted by the simple expedient of changing from duple to triple proportion for the remainder of the madrigal. Thus the composition, with its altered metric structure for this passage, corresponds musically to the new idea introduced in the poem.

Most of the emotional content of the poetry, however, is expressed by means of the harmony. The continuity of the poetic thought is still enforced musically by such devices as "avoided"⁸⁸ and deceptive cadences, but the mood of the text is reflected in the impact which

⁸⁵ See Chapter III, pp. 135-137.

⁸⁶ Number X, measures 15-20.

⁸⁷ Number IX, alto, measure 30.

⁸⁸ The principle of «fuggir la cadenza» also brings these madrigals within the scope of *musica reservata*. See *supra*, pp. 62-63.

the harmonic sonorities make on the listener. The composer is not so much concerned with portraying individual words (although especially connotative ones are not overlooked) as he is with capturing the essential emotive aura of a particular passage. This he does best by making use of colorful and expressive chord combinations.

A striking example can be found, for instance, in the Petrarchan sonnet, "L'aura, che il verde lauro" (number VII), the opening line of which puns on the name Laura with the similar sounding words "L'aura" (the breeze), "lauro" (laurel) and "l'aureo [crine]" (golden [hair]). The shifting sense of these words is reflected in the chromatic vacillations in the music, at first only between the minor and major forms of the same triad (measures 1-8), then changing suddenly, at the final statement of the phrase "l'aureo crine", from an E-flat to and E chord and continuing on the sharp side of the circle of fifths. The next line speaks of the sweet and sighing movement of the breeze ("soavemente sospirando move"). Although Vicentino indulges in a melismatic treatment of the word "move" in the soprano of measures 15-16, the sense of motion is conveyed much more significantly by the breathless forward thrust of the entire passage (measures 12-19) aided by the use of surprising deceptive resolutions of the harmonies, such as the striking progression of a D major chord to an augmented triad in root-position on E-flat (measures 15-16).

The same passage illustrates the concept "soavemente" by half-step motion in the melodic line—a treatment also shared elsewhere by the word "dolce". Texts containing these two expressions are almost invariably treated chromatically, perhaps because both of these words are associated with descriptions of the non-diatonic genera.⁸⁹

In the second part of this piece, a brilliant, fanfare-like outburst (measures 39-46) on the phrase "Gloria di nostra etate! O vivo Giove" (Glory of our age, o living Jupiter), consisting basically of diatonic dominant-to-tonic harmonies, is followed by an expressive conception of the next portion of text, "Manda, prego, il mio in prima che'l suo fine" (Send, I pray, my demise before hers), in terms of a sinuously chromatic soprano line over a polyphonically enlivened chordal structure (measures 48-51).

One interesting feature of this seventh madrigal relates to its formal organization. It is the only composition in either book that involves a musical recapitulation of previously stated material. Measures 60-64 reproduce in slightly altered form the opening measures of the piece, with its shifting harmonies, but after this brief reference, the music continues freely to the end. It is possible that the composer is even here shaping his music to fit the demands

⁸⁹ For an example of Vicentino's use of these terms, see note 82.

of the text. The sonnet opens with the vision of the "sighing breeze which sweetly moves the green laurel and the golden hairs"—a vision that reminds the poet of the wanderings of disembodied spirits. At the point in the composition in which the recapitulation occurs, the poet, pleading for his death prior to that of his beloved, states that his eyes, without the light that she brings to them, would be as the earth without the sun. In both places concepts of death and vision are invoked, and perhaps the parallel juxtaposition of these ideas at two spots in the poem was impetus enough to suggest to the composer the use of similar musical material.

Whatever the reason in this case, there do exist certain types of texts that evoke technical responses of a predetermined nature. Especially noteworthy is the treatment of the poetry of Lodovico Ariosto. His *Orlando furioso*, in particular, gave rise to tunes of a peculiar local and regional character wherever the well-loved epic was recited. These patterned melodies, called "air of Genoa", "of Florence" or "Ruggiero", indicated the mode of recitation which was practiced in the different locales of Italy in which this poetry was presented. As a result,

wherever we find a stanza of Ariosto set to music we may be sure of finding a particularly popular and capricious music concealing melodic treasure of this sort, generally in the tenor or bass.⁹⁰

This type of setting seems to pertain more to the *ottave rime* of the *Orlando* than to his other poetry. No recognizable "melodic treasure" can be found in the Ariosto sonnet "O messaggi del cor" (number IX), but the popular practice is reflected to some extent in the sectionalization and rhythmic regularity of its bass line, which is emphasized by the predominantly homophonic style of the entire composition.

The second madrigal in this collection, "Non s'incolpi la voglia", also contains a curious passage that may be related to a technical practice associated with text-interpretation. At the words "Ma ria fortuna e advers'ai desir miei" (measures 10-15), with which the poet laments the ill fortune that militates against his desires to sing of his love in proper fashion, Vicentino suddenly introduces a parallel series of chords in first-inversion which even include the archaic cadential-formula with a double leading-tone to the tonic and the dominant. According to Kroyer,⁹¹ the use of *fauxbourdon*-passages in a composition conveyed a threnodic import. Although there is admittedly a light and mocking character to this particular lamentation, the

⁹⁰ Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 206.

⁹¹ Theodor Kroyer, «Die threnodische Bedeutung der Quart in der Mensuralmusik», *Bericht über den musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress in Basel* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1925), p. 233. Charles Warren Fox, «Non-Quartal Harmony in the Renaissance», *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXI (1945), p. 51 is not in complete agreement with Kroyer's theory.

nature of the text does at least allow a consideration of Kroyer's thesis for the explanation of an otherwise unaccountable intrusion of an old-fashioned technique in the midst of complicated and expressive harmonies. These few measures contain the unique example of *fauxbourdon* in the known works of Vicentino.

The final composition in the fifth book is also a *unicum*, since it embodies the composer's only purely instrumental piece. This *canzone da sonar*, which begins with the characteristic rhythmic figure ♩, is conceived in a lively polyphonic style with frequent points-of-imitation. The general tone of the *canzona* is more conservative than the madrigals in this book, although the composer is not averse to breaking through with an occasional dissonant seventh and ninth or even a series of clashing cross-relations.⁹² The most interesting feature of the piece is the fact that it is provided with the sub-title "La bella". Titles for *canzoni*, unless they indicated an instrumental transcription of a previously composed chanson, became a commonplace only at a later date. In Lombardy, for instance, it was customary, during the years 1582-1639, to dedicate whole collections of these instrumental pieces to a prominent family and to inscribe the individual compositions with the names and even the personal attributes of the family.⁹³ Vicentino's "La bella" is, according to Sartori, the earliest instance of the withdrawal of the *canzona da sonar* from its generic anonymity by bestowing an identifying label on each piece.⁹⁴ It is not, however, either a dedicatory composition or a piece based on a preexistent chanson. Rather does it represent an original title bestowed by Vicentino on a work that he wished to characterize in a manner corresponding to its essential spirit.⁹⁵

With the exception of the first and fifth book of madrigals, no other comparable unit of the composer's output is extant. The remaining works will therefore be considered under three headings: 1) complete compositions in manuscripts or prints; 2) incomplete compositions in manuscripts or prints; 3) dubious and lost works.

COMPLETE COMPOSITIONS IN MANUSCRIPTS OR PRINTS

A setting of the Petrarchan sonnet, "Solo e pensoso i più deserti

⁹² See especially, measures 26-30.

⁹³ Claudio Sartori, «Une pratique des musiciens Lombards (1582-1639). L'hommage des chansons instrumentales aux familles d'une ville», *La musique instrumentale de la renaissance* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1955), p. 305.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

campi”⁹⁶ for three voices appears in manuscript among the holdings of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.⁹⁷ This work is written almost exclusively in a note-against-note style. According to Einstein, the conception of three-part writing held by Willaert and his emulators during the sixteenth century involved its use as a vehicle for epigrammatic and even somewhat didactic expression. It was the preferred style for the more familiar Petrarchan sonnets, especially when the composer was not concerned with the problem of exhausting their emotional content.⁹⁸ Thus, as in this case, the music emphasizes a light and simple texture combined with a natural declamation of the text rather than a highly personalized emotionally-charged interpretation of the feelings evoked by the poet.

No precise evidence exists concerning the date of composition of this piece. It involves a basically diatonic type of writing, although oblique cross-relations appear in two places (measures 7 and 28) and on one occasion (measures 29-30) the melodic line moves by successive semitones. On the other hand, the prevalence of chordal formations without the third and the thin texture add an archaic quality to the overall sounds.

A much more expressive setting of a Petrarchan sonnet appears in the Le Roy and Ballard *Mellange...* of 1572.⁹⁹ “Passa la nave mia calma d’oblio”,¹⁰⁰ the only Italian work in the collection, reveals a careful use of chromaticism to convey the emotional impact of the text. This factor is especially noticeable in the second part of this six-voiced madrigal in which the “deluge of tears” (“pioggia di lagrimar”) is represented by a descending series of slow-moving semitones (measures 62-70). A sense of contrapuntal animation is given by the frequent employment of rhythmic motives in close imitation which help make this piece appear more polyphonic than its predominantly dominant-to-tonic harmonic structure would suggest.

Manuscript number 224 of the *Società accademia filarmonica* of Verona contains a concordance with five of the six parts of this work, ascribed to a Prè Nicola.¹⁰¹ According to Turrini’s investigations, this composer has been identified with the priest Nicolao Olivetto who was *maestro di cappella* at Treviso from 1531 to 1538 and later *maes-*

⁹⁶ Petrarca, *op. cit.*, number 35, p. 56.

⁹⁷ Ms. Marciano It. IV, 858 (= 10651).

⁹⁸ Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 333.

⁹⁹ See Chapter I, p. 42, n. 124.

¹⁰⁰ Petrarca, *op. cit.*, number 189, pp. 228-229.

¹⁰¹ Giuseppe Turrini, «Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti musicali antichi della società accademia filarmonica di Verona», in *Atti e memorie della accademia di agricoltura scienze e lettere di Verona*, Series V, Vol. XV (1937), pp. 196-197. The manuscript consists of a collection of madrigals by «autori diversi» in five, six, seven and eight parts. Only the soprano, alto, tenor bass and *quinto* parts are extant.

tro di musica at the cathedral of Verona from 1538 to 1546.¹⁰² The Le Roy and Ballard print offers little help in this matter since it merely indicates that the sonnet was composed by a “Don Nicollo”. In the letter of Le Roy to Lassus referred to *supra*,¹⁰³ however, the identity of Don Nicollo with Vicentino is established. The rather late date of the print and the highly chromatic style of the composition, so similar to the madrigals of Book V, contribute support to the ascription of this piece to the Vicentine composer.

One other complete composition, the six-voiced motet “Heu mihi domine” is of especial importance because it is the only extant version of a sacred work by Vicentino in a chromatic idiom. The manuscript of this motet is added, in an unknown hand, after the final pages of the six part-books of Orlando di Lasso’s *Magnificat octo tonorum...* (Nuremberg: Theodor Gerlatz, 1567) now in the University Library at Wroclaw, Poland.¹⁰⁴ If the date of the Lasso publication can be used as a guide, this is precisely the time when, according to Cardinal Borromeo,¹⁰⁵ Vicentino was experimenting with religious works in a chromatic form. The copyist was well aware of Nicola’s reputation since the *bassus* part of this motet is documented with the legend: “Nicolaus Vicentinus, perfectae Musicae divisionisque inventor.”

The text of this composition corresponds to the two parts of the responsory following the second lesson of the second Nocturn of Matins from the Office for the Dead, but the music does not incorporate any identifiable chant. The overall form agrees with the responsorial structure aBcB that became increasingly prominent in polyphonic music after c. 1520.¹⁰⁶ In keeping with the solemnity of the occasion for which this composition was intended, the scoring emphasizes the use of voices of low pitch and was probably sung by men alone, since the clef-indications call for one mezzo-soprano, two altos, two baritones, and one sub-bass.¹⁰⁷

The writing is predominantly chordal, exploiting the expressive qualities of the rich harmonic sonorities of the lower voices. Cross-relations appear occasionally, especially when successive chords stand

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 197, fn. 1.

¹⁰³ Chapter I, pp. 43-44.

¹⁰⁴ Friedrich Kuhn, «Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der alten Musikalien-Handschriften und Druckwerke-des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Brieg», *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, Supplement to XXIX (1897), 26. Vicentino’s motet is found in MS 42, number 2. Other composers represented in this manuscript include Lassus, Clemens non Papa, Jacobus Vaet and Sweelinck.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter I, pp. 38-40.

¹⁰⁶ Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁷ This clef combination resembles the one used by Josquin in his «De profundis» which, according to Glareanus, indicated that the low register was to be interpreted literally, with no implied transposition. *Ibid.*, p. 249. For the relationship of this scoring to Vicentino’s concept of *mutata voce* see *infra*, pp. 93-95.

in the relationship of a third to one another (measures 18, 66). A strikingly dissonant treatment of this kind is effected by moving the minor third, f, of a d-minor chord to its root in the first alto part while at the same time a suspended fourth in the mezzo-soprano part resolves to the major form of the third, f-sharp (measure 106).

Both melodic and harmonic dissonances occur. The melodic leap upward of a diminished fifth can be found in measure twelve of the first baritone part, and an unresolved minor seventh occurs between the mezzo-soprano and the second baritone parts of measure eighty-three.

The second *pars* of this motet, beginning with the words "Anima mea turbata est" is treated in a more imitative fashion, but returns shortly to the predominant harmonic type of writing. At the repetition of the B section (measures 109-137 of the second *pars* corresponding to measures 51-79 of the first *pars*), the voice-leading brings about an interchange of the two baritone parts. Otherwise the notes in both sections are exactly the same.

INCOMPLETE COMPOSITIONS IN MANUSCRIPTS OR PRINTS

The most important of the works which are now available only in an incomplete form is a collection of motets, the *quintus* part of which has been discovered recently among the holdings of the cathedral library at Piacenza, Italy.¹⁰⁸ This book was published under the following title:

Quintus. [within an ornamental frame supported by winged *putti* at either end] /¹⁰⁹ Archimusici / theorici et practici. / et novae harmoniae inventoris. / Nicolae Vicentini, / Moteta (sic!) cum quinque vocibus. / Liber quartus. / Mediolani. / Apud Paulum Gottardum Pontium, 1571.

The collection was dedicated to Count Lodovico Galerato, a nobleman of the city of Galerato which lay within the Duchy of Milan.¹¹⁰

The format of this edition is that of a quarto with the following collation: A-C⁴. Beginning with the second leaf, pagination is in-

¹⁰⁸ The author is greatly indebted to Dr. Colin Slim of the University of Chicago for his discovery of this part-book in the archives of the *Duomo* at Piacenza in February, 1957.

¹⁰⁹ This ornamental frame is identical with the one on the title-page of Vicentino's fifth book of madrigals.

¹¹⁰ Article, «Galerato», *Grosses vollständiges Universal - Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste...* (Leipzig & Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1732-1750), X, p. 114, col. 2. Count Galerato was undoubtedly a patron of the arts since, in addition to this work, the first book of four-voiced madrigals (1564) by the Milanese organist, Gioseppe Caimo, is also dedicated to him. Emil Vogel, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vokalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500-1700* (Berlin: A. Haack, 1892), I, 131.

dedicated in Roman numerals, running consecutively from three to twenty-three, with a table of contents or *tabula* on the unnumbered last page. The fifteen compositions which form this collection are here arranged in tabular form for convenience of reference:

TABLE III

NUMBER	TITLE	LITURGICAL ASSOCIATION	PAGE	SIGNATURE
I	a Benedictus Deus ^a	In festo unius martyris pontificis—Epistle ^b	3	[A2] recto
	b Quoniam		4	[A2] verso
II	Oliva fructifera	De praesentatione B. M. V. - Hymn at Nones ^c	5	[A3] r
III	Iocunda est praesens vita	Dominica in Quinquagesima-Ingressa ^d	6	[A3] v
IV	a Virtus summa coelestium	De ss. nomine Jesu—Hymn at Compline ^e	7	[A4] r
	b Summi tonantis dextera		8	[A4] v
V	In nomine Jesu	Feria IV Maioris Hebdomadae — Introit ^f	9	B r
VI	a Succensus amor cordibus	De ss. nomine Jesu—Hymn at Compline ^g	10	B v
	b Ad te ergo confugimus		10	B v
VII	a Egredimini et videte	In conceptione virginis Marie—Introit ⁱ	11	B2 r
	b Ostendat faciem ^h		12	B2 v
VIII	a Vidi immaculatam	Infra octavae conceptionis Marie—Chapter and Antiphon in second Vespers ^j	13	[B3] r
	b Nihil est candoris		14	B3 v
IX	Ave regina coelorum	Antiphona beatae Mariae virginis—Compline	15	[B4] r
X	O virgo benedicta	Officium immaculate conceptionis virginis Marie — Lesson iv, second Nocturn of Matins ^k	16	[B4] v
XI	O magne admiratonis gratia	Vigilia nativitatis Domini — from a homily following the third lesson of the first Nocturn of Matins ^l	17	C r

TABLE III (CONT.)

NUMBER	TITLE	LITURGICAL ASSOCIATION	PAGE	SIGNATURE
XII	Ave virginum gemma Catherina ^m	In sanctae Katerinae virginis et martiris Communion ⁿ	-18	C v
XIII	Parce mihi domine	Officium pro defunctis — Lesson i, first Nocturn of Matins	19-20	C2 r- C2 v
XIV	Spiritus meus attenuabitur	Officium pro defunctis — Lesson vii, third Nocturn of Matins	20-21	C2 v- [C3] r
XV	a Peccantem me quotidie	Officium pro defunctis—Responsory and	22	[C3] v
	b Deus in nomine tuo	Versicle following Lesson vii, third Nocturn of Matins	23	[C4] r

^a The *cantus*, *altus*, *quintus* and *bassus* parts of this motet appear in a published collection of motets by various authors (including Willaert and Cipriano de Rore) in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Mus. No. C. 313.

^b Robert Lippe (ed.), *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474* («Henry Bradshaw Society», XVII, XXXIII; [London, 1899-1907]), I, 412-413. This work is a reprint of the first printed edition of the Roman Missal published in Milan in 1474 and is based on a copy now in the Ambrosian library. The text of this motet is also used as the epistle for the feast of Saint James the Apostle. *Ibid.*, I, 356.

^c Guido Maria Dreves (ed.), *Historiae Rhythmicæ. Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters. Erste Folge* («Analecta hymnica medii ævi», V; [Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland), 1899]), p. 66. See also Bruno Stäblein, *Hymnen (I) Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes* («Monumenta monodica medii ævi»; [Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter, 1956-]), I, p. 679, col. 2.

^d *Antiphonale missarum juxta ritum sanctae ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Rome: Desclès, 1935), p. 99.

^e Guido Maria Dreves (ed.), *Hymni inediti. Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters aus handschriftlichen Breviarien, Antiphonalien, und Processionalien* («Analecta hymnica...», IV; [Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland), 1888]), number 7, stanzas 1 and 2, p. 16.

^f Lippe, *op. cit.*, I, 149. The second volume of the Lippe edition, subtitled *A Collation with other editions printed before 1570*, indicates that this text also appears as an *Officium* in a 1508 Missal and an *Introitus* in a 1558 Missal for the *Missa de nomine Jesus Christi*. *Ibid.*, II, 334. This feast appears mainly in Roman Missals printed in Venice during the sixteenth-century. See also *infra*, pp. 90, 92.

^g Dreves, *Hymni inediti...*, number 7, stanzas 6 and 8, p. 16. This is a continuation of the same hymn used in Motet IV a and b. See note e *supra*.

^h This portion of the motet is described as the second *pars* in the *tabula* but not in the body of the work.

ⁱ Lippe, *op. cit.*, II, 165. This text was found in French Missals printed at Paris in 1530 and 1540.

^j *Breviarum Romanu[m]...* ([Venice: Lucantonio de Giunta Florentinis, 1519]), fol. 428 v.

Although the publication date of these motets falls after the Pian liturgical reforms of 1570, most of the texts are actually of pre-Tridentine origin. Their subsequent omission from the liturgy was conditioned mainly by the zeal of the Roman Catholic church during the sixteenth century in countering the inroads of the Protestant Reformation. Texts such as the "Ave virginum gemma Catherina", the Communion from the Mass of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Motet XII) were especially difficult to defend since they were based almost entirely on legendary events. Catherine, of royal Alexandrian blood, in a dispute with the learned pagan doctors of her native city, was supposed to have converted them to Christianity and eventually to have followed them in martyrdom for their faith.¹¹¹ These wholly undocumented events, which formed the substance of the services venerating the Saint, were replaced after 1570 by texts of a more intercessory nature.¹¹²

^k *Ibid.*, fol. 426. The text is the beginning of a homily attributed to St. Hilary.

¹ J. Wickham Legg (ed.), *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary...* («Henry Bradshaw Society», XXXV, XLII; [London, 1908-1912]), I, 365. The text of the motet is excerpted from the middle of the homily.

^m The same text appears in a setting by Bulkin in Petrucci's *Motetti Libro quarto* (1505). Sartori, *Bibliografia...*, p. 99. A concordance to this *quintus* part appears in Valladolid, MS 17, fol. 115 v. This manuscript contains works by French, Spanish, Italian and Netherlandish composers from the second half of the sixteenth century. Higinio Anglés, «El archivo musical de la catedral de Valladolid», *Anuario musical*, III (1948), 85.

ⁿ Lippe, *op. cit.*, I, 402.

¹¹¹ Antoine Perini, Francois Zanotto, Louis de Mas Latrie, *Facsimile des miniatures contenues dans le Bréviaire Grimani conservé à la bibliothèque de S. Marc* (Venice: Ferd. Ongania, 1880), I, 287. See also the miniatures by Memling in the Grimani Breviary dealing with these events in her life. *Ibid.*, Volume III, plates 106 and 107.

¹¹² A similar viewpoint probably conditioned the revision in 1548 of the Breviary of the Humiliati. The majority of the changes were concerned with the reestablishment of the recitation of all one-hundred-and-fifty psalms in regular order—a practice which had been interfered with because of the proliferation of festivals and the resultant necessity for «proper» psalms rather than the regular ones. In order to achieve their desired goals, the reformers omitted many of the feasts, especially those based on legendary events in the lives of Saints—the least defensible parts of the medieval Breviary. J. Wickham Legg, «The Divine Service in the Sixteenth Century Illustrated by the Reform of the Breviary of the Humiliati in 1548», *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, II (1886), 275-276. Many of the Roman Breviaries and Missals were reevaluated and reorganized in the light of Catholic self-examination and possible Protestant criticism, since new and revised versions appeared throughout the *cinquecento*, both with and without ecclesiastical approval. One of the most successful was the reformed Breviary proposed by the Spanish Cardinal Quignon, which seems to have been the source for many of the motet texts. The first edition, though not approved, went through eleven printings. The second recension, first sanctioned in 1536, appeared in over one-hundred editions before it was abolished in 1568 by a bull of Pope Pius V, in preparation for his own reforms. Legg, *...Quignon Breviary...*, I, [v].

Although only six of the motet-texts are still in current usage,¹¹³ it is significant to note that many of the others are associated with feasts which became increasingly important in Roman Catholic theology after the Council of Trent. The origin of the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (Motets IV and VI) goes back only to the early sixteenth century when it was celebrated by priests of the Franciscan Order.¹¹⁴ The "In nomine Jesu" (motet V) also appears as the Introit of this feast in Roman Missals printed in Venice during the *Cinquecento*,¹¹⁵ and is used with this function in the present-day liturgy.¹¹⁶ In the *Missale Romanum Mediolani* of 1474, however, this text is given as the Introit for Wednesday of Holy Week¹¹⁷ and is designated as the station Mass at the church of St. Mary Major ("Statio ad sanctam Mariam maiorem").¹¹⁸

Mariology is, of course, more closely associated with the Roman Obedience than with any other form of Christianity. Specific Marian associations are revealed in Motet II, for the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (November 21), Motet IX, one of the four Marian Antiphons, and especially Motets VII, VIII and X, in connection with the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 8).

The use of a text from the feast of our Lady's Presentation in the Temple seems to indicate that some of the motets in this collection were probably composed a year or more before their actual publication, since this particular festival, because it was based only on a pious belief and not a point of fact, was suppressed in 1570 during the Pontificate of Pius V (1566-1572) and not re-introduced into the Roman calendar until 1585, upon the accession of Sixtus V to the Papal throne.¹¹⁹

Pius V in 1570 also instituted a new Office for the Feast of the

¹¹³ Motet III (in the Ambrosian rite only), V, IX and XIII-XV (from the Office for the Dead).

¹¹⁴ Gaspar Lefebure, *Saint Andrew Daily Missal* (St. Paul, Minnesota: E. M. Lohmann, [1957]), p. [107]. This feast was adopted universally for the whole church by Pope Innocent XIII in 1721 and its present date—the Sunday occurring between January first and sixth, otherwise on January second—was fixed only in the twentieth century. *Loc. cit.*

¹¹⁵ See *supra*, Table III, note f.

¹¹⁶ *The Liber usualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1938), p. 446.

¹¹⁷ In present Roman usage, the introit for this feast uses only the first part of the text (through «et infernorum») with the substitution of «Domini» for «Jesus», but continues with different words of a penitential character. *Ibid.*, 612.

¹¹⁸ The Roman Missals associate many of the Masses of great feasts or privileged ferias with a «station» in some church of Rome. In the middle ages, «making the station» involved the procession of the faithful, singing the Litany or psalms, to the designated church, where the Pope or his legate would meet them to celebrate the Mass. The station procession and Mass has recently been restored at Rome, especially in Lent, but obligatory Papal attendance has been relinquished. Lefebure, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1636.

Immaculate Conception,¹²⁰ but the texts used by Vicentino are derived from earlier sources and give further evidence of the time-lag between the composition and publication dates of his motets. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception was not defined until 1854,¹²¹ but theological controversy about this feast dates back to the Middle Ages, and rose to prominence during the Renaissance. In 1476, Sixtus IV decreed that the feast be adopted for the entire Latin church,¹²² and approved an Office of the Immaculate Conception written by the apostolic protonotary¹²³ Leonard Nogarol which is added at the end of many sixteenth-century editions of the Roman Breviary before the Pian Reform.¹²⁴ It is on this Office that the Vicentino texts are based.¹²⁵

One of the peculiarities of these motets is the occasional setting of chapters, lessons and homilies not usually associated with the musical treatment of the liturgy (Motets VIIa, X, XI, XIII, XIV). Polyphonic versions of these passages normally reserved for the chanting of the priest, do, however, occur, albeit infrequently, throughout the sixteenth century.¹²⁶ It is not at all clear, however, whether they were intended to be sung at the actual service or at some form of semi-private devotional exercise, although some were definitely assigned to special occasions. For example, the heading which precedes the first of the motets from the Office for the Dead (motet XIII) reads: "On the death of the illustrious Blanca Pansana de Carcano of Milan"¹²⁷ ("In obitu Illustris Blancae Pansanae de Carcano Mediolanensis"). Since the word "obitus" may also indicate

¹²⁰ T. Lataste, article «Pius V, Saint, Pope (Michele Ghislieri)», *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII (1911), p. 130, col. 1.

¹²¹ Lefebure, *op. cit.*, p. 1125.

¹²² Frederick C. Holweck, article «Immaculate Conception», *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII (1910), p. 680, col. 1. The decree of Sixtus IV about this feast did not meet with universal approval. The question was, in fact, referred to the Council of Trent in 1546, which considered it at its fifth session «De peccato originali» but reached no decision. Nevertheless, a new and simplified Office for this festival was incorporated in the Pian Reforms of 1570 and served until the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was declared *de fide* in the nineteenth century. *Loc. cit.*

¹²³ He is so described in the *Breviarum Romanum* of 1519 (see *supra* Table III, note f), fol. [425] where his Office is added in an appendix beginning after the colophon on fol. 416.

¹²⁴ Legg, *Quignon Breviary*... II, 266.

¹²⁵ Vicentino's selection of these texts may have been influenced by the fact that Nogarola was a humanist of Vicentine origin. *Dizionario enciclopedico italiano*, VIII (1958), p. 378, col. 3.

¹²⁶ Hermann Zenck comments on the fact that the texts of Willaert's motets contain not only antiphons, responsories, hymns, and sequences, but also epistles, lessons or parts of them. Hermann Zenck (ed.), *Adriani Willaert opera omnia* («Corpus mensurabilis musicae»: [Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950-]), Vol. 1: *Motetta IV vocum, Liber primus 1539 et 1545*, p. ix.

¹²⁷ Blanca Pansana de Carcano was the wife of the Milanese physician and humanist, Archileus Carcano, who was renowned as a patron of music

the ecclesiastical service on the anniversary of a death,¹²⁸ and the date of Blanca Carcano's demise is unknown, the specific purpose for which these motets were intended cannot be ascertained.

From the musical viewpoint, this collection is written in a style that is basically chromatic, although the first motet, which also exists in manuscript in a fairly complete form,¹²⁹ is more reserved in this respect than some of the other compositions.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, the writing in this first piece is free enough to produce an e-flat to e-natural cross-relation between the *quintus* and bass parts of measure 26.

Many of the other motets not only imply a more adventurous harmony,¹³¹ but also indulge in melodic chromaticism of an advanced nature. Semitonal movement on the same scale degree, for instance, occurs with some frequency, especially on affective words. In "Iocunda est praesens vita" (number III) this half-step motion is found on the word "miserere" (measure 50) and in "Spiritus meus attenuabitur" (number XIV) on the similar expression "Miserere mei Deus" (measure 94).

In two passages, the invocation of the name of Jesus is handled in like manner. The second part of "Virtus summa coelestium" (Motet IV) uses the chromatic semitone in connection with the words "O Jesus, powerful name" ("Jesu, Jesu, potenti nomine"). An even more rhetorical approach is found in Motet V "In nomine Jesu", in which the phrase "[and let every tongue confess] that our Lord Jesus Christ [is in the glory of God the Father]" ("[et omnis lingua confiteatur] quia dominus noster Jesus Christus [in gloria est Dei patris]") is outlined by a diminished triad, f sharp-a-c, on the words "quia dominus noster", and the Lord's name invoked by rising a half-step to c-sharp and continuing with notes of much longer value for added emphasis (measures 35-40). This is in keeping with the observation in the treatise that "in motets, according to the devout words, coming somewhat to a stop induces a great deal of devotion".¹³²

Avoided cadences still occur,¹³³ although not so frequently as in the earlier works. Even when the cadence is normal, it may be

and the arts. Filippo Argelati, *Biblioteca scriptorum Mediolanensium...* (Milan: in sedibus palatinis, 1745), pp. 290, 408.

¹²⁸ J. H. Baxter and Charles Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List* (London: Oxford University Press, [1934], p. [282].

¹²⁹ *Supra*, Table III, note a.

¹³⁰ In general, greater freedom seems to be associated with the settings of Office texts than those of the Mass.

¹³¹ See, for instance, Motet III, especially measures 41-51, V, VI, VIII, especially the *secunda pars* and, above, all, the last three motets from the Office for the Dead.

¹³² «...ne Motetti, secondo le parole divote, il star alquanto fermo, induce divotione assai...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 81.

¹³³ For instance, Motet I, *cantus*, measures 98-99 and *altus*, measures 124-125; IX, measure 18; XIII, measure 62.

harmonized deceptively (Motet I, measures 38-39). Harmony, in general, seems to be the germinal factor, since the leaps and turns of the rather awkward melodic lines of this *quintus* part seem to result from a chordal rather than a polyphonic concept. The more complete setting of the first motet will serve to confirm this viewpoint.

Musical pictorialism also plays a significant role in these works. See, for instance, the precipitous scale-wise ascent of an octave on the word "coelo" (Motet VIII, measures 16-17), and the roulade on "gloriosa", in the second part of the same motet (measure 72) involving the use of *fusae*. A rather interesting example of word-painting with striking harmonic implications occurs in "Spiritus meus" (Motet XIV). The part begins on a g-sharp, and after a depiction of the phrase "my days are short" ("dies mei breviabuntur") by the simple device of following two semibreves by a series of short semiminims (measures 6-8), the melodic line descends to a low d-flat to underline the word "sepulchrum" (measures 12-14). Later in the same motet (measures 60-62), the concept of darkness evoked by the expression "in tenebris" calls for a return to the same d-flat.

More often, however, Vicentino attempts to convey the emotive quality of a whole passage or an entire work rather than to concentrate on individual words. One of his techniques embodies a scoring of contemplative, penitential or mournful compositions for a combination of voices which he calls "mutata voce". This inscription appears over three of the motets in this book, Numbers VI, XIV and XV, and is implied in the arrangement of clefs employed in "Heu mihi domine" attached to the Lassus part-books in Wroclaw.¹³⁴ According to the treatise, this expression indicates that only men's voices within a limited range are to be used in the performance of such works:

...when one composes a composition *à voce mutata* that is, without sopranos, watch that the extreme [ranges] do not exceed fifteen tones [two octaves] and at most, sixteen with the semitone, and this will give these pieces seriousness.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ See *supra*, pp. 85-86.

¹³⁵ «...quando si comporrà una compositione à voce Mutata, cioè, senza soprano; s'avvertirà che gli estremi non passino quindici voci, & al più in sedici con il semitono & si darà quella gravità... Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 84 (incorrectly numbered 79) v. Compare this statement with Morley's remarks that «musicians also used to make some compositions for men only to sing, in which case they never pass this compass: [the example which follows is limited to a range of two octaves], «songs which are made... in the low key [are composed] with more gravity and staidness». Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (London: J. M. Dent, [1952]), p. 275.

DUBIOUS AND LOST WORKS

A textless "Alegrai-vos" attributed to D. Vicentius appears in Ms. 48 of the University of Coimbra, folios 38 verso and 39.¹⁴¹ This four-part composition, written in score, is unlike any other known work by Vicentino and is probably of earlier provenance. Its basically chordal harmony with only the most modest of imitative passages calls to mind the *villancico* of the earlier Renaissance. This is confirmed by the use of a fixed form consisting of several strophes (*copla*) united by a common refrain (*estribillo*). The composer of this piece was probably of Spanish or Portuguese origin and may well have been a musician such as the D. Vicentius who was admitted to the Papal choir in 1547.¹⁴²

Vicentino himself has indicated the existence of compositions no trace of which can be found. In a letter to the Duke of Mantua,¹⁴³ "ten madrigals in five parts", "a madrigal in six parts, and a motet in seven parts, and a dialogue in twelve parts" are specifically mentioned. In the treatise, *L'antica musica...*, he also speaks of "some lamentations in five voices",¹⁴⁴ only one of which, "Hierusalem", is quoted in part,¹⁴⁵ and of ten canons and a Mass based on the *cantus firmus* "Da pacem domine".¹⁴⁶

Information about other works of Nicola Vicentino that are no longer in existence has been derived from two sources. The first of these, a manuscript by Vincenzo Galilei entitled "Discorso intorno all'uso dell'enharmonio, et di chi fusse autore del cromatico",¹⁴⁷ mentions a setting of a Petrarchan sonnet in the following terms:

Don Nicola was in the service of the Cardinal of Ferrara, and let his music be heard by many gentlemen of authority. But for this reason one should not assume that he was employed to entertain them merely with the enharmonic, but also the diatonic and chromatic, in which

review of «Adriani Willaert. Opera omnia, IV: Motetta VI vocom, 1542, ed. Hermannus Zenck...», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IX (1956), p. 140, col. 2 and note 33.

¹⁴¹ Santiago Kastner, «Los manuscritos musicales núms. 48 y 242 de la Biblioteca General de la Universidad de Coimbra», *Anuario musical*, V (1950), p. 81.

¹⁴² R[affaele] Casimiri, «I diarii Sistini», *Note d'archivio*, XI (1934), 90-91.

¹⁴³ See Chapter I, pp. 33-34.

¹⁴⁴ «...alcune lamentationi à cinque voci...» Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. 70 v.

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter III, pp. 139-40.

¹⁴⁶ Vicentino, *L'antica musica...*, fol. 89 v. The «Da pacem» chant is used in the present-day Roman service as the Introit at Mass on the eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost. *The Liber usualis*, p. 1056.

¹⁴⁷ This essay forms a portion of a treatise on counterpoint by Galilei now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, Mss. Galileiani, Anteriori a Galileo, III, foll. 3-34 v. Claude V. Palisca, «Vincenzo Galilei's Counterpoint Treatise: A Code for the *Seconda Pratica*», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IX (1956), p. 83.

two genera he wrote many beautiful cantilene, and in particular that which begins "Erano i capei d'oro a L'Aurea sparsi".¹⁴⁸ These cantilene were sung by his youths and children with much grace, and he played them with equal grace...¹⁴⁹

The second source, Gandolfo Sigonio's¹⁵⁰ "...Discorso...intorno a'madrigali, et à libri dell'antica musica ridutta alla moderna prattica da D. Nicola Vicentino", is incorporated at the end of Hercole Bottrigaro's *Il Melone secondo...* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1602).¹⁵¹ Both Sigonio, with his unfriendly comments, and Bottrigaro, in his rebuttal to these critical allegations, reveal the existence of hitherto unknown works by Vicentino which have since disappeared. Chief among these are the madrigals "collected in those two first books in four voices of the Archmusician..." ("...adunati in quei due primi libri à quattro voci dell'Arcimusicano...").¹⁵² Sigonio admits, after having examined and sung some of these madrigals, that they are not altogether displeasing harmonically and that the novelty of little-used pitches even brings delight to the listener, but he feels that within a short time, these works become boring. The principal reason he gives for this is the fact that the madrigals contain little contrapuntal invention and that the parts move along together continuously.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Petrarca, *op. cit.*, number 90, pp. 124-125.

¹⁴⁹ «...stette Don Niccola al servitio del cardinale di Ferrara, et fece udire le sue musiche a molti signori di autorità, ne perciò credea alcuno ch'egli vi fusse introdotto par fargli udire semplicemente l'enharmonio; ma si bene il diatonico et cromatico; ne quali due generi compose molte belle Cantilene; ed in particolar quella che dice Erano i capei d'oro a L'Aurea sparsi le quali sue cantilene erano da quelli suoi giovani et fanciulli cantate con molta gratia, et così parimente sonate da lui...» The quotation and translation are taken from Claude Victor Palisca, «The Beginnings of Baroque Music; Its Roots in Sixteenth Century Theory and Polemics» (unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1953), p. 343.

¹⁵⁰ Kathi Meyer feels that Gandolfo Sigonio is a pseudonym for Bottrigari's friend, the Bolognese Annibale Melone. Hercole Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio...* facsimile ed. Kathi Meyer («Veröffentlichungen der Musik-Bibliothek Paul Hirsch», V; [Berlin: Martin Breslauer, 1924]), p. 23. On the other hand, he has been identified as the brother of the historian, Carlo Sigonio, by Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 355. Edward E. Lowinsky mentions the existence of correspondence between Gandolfo Sigonio of Modena and Annibale Melone of Bologna in his article «Adriani Willaert's Chromatic 'Duo' Re-Examined», *Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, Volume XVIII, No. 1 ([1956]), 6. In a letter to the author dated Berkeley, California, April 13, 1959, Dr. Lowinsky states: «I believe that Gandolfo Sigonio is a real person. My only evidence thus far is the fact that the Parisian Codex named in my study contains a number of letters from Sigonio to Melone with dates and many realistic details that would not well fit in with a fictitious personality. I plan to bring out an edition of the correspondence in both this and the Vatican manuscripts and I hope to find, perhaps during another visit to Italy, more evidence as to the personality of Sigonio.»

¹⁵¹ *Il Melone secondo...* consists chiefly of Bottrigaro's observations on Sigonio's criticism of Vicentino.

¹⁵² Bottrigaro, *Il Melone secondo...*, p. 2.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

"This arch-musician", continues Sigonio, after a blistering attack on Vicentino for adopting so vain a title, "does not observe at all the rules of counterpoint, since one finds in his compositions that he leaves from the fifth and leaps to the twelfth, and then returns to the fifth by contrary and separate motion".¹⁵⁴ He then cites the following passage from the madrigal "Stiamo amore à vedere",¹⁵⁵ which Bottrigaro states is from the first book in four voices,¹⁵⁶ in which fifths by contrary motion occur several times in succession between the contralto and the bass:¹⁵⁷



Sigonio also complains that Vicentino indulges in other forbidden progressions, such as moving from a unison to an octave, from an octave to a fifteenth, and vice versa by contrary motion— all of which do not agree with correct harmonic proportions.¹⁵⁸ Later he identifies this "proportionalità armonica" with the *senario* of Zarlino.¹⁵⁹ Bottrigaro refutes these criticisms by quoting similar passages from Cipriano de Rore, Costanzo Porta, and the frottolist, Onofrio Padovano, and finally caps his argument with a citation from the *Enchiridion* of Nicolaus Wollick which allows the use of these progressions.¹⁶⁰

The other faults which Sigonio finds are summarily dismissed by Bottrigaro as printer's errors. They occur in the madrigals "Ecco ch'n voi" Book I à 4, fol. 6, "L'asprezza e crudeltà" Book II à 4, fol. 11, and the Petrarchan sonnet¹⁶¹ "I'vidi in terra" Book II à 4, fol. 16.¹⁶² The inexplicable augmented and diminished intervals in these works that were cited by the critic would easily have been

¹⁵⁴ «...questo Arcimusico non osserva punto la Regola del Contrapunto; Percioche si trova nelle sue Compositioni, ch'ei si parte dalla Quinta, & salta alla Duodecima: E poi torna alla Quinta per movimenti contrarii, se separati.» *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁵⁵ Petrarca, *op. cit.*, number 192, pp. 230-231.

¹⁵⁶ Bottrigaro, *Il Melone secondo...*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7. The second edition of 1512, now among the holdings of the conservatory «G. B. Martini» in Bologna, is the only version of Wollick's text in an Italian library, and might well have been the copy Bottrigaro consulted. Klaus Wolfgang Niemüller, *Nicolaus Wollick (1480-1541) und sein Musiktraktat* («Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte», 13; [Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag, 1956]), p. 321.

¹⁶¹ Petrarca, *op. cit.*, number 156, pp. 203-204.

¹⁶² Bottrigaro, *Il Melone secondo...*, p. 7.

recognized as mechanical mistakes in printing had he taken the trouble to compare all the parts and not been "so passionate in his indignation" ("...tanto riscaldato nello sdegno...").¹⁶³ After all, since Vicentino was a student of Adrian Willaert, he could not have been ignorant of the rules of counterpoint, "which had been taught by that fine preceptor with every loving care to all his disciples" ("...che da quel buon Precettore erano con ogni amorevole diligenza insegnata à tutt'i suoi Discepoli...").¹⁶⁴

Sigonio's final disapprobation of Vicentino accused the chromaticist of using progressions that were

irrational and disproportionate without any consideration of their nature; these are so extravagant and unsuitable for accurate intonation that...they are against every reason and rule observed by good and excellent musicians...¹⁶⁵

This passage, which indicates that composers as well as artists could be charged with "mannerist" excesses,¹⁶⁶ can best be countered by Bottrigaro's tolerant observation that "many authoritative and practical musicians have not wished to submit to the rules of 'contrapuntalizing' given by their predecessors".¹⁶⁷ The key to the "rules" which influenced Vicentino's musical productivity lies presumably in his theoretical writing, principally the treatise, *L'antica musica*. A detailed examination of this work may serve to reveal the "many musical secrets" which the title-page promises and that inspired the Vicentine in his novel and experimental art.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁵ «...irrazionali, e sproportionati senza considerar punto la sua Natura; li quali sono tanto stravaganti, e discomodi da intonare giustamente, che... sono contra ogni ragione, & Regola osservata dalli buoni, & Eccellenti Musici...» *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁶⁶ For the relationship of Vicentino's music to «mannerism» see Chapter IV.

¹⁶⁷ «Molti autorevoli Musici pratici non haver voluto soggiacere alle Regole del Contrapuntizare date da' loro Antecessori.» Bottrigaro, *Il Melone secondo...*, p. 9.

CHAPTER III

THE THEORY

Vicentino's treatise,¹ first published in 1555,² appeared with the following title:

L'antica musica / ridotta alla moderna / prattica, con la dichia- / ratione, et con gli essempli / de i tre generi, con le / loro spetie. / Et con l'invention di uno / nuovo stromento, nelquale / si contiene tutta la / perfetta musica, con / molti segreti / musicali. / Nuovamente mess'in luce, / dal Reverendo M. Don Nicola Vicentino. / [Printer's mark] / In Roma appresso / Antonio Barrè, / MDLV.

The reverse of the title-page is adorned with a portrait in a circular frame identified as Nicola Vicentino at the age of forty-four ("Nicolas Vicentinus Anno Aetatis suae XXXXIIII"). The outer rim of the portrait bears the legend, "Incerta, et occulta scientiae tuae manifestasti [!] mihi" ("Thou hast revealed to me the puzzling and secret [aspects] of your knowledge"), a statement which is clarified in part by the inscription around the inner circle, "Archicymbali divisionis chromatici ac enarmonici generis practicae inventor" ("Inventor

¹ This study is based on the copy found in the Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts, catalogue number °M 388.73.

² A second issue of this work appeared in 1557 which agrees with the first in almost every detail except for the date on the title-page. It is quite possible that the remainder of the old text was bound up with a corrected title-page and a resetting only of those sheets which had been distributed. A comparison of the 1555 edition at Boston with a microfilm copy of the 1557 version from the Euing Musical Library of Anderson's College, Glasgow, now at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, reveals the following information in support of the above allegation:

- a) Folios 56, 72, 83, 84, 105, 129 are incorrectly numbered 54, 69, 80, 79, 106, 127 in both copies. On the other hand, only the 1555 version misnumbers folio 116 as 119, whereas erroneous indications for folios 19 and 94, as 20 and 88 respectively, are found only in the 1557 copy.
- b) The collation of both editions seems to be identical, although the folio giving the register is unfortunately lacking in the Glasgow copy.
- c) The legend under the portrait on the reverse side of the title-page gives Vicentino's age as forty-four in both the 1555 and 1557 copies.
- d) Improperly printed clef signs and signatures appear in identical places in both copies. See the malformed soprano clef on folios 23 and 37 verso, and the blurred form of the flat on folio 47 verso. Compare also the unclear and broken form of the letter F on folio 7 verso of both copies. All of these symbols reappear on other folios in their

of the *archicembalo* with the practical division of the chromatic and enharmonic genera").

The format of the work is that of a folio with the following collocation: A-Z⁶, AA⁶, BB⁸. The Colophon on [2B8] merely enlarges on the information given in the imprint:

Stampato in Roma appresso / Antonio Barrè, a instantia / di Don Nicola
Vicentino. / MDLV. / Alli xxii. di maggio.

The treatise as a whole is divided into two main parts, one consisting of a single book "della theorica musicale", and the other of five books "della prattica musicale". This two-fold division into theory and practice harks back to Greco-Roman antiquity, was implied in the medieval distinction between *musica speculativa* and *musica activa* and was particularly favored by Renaissance theorists.³ The theoretical aspect of music treats the subject as a mathematical science, a part of the more advanced liberal arts consisting of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music.⁴ It concerned itself chiefly with speculative investigations into the nature and properties of the tonal system. The practical side of music, on the other hand, concentrated on putting these precepts of the art into actual use. Thus, as a preparation for performance, such topics as notation, the modal system and solmization were studied in detail.

In addition to these theoretical and practical considerations, the sixteenth century began to feature a third concept, *musica poetica*,⁵ which dealt with the rules and procedures of composition. Although

correct printing.

- e) Lettering and numbering from one side of a folio shows through on the other side. See, for instance, folios 32 verso, 33 verso, 34 verso, 43, 45, 72 verso, 77 verso, 84 verso, and especially [A1] verso, the folio with the portrait, which is marked with a large portion of the title-page. Most interesting is the fact that this folio in the 1557 edition reflects the date of the original imprint, MDLV, and not that of the later copy.

Camilo Artom, «Nuove considerazioni sulla solmizzazione guidoniana», *Rivista musicale italiana*, XIX (1912), p. 851, n. 1, mentions an edition of *L'antica musica* dated 1607. No evidence can be found of the existence of such an edition. Is it possible that Artom had on hand a copy of the 1557 work and that he misread the date MDLVII as MDCVII?

³ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: W. W. Norton, [1940]), pp. 118-119. For a brief discussion of the definitions and classifications of music by medieval and Renaissance theorists, see Renate Federhofer-Königs, *Johannes Oridryus und sein Musiktraktat (Düsseldorf, 1557)* [«Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte», 24; (Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag)], pp. 170-180.

⁴ These subjects form the disciplines of the *Quadrivium*, a term that Boethius himself is reputed to have introduced into the Latin world. Leo Schrade, «Music in the Philosophy of Boethius», *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXIII (1947), 189.

⁵ The idea of *musica poetica* also goes back to antiquity and the Middle Ages. See the quotation from Anonymous 2 Mettenleiter, *Regulae de musica* (1295) in Federhofer-Königs, *op. cit.*, p. 172. See also *infra*, pp. 147-163. The earliest use of this term as a schematic division of a treatise, occurs in Listenius,

this term appears most frequently in treatises of Northern origin,⁶ there are many passages in Vicentino which could fall under the same heading. For this reason, the discussion of the treatise will center on three main ideas: the theoretical basis of music, its practical application to performance, and the nature of musical composition.

MUSICA THEORICA

The bulk of Vicentino's theoretical observations are contained in the very short "Libro della theorica musicale" with which his treatise begins. Since his aim was to be as concise as possible, clarifications of difficult theoretical points were often postponed until they could be combined with practical examples. Thus, after mentioning the Pythagorean ratios of the tones and semitones in tetrachords, he first recommended the reading of Boethius for more detail, and then promised that

because we have spoken of these things succinctly, [a discussion] of this [matter] not being very useful here, [all] of this will become clear in our *prattica* where, in its chapters, I shall explain to you rather extensively the differences between the tones and semitones of antiquity, by giving clear examples.⁷

This practical approach dominates almost all of the first book. "All these things first explained theoretically", he writes, "I shall show reduced to practice",⁸ and this *reductio ad practicam* involves the omission of many of the finer details of older theory. He refuses, for example, to give the Greek names for the tetrachords:

I have not used the Greek names in order not to obfuscate with their obscurity the intellect of the listener, and whoever wishes to know them, let him read Boethius; and to me it seems rather strange to compose a work in the common tongue, and [then] to speak sometimes with Greek or other foreign words...⁹

Rudimenta musica (1533). Frank Kirby, «Hermann Finck's *Practica Musica: A Comparative Study in 16th-Century Musical Theory*» (unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1957), p. 84.

⁶ See, for example, Hermann Finck, *Practica musica...* (Wittenberg, 1556); Heinrich Faber, *Ad musicam practicam introductio...* (Nuremberg, 1550), and Joachim Burmeister, *Musica poetica...* (Rostock, 1606).

⁷ «...perche noi ne haviamo parlato succintamente non ci essendo intorno à questo molto utile, del che vi chiarirete nella nostra prattica, ove si dirà anchora la differenza de i toni, & semitoni Antichi diffusamente nelli suoi Capitoli dandone chiari essempli.» Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica...* (Rome: Antonio Barrè, 1555), fol. 4.

⁸ «Lequali tutte dichiarate prima Theoricamente, vi mostrerò come alla prattica si riduchino...» *Ibid.*, fol. 3 v.

⁹ «Non hò posto li nomi Greci, acciò con la oscurità di essi non offuschi l'intelletto dell'oditore, e chi vorrà saperli, legga Boetio; & mi pare anchora strano comporre un'opera in Lingua Volgare, & parlare alcune volte con Vocaboli Greci, ò altri strani...» *Ibid.*, fol. 4.

In the last chapter of "nostro Libro sopra la Musica di Boetio", as he later refers to it,¹⁰ Vicentino lists some of the items that he has omitted from his survey of Boethius, including the discussion of *musica mundana*, *musica humana* and *musica instrumentis constituta*, of the species of the proportions, and of the nature of sound, interval and consonance "because they are shown better by experience than by reason".¹¹ This empirical approach to theory causes him to avoid, in addition, Boethius's speculative recounting of the divisions of the monochord, probably because Vicentino felt that his own *archicembalo* provided a more suitable method for deriving the tones of the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic genera. Other topics covered by Boethius, such as the difference between a musician and a singer, are left out, ostensibly because the subject has been discussed in detail by many writers, but undoubtedly because to a practical musician like Vicentino, the small repute in which the medieval theorist held the performers of music militated against a newer outlook heavily weighted on the side of *musica practica*.

In general, it can be said that only those elements of Boethius which supported Vicentino's theories, or, at least, did not oppose them, were included in his brief *excursus* into *musica theorica*. His excuse for the omissions, which he was careful enough to list, was stated simply: "We have refrained from speaking of all these things because they are not at all useful to us today in our practice..."¹² Which aspects, then, of Boethius's teaching did he feel important enough to mention?

Of the many philosophical disputes which Boethius recounts, Vicentino retains only a few general observations, and even these are weighted in favor of his own concepts. "Greatly varied, candid reader, have been the opinions of the philosophers about the origin and purpose of music",¹³ he writes, and as a result these views have left more doubt than science or knowledge. He then remarks that Aristoxenus, drawing only on the senses, negates reason, whereas the Pythagoreans rely only on reason and not the senses. Ptolemy, on the other hand, more sanely embraced both sense and reason. By means of his book, however, Vicentino asserts that

you will understand many things, wherein reason is not friend to sense, nor sense capable of reason, and how much sense and reason can be composed together, I will give you minute information so that you can

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 71.

¹¹ «...perche con la prova molto piu che con le ragioni si manifesteranno...» *Ibid.*, fol. 6 v.

¹² «Haviamo lasciato à dire tutte queste cose per non ci essere hoggi utile alcune all nostra prattica...» *Ibid.*

¹³ «Molto Varie, Candido Lettore, sono state l'opinioni de Filosofi intorno all'origine e fine della Musica...» *Ibid.*, fol. 3.

judge how much the past has been deprived of many and sweet musical harmonies.¹⁴

Although Vicentino here seems to favor the Ptolemaic view-point as opposed to the predominantly Pythagorean outlook of Boethius,¹⁵ he implies that his own musical theories go far beyond any of the achievements of the past.¹⁶ As a matter of fact, despite the moderate tone of his philosophy at this point in the treatise, Vicentino comes closer to the Aristoxenian doctrine than to either of the other two positions. Time after time he states that the ear and the musician's instinct play a more important role than reason in deciding the value of a musical effect. Since there is so much diversity of auditory perception,

to wish to satisfy everyone's judgment concerning his sense of hearing, it is necessary for the composer to create as great a variety of musical compositions as there are judgments of listeners, and one sees that some praise a composition which is discordant, and find fault with another [that is] harmonious; and contrary to these extremes, some wish to pay attention to ordinary compositions, and others want concord and discord together, and to some concord without any discord will be pleasing; and others resent harmony, some want harmony with slow motion, others [with] fast [motion] and some others neither slow nor fast, and by this variety of nature, one recognizes the difference between the learned and the ignorant, the practical and the non-practical; for it is necessary, when you wish to pass judgment on a composition, that the judgment of those most concerned with the profession of such a composition be given...¹⁷

Again, in the discussion of cadences used in the enharmonic gender, Vicentino observes that

the nature of the enharmonic gender breaks the order of the diatonic and chromatic genera, and allows one to make steps and leaps beyond all reason, and because of this, such a division is called an irrational proportion. Thus the student ought to learn to compose for singing such disproportionate steps and skips as these in order that he be a perfect musician and a perfect singer; and so that in his compositions he may learn to bring into agreement and to accompany with harmony every

¹⁴ «...intenderete molte cose, ove la ragione non è amica al senso, ne il senso è capace della ragione: e per quanto il senso e la ragione si potranno insieme comporre, ve ne darò minutamente notitia, per ilche giudicarete quanto li tempi passati sieno stati privi di molti e dolci concetti Musicali.» *Ibid.*

¹⁵ That Vicentino realized that he was not presenting the views of Boethius can be seen in the fact that he lists his mentor's exposition of the disputes of Plato, Nicomachus, Aristoxenus and Ptolemy among the items which have been omitted in his survey. *Ibid.*, fol. 6 v.

¹⁶ Vicentino was not deterred from his experiments by the statement of Ptolemy that the enharmonic was no longer practical nor in use.

¹⁷ «...à voler sodisfare à tutti li giuditii nel senso dell' odire è necessario che il compositore facci tante diversità di compositioni nella Musica: quanti sono li giuditii de gli ascoltanti, & si vede ch'alcuni lodaranno una compositione che discorde: & biasmeranno un'altra armoniosa, e per il contrario di questi

kind of disproportionate and irrational pitch, and also to sing them with his voice. By this he will show to the world that he is a rare artist and that he does with art that which reason has not been able to do...¹⁸

At its most extreme,

where it [the Aristoxenian view] is not tempered by historical perspective, it seems to make a fetish of irresponsible, subjective judgment, substituting arbitrary taste for natural law. Then sundry capricious and intuitive schemes for the conjunction of tones are proclaimed proper frameworks for art by the sovereign wills of their inventors. After all, who may question what the creative inner ear postulates?¹⁹

Vicentino's conception of the chromatic and enharmonic could well fall into the category of "capricious and intuitive schemes". With respect to Don Nicola's arduous efforts on behalf of his enharmonic, Galilei later offered the following very human explanation:

I doubt if the enharmonic music pleased even Don Nicola himself. I think what happened to him was that which occurs to many other people: and this is that inadvertently, because of their simplicity, they abuse what deserves praise and praise what merits to be abused, and afterward, ashamed to contradict themselves, they remain obstinate; others because of their ambitions boast of being capable of things beyond their powers, and badly as they succeed in their ventures, always wish to sustain them as well done.²⁰

estremi, alcuni voranno attendere a le compositioni mediocri, et altri vorranno l'accordo et discordanza insieme, ad alcuni piacerà, l'accordo senza discordanza alcuna; et altri hanno in odio l'armonia, alcuni vogliono l'armonia con il moto tardo, altri veloce, et per questa varietà di natura si cognosce le differe[n]ze delli dotti, dall'indotti, delli praticchi dalli no[n] praticchi; ma sarà di necessità quando vorrai far giudicare una compositione, che diano il giuditio, di quella li più affaticati della professione di tal co[m]positione...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 7.

¹⁸ «...la natura dell'Enarmonico genere rompe l'ordine del genere Diatonico, & del Cromatico, & comporta che si facci i gradi & i salti fuore d'ogni ragione, & per tal cagione tal divisione si domanda proportione inrationale. Si ch'il Discepolo dè imparare à comporre di cantare questi tali gradi & salti sproportionati, acciò sia perfetto Musico, et perfetto Cantore; & che nelle compositioni sappia accordare et accompagnare con l'armonia ogni sorte di voci sproportionate, & inrationali, & anchora con la voce cantarle, che dimostrerà al mondo esser raro, & far con l'arte quello che non hà potuto far la ragione.» *Ibid.*, fol. 66 v.

¹⁹ Norman Cazden, «Pythagoras and Aristoxenus Reconciled», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XI (1958), 100.

²⁰ «...et dubito anco ch'ella non piacesse al medesimo Don Niccola: ma avvenne credo io a lui, quello che a molti altri occorrer suole; et questo è che inavertentemente usan loro quello che merita lodo per loro semplicità biasimare et lodare quello merita di esser biasimato et reputandosi dopo a vergogna il contradirsi ne stanno ostinati, altri come ambiziosi si vantano alle volte di cose sopra le forze loro, le quali per male ch'elle rieschino, le vogliono per ben fatte sostenere.» The quotation and translation are given in Claude Victor Palisca, «The Beginnings of Baroque Music; Its Roots in Sixteenth Century Theory and Polemics» (unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 1953), p. 343.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that Vicentino at least paid lip-service to reason, decrying "those who are governed solely by nature (as are the wild animals, without reason)".²¹ Perhaps he was motivated subconsciously by the feelings of the Aristoxenians "that behind the extravagant concepts of natural consonance lies a compelling conviction that the Pythagorean measurements are indeed relevant to the problem..."²² Be as it may, the rest of the first book of theory concerns itself with an examination of the mathematical principles underlying the science of music derived chiefly from the Boethian account of the writings of Pythagoras and other ancient authors.

The oft repeated legend of the Pythagorean invention of musical proportions by means of experiments with weighted hammers²³ is discussed in Chapter II, followed by a brief account of the *systema télion*, or perfect system of Greek theory.²⁴ This includes a description of the five tetrachords, conjunct and disjunct, which were involved in the construction of both the Greater and the Lesser Perfect System.²⁵ Since these systems were described in terms of tetrachords belonging to the diatonic genus, Vicentino next explained the composition of that gender, and then the chromatic and enharmonic, as they were determined by Pythagoras on his monochord. The usual diagrammatic representations of these genera (Diatonic: T T S [tone, tone, semitone]; Chromatic: Minor 3rd S S; Enharmonic: Major 3rd Q Q [quarter-tone]) do not reveal the subtle differences that

²¹ «...colui, che solamente dalla natura è retto (come sono gl'animali bruti, senza ragione)...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 7.

²² Cazden, *loc. cit.*

²³ For a description of Pythagoras's experiments with hammers according to Nicomachus, see John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (new ed; London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1875), Vol. I, p. 9, col. 1 & 2.

²⁴ Vicentino describes the system in an ascending order starting from the *proslambanomenos* or «acquistata», as he calls it, instead of the descending order favored by modern scholars. Cf. Curt Sachs, *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World East and West* (New York: W. W. Norton, [1943]), pp. 220-221. See, however, Isobel Henderson, «Ancient Greek Music», *Ancient and Oriental Music* («New Oxford History of Music», I [London: Oxford University Press, 1957]), p. 353, n. 1: «Tonos-scales were read downwards at first: later upwards.»

²⁵ Since he refused to use the Greek terminology, Vicentino described the various tetrachords in the following terms:

Hyperbolaion	Eccellente	Extra Tetrachord
Diezeugmenon	Tetracordo delle	Tetrachord of the Disjunction
Synemmenon	corde divise	[Tetrachord of the Conjunction]
Meson	Tetracordo delle	Tetrachord of the Middle
Hypaton	corde congiunte	Highest Tetrachord
	Principale delle	
	corde di mezzo	
	Principale delli	
	principali	

exist between the various degrees depending on the tuning used, and for this reason, Vicentino supplements his diagrams by indicating in the accompanying text the Pythagorean ratios for all the intervals. He also distinguishes between "composite" and "incomposite" intervals, that is, those which are filled in stepwise ("composto") and those that are written without the intermediate tones ("incomposto").²⁶

The various ways in which the order of tones within a composite interval can be arranged are called "species". In the case of the fourth, three mutations or "spetie" occur: S T T,²⁷ T S T, T T S. Similarly, it is possible to derive four species of fifths: T T T S, T T S T, T S T T, S T T T. Since the octave contains both the fourth and the fifth, it encompasses seven species in all.²⁸ By combining these species in different ways, the whole apparatus of the ecclesiastical modal structure arises.

Vicentino is here reiterating the common error concerning the origin of the medieval modal system, confusing the modes with the Greek *tonoi*. Otto Gombosi has quite clearly presented the thesis that the Greeks knew no modes in the ecclesiastical sense, especially since

one quality inherent to the mode is utterly alien to the Greek octave species: while the latter is composed of a fourth plus a fifth, or of a fifth plus a fourth, it has no main tone, nor final tone, nor any differentiation of its tones as to their importance or specific role. There is not a single word to be found in the whole literature of antiquity that would in any sense specify any such quality in any aspect of the octave species. Since, however, there is no mode without a final tone, and no key without a keynote, the Greek *eide diapason* (octave species) is neither a modal concept nor a tonal one. It is merely an octave segment put together by a fourth and a fifth—a certain fourth and a certain fifth—in accordance with the intervallic structure of the Greek keys.²⁹

To confuse the issue further, Vicentino has combined the wrong octave segments to produce his modes, but since he names them in

Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 4. The Greek and English designations are from Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, p. 22.

²⁶ A «composite» fourth could be written, for instance, as c-d-e-f. The «incomposite» form of the same interval would be c-f. The minor third («triemitono»), considered as a *unit* of one and one-half steps, and the major third («dittono»), considered as a unit of two steps, were held to be «incomposto». Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 5, begins to call intervals «composti» from the fourth on. This differs from the classical conception in a minor detail.

²⁷ Vicentino gives this arrangement first because he is reading the Greek system in an ascending rather than a descending order. See *Ibid.*, fol. 3 v.: «...il primo Tetracordo cominciarà per semitono, tono, & tono, & il secondo medesimamente... perche ognuno delli Tetracordi dè cominciare per semitono, & finire in tono...»

²⁸ It should be noted that all the examples given by Vicentino are expressed in terms of the diatonic genus.

²⁹ Otto Gombosi, «Key, Mode, Species», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IV (1951), p. 21, col. 2.

the customary sequence—Dorian, Hypodorian, Phrygian, etc.—his intentions are easily discernible.

The final observation that Don Nicola makes with respect to the tetrachords concerns the classification of their pitches into three types: 1) stable, or immobile, 2) mobile, 3) not completely stable nor completely mobile. Chief among the stable pitches are the beginning and ending of each tetrachord, since these notes remain constant in all three genera regardless of how the internal space is filled. The movable pitches are mainly those modified or inflected by accidentals, especially those involved in defining the different genders. The semitone is then given as an example of a pitch which is neither completely stable nor completely mobile. Although it is the same in both the diatonic and chromatic tetrachords and hence stable with respect to these two genera, it is nevertheless capable of division in the enharmonic genus, and thus, from that point of reference, mobile.³⁰

His theoretical discussion continues with a brief discourse on the method of calculating the harmonic mean³¹ between two numbers. Vicentino derives all the consonances from the ratio of the octave and its harmonic mean. In order to clarify his calculations, he uses the ratio 6:12 for the octave (equals 1:2) and then explains the derivation of the mean in the following way: first he subtracts the lesser number from the greater, that is $12 - 6 = 6$. This remainder is then

³⁰ In the practical application of this concept, Vicentino extends the number of pitches to include some not employed by Boethius. He makes special mention of the «major» semitone used in his day in contrast to the «minor» semitone known to «i Filosofi». Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 71 v. Cf. note 33, *infra*.

³¹ There are three kinds of proportion in common use: arithmetical, geometric and harmonic, a mixture of the first two. An arithmetical proportion occurs whenever numbers in sequence are constructed by the addition of a constant quantity. For instance, 1 in the series 1, 2, 3 or 2 in the series 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 are the constant quantities. A geometric progression occurs whenever the ratio of any term in a series to its predecessor is a constant, as in the series 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, etc. A harmonic series consists of an arrangement of numbers, the reciprocals of which are in arithmetical progression. In a sequence of the three numbers 3, 4, 6, the ratio of the largest to the smallest, 6:3, is the same as the ratio of the difference between the two largest numbers, 6 - 4, to the difference between the two smallest numbers, 4 - 3, or 2:1. Once these progressions have been established, a mean, that is, an average quantity with a value intermediate between other quantities, can be deduced. An arithmetical mean is obtained by adding a series of numbers together and dividing by the sum of the number of quantities, e. g. $1, 2, 3 = 6 \div 3 = 2$. A geometric mean is derived by multiplying the quantities involved and taking the root of the product with a factor equal to the number of integers used e. g. $1, 2, 4 = \sqrt{8} = 2$. The harmonic mean is obtained by taking the reciprocals of the average of the reciprocals of the numbers. In algebraic terms, the harmonic mean between a and b is the reciprocal of $(1/a + 1/b) / 2$ or, in simpler terms, $2ab / (a + b)$. The harmonic mean between 6:12, for example, would equal $2 \times (6 \times 12)$ or 144 divided by $(6 + 12)$ or 18. The end result would give the mean, 8. Glenn James and Robert C. James, *Mathematics Dictionary* (Van Nuys, California: The Digest Press, 1942), pp. 17-18, 113, 190.

multiplied by the smaller number, $6 \times 6 = 36$. The product is divided by the sum of the two original numbers, $6 + 12 = 18$, and the result, $36 \div 18 = 2$, is added to the lesser number to make 8 the harmonic mean. From the series 6:8:12, he derives the proportions of the fifth (8:12=2:3), the fourth (6:8=3:4), and the octave (6:12=1:2).³²

The smaller intervals are based on the proportion of the Pythagorean whole tone, 8:9, used in its doubled form 16:18 to allow for the insertion of 17 as a mean. From the arithmetical series 16:17:18, he derives the minor semitone 17:18 and the major semitone 16:17. The diesis is exactly half of the minor semitone, and the comma is the difference between the two semitones.³³

MUSICA PRACTICA

One of the most striking features of Vicentino's treatise as a whole is found in the frequent references to the practices and procedures of the past as a justification for his forward-looking ideas. As he states it, "many have laughed at the efforts of their predecessors, which they ought not to do, because nothing can arrive at its perfection without a beginning".³⁴ If, as has been suggested,³⁵ historical perspective can temper the most rabid Aristoxenian viewpoint, the author of this treatise has been saved from such unbridled

³² Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 6. The calculations for the harmonic mean differ in procedure from that outlined *supra*, but the result is the same. It may well be that Vicentino included the consideration of the harmonic mean in his treatise because the subject had been a point of dispute between Gafori and Spataro. The former favored the Pythagorean mediation, 3, 4, 6. The latter expressed his idea of the harmonic mean in the numbers 3, 5, 6. See the translated quotation from the *Apologia Franchini Gafurii Musici adversus Joannem Spatarium...* in Hawkins, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 289, col. 1. Vicentino obviously knew Gafori's works, especially the *Practica musicae*. See Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 87.

³³ These practically equivalent proportions for the semitones are very irregular. They are mentioned in the sixteenth chapter of the first book on music by Boethius to indicate that the tone cannot be divided into two equal parts, as the Aristoxenians implied. Gottfried Friedlein, ed., *...Boetii... De institutione musica...* (Leipzig: B. G. Zeubner, 1867), pp. 201-203. In the Pythagorean system, the favored semitone was the *semitonium minus* or the *limma* with the ratio 243:256. This was far more commonly used than the *semitonium maius* or *apotome* with the ratio 2048:2187, which resulted from the difference between the major (64:81) and the minor (27:32) third. Wilhelm Dupont, *Geschichte der musikalischen Temperatur* (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1935), p. 4. The practical use of the ratios 16:17 and 17:18 is implied in the division described by Sylvestro Ganassi in his *Regola Rubertina* (1542-1543). J. Murray Barbour, *Tuning and Temperament* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College, 1953), pp. 141-143. The other ratios are all based on Boethian calculations. Cf. Friedlein, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-249.

³⁴ «...molti hanno riso delle fatiche de gli antecessori, ilche non si dovrebbe, perche nissuna cosa senza principio può venire alla perfettione sua...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 3.

³⁵ Cf. pp. 104-107 *supra*.

excesses by his respect for those who came before him and whose music he "reduced to modern practice".

Historical awareness of the past became a veritable sign of Renaissance thinking which tended to crystallize in the sixteenth century into a rationally organized historiography. This was especially true of the concepts which motivated Vasari in the publication of his *Lives* in 1550 and may also have worked to influence the categorical observations of Vicentino. Both men still felt the vivid reality of the High Renaissance and were unaware that its greatest achievements had already passed, although Vasari feared that a decline was inevitable.³⁶ Vasari's contribution lay in the fact that he

created for the first time a conception of Renaissance art as an organic whole, developing by clearly marked stages, each of which was admirable in relation to its own place in the steady progression toward the perfect style of his own day.³⁷

A similar evolutionary progression towards perfection animates the Vicentine philosophy, revealed in the historical comments with which he introduces the various elements of his "prattica musicale". The very beginning of the first book of the "prattica", for instance, tells of the "improvements" which Guido d'Arezzo brought to musical practice, especially with his invention of the solmization syllables. The complex Greek and Latin letter-notation³⁸ was replaced "by an easy method... so that the student could profit well [from it] within a short time".³⁹ This method of hexachord solmization, combined with the first seven letters of the alphabet, evolved into the Guidonian hand which served for centuries as a mnemonic device for notation: Gamma ut, A re, B mi, etc.⁴⁰ Guido is also credited with the invention of the staff, the flat and natural signs, and the various clefs.⁴¹ In a

³⁶ Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., [1948], p. 63.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁸ Vicentino's knowledge of Greek and Latin notation was derived from Boethius. Vicentino, *op. cit.*, foll. 7-7 v. For the Greek letters, see Friedlein, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-314. Throughout the third book of Boethius (*Ibid.*, pp. 267-300), a system of Latin letters from A to P is used to represent the degrees of a *bisdiapason* (double octave). It is not at all clear whether these letters were intended as a system of notation or merely as a means of diagrammatic exposition. Vicentino asserts that according to reports made by Venetian merchants, letter notation was still being used c. 1550 in certain parts of Hungary. Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 8 v.

³⁹ «...un modo facile... acciò il discepolo in breve tempo potesse fare buono profitto...» *Ibid.*, fol. 7 v.

⁴⁰ The so-called Guidonian hand does not exist in any of Guido's extant works, but is found in other old documents purportedly based on them. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, p. 151. Banchieri, citing this particular passage from the Vicentino treatise, claimed that the invention of the Guidonian hand served not only the needs of singers but of organists as well. Adriano Banchieri, *Organo suonarino...*, the first edition of this work appeared in 1605.

⁴¹ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, foll. 7 v. 9.

rather charming aside, Vicentino tells us that all these inventions aroused the ire of other musicians, a fact, nonetheless, that did not prevent him from writing a Gradual according to his new ideas and singing the chants which it contained with the syllables that he had derived from the Hymn to St. John, "Utqueant laxis..." The fame of his innovations reached the ears of Pope John XX⁴² who sent two envoys to convey him to Rome where he was nobly received. He finally returned to the Abbey of Pomposa for further musical study.⁴³ Don Nicola does not hesitate at this point to inform his readers that Pomposa is now in the charge of his patron, Cardinal Ippolito II—a rather broad hint that the Vicentine musician's association through the Cardinal with this venerable spot could result in innovations as significant but as greatly misunderstood as those of his illustrious predecessor.⁴⁴

He continues with the information that Guido used the dot (*punto*) instead of the semibreve, and even with the rise of counterpoint, *punti* continued to be used. Witness, for instance, the very derivation of the term counterpoint from the practice of writing one *punto* against the other. Vicentino adds that it was not until the advent of the great French scholar, Jean de Muris, that different note-values and mensuration signs were discovered.⁴⁵ This observation is followed

⁴² Actually, Pope John XIX who reigned from 1024 to 1032.

⁴³ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 8 v.

⁴⁴ Francesco Patricius [Patrizi], *Della poetica... La deca istoriale...* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1586), sig. ^o3 v., makes a similar point in the preface of this work dedicated to Lucrezia d'Este: «Ferrara... si può dire d'essere... rigeneratrice della Musica, poi ch'ella nella Badia di Pomposa, opera de' vostri maggiori da Guido Monaco, fu regenerata, e poi cresciuta, e raffinata da Lud.co Fogliani Modanese, in teorica insegnata, ed esercitata, da' Guisquini, da gli Adriani, e da' Cipriani... e finalmente, e la Cromatica, e la Enarmonica per D. Nicola Vicentino, ne' servigi di vostra casa, prima qui si se sentire.»

⁴⁵ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 9. Early references to de Muris often cited the *Speculum musicae* wrongly attributed to him and now known to have been written by Jacques de Liège. Roger Bragard, ed., *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum Musicae* («Corpus scriptorum de musica», 3; [Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955]), p. vii. Bragard himself is not sure as to whether Vicentino used the *Speculum musicae* or authentic texts of Jean de Muris. Roger Bragard, «Le Speculum Musicae du Compilateur Jacques de Liège», *Musica Disciplina*, VII (1953), 84. *L'antica musica* offers little help since the author is haphazard in his chronology. He states that an interval of three-hundred-twenty-nine years elapsed between the inventions of Guido and de Muris (fol. 10). Since, according to Vicentino, Guido's achievements occurred in 1024 (fol. 9), this placed de Muris's activities c. 1353, two years after his alleged demise. On the other hand, Don Nicola claims an interval of two-hundred-fifty years between the time of de Muris and his own day (fol. 10), which would place the accomplishments of the former c. 1300, a remarkable feat for a man born c. 1290. Vicentino does, however, state definitely that the theorist to whom he referred worked at Paris. One of de Muris's authentic works, *Musica speculativa* bears the inscription: «abbreviata Parisiis in Sorbona, A. D. 1323». Perhaps this is the treatise to which Vicentino refers. Certainly he would have preferred the progressive view-point of de Muris to that of the arch-conservative Jacques de Liège.

by a very fanciful account of the derivation of all note values from the natural and flat signs.

Jean de Muris, according to Don Nicola, must have derived his *figure* in the following manner: the breve was formed by dropping both appendages ("gambe") of the natural sign, the *longa*, by dropping only one. The *maxima* was similar to the *longa* but with a more extended body. The semibreve was created from the body of the flat without its stem. It was called semibreve because only half as many extensions from the body of the accidental had been omitted than in the case of the breve.⁴⁶ The minim was similarly based on the flat, but added the stem in the middle to differentiate it from the flat proper. From this symbol were derived the semiminim, the chroma and the semichroma, by blackening the bodies and adding various strokes to the stems.⁴⁷

At this point in his brief historical survey, Vicentino again asserts his own position as a successor to these imaginative and creative forerunners whom he has been extolling:

Although in these times there can be found some professors of music who disparage the efforts which are made in order to learn, and even do not praise those struggles which were undertaken by so many celebrated philosophers in their desire to understand the ultimate divisions of music, nonetheless, such as these [the professors of music] will not deter me from learning and investigating new things, because knowledge is proper to man, and for this reason, I shall incessantly continue to reduce to practice said genera and species... And if I am unable to make a great gain in that practice, at least I shall give such an impetus to fine minds that they will then reduce it to a better state from time to time. How much one sees the comparison of music used in our time to that which was already used a hundred, fifty, twenty-five, and ten years ago, and for the present age, how great a gain one sees and hears in the compositions already created from time to time. And similarly with this my effort for the future of ten, twenty, fifty and one-hundred years and more, which will be able to see and hear my compositions and those of others written at this time, how intricate they will seem to our posterity, and the reason will be that it is easy to add to things discovered but the invention and beginning of all things are very difficult.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ This is not logical reasoning since the *longa* in relationship to the *breve* also dropped half the number of appendages, and furthermore, was derived from the same basic accidental.

⁴⁷ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, foll. 9-10. Cf. the statement in the *Ars novae musicae* of Jean de Muris that the quadrilateral is the figure most suitable for writing music, and in such a quadrilateral, all musical notes have their origin. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton, [1950]), p. 175. Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (London: J. M. Dent, [1952]), pp. 115-116, gives a different account of the formation of the notes and more accurately attributes their invention to Franco of Cologne and Philippe de Vitry.

⁴⁸ «Benche à questi tempi si ritrovano alcuni professori della Musica, che biasmano le fatiche che si fanno per imparare, & anchora non lodano quelli stenti, che sono stati presi da tanti celebrati Filosofi circa il voler intendere

The practices of the more recent past are not recounted by Vicentino until the beginning chapters of the fourth book. There he surveys briefly the different types of clef signs "which have been used and which are used to this day",⁴⁹ and the variety of mensuration symbols together with the rules for *modus*, *tempus* and *prolatio*. Many of these, he feels, are unnecessary to know because they are rarely used by contemporary composers, but he includes a discussion of them for the benefit of those who have little practical acquaintance with their original purpose. He is especially opposed to the complications of the proportional signs used in canons (and thus, by implication, to the whole labyrinth of Netherlandish polyphony) since

in this day one applies himself to the facilitation of difficult things, and one does not compose, as was the custom, so that easy things were made difficult by the composers beyond all purpose and without any gain of harmony.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, in another display of erudition, he admires the geometric figures of the line, the semicircle and the circle which musicians had chosen for the formation of these signs, since in this way music became germane to arithmetic and thus to philosophy.⁵¹

Vicentino apologizes for speaking of things which have already been discussed by others, especially since he had promised not to do so,⁵² but he excuses himself on the grounds that his procedure differs from that of other writers in not mentioning any fact "without adding to it something new to present to the reader".⁵³ This policy is followed throughout most of the "prattica" since the historical information which it gives is either amended by reference to later

le divisioni ultime della Musica, non dimeno questi tali non mi rimoveranno dall' imparare & investigare cose nove, perche è proprio dell' huomo il sapere, & per tal cagione non cesso continuamente di ridurre alla prattica li detti generi & spetie ...Et se non potrò far gran profitto in detta prattica, almeno darò tal principio à belli ingegni, che la riduranno poi à migliore stato, di tempo in tempo, come si vede il paragone della Musica da nostri tempi usata, à quella, che già cento anni si usava, & già cinquanta, & venti cinque, & già dieci; & per il tempo presente quanto guadagno si vede, & ode per le compositioni già fatte di tempo in tempo. Et così con questa mia fatica per l'avenire, di dieci anni & venti cinque & di cinquanta & cento anni, & di più chi potrà vedere & udire le compositioni mie & d'altri à questi tempi fatte, quanto pareranno malagevoli à co[m]paratione di quelle di nostre posterì; & la cagione sarà, perche sarà, facile aggiugnere alle cose ritrovate. Ma sono molto difficili l'inventioni & principii di tutte le cose.» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 10.

⁴⁹ «...che s'hanno usate, & che si usano per hora...» *Ibid.*, fol. 74.

⁵⁰ «...per hora si attende à facilitar le cose difficile, e non si comporrà come si soleva, che le cose facili erano difficultate da i Compositori fuore d'ogni proposito, & senza guadagno d'armonia...» *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 74 v. Vicentino also refers to the *De institutione arithmetica* of Boethius, in his discussion of the species of proportions. *Ibid.*, fol. 87.

⁵² In the preface to the first book of theory, *ibid.*, fol. 3.

⁵³ «...che non aggiunga à quella qualche cosa di nuovo da ripresentare al Lettore...» *Ibid.*, fol. 73.

practice or treated as part of an evolutionary development that culminates in new forms and structures. Don Nicola is very critical of those singers and musicians who shun novelty and refer only to past composers for justification of their narrow viewpoints. Little do these "impoverished and denuded" minds realize that even their admired practice would have come to a complete and final end had they not been able to add to it or take something away from it.

But because some have added one thing and others many [things], it has seemed right to me to commemorate said inventions, as much for the pleasure of those who read [in] the history of our predecessors that they have always amplified and clarified their science and practice as indeed to show to the present and the future that I have increased and enriched the intelligence of the practice and science of music more than usual...⁵⁴

Vicentino's practice can be clearly demonstrated by his conception of the "seven hands", derived from the Guidonian model but extended to include the chromatic and enharmonic as well as the diatonic. The diatonic "hand" corresponds to that of Guido with one important modification: the initial hexachord of the Guidonian system contains no *b* but within the same range in polyphonic music, this accidental will often occur. For that reason, it is suggested that the denominational and specific names for these notes be amended from A re, B mi, C faut, etc. to A lamire, B fa b mi, C solfaut, etc. in order to accommodate the larger gamut of later practice.⁵⁵

Although both the original and modified forms of the diatonic are related in concept, Vicentino apparently considers them as separate entities,⁵⁶ since the ensuing folios of the treatise are concerned with only five more "hands". In order to explain these rather complicated structures, he first describes the accidentals which he employs and their meaning in relation to the subdivisions of the different genera. The actual significance of an accidental will depend on whether it is used in an ascending or descending progression. A flat, for example, will signify a major semitone when it ascends and a minor semitone when it descends. The sharp, called *diesis cromatico* by Vicentino, will conversely create the minor semitone when used in an ascending order and the major semitone, when descending. A new symbol, a dot over a note, signifies one-half of the value of

⁵⁴ «Ma perche alcuni hanno aggiunto una cosa, & altri molte, m'è parso commemorare dette inventioni, si per dilettere à colui, che leggerà le historie de nostri precedenti, che hanno sempre ampliato, & dilucidato le scienze & prattiche di esse, come anchora per dimostrare alli presenti & alli posterì, che s'io aggiungo, et faccio ricca la intelligenza della prattica, & scienza della Musica più dell' usato...» *Ibid.*, fol. 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Guido divided the gamut into three groups: *graves, acutae, super-acutae*. Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 150, n. 6. Vicentino makes a similar distinction among *gravissimo, grave and acuto*. Vicentino, *op. cit.*, foll. 99 v., 108 v.

⁵⁶ That is, Guido's diatonic as the first hand and his own as the second.

the minor semitone and is used to designate the subdivisions of the enharmonic gender. This last accidental, called *diesis enarmonico*, is further classified into two categories, minor and major, depending on whether it is involved in the subdivision of the minor or the major semitone. The minor semitone divides into two minor enharmonic dieses. The major semitone, on the other hand, will consist of a minor enharmonic diesis and a major enharmonic diesis which is itself the equivalent of the minor semitone.⁵⁷ Whenever the ascending major semitone is partitioned, the first diesis will be minor and the second major, and when the major semitone descends, the reverse will be true.

On the basis of these observations, Vicentino proceeds with the exposition of the "hands".⁵⁸ In addition to the Guidonian diatonic and his own diatonic, he lists two forms of the chromatic; one which ascends and descends with an initial minor semitone, and the other, with the initial major semitone. For example, the chromatic hand with the ascending major second will contain the following notes: a, b^b, b^h, c, d^b, d^h, e^b, e^h, f, g^b.

The fifth hand bears the curious name, *enarmonica diatonica*. It is based on the original Guidonian hand, except that every note in the series is supplied with a superimposed enharmonic dot. The name is probably derived from the fact that, although all the tones, because of the dots, will be sounded higher than written, their relationship to each other parallels that of the diatonic. The notes of this diatonic enharmonic hand are: á, ḃ, ċ, ḋ, ė, ḟ, ġ.

Finally, the enharmonic "hands", like the chromatic, also appear in two forms, based on the use of the major or minor semitone in the initial subdivision. The notes contained, for instance, in the enharmonic hand with the ascending minor semitone are shown in the following example:

Example 5 (fol. 12 v)



⁵⁷ This rather confusing usage of the word, diesis, occurs also in the Pythagorean system. The term is applied to the *semitonium minor* or *limma*, as well as to the smaller divisions of the enharmonic genus. Cf. the observations of Hawkins, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 27, col. 1 on this problem. Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 14 v., explains that diesis really means the division of the tone into two unequal parts; these he designated «diesis cromatici» since they were used in the chromatic gender, to distinguish them from the smaller particles of the enharmonic gender, the «diesis enarmonico».

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, foll. 11 v.-13.

The next portion of the treatise⁵⁹ deals with the practical use of the three genera which differ in important details from those of Boethius. In the diatonic, for instance, the intervals of the fourth consists not of a minor semitone and two equal sesquioctave tones but rather of the major semitone and two different whole-tones, one with the ratio 9:10 and the other, 8:9. "This inequality of tones", he continues, "gives rise to the convenience of being able to use the consonances of the thirds and sixths, major as well as minor".⁶⁰ Vicentino here seems to be an advocate of just-intonation, at least in theory, but he also adds that the fourths and fifths used in his day were shortened ("spontate"), so that in actual practice, his music would have involved temperament.

The chromatic genus also differs from that of Boethius, who divided the tone into two equal halves "contrary to the opinion of many philosophers"⁶¹ and completed the interval of a fourth with the incomposite trihemitone or minor third. Vicentino's chromatic begins with the major semitone, then the minor, and is completed with a trihemitone which also departs from the Boethian prototype since it is constructed of a tone and a *major* semitone expressed as an integer. Similar variations can also be found in the enharmonic gender of the two theorists. Boethius constructs his tetrachord with two equal dieses and a ditone or major third consisting of two 8:9 tones. Vicentino uses both the major and minor semitone so that his dieses are of unequal value. The ditone, too, is made up of two dissimilar tones, one 8:9, the other, 9:10. As a result of all these subtle divisions, "we have more richness of steps and consonances and harmony than the ancients".⁶²

Of particular significance to Vicentino's concept of contemporary musical practice was his explanation of the species of the various genera. Not only were different arrangements of the tones allowed within each of the tetrachords of the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic, but it was also possible to shift the characteristics of one species into the order of another. In other words, a distinction should be made between the species of a genus and a genus species. For example, the species of the chromatic would refer to the complete succession of semitone, semitone, minor third in any arrangement of its components. The chromatic species, on the other hand, does not

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, foll. 13 v.-17 v.

⁶⁰ «...questa inegalità di toni, fa nascere la commodità di poter usare le consonanze delle Terze, et delle Seste, così maggiori come minori.» *Ibid.*, fol. 13 v.

⁶¹ «...contra l'opinionone de molti Filosofi...» *Ibid.*, fol. 14. The Pythagorean division of the tone in this genus consisted of a minor, then a major semitone.

⁶² «...noi habbiamo piu ricchezza di gradi & di consonanze, & di Harmonia, che non havevano gli antichi...» *Ibid.*, fol. 15.

observe the order of its own gender, but transmutes any single element into another gender. Thus, if the natural tone of the diatonic is altered into a semitone by means of an accidental, that step alone would indicate that a characteristic of the chromatic species had been used within the diatonic. Displacements such as these are referred to by Vicentino as the "chromatic species diatonically placed" ("spetie Cromatica Diatonicamente posta") or simply, "Cromatici Diatonici" or "Cromatici Enarmonici" depending on which genus has been affected.⁶³

The remaining chapters of the first book of the "prattica" give a detailed analysis of the nature of all the steps and leaps which occur within the octave. Much of this material has subsequently been repeated and expanded in the fifth book which deals with the *archicembalo* so that the description which follows will include information of a supplementary nature from the later book. Vicentino himself has given an explanation for the many repetitions to be found in that portion of his treatise:

...many times it can occur to a player or to other students that they may wish to set aside this [fifth] book of the instrument from the other books for their convenience, and so that this instrument and its divisions may be understood, I repeat such divisions, with their examples and proportions, separately.⁶⁴

The survey of intervals⁶⁵ begins with the comma, the smallest audible particle, which is found between the tempered and the perfect fifth.⁶⁶ The next larger step is the minor enharmonic diesis which occurs between the major and minor semitones and is equivalent to one-half of the minor semitone.⁶⁷ The major enharmonic diesis has the same value as the minor semitone, differing from it only in notation and location on the keyboard of the *archicembalo*. Both the minor semitone and its equivalent, the major enharmonic diesis, have the proportion 20:21. The minor semitone, furthermore, will always involve the use of an accidental in its notation, whereas the major semitone occurs in a natural as well as an accidental form.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, fol. 15 v. Vicentino states that this idea of displaced species goes back to Boethius: «Boetio domanda Cromatica spetie overo Cromatico ordine, quello che sarà tramutato dal suo luogo, & posto in altro in ogni genere, così nel Diatonico, e Cromatico come nell' Enarmonico. *Ibid.* This concept played a large part in the debate between Vicentino and Lusitano. See Chapter I, p. 24.

⁶⁴ «...molte volte potrà occorrere à uno sonatore ò ad altri studiosi, che volessero apartare questo Libro del Stromento da gli altri libri per sua com[m]odità, & acciò che sia inteso esso Stromento con le sue divisioni, replico tal sue divisioni, con li loro essempli et proportioni, partete.» *Ibid.*, fol. 143 v.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, foll. 17 v.-26 v.

⁶⁶ It is equivalent to half the minor enharmonic diesis. *Ibid.*, fol. 143.

⁶⁷ Boethius calls the difference between the major and minor semitone a comma, but since Vicentino's semitones do not agree in size with those of the earlier theorist, the new name has become necessary. *Ibid.*, fol. 18.

This next larger interval, the major semitone, stands in the relationship of 13:14.⁶⁸ In speaking of the major semitone, Vicentino warns against the tendency of singers to flatten it into a minor semitone because of their desire "to demonstrate exaggerated delicacy in their singing by means of the semitone".⁶⁹ He seems here to be against the practice of "diminution"⁷⁰ especially since it causes good performers to adjust their pitches to those of the improvisers with the result that the end of the composition is as much as a tone lower than it began. A similar persistence in ornamenting sharped notes will also force the pitch higher than it was intended to be. For this reason, it is wise to use instruments to accompany vocal performances, since the instruments will correct and check the pitch vagaries of the singers. He then adds that these minor admonitions have been given in order to provoke the vocalists into learning the formation of the major and minor semitones so that they will not make discords when they perform together, whether with or without instruments.

The discussion of intervals is resumed with the so-called minor tone, composed either of two minor semitones or of a major semitone and a minor enharmonic diesis. This interval always demands the use of an accidental in its notation and its size, 12:13,⁷¹ places it between the major semitone and the natural tone. The natural tone, on the other hand, is found in two sizes within the diatonic tetrachord, one 8:9 between *ut* and *re* and the other 9:10 between *re* and *mi*. The slight difference in pitch between these two natural tones apparently disturbed Vicentino, particularly because of his previous insistence that variations of a parallel sort usually indicated the transfer of the species of one genus into the order of another.⁷² Here the divergence was too small to warrant calling the tones anything but diatonic, especially since they followed one another in succession. His ultimate solution was to consider the tone with the proportion 9:10, regardless of where it appeared, to be the equivalent of the other natural tone, because "in the practice of singing it could not be recognized by reason of the little difference that exists between the proportions 8:9 and 9:10..."⁷³ Within this natural tone, since it could be subdivided into five dieses and ten commas,⁷⁴ were encompassed all the divisions given so far.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 143 v. In notated form, the minor semitone involves an alteration of the same degree, the major semitone, of an adjacent degree.

⁶⁹ «...dimostrare cantando alcune delicature per via del semitono...» *Ibid.*, fol. 18 v.

⁷⁰ See also *infra*, p. 162.

⁷¹ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 144.

⁷² See *supra*, p. 117.

⁷³ «...nella prattica del cantare, non si può cognoscere, per quella poca differenza che è fra la proportione sesquiottava et fra la sesquinona...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 20 v.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 143.

They can be represented graphically by the comma (,) for the division of the same name⁷⁵ and by the dot (.) for the minor enharmonic diesis. Thus the minor enharmonic diesis (.) contains two commas (,); the minor semitone or major enharmonic diesis will consist of two minor enharmonic dieses (..); the major semitone of three minor enharmonic dieses (...); the minor tone either of two minor semitones or two major enharmonic dieses (.. ..) or of a major semitone plus a minor enharmonic diesis (... .), and the natural tone of five minor enharmonic dieses (.....) in any combination.

Closely allied to the natural tone, because of an identical ratio, is the accidental or chromatic tone that is composed of various smaller intervals, the sum total of which does not exceed the size of the natural whole-step. Finally, to complete the series, there also exists a so-called major tone, with the proportion 7:8, which exceeds the natural tone by a minor enharmonic diesis and is constructed either of two major semitones or a natural tone sung a diesis higher.

All of the remaining intervals similarly exist in a variety of sizes, distinguishable from one another only microtonally. There are, for example, seven kinds of thirds:⁷⁶ 1) the smallest or minimal third (consisting of a natural tone and a minor semitone), 2) the natural minor third (found between *re-fa* and *mi-sol* in the hexachord), 3) the accidental minor third (a composite interval involving the use of accidentals but equal in total size to the natural minor third), 4) the third which is larger than the minor third but less than the major (created by subtracting a minor enharmonic diesis from the major third), 5) the natural major third (found between *ut-mi-* and *fa-la* in the hexachord), 6) the accidental major third (equivalent in size to the natural), and 7) the third greater than major (either a comma or a minor diesis larger, and always indicated by accidentals).

In like manner, fourths are described as natural and accidental, or in excess of these by a comma or minor enharmonic diesis. Of special interest is the treatment of the tritone. Although its composition, like the other fourths, consists of four tones, practicing singers and composers ordinarily do not use it because it doesn't contain a semitone. They will, however, resort to this interval as an incomposite leap when "in the words one wishes to show an astonishing effect",⁷⁷ even though they decry its harshness. Vicentino feels that with practice, its performance would become easy to achieve, and, fur-

⁷⁵ Vicentino himself uses this symbol. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 22.

⁷⁶ Only six are listed in the treatise, but the seventh is added after the discussion of all the other thirds. In Vicentino's mind, the last third, because of its proximity to the fourth, partakes more of the nature of the interval it is approaching than the one it is leaving. *Ibid.*, fol. 22 v.

⁷⁷ "...nelle parole si vuol dimostrare un effetto maraviglioso..." *Ibid.*, fol. 23 v.

thermore, sees no reason why it should not also be sung compositely, that is, with all the intervening steps. The same holds true of the accidental tritone which should also be available in its incomposite and composite forms.

Fifths, too, occur in all magnitudes. The natural imperfect or diminished fifth is found between *mi* of the hard hexachord and *fa* of the next higher natural hexachord, or from *B mi* to *F faut*. It also exists in an accidental form which can be created on any degree by the use of chromatic and enharmonic accidental signs. The leap of the fifth larger than the imperfect fifth exceeds that interval by a minor enharmonic diesis, and can also be found in both natural and accidental forms. The perfect fifth in its natural form presents itself in four places: from *re* to *la* (d-a) of the natural hexachord, from *mi* of the natural to *mi* of the hard hexachord (e-b), from *ut* to *sol* of the soft hexachord (f-c), and from *sol* of the natural hexachord to *la* of the soft hexachord (g-d).⁷⁸ The leap of the accidental perfect fifth will, as in the case of other accidental intervals, retain the proportion and nature of the natural.

Sixths, sevenths and octaves are treated in the same manner.⁷⁹ To simplify the naming of the intervals which are a microtone larger than those commonly used in practice, Vicentino has adopted the terms *propinqua* (near) and *propinquissima* (nearest). Those designated *propinquissima* exceed the given interval by a comma; those called *propinqua*, by a minor enharmonic diesis. By means of these minute particles, he hopes that it will be possible to achieve rapid adjustments in pitch, especially with the aid of the *archicembalo* which contains all these divisions, so that a consonant and harmonious performance will result.

The first book of the "prattica" having dealt with the horizontal or melodic aspects of the various intervals, in the second book, Vicentino concentrates on their vertical function in contrapuntal practice, beginning with the unison. The use of this interval will depend chiefly on the number of parts involved in the composition. Two-part writing, because of the exposed ("scoperte") parts, will demand a more restricted handling of the unison than will composition in three or more voices. In the example which he gives to illustrate a series of progressions from the unison to other intervals, only the unison to the third is allowed in two-part writing. As the parts increase, more freedom is tolerated. Thus, in three-part writing, a progression from unison to perfect fifth by contrary motion is permissible, in five-part writing, the same interval may progress to the fourth by contrary

⁷⁸ These specific fifths are indicated by Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 25. A perfect fifth can, of course, be found from *ut* to *sol* of any hexachord.

⁷⁹ For a chart of all the intervals, see Table II, *infra*, pp. 148-150.

motion, but a unison to an octave is only allowed when the composition is in seven or more parts. Furthermore, all the "bad" leaps must occur in the middle voices.

Vicentino does not consider the unison to be a perfect consonance and indulges in a complex argument to prove his point. Essentially his dialectics run as follows: in arithmetic, the unit is not a number, but the "mother of numbers" ("madre di numeri") from which all other numbers originate; in geometry, the dot is the point from which the whole line is derived. Thus,

if from the dot is born the line and other figures, and from the unit are born the numbers, so from the unison are born all the dissonances and consonances.⁸⁰

For this reason, he prefers the concept "unisonance" ("unisonanza") to "consonance" for this interval.⁸¹

In approaching the unison in counterpoint, the same care should be taken as has been indicated in leaving this interval. Generally, the larger the number of voice-parts involved, the greater the liberties that can be taken. Thus a fourth to a unison in similar motion or a sixth to a unison in contrary motion is allowed when the composition is written for five voices. In six-part writing, a fifth to a unison by contrary motion is permitted, and in eight-part counterpoint, even a fifth to a unison in similar motion. The octave to the unison by contrary motion, however, should be reserved for use in double choruses only.

Vicentino continues with the dissonant second which, in his opinion, is best resolved to either the major or minor third, rather than to more perfect consonances.

The composer will be advised not to give a very bad dissonance to the ears, and then follow it suddenly with a very good consonance, so that nature be not confounded by reason of one or the other extreme; but because the philosopher considers that between two extremes, one gives the mean, therefore between a very bad dissonance and a very good consonance, there will be given one nearer to the former, which will be the imperfect consonance, because it is the middle of two extremes...⁸²

⁸⁰ «...se dal punto nasce la linea, & altre figure, & che da l'unità nascono li numeri, anco dal Unisono nascono tutte le dissonanze & consonanze.» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 28 v.

⁸¹ Salinas argues in a similar way about the octave. Cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 407, col. 2: «Speaking of the Diapason, Salinas says though it consists of eight sounds, it did not take its name from the number 8, as the diapason does from 5, and the diatessaron from 4, but it is called diapason, a word signifying 'per omnes' or 'ex omnibus', that is to say, by all or from all the sounds, as Martianus Capella asserts, and this with very good reason, for the diapason contains in it all the possible diversities of sound, every other sound above or below the septenary, being but the replicate of some one included in it.»

⁸² «Il Compositore sarà avvertito di non dare una dissonanza pessima,

A good way to handle the dissonance of the second is by means of syncopation. Three types are given: 1) the major syncopation, 2) the minor syncopation, and 3) the minimal syncopation. The major type involves the use of a breve, the minor type, a semibreve, and the minimal type, a minim, although its name is derived from the fact that it is smaller than the minor type and not because the minim happens to be used. In each case, the dissonance will occur on the second half of the syncopated note and will descend by step to the third, which will be written with a note-value of at least one-half that of the syncope.⁸³

These various forms of syncopation may be found in two-part writing if the dissonance enters by way of a semitone, but they are preferred in three or more voices. In the case of these larger combinations, the fourth will often appear in the bass against the syncope. Vicentino here faces the problem of the fourth as a consonance. In two-part writing it cannot be considered consonant, but in three or more parts, it is perfectly acceptable as such. He explains the common 4-3 suspension not as a dissonance resolving to a consonance, but simply as an attempt to gain variety in the use of consonances. "The composer", he writes, "ought to consider that nature nourishes itself with variety, and is not happy when the consonances are not varied and mixed in [their] perfection..."⁸⁴

For this reason, successive consonances of the same type are not acceptable.

I say that the fourth is reputed by philosophers to be perfect and that the fifth is that [consonance] which possesses excellent perfection of harmony, and these two, being placed one after the other, without the interval of any other consonance, will not be good to hear unless the subject of the words retrieves them.⁸⁵

As is ever the case with Vicentino, the exigencies of text-interpretation can override any purely theoretical considerations. Thus

all'orecchi, & poi che subito segue una consonanza ottima, acciò la natura non si confonda, per cagione dell' una & dell'altra estremità ma perche il Filosofo considera, che tra due e.tremi, si dà il mezzo. adunque, tra una dissonanza pessima & una consonanza ottima, si darà una più propinqua à quella, che sarà la consonanza imperfetta, perche è nel mezzo di due estremi...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 30. The philosopher referred to is, of course, Boethius.

⁸³ Jeppesen claims that this «reasonable rule» was introduced by Vicentino. Knud Jeppesen, *Counterpoint*, trans. Glen Haydon (New York: Prentice-Hall, [1939]), p. 21.

⁸⁴ «...il Compositore dè pensare che la natura si nutrice di varietà, et non gode quando le consonanze non sono variate; et miste, di perfettione...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 30 v.

⁸⁵ «...dico che la quarta è reputata da Filosofi perfetta, & la quinta è quella che possiede perfettione d'armonia eccellente: & essendo queste due poste una doppò l'altra, senza intervallo d'altra consonanza, non farà buon udire, accettuando ch'il soggetto delle parole non le salvassi.» *Ibid.*, fol. 31.

he even allows the syncopated tritone to be used in place of the fourth, if the words move the composer to do so. On the other hand, the diminished fifth needs no such justification, even though it must be enumerated among the dissonances. The reason given for its acceptability is that, although it contains three tones, one of these is divided to provide a semitone at either end of the composite interval and these tend, as do all small steps, to make the harmony "suave and sweet". In actuality, Vicentino may subconsciously have felt the strong inclination of this interval to resolve to a tonic and hence to support the sense of tonality which was burgeoning in his music.

The dissonance of the seventh can also be used as a syncopation, preferably of the minor or minimal type, and resolves downward by step to the sixth. A more unusual function of the seventh is detailed in the chapter entitled, "Explanation of the sevenths which in composing appear as if they were octaves and are not, and in like manner [appear as] two unisons and are not".⁸⁶ The dissonance, in other words, is employed to avoid parallel octaves or unisons. This manner of writing is better in five or more parts than in smaller settings where no amount of manipulation will hide the sound of the seventh.

Example 6 (fol. 32 v)



Finally, the category of free ("sciolte") dissonances, without syncopation, is treated briefly. Here again Vicentino's feeling for the genetic viewpoint comes to the fore. In the past, he informs us, there was a tendency to write dissonances of long duration. Later composers shortened the note-values which could be used for this purpose, until, in his own day, the preferred free dissonances occur in terms of the semiminim and the chroma.

After this survey of dissonance treatment, the subject of consonances within the octave is taken up. First he deals with the completely consonant syncopation which is quite acceptable if all the parts do not move at the same time. In order to gain some sense of syncopation, at least one part should sing on the strong beat ("battuta") against the others on the weak beat ("levare"). Then the individual consonances are discussed one by one.

Consonances occur in two forms: imperfect and perfect. Among

⁸⁶ «Dichiaratione delle settima, che nel comporre fa quasi parere due ottave & non sono, & così due unisoni, & non sono.» *Ibid.*, fol. 32 v.

the imperfect consonances is found the minor third, a rather weak interval, which singers often mutate into a major third, because it is a stronger albeit still imperfect interval.⁸⁷ Fifths are to be considered perfect consonances even when they are tempered, since this small difference does not have much effect on the ear. The main reason for this temperament is to allow the use of four kinds of consonances, the two thirds and sixths, which the ancients did not employ.⁸⁸ Vicentino takes this opportunity to extol the music of his day above that of the past, since, with the increased number of sonorous possibilities, music has become far more rich and abundant than before.

I have made this little digression only to quiet the minds of some who read musical histories and say, "If one could compose the music of the ancients, one would create great things." On this point, henceforth, they shall be silent, because I have explained it to them...⁸⁹

The fifth is so strong harmonically that it attracts the minor sixth to itself. Thus the minor sixth is most sonorous when it is used in conjunction with the interval of a fifth. A progression from a minor sixth to an octave is possible, but less desirable. Don Nicola illustrates metaphorically by comparing the fifth to the sun and the sixth to the moon, which has no light of its own, but reflects that of the sun. The more distant it is from the solar center, the less it glitters. "The same happens to the minor sixth: when it is not close to the fifth, it does not give so much harmony as when it is near..."⁹⁰

With the major sixth, the problem is even greater. This interval, because it is found between the minor sixth, which has little harmony of its own, and the seventh, which is completely discordant, partakes more of the nature of a dissonance than a consonance. For this reason, it is best to employ it in a progression which reaches a perfect consonance, either the fifth or the octave, as soon as possible.

From the above observations, it can be seen that Vicentino takes

⁸⁷ This interval has troubled theorists up to the present time. Hindemith writes of it as follows: «...whenever minor thirds ...appear as parts of richer tonal combinations, they are almost always subordinate to stronger and more important intervals...» Paul Hindemith, *The Craft of Musical Composition*, trans. Arthur Mendel (New York: Associated Music Publishers, [1942]), I, 71.

⁸⁸ Just-intonation alone would allow the use of these thirds and sixths, but on keyboard instruments, the mean-tone temperament based on a shortened fifth approaches more closely the ideal system of equal temperament, especially when keys involving only one or two sharps or flats are used.

⁸⁹ «Ho fatto questo poco di digresso, si per acquietar gli animi d'alcuni che leggono l'istorie Musicali, et dicono, s'el si potessi far la Musica de gl'antichi; si farebbe gran cose; sopra questo passo, da hora in poi taceranno, perche gliho chiariti...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 34.

⁹⁰ «Il medesimo occorre alla sesta minore, come non è propinqua alla Quinta non dà à noi tanta armonia si como ella è appresso...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 35.

the terms imperfect and perfect in relation to consonances in a quite literal sense. Even this distinction did not solve all the problems. Because they were consonances, he was compelled to advise against the consecutive use of major or minor thirds and sixths. He even bolstered his argument by showing that no two similar consonances follow each other in the harmonic series. Nevertheless, in practice these consecutives do appear, and Vicentino merely accepts them, without any attempt at justification, suggesting only that the minor ones be used in a descending pattern and the major ones, ascending. As a final note, however, he adds that the composer has the opportunity of making these parallel intervals conform to the general rule against similar consecutives by the free use of accidental signs.

There is no doubt about the perfection of the octave. "If the fifth is called perfect, one can speak of the octave as most perfect."⁹¹ Consecutive octaves are obviously forbidden, but even in the case of an octave doubling ("ottave doppie") above the bass, certain admonitions must be heeded. When this doubled octave is written above a minor third, the effect is weak and difficult to keep in tune. When the doubling appears over the major third, the result is a little better. Above the fifth and the octave, it will be much more secure, but when sixths are involved, the effect is much worse than in the case of thirds.

Example 7 (fol. 36 v)



The most problematic doubling of the octave from the point of view of intonation occurs when an accidental is involved. Its pitch is extremely hard to maintain with a full chorus ("a piena voce") but "in chamber music, that is, when one sings softly",⁹² it can be managed if some effort is made.

The octave is so pure an interval that all of its compounds, such as the fifteenth and the twenty-second partake of its nature. For a moment, Vicentino the priest takes over the discourse:

⁹¹ «...se la quinta si chiama perfetta, l'Ottava si può dire perfettissima...» *Ibid.*, fol. 36 v.

⁹² «...nella Musica da camera, cioè quando si canterà piano...» *Ibid.* fol. 37.

As from the unison and octave joined together proceeds the fifteenth, all three of which make a most concordant unisonance, so also of the Father is born the Son, and from the Father and the Son, joined together, proceeds the Holy Spirit, which three Persons are a single Divinity.⁹³

Since he has previously stated that the octave is less perfect than the unison (and, by analogy, the fifteenth would thus be less perfect than the octave), his metaphor unfortunately involves him in a theological dilemma which he attempts to solve. He does not "after the manner of the Platonists and the Arians", attribute lesser qualities to the Son and the Holy Spirit; he is merely naming the first, second and third Persons of the Trinity in the sequence of their revelation to mankind, just as the unit precedes the octave and the fifteenth in the order of numbers. Even this does not solve the problem:

As first, I do not mean in time, but I mean the order that is in this incomprehensible unity of three Persons, in which, as Athanasius says, nothing is first nor last, but all is coeternal.⁹⁴

The compound forms of the imperfect consonances, unlike those of the perfect ones, differ from the simple intervals in various ways. Their ratios, for one thing, do not correspond: compare for example, the minor tenth (8:11) to the minor third (5:6).⁹⁵ Their distance from the unison and the fifth makes the tenths more resonant than the thirds and hence more harmonious. The major tenth, however, is stronger in this respect than the minor.⁹⁶ The major and minor thirteenths also contain dissimilar proportions in comparison to the simple sixths: compare the minor sixth (5:8) to the minor thirteenth (13:19),^{96a} or the major sixth (3:5) to the major thirteenth (3:10).

Vicentino follows this discussion of intervals with a series of examples which attempts to illustrate the variety of steps that can be written above or below the melodic major seconds *re-mi*, *mi-re*, *fa-sol*, *sol-fa*. These four steps in particular create harmonic problems,

⁹³ «...come dall'unisono et dall'Ottava congiunti insieme, proceda la quinta decima, lequali tutti tre insieme fanno una concordevolissima unisonanza. Così ancho dal Padre nasce il Figliolo, & dal Padre et dal Figliolo congiunti insieme, procede lo Spirito Santo; lequali tre persone sono una sola Divinità...» *Ibid.*, fol. 37 v.

⁹⁴ «...come prima non per intender tempo, ma per intender l'ordine che è in quella inco[m]prensibile unità di tre persone, nella quale come dice Athanasio niente è prima, ne poi ma il tutto è coeterno.» *Ibid.*, foll. 37 v.-38.

⁹⁵ 8:11 is exceptionally high-pitched for this interval. In just-intonation, the minor tenth would have the ratio 5:12. The deviation in Vicentino's system is the result of his temperament.

⁹⁶ Helmholtz similarly claims that the degree of harmoniousness of the major third is surpassed by the major tenth, but that the minor tenth is less good than the minor third. Hermann L. F. Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone*, trans. Alexander J. Ellis (2nd English ed., London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1885), pp. 195-196.

^{96a} This surprising ratio is given by Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 39 v.

The difference would only be visual, since to the ear, no fundamental change has occurred except in the overall pitch.

Another useful transposition, particularly when performing with the organ, involves the use of four flats¹⁰² in the signature. This is commonly referred to as "false music" or "musica finta" since, by the use of these accidentals, the organist can quickly adjust the species of his modes so that he does not discord when the chorus flattens the pitch. For example, if the choir is singing in the Dorian mode and happens to lower the pitch one degree, the organist, by the use of the flats of "musica finta", will begin to play a Dorian on c, and thus "cover" the error of the performers.

Vicentino seems rather concerned lest anyone confuse this music written in four flats with chromaticism.

One ought not to speak of falsified music but rather of falsified transcription, because [although] the music is notated with four flats which [thus] to the eye seems completely transformed by the notation, to the ears there is no difference to be heard between music written with flats and that written without [flats], as I have said above; and lest anyone call this composition chromatic music, we have already explained in the first book what [sort of] thing chromatic music [really] is, which involves the change that one hears when first there is a tone and then it is transformed into a semitone, and [conversely] from a semitone into a tone, with the chromatic species and with the deprivation of progressing by natural steps...¹⁰³

Several aspects of ancient Greek theory are mixed and confused in Vicentino's account of his modal system. It has already been pointed out¹⁰⁴ that modes in the ecclesiastical sense were unknown to Greek theorists. The nearest equivalent to the medieval modes would have been found in the Greek Dorian, Phrygian, etc. keys, especially because of their clearly defined *ambitus* and their stress on a fixed focal point as final or keynote.¹⁰⁵ These keys, however, were based on the tetrachord, whereas the modes use the fourth-plus-fifth construc-

¹⁰² From our viewpoint, only three flats are actually employed. The e is notated both in its high and low positions on the staff and is thus counted twice. Later examples of «musica finta» vary the number of flats from two to four, but always involve a transposition down a tone.

¹⁰³ «...non si dè dire musica finta, ma più presto transcrittione finta, perche la Musica è notata con Quattro b. molli, che alla vista, pare tutta tramutata p[er] lo notare, & à gl'orecchi nissuna differenza si sentirà dalla musica scritta con b. molli, à quella scritta senza come di sopra hò detto, & accio che alcuno no[n] dica Musica Cromatica à quella compositione che sarà notata con quattro b. molli, noi già nel primo Libro haviamo dichiarato che cosa sia Musica Cromatica, laquale sarà la tramutatione che si sentirà quando prima serà (!) tono, poi che si tramuterà in semitono, & di semitono in tono, con le spetie Cromatiche & con la privatione del caminare per i gradi naturali...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 47 v.

¹⁰⁴ See pp. 108-9 *supra*.

¹⁰⁵ Gombosi, *op. cit.*, p. 20, col. 2; p. 24, col. 1.

tion of the octave species. The octave species of antiquity represented an abstraction of the key in terms of its intervallic sequence without reference to any point of tonal focus. They actually stood in filial relationship to the keys which were of older genesis.¹⁰⁶ In Vicentino's treatise, as in most medieval and Renaissance expositions of the modal system, a reverse order is followed: the Greek octave species becomes the framework from which all the modes are derived. In the process, the nature of the species of antiquity is denied, since these octave segments are characterized by an emphasis not only on a final tone but also on at least one additional focal point of reference. Such a "modalization" is completely foreign to the pure species of the ancients.

In his conception of transposition, however, Vicentino retains some idea of the original meaning of octave species. To quote Gombosi:

These octave series are therefore segments of a diatonic system. If one transposes this system, the octave segments are also transposed with it, or to put it in another way: if one wants to have the octave segments at a specified pitch, then one transposes the system. One can therefore certainly set up the Dorian series between e¹-e, f¹-f, f-sharp¹-f-sharp etc. on every half-tone step, and conversely, one can construct all octave species within the octave e¹-e, by raising or lowering specific tones.¹⁰⁷

These pitch adjustments are not to be confused with chromaticism, since nothing in the basic octave pattern has been changed. Or, to explain it in another manner, the important point to observe about the relationship of the hard and the soft hexachords is not that one contains a b ♮ and the other a b ♭, but that both consist of the same interval pattern represented by the solmization syllables, *ut re mi fa sol la*.

The modes which he has presented so far are, in Vicentino's opinion, a simple and pure diatonic variety not employed in actual practice. No one writing a composition restricts himself to the diatonic gender alone. Every time that a minor or a major third is used, the chromatic or enharmonic gender has intruded into the diatonic order. It is not necessary to indulge in any alteration by accidentals to achieve this result. Therefore, it would be better to identify musical

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21, col. 1.

¹⁰⁷ «Diese Oktavgattungen sind also Ausschnitte aus einem diatonischen System. Transponiert man dieses System, so werden auch die Oktavausschnitte mittransponiert, oder anders ausgedrückt: will man die Oktavausschnitte in einer bestimmten Höhenlage haben, so transponiert man das System. Man kann also etwa die dorische Reihe zwischen e¹-e, f¹-f, fis¹-fis usw. auf jeder Halbtonstufe herstellen und umgekehrt, man kann in der Oktave e¹-e alle Oktavgattungen herstellen, indem man bestimmte Töne herauf-oder herunterstimmt.» Otto Johannes Gombosi, *Tonarten und Stimmungen der antiken Musik* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1939), p. 5. Cf. Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 353-354, which is in basic agreement with this idea.

practice with a terminology other than diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic in order to show its true nature.

In the examples which he writes to illustrate the modes of this "musica participata & mista", Vicentino keeps the name of each mode as well as its dominant and final as before, but because an actual melody is shown with a variety of leaps and steps instead of the previous exposition of the mode by means of scale-wise segments, he feels justified, on the basis of his broad concept of gender, to label this music with the new term. Each mode, furthermore, is given not only in its natural form ("per \natural incitato"), but also transposed up a fourth ("per b molle") and down a second ("per Musica finta").¹⁰⁹

The study of modality concludes with a gesture in the direction of those who were theorizing about additions to the system. Two new modes are presented, in their authentic form only, which are considered mixtures of diverse fourths and fifths. The first of these, containing the first fifth and the second fourth of the first and third modes respectively, resulted in a form identical with our natural minor scale often referred to as Aeolian. The second, constructed with the fourth fifth and the third fourth found in the seventh and fifth modes respectively, delineated the major scale, also known as Ionian. Vicentino did not pursue this course further, particularly since any modifications which they showed were more than compensated for in the complexities of his chromatic and enharmonic modes.

According to Vicentino, one of the best ways for a student to recognize this complex of modes is to study the cadences associated with them in the several genera. It should be remembered¹¹⁰ that the cadence is essentially a melodic pattern with which to bring the section of a piece or the whole composition to a close. Each of these stereotyped formulas has become identified with a specific mode and gender and has, as a result, made them easier to recognize. Some of the older type of cadences were written in long note-values, but the more modern ones tend to use shorter values, frequently divided ("diminuite") in an ornamental manner, "in imitation of instruments".¹¹¹ Syncopations are also featured in the construction of many of these patterns.

It is possible to construct cadences that are purely diatonic. These will use only the natural tone and on occasion, the natural

¹⁰⁸ «...per tal ragione la musica che è stata usata e che si usa hoggi nel mondo, si dè domandare musica participata, & mista de certe spetie de tutti tre i Generi...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 48. The term «participata», is also used by Vicentino to mean «tempered». *Ibid.*, fol. 64 v.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, foll. 48 v.-51.

¹¹⁰ See Chapter II, pp. 61-64.

¹¹¹ «...à imitatione delli stromenti...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 51 v. These «diminutions» are useful in covering up intervals which, in their unornamented form, might present intonation problems. *Ibid.*, fol. 53.

semitone, but no minor or major thirds.¹¹² Leaps which are common to all the genera, such as the fourth and the fifth, are, however, allowed. In order to allay the doubts of those who think that these cadences are only possible theoretically, Vicentino has appended a short composition, without text, written completely in the diatonic gender.

Example 10 (foll. 52-52 v)



¹¹² An interval that appears to be a third can be obviated by the insertion of a rest between its component notes. *Ibid.*, fol. 52.



“One hears in this music”, writes Vicentino, “a great harshness in comparison with that which is ‘participata & mista’”.¹¹³ In contemporary practice, the harshness can be tempered by means of accidentals whenever these changes will simplify the problems of intonation or “sweeten” the overall sound. In the examples of cadences in all eight modes of “musica participata & mista”, he uses accidentals chiefly to create leading-tones or “picardy thirds”. Take, for instance, the following cadences of the first mode:¹¹⁴

Example 11 (fol. 55)



¹¹³ «...si sentirà in questa Musica una asprezza grande, à rispetto di quella che è participata & mista...» *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ These cadences are erroneously identified in the superscription above the example as belonging to the fourth mode. *Ibid.*, fol. 55

The greater freedom of this type of music is also reflected in the fact that once a composition has been established in one mode, cadences of the other modes can be introduced at will, especially in the middle of the piece, just so long as moderation is observed and the new mode is brought in smoothly so that it will not startle the listener.

Since this “musica participata & mista” is in reality a combination of the species of all three genera, it premises, in order to be comprehended intelligently, the existence of pure chromatic and enharmonic modes. Practically all the rest of the third book of the “prattica” concerns itself with the exposition of these new structures.

All the chromatic and enharmonic modes are, like the diatonic ones, evolved from a combination of species of fourths and fifths. Compare, for instance, the three fourths and the four fifths of the diatonic, with their chromatic counterparts:

Example 12 (coll. 62 v-64)



The initial and final tone of each fourth and fifth remains the same in every gender, but the placement of the intermediate tones vary not only from genus to genus but also within the genus itself, as the following table will show:¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ The series enclosed in brackets are shown in the treatise in an example but are not described in the accompanying text.

Example 14 (foll. 62-62 v)

Al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu -

Al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu -

Al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu -

Al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu -

- - ia haec di - es qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus haec di - es qua[m]

ia haec di - es qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus haec di - es haec di -

ia haec di - es qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus haec di - es qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus haec

ia haec di - es qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus haec

fe - cit Do - mi - nus qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus e - xul - te - mus et le -

- esqua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus e - xul - te - mus et le -

di - es qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus e - xul - te - mus et le -

di - es qua[m] fe - cit Do - mi - nus e - xul - te - mus et le -

te - mur e - xul - te - mus et le - te - mur in e - a et le - te - mur in e - a

te - mur e - xul - te - mus et le - te - mur in e - a et le - te - mur in e - a

te - mur e - xul - te - mus et le - te - mur in e - a et le - te - mur in e - a

te - mur e - xul - te - mus et le - te - mur in e - a et le - te - mur in e - a

There were apparently some musicians who, although they might have accepted the chromatic gender in this four-part composition, doubted that it could be written in a piece for four or five parts:

Perhaps some remain doubtful of the genera, whether in compositions one can demonstrate them accompanied in four, five and more voices. The disciple must realize that one can compose [in] all the genera,

and when the composition will consist of more than four voices, that will give more convenience to the composer...¹²²

To allay these fears, Vicentino has included in his treatise a portion of one of his five-voiced Lamentations, entitled "Hierusalem" which is here transcribed:¹²³

Example 15 (foll. 70 v-71)

[Soprano] Hie - ru - sa - lem [Hie - ru - sa - lem]

[Alto] Hie - ru - sa - lem

[Tenore] Hie - ru - sa - lem

Quinta Parte Hie - ru - sa - lem

[Basso] Hie - ru - sa -

Hie -

Hie - ru - sa - lem con - ver - te -

[Hie - ru - sa - lem] con - ver - te - re [con - ver -

[Hie - ru - sa - lem] con - ver - te - re [con - ver - te - re

lem [Hie - ru - sa - lem] con - ver - te -

ru - sa - lem [Hie - ru - sa - lem] con -

¹²² «Forse alcuni staranno dubbiosi de i Generi, sè nelle compositioni si possono dimostrare accompagnati à quattro, à cinque, & à piu voci. il Discepolo hà da sapere che tutti i Generi si possono comporre, & quando la compositione sarà à piu di quattro voci, quelle darà piu commodità al Co[m]positore...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 70 v.

¹²³ A transcription of this work can be found in Torchi, *op. cit.*, I, 145-146. The text forms part of the Lamentations of Jeremiah which serve as the lessons for Matins of Maunday Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. Cf. *The Liber usualis*, ed. Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: Desclès & Co., 1938), pp. 628, 670, 716. No other of these five-part compositions of Vicentino is now extant.

15

te [con-ver-te-re] ad Do-mi-num
- te-re con-ver-te-re] ad Do-mi-num ad Do-
-] ad Do-mi-num[ad Do-mi-num] De-um tu-
re con-ver-te-re ad Do-mi-num con-ver-te-
- ver-te-re [con-ver-te-re] ad Do- -

20 25

ad Do-mi-num De-um tu-um.
- minum con-ver-te-re ad Do-minum De- - um tu-um.
um ad Do-mi-num De-um tu-um.
re ad Do-mi-num De-um tu-um.
mi-num ad Do- - mi-num De-um tu-um.

The use of the enharmonic in a composition is also illustrated by means of a four-voiced madrigal, "Soav'e dolc'ardore", of which the composer gives only the opening measures:

Example 16 (fol. 67)

5

So - a - v'e dol-c'ar - do - re So - a - v'e dolc'ar-do -
So - a - v'e dol-c'ar - do - re So -
So - a - v'e dol - c'ar - do - re
So - a - v'e dol - c'ar - do - re

10 15

re che fra piant'e so-spi-ri che fra piant'e so-spi-ri
a - v'e dolc'ar do - re che fra pian - t'e so - spi - ri pian - t'e so-spi
so - a - v'e dolc'ar-do - re che fra pian - t'e so - spi - ri fra pian - t'e so -
so - a - v'e dolc'ar-do - re che fra piant'e so - spi - ri pian -

It is even permissible to use each of the genera in turn within the same composition. To demonstrate this possibility, Vicentino has composed a Latin ode, "Musica prisca caput" in honor of his patron, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, the first verse of which is written entirely in the diatonic genus, the second in the chromatic, and the third and final one in the enharmonic:

Example 17 (fol. 69 v-70v)

5

Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put [mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put] te -
Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put te - ne - bris mo -
Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put te - nebris mo -
Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put

10

- nebris mo - do su - stu - lit al - tis Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put te - nebris mo - do
- do su - stu - lit al - tis su - stu - lit al - tis Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put te - nebris mo - do
- do su - stu - lit al - tis su - stulit al - tis Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put te - nebris mo - do
te - nebris mo - do su - stu - lit al - tis Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put te - nebris mo - do

15 20

su - stu - lit al - tis dul - ci - bus ut nu - me - ris dul - ci - bus ut nu - me -
su - stu - lit al - tis su - stulit al - tis dul - ci - bus ut nume - ris dul - ci - bus ut nu - me -
su - stu - lit al - tis dul - ci - bus ut nu - me - ris dul - ci - bus ut nume -
su - stu - lit al - tis dul - ci - bus ut nu - me - ris dul - ci - bus ut nu - me -

25

ris pri - scis cer - tan - ti - a fa - ctis dul - ci - bus ut nu - meris pri - scis cer -
ris pri - scis cer - tan - ti - a fa - ctis dul - ci - bus ut nu - me - ris pri - scis cer -
ris pri - scis cer - tan - ti - a fa - ctis dul - ci - bus ut nu - meris pri - scis cer -
ris pri - scis cer - tan - ti - a fa - ctis dul - ci - bus ut nu - meris pri - scis cer -

30

tan - ti - a fa - ctis fa - cta tu - a Hyp - po - li - te fa - cta tu - a Hyp -
tan - ti - a fa - ctis fa - cta tu - a Hyp - po - li - te fa - cta tu - a Hyp -
cer - tan - ti - a fa - ctis fa - cta tu - a Hyp - po - li - te fa - cta tu - a Hyp -
tan - ti - a fa - ctis fa - cta tu - a Hyp - po - li - te fa - cta tu - a Hyp -

35

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po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat fa - cta tu -
po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat fa - cta tu -
Hyp - po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat fa - cta tu -
po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat fa - cta tu -

45

a Hyp - po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat
a Hyp - po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat
a Hyp - po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat
a Hyp - po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat

Example 18 (foll. 67 v-68)

Dol - ce mio ben [dol - ce mio ben] son que - sti dol - ci
Dol - ce mio ben [dol - ce mio ben] son que - sti dol - ci
Dol - ce mio ben son que - sti dol - ci
Dol - ce mio ben [dol -

5

lu - mi dol - ci lu - mi dol - ce mio ben [dol - ce mio ben] son que - sti dol - ci lu - mi
lu - mi dol - ce mio ben [dol - ce mio ben] son que - sti dol - ci lu - mi son que - sti dol -
ce mio ben] son que - sti dol - ci lu - mi son que - sti dol -
ce mio ben] son que - sti dol - ci lu - mi dol - ce mio ben [dol - ce mio

10

son quest'i dol - ci lu - mi che ta[n] - to dol - ce - men - te che tan - to
lu - mi dol - ci lu - mi che ta[n] - to che tan - to dol - ce - men -
ci lu - mi dol - ci lu - mi che tan - to dol - ce - men - te che tan - to
ben] son que - sti dol - ci lu - mi che tan - to dol - ce - men - te [che

15

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dol - ce - men - te mi con - su - mi che tan - to dol - ce - men - te fan - no che
te fan - no che dol - ce - me[n] - te che dol - ce - men - te mi con - su - mi mi con -
dol - ce - men - te mi con - su - mi che tan - to dol - ce -
tan - to dol - ce - men - te] fan - no che mi con - su - mi che dol - ce - men - te

In reality, however, compositions in the pure chromatic and pure enharmonic genders are as unfeasible as those written in the pure diatonic. In actual practice, mixtures of all sorts are possible and desirable. Don Nicola gives as his first example a short madrigal, "Dolce mio ben", which, as written, presents a combination of the chromatic and enharmonic, without the diatonic. Only the first part of this madrigal is given in the treatise.

Measure 21, alto, b = a semibreve in the original.

Other modifications of this work are suggested by the composer. By ignoring all the accidental signs, the piece will become essentially diatonic. Another method of performance would be to acknowledge only the sharps, naturals and flats but omit all the smaller signs of the diesis, "and the whole composition will be sweetly chromatic".¹²⁴ A judicious selection of accidentals to be used or rejected will allow several other combinations, such as a mixture of diatonic and chromatic, or even diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. The number of ways in which this madrigal could be sung would then total five, as the superscription above the composition shows.¹²⁵

Vicentino goes so far as to suggest that any contemporary compositions could be altered in the same way and "if there are added to these some sharps and enharmonic dieses between the tones and semitones, one would hear a great gain of harmony in them".¹²⁶ If these remarks are a reflection of contemporary practice, they help to bolster Lowinsky's thesis of a "secret chromatic art".

The earlier concept of "musica participata & mista" could now be extended to include all the subtleties of the enharmonic—not only the ditone but even the dieses—and the result would be an enrichment of music and an increase in its varieties of expression. An example of such a mixture can be found in the madrigal, "Madonna il poco dolce", here transcribed. Again, only the first part of the composition is given in the treatise.

¹²⁴ «...sarà tutta la compositione Cromatica dolce...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 67 v.

¹²⁵ For the full text of this superscription, see Chapter II, p. 77.

¹²⁶ «...sè si agiogneranno à quelle de i Diesis Cromatici, & de gli Enarmonici fra i toni, & fra i semitoni; si sentirà gran utile di Armonia in quelle...» Vicentino, *loc. cit.*, A transcription of this work can be found in Theodor Kroyer, *Die Anfänge der Chromatik im italienischen Madrigal des XVI. Jahrhunderts.* («Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», Beiheft IV; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), Appendix, pp. 154-156.

Example 19 (fol. 68 v-69)

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Measure 3, Tenor, written

Measure 17 Sop. written

Measure 14, Sop. written

Measure 23 Alto, written

Measure 25, Sop. written

Measure 24-25 Bass written

Measure 16, Bass, written

Measure 25 Alto written

For the significance of these notational symbols, see Chapter II, pp. 75-78.

MUSICA POETICA

The bulk of the fourth book of musical practice serves as a veritable manual of composition, and for that reason, may be placed in a category of musical activity that differs from either theoretical or practical. Boethius, in the thirty-fourth chapter of the first book of his treatise on music, makes a quite clear distinction of three groups of musicians:

There are three types which busy themselves with musical art. One kind is that which performs with instruments, the other [that which] creates melodies, and the third, which judges the instrumental work of art and the melody...¹²⁷

To that venerable theorist, the practical musicians of the first group were "devoid of all speculation",¹²⁸ the second group or "genus poetarum" were similarly incapable of speculation and reason but were inclined toward composition by natural instinct, and only the third, the theoretical or speculative group, merited the name of musician.¹²⁹ This viewpoint prevailed through much of the Middle Ages, but gradually both the performing musician and the composer began to be treated with more respect, so that by the time of the Renaissance, the three different categories of musicians often merged or overlapped in the same person. Most of the Renaissance theorists found a classification into theoretical and practical music sufficient for their needs. The theoretical part of their treatise paid homage to the scientific traditions held in such esteem by their predecessors, whereas anything dealing with the practical aspects of musical activity, including composition, was discussed under the heading of *musica practica*.

As long as the art of composition developed on purely musical grounds, based on a fairly strict adherence to modal principles, the concepts of consonance and dissonance laid down by medieval and early Renaissance theorists, and the established "rules" of counterpoint, this subservience of *poetica* to *practica* was understandable. With the sixteenth century, there arose, however, a new interest in the relationship of word to tone, inspired by humanistic studies, which led to extra-musical considerations in the development of musical forms. These developments involved abrogation of many of the "rules" and the growing dependency of music on textual influences. As a result, the principles of High Renaissance musical

¹²⁷ «Tria igitur genera sunt, quae circa artem musicam versantur. Unum genus est, quod instrumentis agitur, aliud fingit carmina, tertium, quod instrumentorum opus carmenque diiudicat.» Friedlein, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

¹²⁸ «...totius speculationis expertes...» *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

composition gradually tended to be replaced by creativity on the basis of natural instinct, inspired by the meaning of the words. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the reemergence of the concept of *musica poetica* as an important concomitant of later Renaissance theory.

Vicentino does not use the term as such in his treatise,¹³⁰ but his observations on the importance of the text in determining musical treatment places him in a spiritual affinity with his Northern counterparts who did adopt this classification.¹³¹ The subjective approach to the emotional content of the words dominates many pages of *L'antica musica* and although its musical grammar still derives its impetus from High Renaissance sources, its syntax reveals new patterns and formations which result from an obedience to the demands of this emotionalism.

Even so elementary a factor as the name given to b-natural is colored by this approach. Normally, this accidental is called ♯-quadro because of its derivation from the "square" shape of the sign. An analagous name of b-flat should then be known as *b-rotondo*, if the shape is again to be considered. This accidental is, however, commonly referred to as *b-molle*, because of the "softening" effect it has on the note which it modifies. Therefore, Vicentino feels that the proper name for the natural should be ♯-duro ("hard") or even more appropriately, ♯-incitato ("animated" or "excited").¹³²

In the case of the melodic intervals, not only was their formation and ratio indicated in the treatise, but also, in addition, their affective connotations in actual composition, depending on whether the steps and leaps were used in an ascending or descending order. The intervals and their qualities are here given in tabular form.

TABLE II

INTERVAL NAME	QUALITY
minor enharmonic diesis	sweet and very suave, ascending or descending
major enharmonic diesis or minor semitone	ascending: animated, happy descending: soft, sad

¹³⁰ He does however refer to the «Poeta Musico» as distinct from the writer of vernacular verse, «Poeta volgare», or Latin verse, «Poeta Latino». Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 94. See also *infra*, p. 162.

¹³¹ See *supra*, pp. 102-103.

¹³² Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 46.

TABLE II (CONT.)

INTERVAL NAME	QUALITY
major semitone	ascending: soft, sad descending: animated, happy
minor tone	ascending and descending: either soft or somewhat animated depending on the nature of the surrounding consonances
natural or accidental tone	ascending: animated descending: soft
major tone	ascending: more animated than other tones descending: more soft than other tones
minimal third	ascending: soft descending: animated
natural or accidental minor third	ascending: soft descending: some animation
third more than major but less than minor	ascending: animated descending: sad and soft (partakes of the nature of the major third because it is closest to that interval)
natural or accidental major third	ascending: animated and proud descending: soft and sad
third greater than major	ascending: very animated descending: very sad and soft
natural or accidental perfect fourth	ascending: animated descending: soft
the leap larger than the perfect fourth	ascending: lively descending: sad and soft
natural or accidental tritone	ascending: lively, powerful descending: very mournful, sad
natural or accidental imperfect (diminished) fifth	ascending: soft descending: partly soft, partly animated
the leap larger than the diminished fifth, either natural or accidental	ascending and descending: both soft and animated because it lies between the diminished and perfect fifths.
natural or accidental perfect fifth	ascending: animated descending: soft

TABLE II (CONT.)

INTERVAL NAME	QUALITY
the leap larger than the perfect fifth, either natural or accidental °	ascending: lively and animated descending: soft

° The larger intervals can be derived in a similar manner, although when they are used compositely, the nature of the steps and leaps included in the interval will contribute to its overall effect.

Harmonically, these intervals will be judged on the basis of their consonance and dissonance, but in general. "the shorter steps will always give sweeter harmony than the long ones do".¹³³ Furthermore, the text may at any time influence the final decision. There are many progressions which are normally considered bad, but "when the composer wishes to accompany them with words which make a bad impression, then they become good..."¹³⁴

Speed also plays a role in determining the emotional quality of a harmonic combination. The minor third, for example, is a rather weak and sad interval, with a strong tendency to descend. Nevertheless, in fast or very fast motion, it may appear to give the impression of happiness. On the other hand, if contrary to its normal inclination, it ascends at a slow speed, "it will have the nature of a man when he is tired".¹³⁵ In such a case, the major third would prove more suitable because, being naturally lively and happy, it moves in an upward direction with greater ease.

The eight modes, because of the diversity of the semitones which they contain, also produce varied effects on the listeners. They demonstrate their nature most effectively when written in four voices, mixed with the steps and leaps of the other genera rather than maintaining their pure diatonic form.¹³⁶ In tabular form, these modes and their attributes appear as follows:¹³⁷

¹³³ «...i gradi più corti daranno sempre più dolce armonia, che non faranno i lunghi.» *Ibid.*, fol. 28 v. In a later passage, Vicentino attributes a sweeter harmony to chromatic music because of the abundance of semitones in comparison to the tones of diatonic music: «Adunque la Musica Cromatica piena di semitoni, darà più dolce armonia, che non farà quella fatta piena di toni...» *Ibid.*, fol. 32.

¹³⁴ «...quando il Compositore vorrà accompagnare quelli con le parole che facciamo mal'effetto, allhora saranno buoni...» *Ibid.*, fol. 28 v.

¹³⁵ «...avrà della natura d'un huomo quando è stracco...» *Ibid.*, fol. 33 v.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, foll. 44 v.-45.

¹³⁷ Based on *ibid.*, foll. 44 v.-46.

TABLE III

MODE	ATTRIBUTES
I Dorian	peaceful, devout, partakes more of honesty than lasciviousness; also a little happier than the second mode. The ancients sang their songs of praise and intoned their great deeds in this mode.
II Hypodorian	more modest than the first because it has the fourth underneath the fifth.
III Phrygian	happy, when composed in four parts with the mixture of the genera. The simple diatonic will show little effect of happiness, since it is monophonic, without any "company".
IV Hypophrygian	sad, more mournful in four parts than when monophonic.
V Lydian	proud and happy. The ancients derived the name from the proud and ferocious nature of the Lydian people.
VI Hypolydian	a little sadder than the fifth mode, but nonetheless some of the happiness and ferocity.
VII Mixolydian	very happy and with some pride.
VIII Hypomixolydian	rather lively and ecclesiastical (!); not used by the ancients.

In his fourth book, Vicentino applies all of these concepts to the actual construction of a piece of music. He speaks first of the ways of writing the beginning, middle and end of a composition. The nature of the work is of prime importance. In a Mass, or any other form based on a Latin text, the beginning should be serious and rather slowmoving. In the vernacular madrigals, sonnets, *canzoni* and the like, the pace is rather moderate. Other vernacular pieces, however, such as *villotte*, and *napolitane* or *villanelle*, demand a fast tempo from the very start. In every case, the rhythm should unfold gradually and not too precipitously.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ The normal order is from long to breve to semibreve, to minim, etc. This procedure is especially appropriate in serious works, but may be broken in other compositions depending on the nature of the piece and the subject of the words. *Ibid.*, fol. 76 v. Zenck associates the three style classifications of Vicentino with the three *genera dicendi* of Cicero: *gravitas*, *stilus mediocris*, *stilus inferior*. Hermann Zenck, «Nicola Vicentinos 'L'antica musica' (1555)», *Theodor Kroyer-Festschrift* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1933), p. 97.

In those compositions in which the parts enter one after the other, whether imitatively or not, a similar moderation should be manifested by not waiting too long for the entrances of the other voices, but rather have them appear at decently spaced intervals. It is also not very appropriate to begin with a high note in the soprano and a low note in the bass. A much better procedure would be to start with a voice more pleasing to the listener, such as the tenor or contralto, and then to move toward the more extreme ranges.

Good intonation is of prime concern, especially in compositions for church use. For that reason, the best intervals for the opening measure are the unison, fourth, fifth, octave, etc., that is, one of the perfect consonances. On the other hand, as the piece moves along, the ear is prepared for the acceptance of dissonance. An effective "deception" at this stage of the work is to begin on the down-beat ("nel batter"), enter the second voice on the up-beat ("nel levare"), the third on the next down-beat and the fourth on the following up-beat, so that "from one to the other such a variety of beats will bring delight".¹³⁹

In the middle of the piece, it is often good to thin out the texture. For example, a composition in five, six or seven voices may contain intermediate passages for two, three or four parts. The composer's own opinion will decide when to adopt this procedure, for

the student who has a little judgment will regulate the manner in which he accommodates himself to the subject on which he is composing...¹⁴⁰

On the basis of the words, he will also decide whether he should write imitatively or homophonically, or even to make all the parts rest at the same time. He should not depart from the mode in works of an ecclesiastical nature, but in any event, the end of the composition should be kept in mind, so that as he is finishing up this middle section, he is directing the melodic lines towards the tone or mode in which he intends to close. It is not a good idea to wait for one voice to end before entering with another. At least there should be an overlapping on the last half of the note of that part which is concluding. Entrances on the unison and octave are also to be avoided since these sounds belong more to the first and last sections than to the middle. One should, in addition, try not to end the middle section with a long-held minor consonance, unless of course, an affective word such as "sad" is the cause for this procedure.

¹³⁹ «...d'una in altra tal varietà di misura diletterà...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 78 v.

¹⁴⁰ «...lo studente che hà un poco di giuditio si reggerà in modo, che si accomoderà secondo il soggetto sopra di che si hà da comporre...» *Ibid.*, fol. 79.

Minor consonances, in general, are not appropriate for any entrances, especially when they ascend, because they are hard to keep in tune. In descending passages, however, they may be used on suitable words describing sadness and like emotions.

The end of a piece is so important that it is wise to write it first so that the final section provides the goal towards which all the others are aiming. In the case of Psalms, Hymns, Masses and other works that involve choral responses, the preparation for the end will assure the composer that he will eventually reach the right mode for such responses. In madrigals and other vernacular pieces, in which adherence to the mode is not of so great importance, those composers who write the final section first,

lead in a fine manner to that [point] so that the hearers do not notice whether the ending has the mode of the beginning or another mode...¹⁴¹

Even works which are not very good in the beginning, but improve in the middle and conclude in a fine manner, would be satisfactory to most listeners. It is therefore no great fault to begin with an imperfect consonance just so long as the final chord is perfect. The most pleasing compositions, however, are those which start off well, get even better in the middle, and finish in the best and most perfect manner.

The vocal ranges which Vicentino suggests for the writing of these works seem rather limited, but as he has explained it, they are intended not only for good singers, but also for those "not too vigorous or powerful".¹⁴² The soprano extends from b-e², the contralto from e-a¹, the tenor from c-f¹ and the bass from F-b. A greater distance, up to twenty-two tones between the extreme parts, is possible in compositions of eight or more voices.

The decision whether the composition is to remain fairly static or active in its motion also depends on the text.¹⁴³ In motets, slow motion induces a sense of devotion while faster moving voices impart a feeling of happiness. In these *allegro* motets, it is better to differentiate the parts so that they do not all move at the same time. Simultaneous movement is, however, quite desirable in *villotte*, *napolitane*, *canzoni francese* and in fast madrigals. All the parts should not, however, syncopate at the same time. This practice is never found in motets and should be used very sparingly, if at all, in other types of music. To come to a complete stop by means of rests at the beginning or in the middle of a composition would give the

¹⁴¹ «...si conducera[n]no con bel modo à quello che gl'oditori non sè ne avvedra[n]no, se il fine sarà del tono, principiato, ò d'altro tono...» *Ibid.*

¹⁴² «...non troppo gagliarde & potenti...» *Ibid.*, fol. 80.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, fol. 81 v.: «...secondo il suggieto, delle parole, il star fermo, & il muoversi, havrà gratia nelle compositioni...»

impression that the whole piece is over, so that this procedure is best avoided. If it is used, a short rest ("sospiro") is, of course, better than a longer rest ("pausa"), but the most desirable practice is to keep one of the voices moving.

The content of a harmonious musical composition depends not only on the factors discussed up to this point—the nature of the various steps and leaps and the basic motion employed—but particularly on its richness in consonances, because "ears are nourished by consonances".¹⁴⁴ Music which contains only the first two components but no consonances, as in solo (that is, monophonic) singing, is not so satisfactory as a piece which employs all three elements. Without consonances, music is insipid and lacks fullness of harmony. Apparently Vicentino did not think much of liturgical chant except perhaps as a *cantus firmus* for a polyphonic work.

If a composer wants a happy piece, he should use "animated" steps, especially the major third in fast motion. If a sad composition is required, the "soft" steps found in minor consonances should be employed in slower motion. Sadness is also conveyed by placing minor consonances in the lower voices, since a minor third in a high position loses its melancholy character. In five, six or seven-part works, however, the low minor third is hard to keep in tune. If used, it should be held long enough for its nature to become established. Major thirds in the low registers should also be written in longer note values for the same reason. If, however, it is possible to set three or four changing consonances above or below a long note, the effect will be good, "because nature delights in variety and new prospects".¹⁴⁵ Don Nicola nevertheless warns against the practice of ornamenting passages which are based on sad words, because the meaning of the text is destroyed by the sudden increase in the number of notes.¹⁴⁶

In writing music based on a *cantus firmus* several facts must be kept in mind. First of all, the *cantus* itself must remain within the confines of a given mode and should be written as the bass of the composition, or at least as one of the low parts. In the case of a Hymn, however, since it involves a great deal of repetition, the *cantus* may move around more freely, just so long as the mode is retained for purposes of correct choral or organ responses. All use of imitation or canon should be limited to the voices added above

¹⁴⁴ «...gl'orecchi si notricano di consonanza...» *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ «...perche la natura s'allegra della varietà, & della espettatione nuova...» *Ibid.*, fol. 82 v.

¹⁴⁶ Anthoine de Bertrand, in his preface to the *Premier livre des Amours de Ronsard* (1578), repeats the warning. Imogene Horsley, «Improvised Embellishment in the Performance of Renaissance Polyphonic Music», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IV (1951), p. 4, col. 2, n. 5. For the relationship of Bertrand to Vicentino, see Chapter I, pp. 44-45.

or below the *cantus firmus*. To involve the *cantus* in such a procedure reverts to an old-fashioned technique.

The tritone should be avoided by means of accidentals which "aid" the establishment of consonance. It should be remembered, though, that accidentals change the nature of a composition. Flats, for instance, make a piece melancholy, and naturals and sharps tend to create a happy effect. For that reason, it is a good idea to counteract the influence of these accidentals in ecclesiastical works by the use of ascending motion before a flat and descending motion before the other two. In vernacular pieces, however, this procedure may be abrogated because of the words.

The practice of improvised counterpoint on *cantus firmi* ("comporre alla mente sopra i canti fermi") is looked upon with particular disfavor.

It will be a difficult thing [to keep] errors, and not [just] a few [of them], from arising. Real counterpoint, or to say it better, real composition on the *cantus firmus* will occur when all the parts which are [now] sung by improvisation are written down and even the composer who composes that [way] will have no small task in making that composition correct and without errors...¹⁴⁷

Among the errors that are found in two-part improvisations is the common one of moving in parallel motion with the same intervals. This practice is not modern and is ugly to hear because of the lack of variety not only of consonances but of steps. Three-voiced improvisation errs in a similar manner. Customarily the soprano sings in tenths against the *cantus* in the bass. If the middle voice sings in sixths with the bass, it creates fifths with the soprano. If it uses thirds, perfect octave between the two upper parts will result. Most reprehensible is the custom of singing *ostinati* against the plainsong. According to Vicentino, the users of these *ostinati* insist more on the retention of the repeated pattern than on the creation of good harmony. The patterns are also sung at such a speed that the longest note value appears to be the semichroma. "Such a practice", the author adds, "is neither good nor useful for the [church] choir, and in chamber [singing] it is worth nothing".¹⁴⁸

The next portion of the fourth book turns from extemporaneous composition to the problems involved in writing for two or more voices. Two-part writing is so exposed that every badly ordered consonance can be heard. For the same reason, it is good to stay

¹⁴⁷ «...sarà difficil cosa che non naschino de gli errori, & non pochi. Il vero contrapunto, ò per dir meglio la vera compositione sopra il canto fermo sarà che tutte le parti, che si cantano alla mente, siano scritte, & anchora il Compositore che comporrà quello, non havrà poca fatica à far quella compositione, corretta, & senza errori...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 83 (misnumbered 86).

¹⁴⁸ «...tal pratica non è buona ne utile per il Choro, & da camera non

within the confines of the mode and not venture into other modes. It is easy enough for a painter to draw a clothed figure, but a nude presents all kinds of technical problems. Thus, "the duo, compared with compositions in three, four and five [parts] will be similar to the difference that exists between the nude and the fully clad in painting".¹⁴⁹

In three-part music, it is best to begin by writing the imitating voices, if there are to be any. Then concentrate on achieving good bass progressions.¹⁵⁰ It is also a good practice to relieve the three-voiced texture with occasional two-part passages.

A four-part composition can begin with two, three or all four voices, with or without imitation, depending primarily on the subject of the words. For that reason, the purpose for which the composition is intended will aid in determining some of its technical features. If it is a piece based on Latin words, for use in the church, it should be handled with great seriousness and relative calmness of motion. Such works should certainly be differentiated from madrigals, chansons, or the more base *balli, napolitane*, etc. Vicentino argues against the use of these secular forms as the basis for religious works. This practice, that is, the parody technique, destroys the sanctity of the place of worship which, he reminds us, was reserved by the ancients only for the singing of hymns to their gods and for celebrating in song the great deeds of their heroes.

On the other hand, purely secular works should not indulge too much in canons nor the subtleties of proportional mensuration, but should concentrate rather on selecting consonances and steps which underline the meaning of their texts. The problem of understanding the text is increased with the number of parts for which the composer is writing. In four-part music, it is still possible to hear the words, even when imitation is involved, but in five and six parts, the need for greater clarity will often demand a reduction of the texture by means of frequent rests or the use of unisons and octaves. Under no conditions, however, should the rest interrupt the thought of the passage in which it is used.

In churches and other large places, four-part music is difficult to hear even when there are many singers on each part. To get a good

val niente...» *Ibid.*, fol. 83 v. This section of Vicentino's treatise dealing with extempore counterpoint is discussed with correlative illustrations from other contemporary theorists in Ernest T. Ferand, «Improvvised Vocal Counterpoint in the Late Renaissance and Early Baroque», *Annales Musicologiques*, IV (1956), 148-151.

¹⁴⁹ «Il Duo a rispetto delle compositioni a tre, a quattro, & a cinque, sarà simile alla differenza che è fra il nudo, & il vistito, nella pittura...» Vicentino, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁰ Vicentino's consistent emphasis on the governing role of the bass part reveals how strongly he was influenced by harmonic considerations.

sound, it is often necessary to set such works as Masses, Psalms and Dialogues for double chorus and to mix instruments with the voices. The mode must be adhered to strictly in such pieces, and choral entrances, to simplify problems of intonation, should begin on good consonances. Alternating a choir of men's voices with the full chorus is also a fine procedure. For an even larger sound, three choirs may be used. In every case, the entrance of a new choir should overlap the final notes of the preceding choir so that the pitch is made secure. In the event of a unison entrance, however, it is best to wait until the first choir has sung the initial half of the note so that the sound is firmly established in the ears of the second group before it joins the ensemble. Another way to guarantee good intonation for two or more choruses is to make their respective basses coincide at the octave or unison, although an occasional third of short duration may also appear. This practice underlines and emphasizes the basic harmonic progressions.

Vicentino digresses at this point to present his ideas of correct diction and text-underlay. In his discussion of the *cantus firmus*, he had been rather scornful of Gregorian accentuation which, in his opinion, failed to distinguish between the long and short syllables of Latin words and hence resulted in a "barbarous" pronunciation emphasized by the careless and incorrect placement of the text. Particularly reprehensible to him was the practice of singing several notes with the same vowel constantly reiterated. The repeated braying of aaaaaaaa, eeeeeeee, iiiiiiiii, ooooooooo, uuuuuuuu "moves the listeners more to laughter than to devotion".¹⁵¹ Don Nicola is, of course, reflecting the *cinquecento* opinion on chant accentuation.¹⁵² In medieval music only the most heavily stressed syllable of a word received the "tonic" accent, leaving all the other syllables "atonic" or unaccented. As a result, it often happened that more notes were used on a short syllable than on a long one. Sixteenth-century accentuation, on the other hand, considered not only the tonic accent but also the quantity of the syllables as derived from the practice of Greek and Roman antiquity. No composer, therefore, should attempt to write music "without considering the nature of the words, their accents [and] which syllables are long and which short, both in the vulgar tongue and in Latin..."¹⁵³ Vowels should receive special at-

¹⁵¹ «...muoveno più gl'oditori alla risa, che a divotione...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 80 v.

¹⁵² These opinions eventually resulted in various attempts at «reform» inspired chiefly by the musical considerations of the Council of Trent. One of the more interesting documents on the question of chant revision is the «Brief on the Reform of the Chant» of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585), dated October 25, 1577, which entrusted Palestrina and Zoilo with changes in the Roman Antiphoners, Graduals and Psalters. Strunk, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-359.

¹⁵³ «...senza considerare la natura delle parole, ne i loro accenti, ne quali

tention because they vary in sound depending on their pitch. The sounds a, o and u are especially good in the lower voices; in the middle registers, a, e and o are appropriate and for high notes, a, e and particularly i are useful. Pronunciation is also affected by the placement of a vowel on an up-beat or down-beat. Vicentino advises the avoidance of rushing at the beginning of a piece, since speed confuses the diction. He also feels that it is undesirable to indulge in long retards at the end, because these tend to overemphasize an obvious conclusion and stretch out the sound of the word beyond comprehension.

Careful placement of the text will serve to correct many an error of pronunciation and diction. First of all, a syllable should not be repeated over and over again. When a composition contains more notes than syllables, merely sing a group of notes to one sound. If the group of notes consists of semiminims or chromes, the next syllable will fall on the second white note after the last black one, and not the first. A syllable should not be used on a black note, although occasionally one may be placed on the black note following a dotted minim, if it is absolutely necessary to do so. In wide leaps, such as an octave, it is better to avoid putting a syllable on each note. A fifth treated in this manner is less bad, and shorter leaps are perfectly acceptable with a new sound on each note, because the shortness makes them less offensive to the ear. As an illustration of text-underlay, Vicentino offers the following example:

Example 20 (fol. 87)



Don Nicola resumes his survey of compositional devices with the "rule for making imitations in various ways".¹⁵⁴ After deciding on the mode, the composer should "choose a melodic phrase which the other parts can say in the same [way]",¹⁵⁵ that is, one that lends itself to imitation. The entrances should occur at regular intervals, although it is sometimes effective to introduce the parts on alternating strong and weak beats of successive measures. Imitation at the unison

silabe siano lunghe ne brevi, così nella lingua volgare come nella latina...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 85 v.

¹⁵⁴ «Regola di far fughe in varii modi.» *Ibid.*, fol. 88 v.

¹⁵⁵ «...eleggerà un passaggio che l'altre parti possino dire il medesimo...» *Ibid.*

and octave does not give enough variety and should not be used except when necessary. A much better procedure is to have the bass and tenor imitate at the fourth and the contralto and soprano at the fifth, or *vice versa*. Continuous imitation is not at all necessary, since the impression of this device can be conveyed with only four or five notes. Any degree-relationship will serve for this practice, but especially workable are the imitations at the second, third, sixth and seventh.

Most significant, however, are the observations on imitation by contrary motion ("per ottava contraria"). When the first voice leaps down a fifth, it would be bad to leap up a fifth with the second voice, because this would go beyond the limits of the mode. For that reason

when one part leaps down a fifth, the other part ought to leap up a fourth, and when one leaps down a fourth, the other ought to leap up a fifth, so that the formation of the octave comes out right...¹⁵⁶

According to Riemann,¹⁵⁷ Vicentino has given here the first clear expression of the concept of tonal answers so important for later theory.

The strict form of imitation known as canon is used most frequently in sacred works based on a *cantus firmus*. There should be a definite correspondence between the type of composition that is desired and the source of the *cantus*. For example, a canonic hymn should be constructed on a plainchant hymn, a canonic psalm on a plainchant psalm, etc. In this way the composer shows that he is considering the subject of the words.

Canons can be built on every scale degree, but those at the second, third, sixth, seventh and ninth are more "modern" than any of the others. There exist furthermore several varieties of canons. Vicentino mentions in detail only the one known as canon by arsis and thesis, in which the first part ascends and the other descends, as, for example, *ut re mi fa sol la* "per Arsim" followed by *la sol fa mi re ut* "per Tesim". In these canons "alla riversa", that is, by inversion, any degree relationship is possible except that at the octave. Other canons are more common and information about them is easily obtained. Therefore Vicentino feels that they do not merit further consideration in his treatise.

The next chapter discusses the technique of double counterpoint "which has the nature of imitation but is not imitation".¹⁵⁸ Here

¹⁵⁶ «...quando una parte salterà all'in giù per quinta, l'altra dè saltare all'in sù per quinta, acciò che la formatione dell'ottava venghi giusta...» *Ibid.*, foll. 88 v.-89.

¹⁵⁷ Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* (Leipzig: Max Hesse, 1898), p. 367.

¹⁵⁸ «...è della natura della fuga, e non è fuga...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*

the chief problem lies in providing a *cantus* with a counterpoint that can be used either as an upper or a lower part. These invertible voices partake of the attributes of imitation, since, if used one after the other, they would produce a canon at the octave, but the imitative procedure, in its true sense, is not involved because the emphasis lies more on their harmonic relationship to a *cantus* than on the similarity of melodic pattern. Double counterpoint, or "double composition", as he sometimes calls it, can be sung at the octave, the tenth, the twelfth, and in several other ways. At the twelfth, it will be necessary to avoid parallel thirds and sixths.¹⁵⁹

For the sake of variety, it will also be possible to write double counterpoint by contrary motion. In one of the illustrative examples given by Vicentino, the soprano begins a fifth above the tenor *cantus firmus*. When the parts reverse, the tenor moves into the soprano range and the soprano into that of the tenor at the fifth below. Each melodic line moves in a direction contrary to that of its first statement:

Example 21 (fol. 91 v)

The image shows two systems of musical notation for Example 21. Each system consists of two staves: the top staff is labeled 'Soprano' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Tenore'. The first system shows the Soprano part starting on a higher pitch than the Tenore part, with a fifth interval between them. The second system shows the parts reversed, with the Tenore part now on a higher pitch than the Soprano part, also with a fifth interval between them. The notation includes clefs, a key signature of one flat, and various rhythmic values.

The practice in double counterpoint of employing identical melodic material in different parts of the same piece suggests to Vicentino a procedure particularly suitable for composers of instrumental music or music for the organ. The method he recommends consists of using a melodic motive wherever it fits into the general harmonic scheme, thus saving the composer the trouble of inventing new counterpoints. This kind of composing "without too much thought"¹⁶⁰ is effective

fol. 90 v. Riemann, *loc. cit.*, points out that this treatment of double counterpoint predates that of Zarlino who is usually credited with being the first to use the term.

¹⁵⁹ Vicentino must mean double counterpoint at the tenth. In inversion at this interval, the imperfect consonances of the third and sixth become the perfect octave and perfect fifth, hence must be avoided on successive scale degrees. In inversion at the twelfth, the third becomes a perfectly acceptable tenth. The sixth, however, changes into a dissonant seventh.

¹⁶⁰ «...senza troppo pensiero.» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 91 v.

in music without words because the repetitions, diversely placed in all the parts, contribute a sense of unity to the work and create a pleasant and agreeable overall sonority. Were words involved, the composer would have to worry about the aptness of the various steps and leaps with respect to the meaning of the text. The effect on the listener of these constant reiterations resembles a kind of close, *stretto*-like series of short imitations which serve to bring polyphonic animation to the basically harmonic relationship of the several parts.

Vicentino closes his account of the more complex contrapuntal techniques with a description of a composition the second part of which consists of a retrograde inversion of its first part. Apparently, as a good disciple of the learned Willaert, Don Nicola could not omit these involved procedures from his treatise, but he really did not care for them very much. Such imitations and canons, he felt, delighted more by their invention than by their harmony. If they were written in a fine manner, full of harmonious sounds, they would be good to hear, "but seldom, or never, do they come with such a convenience".¹⁶¹ He is most outspoken against the intellectual subtleties of "puzzle" or "riddle" canons:

The composer of such fantasies should seek to construct canons and other imitations which are pleasing and full of sweetness and of harmony, and they ought not to make a canon in the shape of a tower or a river or a chess piece or other things and [write them in such a way] that these compositions bring about a tremendous uproar with many voices, with little sweetness of harmony, so that, to tell the truth, these disproportioned fantasies, without thought for imitating the nature of the words and without pleasing harmony are more likely to induce the listener to boredom than to delight... The aim of music is to satisfy the ears, and not with colors or chess or other fantasies which seem more beautiful to the eyes than to the ears; but those which in that respect [i. e. to the ears] are well accompanied by harmony together with the words, [only] those are worthy to be heard, but there are few which are made in such a manner...¹⁶²

These remarks are followed with some advice to the student to look through his own compositions for errors which can be rectified

¹⁶¹ «...ma di rado, ò nissuna verrà con tal commodità...» *Ibid.*, fol. 92.

¹⁶² «...il Compositore di tal fantasie, dè cercare di fare Canoni, & altre fughe, che siano gratiate, & piene di dolcezza, et d'armonia, et quello no[n] dè far un Canon sopra una Torre, ò sopra un Mo[n]te, ò sopra un fiume, ò sopra i scacchi da giocare, ò sopra altre cose, & che quelle compositioni facciano un gran rumore, à molte voci, con poca dolcezza d'armonia, che per dir il vero queste tal fantasie sproportionate, & senza proposito de imitar la natura delle parole, & senza grata Armonia, induce l'oditore più presto à fastidio che à diletto... il fine della Musica è di soddisfare à gl'orecchi, & non con i colori, ò scacchi, ò d'altre fantasie che paiono più belle à gl'occhi, che à gl'orecchi; ma quelle che in tal proposito saranno bene accompagnate dall'armonia insieme con le parole; quelle sara[n]no degne d'esser udite, ma poche

easily. The advocated method includes a careful examination in turn of each vocal part in relationship to all the others so that parallel fifths, octaves, or other bad progressions can be discerned. In a piece of six or more voices, it is especially helpful to "score the composition"¹⁶³ as a secure procedure for correcting mistakes.

Vicentino brings his composition manual to a close with some pertinent observations on the performance of music:

The singer ought to consider the mind of the musical poet as well as the vernacular or Latin poet, and imitate the [nature of the] composition with his voice, and use [as many] diverse ways of singing as there are diverse manners of composition...¹⁶⁴

Improvised ornamentation ("gorgia" or "diminutione") needs to be handled with especial care because the indiscriminate use of such decorations has the tendency to change the nature of a composition from sad to happy, particularly in the case of Lamentations and other mournful music. These "diminutions", furthermore, introduce dissonances into a basically consonant passage, causing a loss of harmonic sonority. They may, however, be used if the ornamenting voice-part is accompanied by an instrument which plays the composition as written. Similarly, in a purely vocal piece in more than four parts, the lack of consonance in one voice resulting from the diminutions can be remedied by one of the other voices singing the unadorned form of the same note.

Indications of dynamics and tempo, "which can not be written",¹⁶⁵ depend entirely on the words. Tempo changes within the composition are especially pleasing because they introduce an element of variety. A significant lesson can, moreover, be learned from a study of oratory and the principles of rhetoric.

Now he [the orator] speaks loudly, now softly, and more slowly, and more rapidly, and with this he moves the listeners very much... The same ought to be [true] in music, because, if the orator moves the listeners by means of the above-stated procedures, how much better and greater will be the effect made by music, recited with the same orders, accompanied by a well-united harmony...¹⁶⁶

ci saranno dital maniera fatte...» *Ibid.*, fol. 93 v.

¹⁶³ «...partire la compositione...» *Ibid.*, fol. 94.

¹⁶⁴ «...il cantante dè considerare la mente del Poeta Musico, et cosi del Poeta volgare, ò Latino, & imitare con la voce la compositione, & usare diversi modi di cantare, come sono diverse la maniere delle compositioni...» *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ «...che non si può scrivere...» *Ibid.*, fol. 94 v. Vicentino mentions specifically «the soft or loud delivery and the fast or slow delivery... («...il dir piano, & forte, & il dir presto, & tardo...»). *Ibid.* Written indications of dynamics, however, appear as early as the Capirola lute-book (c. 1517) and suggestions for tempo can be found in the tablatures of Milán (1536) and Narváez (1538). Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, [1954]), pp. 521, 622.

¹⁶⁶ «...hora dice forte, & hora piano, & più tardo, & più presto, e con

These words foreshadow in a remarkable way the aesthetic principles fostered by the "Camerata" almost forty years later. They serve as a striking commentary on the originality and progressiveness of mid-sixteenth-century musical thinking.

THE ARCHICEMBALO

The fifth and final book of the "prattica" submits the principles and theories of the previous books to the definitive test of performance on an instrument which has been so constructed that any type of microtonal composition can be played on it. Vicentino's pride in his invention is unmistakable: "I have decided", he writes, "to publish the design of the form of the *archicembalo* for our perpetual memory and so that there remains in the world a solid teacher for our present and future [generations]."¹⁶⁷

Detailed descriptions and measurements for the building of the *archicembalo* are given. For instance, the wood selected for its construction should be good and dry, cut some time before, and preferably from that part of the tree which faces the sun. The instrument is provided with two keyboards, each containing three ranks or orders of keys, placed in removable frames. The second keyboard, in addition, is pierced with holes to allow for the insertion of jacks from below. There are sixty-nine jacks in the first keyboard and sixty-three in the second, making a total of one-hundred-thirty-two in all. The jacks of the first keyboard come in two sizes, long and short, but those of the second are all long.

Measurements of the various parts of the *archicembalo* are given by Vicentino in terms of lines of different lengths which serve as the unit of calculation. For example, the height of the instrument is described as eight times a line which is five and one-eighth inches long. For convenience, the dimensions are here given in tabular form:

questo nuovo assai gl'oditori... Il simile dè essere nella Musica, perche se l'Oratore muove gli oditori con gl'ordini sopradetti, quanto maggiormente la Musica recitata con i medesimi ordini accompagnati dall'Armonia, ben unita, farà molto più effetto...» Vicentino, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁷ «A Nostra perpetua memoria, & acciò che resti nel mondo un fermo Maestro à gli presenti, & posterì nostri, hò deliberato di far stampare il disegno della forma dell' Archicembalo...» *Ibid.*, fol. 100.

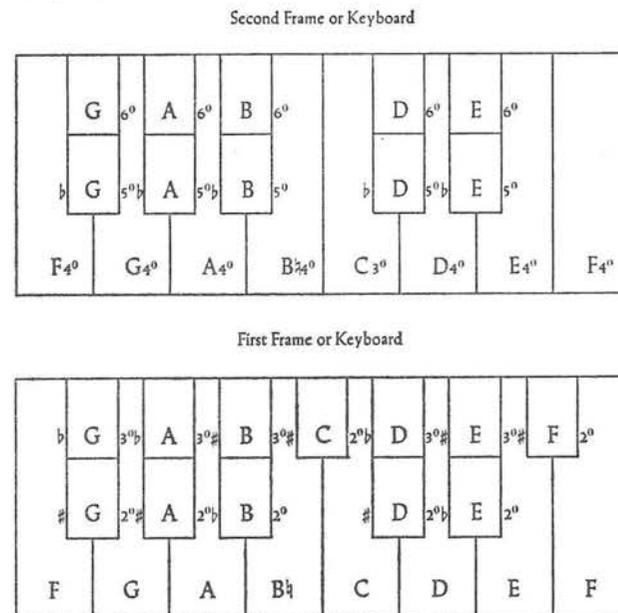
TABLE IV

UNIT	MEASUREMENT IN INCHES
Length	102 1/2
Width	41
Height	11 1/4
Height of the upper surface or "superstite" (where the keys or iron pegs which hold the strings are placed) to the cover or	[missing]
Height of the first keyboard down to the bottom of the instrument.	
Height of the upper works or "morto" (from the bank of keys)	3 1/2
Height of the two keyboards placed one above the other	2 3/4
Distance of the sound-hole from the jacks	14
Width of the sound-hole	4 7/8
Width of the space along the curved side of the instrument where the strings are placed. (This width is kept to the middle of the instrument, after which it gradually increases in size)	5 1/2
Length of the white keys of the first order	3 1/2
Length of the black keys of the second order	2
Length of the black keys of the third order	1 1/4
Length of the white keys of the fourth order	3 1/4
Length of the black keys of the fifth order	2
Length of the black keys of the sixth order	1 1/4
Height above the first frame of the first black key of the second order	1 5/8
Height above the first frame of the first black key of the third order	2 1/4
Length from the string to the first jack	3 1/4
Length of the long jacks	5 3/4
Length of the short jacks	3 3/4

Where the jacks touch the wood, a bit of chamois should be provided to deaden the noise. Vicentino also suggests placing a little lead at the end of long keys so that they will come up faster, since their length tends to make them slow in responding.

The diagram in example 22 will show the disposition of the six orders of keys within the framework of the two keyboards.

Example 22



To facilitate the reading of this keyboard, the octave from f-f will be given in descending order with Vicentino's notation and denomination.

Example 23

The image displays a series of musical staves illustrating the descending octave through six orders (C, B, A, G) across three orders (primus, secundus, tertius). Each order is shown on a staff with a clef and a key signature. The notes are labeled with solfège syllables and their positions in the order.

Order	Order 1 (primus)	Order 2 (secundus)	Order 3 (tertius)
C	sol fa ut primo	sol fa ut secundo in terzo ordine	sol fa ut tertio in quarto ordine
B	fa b mi primo	fa b mi secundo	fa b mi tertio
B	fa b mi quarto	fa b mi quinto	fa b mi sexto
A	la mi re primo	la mi re secundo	la mi re tertio
A	la mi re quarto	la mi re quinto	la mi re sexto
G	sol re ut primo	sol re ut secundo	sol re ut tertio
G	sol re ut quarto	sol re ut quinto	sol re ut sexto

The descending octave has been used because it shows more clearly the progression from one order to the next. The names of each of the notes in the succeeding orders are derived from the name of the notes in the first order that served as their point of origin. This sometimes causes a contradiction between the name of the note and its notation. For instance, *A la mi re secundo* is notated as g-sharp. Vicentino is aware of this difficulty since he admits that his *A la mi re secundo* is commonly called *G sol re ut sustentato*,¹⁶⁸ but he prefers to think of the location of his notes on the keyboard rather than on the staff. In his opinion, the name *A la mi re secundo* shows more exactly the descent of a major semitone from *A la mi re primo* than does the more common designation.¹⁶⁹

Another problem arises in connection with the notes C and F which do not exist in six forms as do the others. Their complete identification is given in the above example (Example 19), but in practice, a full form such as *C sol fa ut secundo in terzo ordine* is abbreviated to *C sol fa ut tertio* if it progresses to the fourth order, or it is called *C sol fa ut secundo* if it moves from the first order. A similar dichotomy can be seen in the diagram of the keyboard (Example 18) in which *F fa ut tertio in quarto ordine* is indicated as *F⁴* while *C sol fa ut tertio in quarto ordine* is shown as *C³*.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, foll. 103 v., 104 v.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 103 v.

The first order is made up entirely of white keys which correspond to those found in most organs, monochords, harpsichords and similar instruments. It is commonly referred to as the Diatonic or natural order, although it should be remembered that the presence of a minor third or major third within this order would introduce elements of the chromatic and enharmonic genera respectively. The second order contains those black keys most frequently used in sixteenth-century organs and the general run of keyboard instruments. In modern terms, these would include f-sharp, g-sharp, b-flat, c-sharp, and e-flat. These tones lie either a major or a minor semitone above the white notes of the diatonic order.¹⁷⁰ The second order is also known as the chromatic order since its use is always indicated by means of accidentals. If it is employed consistently, that is, if only the second rank of keys is played, it may be called the natural chromatic, although it does not often appear in this pure form. More commonly, the notes of this order are mixed with those of the first, resulting in a concomitant transmutation of species of other genera. A whole-step, such as f to e-flat, or even f-sharp to g-sharp within the order, is spoken of as a diatonic step in the chromatic order or referred to simply as a chromatic tone, since the word, tone, implies origin in the diatonic species.

Vicentino's terminology becomes rather confusing at this point because he uses the word, chromatic, with two meanings, first in the root sense of pertaining to the chromatic genus, and secondly, as a synonym for accidental. Thus, "accidental" tone would be clearer than "chromatic" tone. Similarly, "accidental" minor third of the chromatic genus and "accidental" major third of the enharmonic genus would be understood better than the "chromatic" minor third and the "chromatic" major third which he proposes.¹⁷¹

The keys of the second order are split to provide for the third order, which is then completed by the insertion of shortened black keys between the semitones e-f and b-c. Although Vicentino does not name this order, it seems to be a continuation of the chromatic, which includes the less commonly notated semitones: g-flat, a-flat, a-sharp, b-sharp, d-flat, d-sharp, e-sharp. It is also more restricted than the other orders with respect to transferrals of species from other genera, "since in its steps, one can not give any termination

¹⁷⁰ Vicentino suggests an easy way to remember the notation of these semitones. The minor semitone is smaller than the major, hence will lie nearer to its point of origin, that is, either on the same line or the same space, e. g. f to f-sharp, a to a-flat. The major semitone, as the larger interval, will be located further away, that is, on an adjacent line or space, e. g. a to b-flat, g to f-sharp. *Ibid.*, fol. 102.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 101 v.

of the imperfect consonances, that is, of any major third and only one minor third..."¹⁷² These three orders are all contained within the first frame ("telaro") or keyboard ("tastatura").

The second frame begins with the fourth order, which contains the same white keys as the first order, but pitched a minor enharmonic diesis higher. This level of the keyboard is also referred to as the enharmonic order, which, when it is used consistently, is called natural enharmonic. The description of transferred species becomes even more complicated with this enharmonic order than with the chromatic or diatonic. Although the phrase "toni Diatonici Cromatici in Enarmonico ordine"¹⁷³ can be translated literally as "chromatic diatonic tones in the enharmonic order", its real meaning is better conveyed as "tones, diatonic in origin, which have been chromaticized, that is, modified by accidentals, so that they can be used within the enharmonic order". Similar circumlocutions would be necessary for the phrases "gradi, ò spetie del genere Cromatico, Cromatici in Enarmonico ordine", that is, the minor third, or "grado ò spetie del genere Enarmonico Cromatico, in Enarmonico ordine", the major third.

The fifth order supposedly stands in the same relationship to the fourth as the second to the first. In the latter case, however, both major and minor semitones occur, whereas in the former, only major semitones are found. The third and last rank of keys in the second keyboard is known simply as the sixth order, and resembles the first diatonic order by using plain names, unmodified by accidentals, for its notes. The pitch, however, is a comma above that of the first order.

The tuning of the *archicembalo* unfortunately presents several perplexing problems, especially in connection with the second keyboard. The first two orders are apparently tuned in a kind of meantone temperament. "according to the use of the other [keyboard] instruments with the fifths and fourths somewhat shortened, as the good masters do..."¹⁷⁴ The amount of tempering is not indicated, but a tuning in which the fifths are tempered by 1/4 syntonic comma comes closest to the 31-division of the octave which is the basis of Vicentino's overall system.¹⁷⁵ However, with the extension of this

¹⁷² «...perche ne i gradi di quello, non si può dare termine alcuno delle consonanze imperfette, cioè d'alcuna terza maggiore, & sola da una minore...» *Ibid.* There is no reason, however, for not considering the whole-steps as «accidental» tones derived from the diatonic gender.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ «...secondo l'uso de gli altri stromenti con le quinte & quarte alquanto spontate, secondo che fanno li buoni Maestro...» *Ibid.*, fol. 103 v.

¹⁷⁵ Barbour, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

"common" tuning to the third order of the *archicembalo*, a closed system¹⁷⁶ of nineteen notes to the octave is temporarily evolved. Both Zarlino and Salinas have described such 19-division systems, but in the former case, the tuning probably involved a temperament of 2/7 comma while the latter shortened the fifths by 1/3 comma.¹⁷⁷ Zarlino himself admitted the 2/7 temperament to be inferior to the 1/4 comma system,¹⁷⁸ a factor which may well have militated against its adoption by Vicentino.¹⁷⁹ Salinas's method, on the other hand, affected unfavorably both the fifths and the major thirds. The invention of this system is credited to Salinas who first described it in 1577 in his *De musica libri vii*, much too late for Vicentino to have known it from this source. Nevertheless, Don Nicola seems to have been troubled by the sound of his own thirds and fifths within the first keyboard, because he gives implicit directions for improving these intervals by means of the other orders of his *archicembalo*.

Another fine convenience will be found in this tuning that when the performer plays in the first order, and not moving the fingers of the hand when stretching the octave, he can move the middle fingers to play the thirds and the fifths [in the fourth order] and in the same orders that he plays the perfect fifths, in those he will find the major thirds, more perfectly than those which we use...¹⁸¹

The questions raised by this primary tuning are multiplied as the other orders are described. The tuning of the third order proceeds around the cycle of tempered fifths in the following manner: starting with g-sharp in the second order (g-sharp²), the fifth higher moves into the third order on d-sharp³, down an octave and up another fifth to a-sharp³, down an octave and up a fifth to e-sharp³,¹⁸² up a fifth to b-sharp³ and then down another octave.

¹⁷⁶ «...a regular temperament in which the initial note is eventually reached again.» *Ibid.*, p. ix. In the situation here under discussion, the c of the first order is «closed» with the b # of the third order.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 34.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁷⁹ The fact that Zarlino published his *Istitutioni armoniche* in 1558, three years after the date of Vicentino's treatise, does not mean that Vicentino could not have known the 2/7 comma temperament, because the instrument which contained that tuning had been built at Zarlino's behest as long before as 1548, by «Maestro Dominico Pesarese». Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840* (London: George Ronald, [1956]), p. 24, col. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Barbour, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁸¹ «...un'altra bella commodità si ritroverà in questo accordo che quando il sonatore sonerà nel primo ordine, & non movendo li deti della Mano quando farà ottava potrà muovere i deti di mezzo, che toccheranno le terze & le quinte & nelli medesimi ordini, che toccherà le quinte perfette in quelli si ritroverà anchor le terze maggiori, piu perfettamente accordate che quelle, che noi usiamo...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 104 v.

¹⁸² Erroneously given as *E la mi terzo* instead of *F fa ut secondo in terzo ordine*. *Ibid.*, fol. 103 v.

The flatted keys are derived similarly from e-flat², descending by a fifth to a-flat³, and another fifth to d-flat³, then down an octave and a fifth to g-flat³, ending a fifth lower on b⁴, which is thus supposedly the same as c-flat³. This concept of enharmonicism in the modern sense of the term would mean that all the notes of the fourth order could be named by their equivalents: g-double flat, a-double flat, b-double flat, c-flat, d-double flat, e-double flat, f-flat, which would be almost identical in sound with the notes of the first order. This is obviously impossible, since Vicentino states precisely that the difference between the first and fourth rank of keys is equal to one-half of the minor semitone, that is, a minor enharmonic diesis.

The whole problem seems to have been avoided by postponing the tuning of the fourth order until that of the fifth had been completed. He begins the tuning of the fifth order with *C fa ut secundo in terzo ordine*, that is, b-sharp, and seems to progress by fifths as before, but his terminology is very unclear and unexplained. The fifth above b-sharp² is described as *F fa ut quinto, in quinto ordine*, which is contradictory to his previous statement that f, because it moves a semitone to e in the natural diatonic order, can only be divided into three orders instead of the customary six.¹⁸³ The next fifth leads to another unexplained location on the keyboard, *C sol fa quinto*, which is then followed by the easily identified a-flat⁵, e-flat⁵; and b-flat⁵. It would therefore seem that *F fa ut quinto* represented g-flat⁵ and *C sol fa quinto*, d-flat⁵, the two unaccounted-for notes of the fifth order. A b-sharp to a rather high g-flat may possibly be accepted as a kind of fifth, but the amount of tempering does not agree with any of the fifths so far described. On the other hand, if the modern notational representations of a cycle of fifths from b-sharp, that is, double-sharped f, c, g, d, and a, are taken into account, the divergence from the given keys of the fifth order seems to be just as great.

Vicentino uses this fifth order to accomplish the tuning of the fourth level of keys. Starting with *b fa ♯ mi quinto* (b-flat⁵), he moves into the fourth order on f⁴ and then continues around the circle of fifths to produce the other notes. This at least has the merit of agreeing more or less with the approach to the fourth order from the third in which c-flat was considered the equivalent of b⁴. If, however, a-double sharp, the last note reached in the cycle of fifths used in tuning the fifth order, is substituted for b-flat⁵, the fourth order would have to be expressed in terms of double-sharped e and b and triple-sharped f, c, g, d, and a, which would again contradict

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, fol. 104.

a series supposedly only a minor enharmonic diesis above the pitch of the natural tones of the diatonic order.

The tuning of the sixth order is not given, so that no clarification can be derived from that source. All that is said about this last order is that its pitches are a comma above those of the diatonic, which would mean that this order serves as an intermediate pitch between the first and fourth orders, since the comma is equivalent to one-half of the minor enharmonic diesis.

To confuse the issue completely, Vicentino offers a second tuning for his instrument, based on the perfect fifth. The "puzzling doctrine of the perfect fifth", as Barbour calls it,¹⁸⁴ states that the last three orders can be tuned with the first three by means of this interval. In other words, the perfect fifth of any tone in the first order can be found in the fourth order, and the same would be true of the relationship of the second to the fifth orders and the third to the sixth. Unfortunately, the distance between these related orders is not the same so that the fifths would not all be of the same size. Moreover, to take only one specific example, the fifth g to d which is "shortened" in the first order, when "perfected" by playing the d in the fourth order, would exceed the size of a real perfect fifth. The only solution is to understand the term, perfect, in a relative sense.

Vicentino has stated that the main purpose of the comma and the diesis was "to aid a consonance".¹⁸⁵ In his discussion of the interval of the third larger than the minor by an enharmonic diesis, he adds that because of the proximity of this interval to the major third, it assumes the nature of the larger interval rather than the smaller one.¹⁸⁶ If the fifths normally used are all tempered, any increase in their size would bring them closer to the perfect fifth. It seems logical, then, to assume that Vicentino's use of "perfect" for his alternate tuning of the *archicembalo* was intended only in a general sense and not as a specific description.

If exactness had been his goal, he would not have added still another method for obtaining the perfect fifths. In the seventeenth chapter of this book which explains the various leaps and steps from G⁴, Don Nicola states that a note in the first order will find its perfect fifth in the sixth order, if the interval ascends; "and the same sixth order will serve the fourth order to make perfect fifths, when said perfect fifths descend..."¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Barbour, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁸⁵ «...per aiutare una consonanza...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 18.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, foll. 21 v.-22. Cf. note 76, *supra*.

¹⁸⁷ «...& il medesimo sesto ordine servirà al quarto ordine à far le quinte

Perhaps the solution to the puzzle lies in extending to the fifths the concepts of "propinqua" and "propinquissima" that Vicentino used for other intervals, especially the thirds and sixths. The former term involved an increase of a diesis in the size of the interval, so that the "propinqua" of the "common" fifth would be found in the relationship of the first to the fourth orders. The latter term increased the interval size by a comma, so that the "propinquissima" of the tempered fifth would appear between the first and sixth orders. In both cases, the "shortened" fifth of the usual tuning would be brought closer to the idea of a "perfect" fifth.

It is not to be wondered that, with all these difficulties, this instrument, according to Cerone, "at first sight frightened any organist, however eminent, to see such a large quantity of strings and also such a large number of semitones..."¹⁸⁸ According to the same source, only Luzzasco Luzzaschi could play it well, a fact which he demonstrated by writing some compositions especially intended for performance on this *archicembalo*.¹⁸⁹

Vicentino was at work on another *archicembalo*, built on similar lines, shortly before he died.¹⁹⁰ In addition to these two instruments, he also supervised the construction of an *arciorgano* which was capable of playing music in the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic genera. This latter instrument is described in the *Descrizione dell'arciorgano*, published at Venice on October 25, 1561 by Nicolo Bevilacqua.¹⁹¹ According to this document, the instrument was constructed by Vincenzo Colombo, "eccellentissimo in questa professione di organi". All the pipes were made of wood and were so arranged that the *arciorgano* could be portable.

All disassembled and placed in its chests, it will not be [as much as]

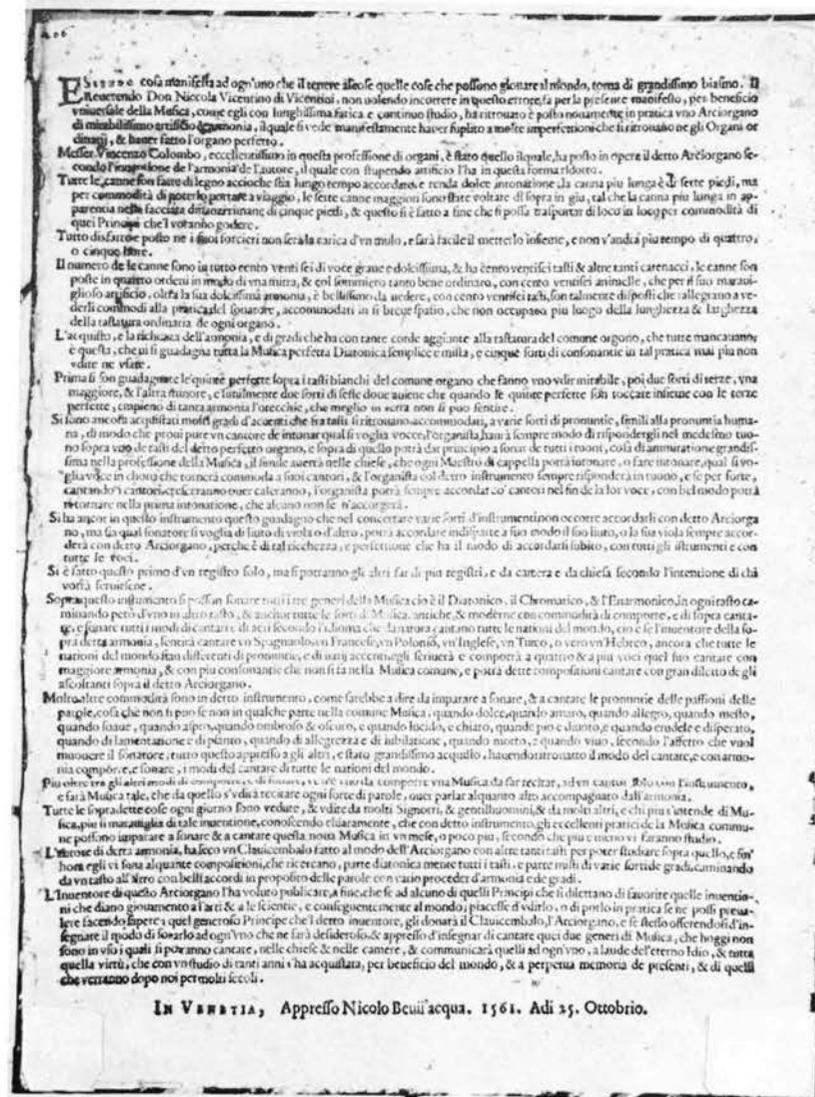
perfette, quando discenderà dette quinte perfette...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 109 v.

¹⁸⁸ «...por la primera vez espanta à qualquiere eminente Organista, por ver una tan grande cantidad de cuerdos, y tambien un tan gran numero de semitonos...» Pedro Cerone, *El Melopeo y maestro...* (Naples: Gargano & Nucci, 1613), fol. 1041.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* According to Otto Kinkeldey, «Luzzasco Luzzaschi's Solo-Madrigale mit Klavier-begleitung», *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, IX (1908), 562, these works of Luzzaschi have been lost.

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter I, pp. 46-47.

¹⁹¹ A copy of this document appears in A[ngelo] Catelani, «Circolare descrittiva l'arciorgano», *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, IX (1851), [209]-210. It was also reprinted and translated into German by Johannes Wolf, «Das Arciorgano des Nicola Vicentino (1561)», *Der deutsche Instrumentenbau*, Jahrgang 1899-1900, number 35, August 7, 1900, pp. [299]-302. An English translation with commentary appears in Henry W. Kaufmann, «Vicentino's *Archiorgano*: An Annotated Translation», *Journal of Music Theory* (April, 1961), 32-53.



Description of the Arciorgano



the load of a mule, and it will be easy to put together, and will not take more time than three or four hours...¹⁹²

There are one-hundred-twenty-six pipes in all, controlled by the same number of keys. These total six less than in the *archicembalo*, but no indication is given as to which keys are omitted. One of the chief advantages of this organ lies in its ability to accompany any combination of instruments, especially lutes and viols.¹⁹³ It will also respond to whatever pitch is intoned by voices "da camera" or "da chiesa". The instrument, in the author's words, "is of such richness and perfection that it has the means to be at once in good accord with all instruments and with all voices".¹⁹⁴

One observation in particular made by Vicentino in this circular foreshadows the future in a striking way:

Among the other modes of composing and of playing, there is one of composing a [type of] music that involves recitation by a solo singer with the instrument, and it will be such music that in it one will hear recited every sort of word or rather lofty speech, accompanied by harmony.¹⁹⁵

L'antica musica, as a whole, presages many of the innovations of the *seconda prattica*. It remains a witness to the battle of those original musical spirits of sixteenth-century Italy who fought for a new and contemporary art, a battle fought with the aid of ancient theory.¹⁹⁶ Those like Doni,¹⁹⁷ who criticized him for his misunderstanding of Greek theory, lost sight of the fact that Vicentino's avowed purpose was not to revive ancient music but to interpret it so that it could be "reduced to modern practice". Others, such as Artusi,¹⁹⁸

¹⁹² «Tutto disfatto e posto ne i suoi forcieri non serà la carica d'un mulo, e sarà facile il metterlo insieme, e non v'andra piu tempo di quattro e cinque hore.» Vicentino, *Descrizione...*

¹⁹³ Both lutes and viols were tuned in equal temperament, «con la divisione de i semitoni pari...» These equal semitones cause «errors» when playing with other instruments, whose semitones are unequal, but the *archicembalo* [and the *arciorgano*] can correct these «defects» because of the microtonal divisions. Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, fol. 145 v.

¹⁹⁴ «...è di tal ricchezza, e perfettione che ha il modo di accordarsi subito, con tutti gli istrumenti e con tutte le voci.» Vicentino, *Descrizione...*

¹⁹⁵ «...tra gli altri modi di comporre, e di sonare, ve n'è uno da comporre una Musica da far recitar, ad un cantor solo con l'istrumento, e sarà Musica tale, che da quello s'udirà recitare ogni sorte di parole, over parlar alquanto alto accompagnato d'armonia.» *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Zenck, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁹⁷ See especially Io: Baptistae [Giovanni Battista] Doni... *De praestantia musicae veteris* (Florence: typis Amatoris Massae Forolivien, 1647), p. 22, where he states that Vicentino and his imitators would not have fallen into error had they understood the writings of Aristoxenus and others: «Quem in errorem delapsi profecto non essent, si antiquas illas germanasque harmonias ex Aristoxeni, aliorumque scriptis, percipissent.»

¹⁹⁸ In his discussion of the debate between Vicentino and Lusitano, Artusi

opposed him because their basic conservatism rebelled against the novel and visionary concepts evoked by Don Nicola's imagination. Although his experiments led him into paths which took him far afield from the main stream of music, they at least inspired future theorists to find the right road to the future. Perhaps the fairest estimate of his achievement can be summarized in the words of Burney:

He was a practical musician, and appears to have known his business; in his treatise he has explained the difficulties in the Music of this time, with such clearness, as would have been useful to the student, and honourable to himself, if he had not split upon the enharmonic rocks, and chromatic quicksands.¹⁹⁹

states categorically that he sides with the latter: «In questa parte [that is, whether music is purely diatonic or a mixture of the three genera] io tengo col Lusitano...» Gio.[vanni] Maria Artusi, *L'Artusi overo Delle imperfettione della moderna musica Ragionamenti* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1600), fol. 38. The very title of this work bespeaks Artusi's innate conservatism.

¹⁹⁹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London: printed for the author, 1776-1789), III, 162.

CHAPTER IV

RESERVATA—A PROBLEM OF MUSICAL MANNERISM

Vicentino frequently amended his purely objective observations on musical technique with the subjective comment that the "nature of the text" or the "subject of the words" could abrogate many of the "rules" of composition. "The student who has a little judgment", he wrote, "will regulate the manner in which he accommodates himself to the subject on which he is composing".¹ These "accommodations" involved significant differences from the "common" practice of the High Renaissance, derived chiefly from Josquin, and led to new interpretations of this tradition which affected the stylistic development of later sixteenth-century music.

A similar development in the visual arts has been given the name, Mannerism.² This term has also been proposed for the consideration of music historians³ and has recently been adopted by a few of them.⁴ Its use will help to clarify some of the problems associated with *cinquecento* music.

The period from circa 1520 to 1580, during which Mannerism flourished, was marked by a growing malaise and tension, manifested externally by such different events as the banning of Luther by Papal Bull in 1520, the sack of Rome in 1527, the establishment of the Universal Inquisition and the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, and the mas-

¹ «...lo studente che hà un poco di giuditio si reggerà in modo, che si accomoderà secondo il soggetto sopra di che si hà de comporre...» Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica...* (Rome: Antonio Barrè, 1555), fol. 79.

² Two penetrating essays on this stylistic problem by Walter Friedlaender have been published with minor revisions in an English translation entitled *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957). The original articles appeared as «Die Entstehung des anticlassischen Stiles in der italienischen Malerei um 1520», *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI (1925), 49-86, and «Der antimanieristische Stil um 1590 und sein Verhältnis zum Übersinnlichen», *Vorträge 1928-1929 über die Vorstellungen von der Himmelsreise der Seele* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, [Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1930]), pp. [214]-243.

³ Robert Erich Wolf, «The Aesthetic Problem of the 'Renaissance'», *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, IX (1935), 83-102, especially, pp. 91 ff.

⁴ Cf. Claude V. Palisca, «A Clarification of 'Musica Reservata' in Jean

sacre of Saint Bartholomew's Night in 1572. The stress between Protestant and Catholic increased with the growth of the Reformation and the opposing discipline of the Counter-Reformation undertaken by the Council of Trent. These political and spiritual tensions were reflected in the changes that occurred in artistic and musical creations.

Friedlaender divides the period from 1520 to 1580 into two parts, each representing a different phase of Mannerism.⁵ The first phase, lasting from about 1520 to 1550, is called "anti-classical" or, more commonly, "manneristic".⁶ The second, approximately 1550 to 1580, is referred to as "mannered". The older or "anti-classical" style is represented chiefly by the painters Pontormo and Rosso, both of whom worked in Florence, and Parmigianino, who was active in the north Italian city of Parma. Some significance for the history of early Mannerism has, however, been attached to the meeting of Rosso and Parmigianino in Rome where they worked together from 1523 to 1527.⁷ The later or "mannered" style can be observed in the minor Florentine painters, Stradano, Vasari, Salviati, the Florentine sculptor, Cellini, and the Roman painter and architect, Zuccaro. Architecture played a small role in the history of Mannerism. According to Panofsky, the mainstream of architectural development, especially in Central Italy, flowed "rather continuously and consistently" from the High Renaissance to the Early Baroque.⁸ The few Mannerist

Taisnier's 'Astrologiae', 1559», *Acta Musicologica*, XXXI (1959), 159. Beekman Cannon, Alvin H. Johnson, William G. Waite. *The Art of Music* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1960), shows that an entire chapter has been devoted to the subject of Mannerism. In contrast, Curt Sachs, *The Commonwealth of Art* (New York: W. W. Norton, [1946]), p. 124, deplors the designation of *cinquecento* artists «under the unfortunate title of mannerists, which in its vague generalization and at once derogatory connotation should not be accepted without reserve». Without advocating the adoption of the term, Mannerism, for music, Schrade has, nevertheless, pointed out the influence of mannerist art on the music of the sixteenth century after 1520. Leo Schrade, «Von der 'Maniera' der Komposition in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts», *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, XVI (1934), 3-20, 98-117, 152-170.

⁵ Friedlaender, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism*, p. 48.

⁶ Friedlaender prefers the expression «anti-classical» rather than «manneristic» because this phase of Mannerism is conceived as a contrast to the «classicism» of the High Renaissance. *Ibid.*, p. 5, n. 1. Schrade likewise suggests that the point of departure for the stylistic *maniera* of the *cinquecento* is the «classic» art of the previous era. Schrade, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially pp. 5, 98-99, 170.

⁷ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 37, deduces an exchange of influence on the basis of stylistic similarities.

⁸ Erwin Panofsky, «Excursus: Two Façade Designs by Domenico Beccafumi and the Problem of Mannerism in Architecture», the last part of his essay, «The First Page of Giorgio Vasari's 'Libro'», *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957), p. 233. This essay was originally published as «Das erste Blatt aus dem 'Libro' Giorgio Vasaris; eine Studie über der Beurteilung der Gotik in der italienischen Renaissance mit einem Exkurs über zwei Fasadensprojecte Domenico Beccafumis», *Stüdel-Jahrbuch*, VI

buildings that do exist are exceptional and represent "a rebellion of the non-architects".⁹

The early mannerists theoretically derived their style from the artistic canons of the Renaissance, but with important differences. The High Renaissance style was founded on concepts of proportion, harmony, unity, and balance. It was conceived, particularly in the writings of Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci, as an ideal art, based on the "imitation of nature".¹⁰ The typical Renaissance artist¹¹ began his creation by consulting nature and then imposed upon nature's accidental shapes a measure of formal discipline. This idealization resulted in general or representative forms for objective imitation. Dürer, for instance, derived his "normal" human proportions from the body in reclining position only.¹²

Gradually, "imitation of nature" took on the meaning not only of an idealized and normative objectivization of the natural but also of a *differing* from that which had been observed. According to Vasari, the artist chose from nature not according to the general or typical, but according to his own judgment. Judgment became for him not a rational faculty, but rather a subjective instinct, an irrational gift. "Even though a thing is perfectly measured, if the eye is still offended, it will not cease to censure it."¹³ This inner image, called the "disegno interno", was justified with arguments derived from Neoplatonic metaphysics and exalted as the divine source of artistic creation. The concept of the "disegno interno" as natural,

(1930), 25-72. Beccafumi, a Siennese, developed his anti-classical tendencies outside of the main centers of European influence and thus had little direct effect on the rise of the new style. Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, n. 32.

⁹ Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Panofsky refers specifically to the Palazzo dell'Aquila designed by Raphael and Casino for Pius IV designed by Pirro Ligorio, both of whom were painters. In Florence, the chief Mannerist architects were the sculptor Ammanati, the painter and stage-designer, Buontalenti, and the painter, Vasari.

¹⁰ Cf. Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 18, 27. Some of the musical implications of this phrase have been analyzed by Armen Carapetyan, «The Concept of the 'Imitatione della natura' in the Sixteenth Century», *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, I (1946-47), 46-67.

¹¹ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 41, states that only a relatively few works remain in which the normativeness and balance of High Renaissance style can be demonstrated. «At the same time», he remarks, «both in theory and practice, definite rules and norms (first solidly codified, however, in much later academic classicistic circles) were created...». *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹² For a brief discussion of Dürer's proportional theories, see Erwin Panofsky, «The History of the Theory of Human Proportions as a Reflection of the History of Styles», *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957), pp. 99-104. This essay first appeared as «Die Entwicklung der Proportionslehre als Abbild der Stilentwicklung», *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIV (1921), pp. 188-219.

¹³ Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

and thus capable of imitation, resulted in a rationalization for the distortions, elongations, and lack of balance associated with Mannerist art.

Despite the fact that Michelangelo has been placed at the head of the mannerist movement,¹⁴ his own works reveal the elongations and distortions of Mannerism only quite late in his career, after his return to Florence. His earlier Florentine figures and most of his Roman works are quite normative.¹⁵ Even "that overwhelming paradigm of Mannerism",¹⁶ *The Last Judgment*, which was painted almost a decade after the early works of Pontormo, Rosso, and Parmigianino and thus reflected rather than initiated the new style, did not feature lengthened proportions of the figures. It is only in the later works, such as the Cappella Paolina frescoes of the forties and the Rondanini *Pietà*, unfinished at his death, that imagination and individual inspiration replace a subservience to fixed standards of beauty.¹⁷ In fact, to the conservatives of the mid-sixteenth century, Raphael was the ideal painter who satisfied all the absolute standards and obeyed all the rules, whereas Michelangelo, for all his genius, showed a decided lack of balance and restraint. "Those, like Dolce and Aretino, who held this view were usually the survivors of Renaissance Humanism, unable to follow Michelangelo as he moved on into Mannerism."¹⁸

The figure of Jacopo Carrucci, known as Il Pontormo from his birthplace, can be taken as typical of the early mannerist painters. Pontormo's first works reveal the strong classical background of his training under the famous Andrea del Sarto. Within a few years, however, a new tendency appeared in such works as the *Deposition* at S. Felicità in Florence which, with its poetic capacity for both elation and melancholy, achieved a new kind of emotional expression. The ascetic spirituality of this work shows, in part, an indebtedness to northern painting, especially the works of Albrecht Dürer. Vasari recognized the threat to the whole structure of Renaissance painting in this fundamentally new stylistic approach and criticized Pontormo for his submission to the latent Gothicism in northern Renaissance art:

Let no one think that Jacopo [Pontormo] should be less esteemed because he imitated Albrecht Dürer in his devices, since this is not a mistake [in itself], and many painters have done so and do so continually.

¹⁴ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

However, he took over the very German manner in every detail, in the clothes, in the position of the head, and in the gestures, [all of] which he should have avoided and should have used only the devices, since he had completely [mastered] the modern manner with grace and beauty.¹⁹

Obviously Vasari did not appreciate that kinship of feeling with Dürer's emotionalism which led Pontormo to react in the way that he did. Florentine classicism had become so perfect and balanced²⁰ that it must almost have appeared superficial, especially to an artist reacting to the tension and uncertainty of the new age. Pontormo found, in the "Quattrocento Gothicism"²¹ of Dürer, the basis for the inwardness and subjectivity of his new style, "part of a movement purely spiritual in origin."²² All external manifestations of the Renaissance disappear, and

in its place are a formal and psychological simplification, a rhythm, a subdued but still beautiful coloring (with fewer hues and nuances than Andrea del Sarto preferred), and above all an expression rising from the depth of the soul and hitherto unknown in this age and style.²³

With Pontormo and his student Bronzino, the essential features of Florentine Mannerism are firmly established. Their movement is characterized by a disregard for the natural and a preference for the arbitrary and "unnatural", achieved almost exclusively by the employment of rhythmic feeling.²⁴ This rhythmic freedom results in an asymmetrical and abstract treatment of the figures in space. The tendency toward the abstract finally triumphs over the spatial ideal of the Renaissance.²⁵

Closely related to Pontormo's style is the work of Rosso Fiorentino who also broke with the Renaissance at an early age. Rosso reverts even more consciously to the past, recalling the medieval Gothic in his 1521 *Deposition from the Cross* in Volterra.²⁶ There is a strong

¹⁹ «Né creda niuno che Iacopo sia da biasimare perché egli imitasse Alberto Duro nell'invenzioni, perlocché questo non è errore, e l'hanno fatto e fanno continuamente molti pittori. Ma perché egli tolse la maniera stietta tedesca in ogni cosa, ne' panni, nell'aria delle teste, el'attitudini, il che doveva fuggire e servirsi solo dell' invenzioni, avendo egli interamente con grazia e bellezza la maniera moderna. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, ed. Carlo L. Ragghianti («I Classici Rizzoli» [Milan: Rizzoli, (1942-1949)]), III, 58. Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. [3] gives a free translation of this passage into English.

²⁰ Especially in its dogmatic representative, Fra Bartolommeo, Cf., also, Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 33.

²¹ Cf. Panofsky, «Excursus», p. 232.

²² Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30. The reaction of the late Gothic on the High Renaissance

emphasis on verticality in this painting, and the elongated figures crowd the narrow space, twining rhythmically around the cross. Color contrasts are more impetuous than in Pontormo, and are often juxtaposed with almost no transition. Rosso eventually settled in Fontainebleau, and through him and his follower, Primaticcio, the anti-classical style influenced many northern, especially Flemish, artists.

Parmigianino, the third among the creators of early Mannerism, stems from a different artistic tradition than the two Florentines. Born in North Italy, he did not have to struggle against the High Renaissance stability of such centers as Florence or Rome. In the work of his teacher, Correggio, there was already present a kind of optical subjectivism, which made Parmigianino's transition to the new style less difficult to achieve. He merely concentrated on refining "the delicacy and the courtly elegance of his master",²⁷ and the process of refinement, aided by the contact with Rosso in Rome, led him to adopt the verticalism, elongations, and color of Florentine Mannerism. Parmigianino concentrates more on elegance and grace than does the ascetically spiritual Pontormo or the emotional and excited Rosso. Nevertheless, his artistic method is the same. In the aristocratic and courtly *Madonna of the Long Neck*, the elongations of the figure serve to enhance the calculated gracefulness of the carefully posed subject. The use of space and the proportions of the figures also are decidedly unrealistic and unnatural, forcing the eye to shift from one part of the painting to another without transition.

Parmigianino's works were held in high esteem throughout North Italy, especially in Venice. There he influenced Jacopo Bassano and his sons Leandro and Francesco and may have inspired Tintoretto in the experiments of his mannerist period. Through the Bassani and Tintoretto, Parmigianino's style affected that last and possibly greatest Mannerist, El Greco. The style also spread to the important center of manneristic art in the north, Munich, because of the close ties of that city to Venice.²⁸

The early Mannerism of Pontormo, Rosso, and Parmigianino lasted until approximately 1550 and was succeeded by the second or "mannered" phase of the movement which dominated the visual arts, especially in Florence and Rome, but also in such centers as Bologna and Parma, until almost the end of the century. The word

turns up also in the works of Cranach, but the appearance of this phenomenon in Florence is much more startling and surprising.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²⁸ Otto Benesch, *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe* (Cam-

bridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 124.
"maniera" originally meant "making by hand", that is, a manual activity or skill. Gradually the term became synonymous with "mode" in the sense of "style", although its root meaning of manual activity was not completely lost. A "style" or "manner" of this sort implied that the artist followed no natural model but had in mind a specific prototype or even the established precepts of a school. As a result, "di maniera" suggests a lack of originality with an emphasis on cleverness and exaggeration and the exploitation of the formulae of a style already abstract and removed from nature.²⁹

The mid-sixteenth century Florentine aspect of artistic theory can be deduced from the pages of Vasari's *Lives*. Sections of this work are devoted mainly to theoretical discussion, and in the biographies, there occur numerous comments on the function of the arts. All of his observations, however, are colored by the autocratic court tone which Florentine art had assumed after the restoration of the Medici to power. The culture of the city became too secular to understand the intensely religious works of Pontormo and Rosso and too autocratic to produce a Humanist art like that of Rome under Julius II.³⁰ The Florentine Mannerists turn from their earlier rationalism to elegance and ingenuity.³¹

Vasari's theories, at first sight, seem to reflect the Renaissance ideas of such men as Alberti and da Vinci, "but when they come to be examined, it appears that all the elements surviving have been altered and given a new meaning".³² Thus, the study of nature is not an end in itself, but rather a means of drawing anything from memory, without reference to the model. Vasari also features a new quality, that of grace ("la grazia"). To him, grace, which had previously been identified with beauty, was now distinguished from that concept and even contrasted with it. As Blunt explains it, "beauty is a rational quality dependent on rules, whereas grace is an undefinable quality dependent on judgement and on the eye".³³ Mere correctness, in other words, does not always produce grace.

Vasari's influence, theoretically and artistically, led to the establishment of the *Accademia del Disegno*, one of the first "modern" academies of art. Earlier academies had existed, but they were usually composed of humanists, many of them amateurs in the arts, who

bridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 124.

²⁹ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

³⁰ Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

³¹ The subjects for painting became so involved that a volume is needed, for instance, to explain Vasari's cycle of frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

³² Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

gathered together voluntarily to discuss common interests. In the later academies, the membership was almost entirely professional and the organization became increasingly formal and autocratic. In a sense, the academy in Florence could even be considered the artistic corollary of the absolutism of the Medici court in the second half of the *cinquecento*. Vasari's *Accademia* set itself up as a supreme authority in matters of art and gave verdicts on all sorts of art questions.³⁴ So powerful did the academy become, that membership requests were received not only from the artists of Florence but also from other Italian cities.³⁵ Eventually all the leading Florentine artists of late Mannerism associated themselves with the *Accademia del Disegno*.³⁶

In Rome, a formal academy, such as Vasari's, did not originate until the last years of the century. There was in existence, however, as early as 1543, a society of the *Virtuosi al Pantheon* which in its organizational structure stood midway between the medieval confraternity and the later academy.³⁷ To it belonged almost all of the leading Roman artists of the middle of the sixteenth century: the painters Pierino del Vaga, Daniele da Volterra, Venusti, Salviati, Conte, Muziano, Zuccaro, Sabbatini, Cesare, Pulzone and the architects Sangallo, Ligorio, Vignola and Longhi.³⁸

Roman Mannerism was as autocratic as that of Florence, but for a different reason. Whereas the Florentine artists ingeniously deviated from the canons of the High Renaissance to which they gave lip-service, the Roman Mannerists in time came to oppose the Renaissance. The movement was inexorably tied in with the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent.³⁹ The aim of the Reformers in the second half of the sixteenth century was to return to the absolutism of ecclesiastical authority which the Church had held in the Middle Ages. This meant opposition to all the achievements of Renaissance Humanism which had played a considerable part in the emergence of Protestantism. As a result, the preoccupation of the artist

³⁴ In 1567, for instance, Philip II of Spain asked the academy to pass judgment on the plans for the Escorial. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (Cambridge [England]: University Press, 1940), p. 49.

³⁵ For example, the academy admitted to its membership the Venetians Titian, Tintoretto, Palladio, Salviati, Cattaneo and Zelotti, all of whom had applied in a common letter dated October 20, 1566. *Ibid.*

³⁶ Among these were the group of the «Studiolo» style and the group of the «transitional» style between Mannerism and the early baroque. *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 106 comments as follows: «Actually the Council presided over two phases in Counter-Reformation styles: a phase of formal disintegration (mannerism) and a phase of formal reintegration (baroque).

is no longer with the reconstruction of the visible universe, but with developing new methods of drawing and composition. They are not breaking new ground, but rather exploiting what their predecessors had discovered for them and turning their discoveries to new purposes. They abandon the Renaissance ideals of convincing space and normal proportions, and make almost as free use as a medieval artist of arbitrary construction and deliberate elongation. For the restrained and realistic colouring of the Renaissance they substitute tones which appeal directly to the emotions rather than to the mind. In fact, in many ways the Mannerists are nearer to the artists of the Middle Ages than to their predecessors.⁴⁰

In one respect, however, these Roman painters were more self-conscious than their medieval and Renaissance forebears. They avoided any painting that smacked of heresy or that could be open to charges of indecency or profanity. This zeal for «decorum» became even more pronounced after the edicts of the Council of Trent were promulgated in the writings of such men as St. Charles Borromeo, Cardinal Paleotti, and the Fleming, Molanus.⁴¹

The Tridentine reforms made their strongest impact on the last important group of Mannerists centered around Federico Zuccaro in Rome and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo in Milan.⁴² Their treatment of aesthetic questions were decidedly anti-classical, since each, in his own way, turned even further from nature and relied on divine inspiration for the creation of his paintings. Both artists attempted to develop the stereotypes of later Mannerism into an academic system. To justify these stereotypes, there came into being a large quantity of theoretical literature in the form of lectures, treatises, and essays on the theory of art.⁴³ In spite of the differences due to the local traditions in which they were trained, Zuccaro and Lomazzo demonstrate in their theories several important traits which they have in common.

...both are strongly anti-rationalist and mystical, and in both the scientific spirit characteristic of Renaissance thought is entirely absent. In both the idea from which the work of art is copied derives from God and not from the outside world.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110. For the original decree, «On Sacred Images» promulgated at the twenty-fifth and final session of the Council, see H. J. Schroder (trans.), *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1941), pp. 413-414. For the effect of the Council on musicians like Vicentino, see *supra*, Chap. I, pp. 38-39.

⁴² Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. [137]-138.

⁴³ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Among the important treatises are Zuccaro's *Idea de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti* (1607) and Lomazzo's two major works, the *Trattato dell'Arte della Pittura, Scultura, et Architettura* (1584) and the *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* (1590). Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140.

⁴⁴ Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

Not all artists were willing to submit to the growing rigidity of doctrine and the strict obedience which culminated in the reforms of the Council of Trent. Even in the early days of the Counter-Reformation, Michelangelo, disillusioned with Humanism but unable to accept the austere demands of the reform movement, developed his own mystical and intensely personal brand of Mannerism.⁴⁵ The pagan and secular remnants of Classical antiquity were also so deeply imbedded in Roman habits of thought that the Church had trouble eradicating these elements from the works of artists. A painting such as Raphael's *School of Athens* was particularly frightening, since the knowledge of Greek philosophical systems which it demanded for its comprehension might lead to serious conflict with orthodoxy. Mythology, however, was harmless and innocuous enough for the Church to tolerate. In the later sixteenth century, therefore, there appear fresco cycles based on mythological subjects which help to satisfy the Roman yearning for antiquity.⁴⁶

Outside of Rome, the artistic influence of the Counter-Reformation differed from place to place. Vasari was quite out of sympathy with the Reformers, although he was wise enough to avoid trouble by not committing himself too far.⁴⁷ Venice was little affected by the movement. The Jesuits never gained a strong foothold there, and the Inquisition did not have an entirely free hand, since it was under State control.⁴⁸ Painters, like Tintoretto, who went through a manneristic phase, were in the minority. It was thus still possible for Venetian artists like Veronese and Palladio to work on principles which were fundamentally those of the High Renaissance.⁴⁹

Despite their mannerist theorizing, even artists like Zuccaro and Lomazzo were not always in sympathy with the work of their predecessors. In their practical teachings, they often turned back to some of the classical principles of drawing and composition, and may, in this way, even have given an impetus to the anti-Mannerist

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. [103]. Panofsky, «Excursus», p. 235, feels that Michelangelo should not be called a Mannerist. He does admit the «none too essential» influence of Mannerism in the works of Michelangelo's Florentine period (1517-1534), but thinks that the artist is too individual to be classified in any stylistic category. *Ibid.*, p. 235, n. 148.

⁴⁶ Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

⁴⁹ Veronese's replies to the Tribunal of the Inquisition, before whom he had been called to answer charges of secularism in his painting, reveals how close his ideas were to those of the Renaissance. For an account of the trial, see Elizabeth G. Holt (ed.), *A Documentary History of Art* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957-1958), II, 65-70. Palladio's Villa Rotonda, although it recalls the Roman Pantheon, tends to become manneristic in the identical arrangement of its four sides, each adorned with a porch formed like a temple

movement.⁵⁰ Among their contemporaries, in the last third of the century, there arose a group of men who, though different in temperament and in the nature of their artistic activities, were, nonetheless, united in their opposition to the *maniera* of the *cinquecento*. From the positive side, they manifested a desire to return to the actual, the normative, and the reasonable, based not on Roman prototypes, but on the "classical" art of North Italy, particularly Parma and the Veneto.⁵¹ Of these artists, only one, Caravaggio, worked in Rome, and he was not a native, but of Lombard origin. Others in the group included the Caracci of Bologna, Cigoli of Florence and Cerano of Milan. According to Friedlaender,

they shared certain traits in common —the desire for simplicity, and objectivity instead of complexity, for truth to nature (or that part of nature that could be objectively tested) instead of to the "imaginative", and for solid and dedicated work instead of painting by rote with only a glib and facile "effect" in mind.⁵²

With this return to realism, the second and final phase of Mannerism draws to a close.

The contention has recently been made that *musica reservata*, a term that has puzzled music historians from the beginning of the present century, describes music which exhibits traits similar to those found in Mannerist art.⁵³ The strongly divergent characteristics of this art are reflected in the variety of interpretations that have been applied to the concept of *reservata*. According to Hellmut Federhofer, it has been defined sociologically, aesthetically, stylistically, technically, and from the point of view of performance practice.⁵⁴ The only feature common to all these definitions lies in their aberration from a previously established classical norm, or, to put it simply, in their essential anti-classicism. In the ensuing discussion, the term *reservata* will be examined in the light of its manneristic attributes.

- 1) *Reservata* involves a reversion to an earlier stylistic period for inspiration.
- 2) As a result, music evolves into a "new" style.
- 3) This "new" style includes deviations from the technical practices of the High Renaissance.

facade.

⁵⁰ Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁵¹ Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵³ Palisca, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ «Monodie und musica reservata», *Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft für 1957*, II (1958), [30]. A review of the scholarly literature on this disputed term is contained in B. Meier, «Reservata-Probleme, ein Bericht», *Acta Musicologica*. XXX (1958), pp. 77-89.

- 4) These deviations are excused on the basis of textual considerations which reveal a heightened awareness of the intellectual influence of the Humanist movement.
- 5) This influence led musicians to experiment in new and ingenious methods of composition.
- 6) Included in these experiments were the use of the chromatic and enharmonic genera and other forms of advanced musical speculation.
- 7) The nature of these speculations demanded the presence of a highly intelligent and well-trained audience of connoisseurs.
- 8) Such an audience expected brilliant technical achievements from the composers and virtuoso accomplishments from the performers.

The first three points deal with characteristics which resemble those associated with the anti-classical manifestations of the early Mannerists. The emphasis on text, which is made in the fourth point, is particularly applicable to music, but, in many ways, it is the musical equivalent of the "disegno interno" featured in the writings of the academic Mannerists, particularly in the treatises of Lomazzo.⁵⁵ Schrade has pointed out that the imitation of nature, whether in the exact or abstract sense, creates difficulties for the musician, because he really has no natural model to follow.⁵⁶ Once the artist has found a visible model, he can decide for himself whether to copy it more or less realistically or to remove himself from nature by choosing an "unnatural" mode of portrayal. The musician, in contrast, must either create his own material or use the material invented by some one else as the basis for his own composition. Once this "soggetto" for his composition has been established, he can then rationalize it as "natural" because its origin lies in "nature-given" musical instincts.⁵⁷ Thus objectified, the musical material can be "imitated" realistically, that is, it can unfold technically and structurally according to the rules and precepts of High Renaissance music, or it can deviate from these rules by adapting the musical material to the demands of the "soggetto delle parole".

The remaining points list features which recall the affectations culminating in later or "mannered" Mannerism. Each of these points will now be discussed in detail.

Point 1

If the early Mannerists were concerned with reactivating a type of "Quattrocento Gothicism", it is not surprising to find the same

⁵⁵ See *supra*, note 43.

⁵⁶ Schrade, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16. This concept is derived from Zarlino. Cf. Gioseffo Zarlino, *...L'Istitutioni harmoniche...* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1589), p. 211.

tendency among the important musicians in all parts of Italy, since a great many of them were of northern origin and would have a natural predilection for this style. The earliest use of the enigmatic term, *musica reservata*, does, in fact, imply a return to older traditions. In the preface to his *Compendium Musices* (1552), Adrian Petit Coclico states that one of his purposes in writing the book was "to recall to light again that music which they generally call reservata".⁵⁸ No clue is given to the nature of the music that he had in mind, although in another passage, Coclico speaks of those "princes of musicians" ("Musicorum principes"), Josquin des Pres, Pierre de la Rue, Jacobus Scampion (Jacques Champion?), and others

who employed surprising and most sweet adornments of cadences; the fine repute left by these men has been preserved to this day in the schools of these regions, and is absorbed by the students of music while [these] disciples are faithfully imitating their teachers.⁵⁹

A partial insight into Coclico's attitude towards the past is provided, however, in the section of the *Compendium* entitled "De Musicorum Generibus", which groups musicians into four different categories. The first class describes those "who first invented music" ("*qui primi Musicam invenerunt*") and names, among others, Tubal (Jubal?), Orpheus, Boethius, Guido d'Arezzo, and finally Ockeghem, Obrecht, and Alexander [Agricola]. If the venerated elders of music history are disregarded, there remain only three names of musicians, each of whom is associated in the minds of modern scholars with traits stemming from "Gothicism". Ockeghem (c. 1420-1495), for instance, reveals in his music a strong inclination towards asymmetry, a deliberate avoidance of clear phrase formation, and a tendency to keep the polyphony moving in a continuous flow.⁶⁰ Agricola (c. 1446-1506) produces, in his use of the old-fashioned device of

⁵⁸ «...rursus Musicam illam, quam vulgo reservatam iactitant, in lucem revocem...» Adrian Petit Coclico, *Compendium Musices*, facsimile ed. Manfred F. Bukofzer (Kassel & Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1954), fol. A2 v. The only other usage of *reservata* by Coclico occurs in the title of his collection of forty-one motets, *Musica reservata Consolationes piae ex Psalmis Davidicis...* (1552), but these offer little help in clarifying the meaning of the term. One significant feature, found in several of the motets, is the frequent replacement of the polyphonic flow by sections in which all the parts begin and end at the same time. Since this practice occurs rather strikingly in a later source described as *musica reservata*, the *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales* (1560) of Lassus, it may be well to keep it in mind as one of the stylistic traits associated with the disputed term. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1954), p. 516.

⁵⁹ «...qui admirandis, & suavissimis clausularum elegantiss usi sunt, horum virorum relictus odor in scholis illarum regionum adhuc reservatur, ac à Musicis studiosis havritur, dum discipuli Praeceptores fideliter imitantur.» *Ibid.*, fol. H3 v.

⁶⁰ Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

hocket, in the retrospective quotation of old-style 6/3 progressions, and in his liking for decorative arabesques and runs, "a somewhat 'Gothic' effect in the midst of the rapidly unfolding Late Renaissance".⁶¹ Obrecht (c. 1430-1505), the most "progressive" of the three, nevertheless shows conservatism in his rather rare employment of imitation, a predilection for *cantus firmi* in long notes, and a recourse to polytextuality in his motets.⁶²

Although Coclico labels these men as "Theoreticians, only" (*tantum Theorici*), he admits that "in various things, they observed a certain harmony of the voices",⁶³ and definitely rates them above the musicians in his second category. Among these are listed Dufay, Ghislin, Tinctoris, Gafurius, Busnois, Binchois, and Caron. Coclico feels that these "Mathematici", as he calls them, "do not reach the true goal of music" (*verum musices finem non sunt assequuti*). They do not, in his estimation, adorn music, but rather debase and obscure it, with their endless teaching of precepts and constant speculation.⁶⁴ It appears that to the author of the *Compendium Musices* the classical traits of serenity and clarity so manifest in the compositions of the Dufay school were less desirable than the more active and involved works of Ockeghem. In the second part of his treatise Coclico goes so far as to say that he has encouraged his students to avoid the many writings of the musical mathematicians, since a true musician

is not he who devises many ways to prattle on and to write about numbers, prolations, signs, and values, but he who sings learnedly and sweetly, applying the proper syllable to no matter what note, and composes in such a manner that he puts joyous measures to joyous words, and vice versa, etc.⁶⁵

Only the third group merits the title "Musici". These composers know how to apply their theoretical knowledge to the practical problem of expressing all the emotions in music, and to do so with elegance. In the first rank of these masters stands Josquin, with whom Coclico claimed to have studied. Others in this class include Pierre de la Rue, Brumel, Isaac, Senfl, Willaert, Morales, and Clemens non Papa.

The veneration of Josquin, not only by Coclico, but by almost

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁶³ «...variis in rebus vocum quandam Harmoniam observarunt.» Coclico, *op. cit.*, fol. B3 v.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ «...non qui de numeris, prolotionibus, signis ac valoribus multa novit garrere & scribere, sed qui doctè & dulciter canit, cuilibet notae debitam syllabam applicans, ac ita componit ut laetis verbis laetos addat numeros &

all the musicians of the succeeding generations of the sixteenth century is rivalled only by the consistent admiration by the mannerist artists of the great Michelangelo. The esteem which both men shared has been stated succinctly by the *Cinquecento* literary critic, Cosimo Bartoli:

...I know well that Ockeghem was practically the first who in these times rediscovered music, which had almost completely died out: no differently than Donatello in his own [time] had rediscovered sculpture; and that it can be said of Josquin, the pupil of Ockeghem, that he was a prodigy of nature, just as our Michelangelo Buonarroti has been in architecture, painting and sculpture, because, just as there has not been anyone up to now who approached him in compositions, so even Michelangelo, among those who have been active in these arts of his, is alone and without equal. And the one and the other of them has opened the eyes of all those who are delighted with these arts, or will be delighted [with them] in the future.⁶⁶

The fourth and final category is the "Poetici", who have emerged from the school of the musicians of the third group. No names are given, but men like Gombert, Verdelot, Crequillon, and indubitably Coclico himself are meant, since he states that these musicians are of northern origin, and in the service of the Pope, the Emperor, the King of France, and sundry princes.

Before considering the work of these men, let us examine the attitude of Vicentino to earlier tradition. His evolutionary and progressive sense of history has already been commented upon.⁶⁷ The pride which he felt in his own musical and theoretical achievements implies a sincere appreciation for the artistic excellence of his own time. Nevertheless, archaisms do appear in his compositions,⁶⁸ and with them, an awareness of earlier styles or *maniera*. For example, he seems to share with Coclico an abhorrence for the numbers, prolations, signs, values and other speculative complexities of the "Mathematici",⁶⁹ and an admiration for the care with which the

econtra & c.» *Ibid.*, foll. F2-F2 v.

⁶⁶ «...io so bene che Ocgem fu quasi il primo che in questi tempi, ritrovasse la Musica quasi che spenta del tutto: non altrimenti che Donatello ne suoi ritrovò la Scultura; & che Josquino discepolo di Ocgem si puo dire che quello alla Musica fusse un mostro della natura, si come è stato nella Architettura Pittura & Scultura il nostro Michielagnolo Buonarotti; perche si come Josquino non hà però ancora havuto alcuno che lo arrivi nelle composizioni, così Michelagnolo ancora infrattuti coloro che in questa sue arti si sono esercitati, è solo & senza compagno; Et l'uno & l'altro di loro ha aperti gli occhi a tutti coloro che di queste arti si diletmano, o si diletteranno per lo avvenire.» Cosimo Bartoli, *Ragionamenti accademici... sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante...* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi Senese, 1567), fol. 35 v.-36.

⁶⁷ See *supra*, Chapter III, pp. 111-115.

⁶⁸ See *supra*, Chapter II, pp. 70-72.

⁶⁹ See *supra*, Chapter III, pp. 161-62.

"Musici"⁷⁰ interpret the text in their musical settings.⁷¹ Moreover, with his return to ancient theory to justify his exploitation of the chromatic and enharmonic genera, Vicentino is "recalling to light" a practice which, though known theoretically, had long fallen into disuse. The effect of such a return to neglected procedures gave the impression of novelty.

Point 2

This novelty appears very clearly in the music of the generation which followed Josquin, the so-called "Poetici" of Cocllico. Significantly enough, this corresponds to the time in which Pontormo, Rosso, and Parmigianino were establishing the early mannerist style. The composers in the new style immediately came in conflict with their more conservatively-oriented contemporaries. In 1536, for instance, Johannes Stomius complains about "those who call their music (so please God) new", who "wrap up every kind of composition with such a disorder of steps and signs... Neither do they rest on any mathematical reason", he continues, "nor is the sense soothed by sweetness of sound".⁷²

A partial answer to the form which this novelty took is provided by Cosimo Bartoli, who, in speaking of Gombert and Crechigliano (Crequillon), claims that they have used "another manner different from the others"⁷³ in their compositions. Gombert, for instance, has employed a technique in which

all the parts sing continuously, with very few rests, rather canonic, [with] close strettos, enchaind the one in the other, so that one feels therein a certain grandeur coupled with a harmony which gives one a wonderful delight.⁷⁴

The 1540's saw the publication of a host of compositions described either as *musica nuova* or a related expression.⁷⁵ Vicentino's first book of madrigals (1546), composed in the new manner

⁷⁰ Among whom are listed his teacher, Willaert.

⁷¹ See *supra*, Chapter III, *passim*, especially pp. 148-158.

⁷² The translation of this passage from the "Conclusio epitomes" of Stomius's *Prima ad musicen instructio* (Augsburg, 1536) is by Palisca, *op. cit.*, p. 138. The original Latin is quoted in Hans Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16.-18. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1941), p. 27.

⁷³ "...una altra maniera diversa dalle altre..." Bartoli, *op. cit.*, fol. 36 v.

⁷⁴ "...tutte le parti continovamente cantino, con pochissime pose, anzi fugate, strette serrate, inchiodate l'una nella altra che vi si sente dentro un certo che di grandezza, congiunta con una armonia che ti dà un diletto maraviglioso." *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ For the names of some of these collections, see Palisca, *loc. cit.*

discovered by his teacher Willaert, is typical of these works. Since this book has already been discussed in detail,⁷⁶ only a brief reminder of its "new manner" is necessary. The music was described in terms of its elongated lines, its verticality, the crowded entrances of its voices, its rhythmic breathlessness, and its chromatic nuances of color. Almost the same terms could be used to describe a Parmigianino painting. Because of Parmigianino's influence in Venice, where these madrigals were written and published, there is probably some justification for relating these analogous techniques of the painter and the musician.

None of these sources equate the "new music" with "*musica reservata*". The two terms are, however, juxtaposed in a letter sent to Albert V of Bavaria by his Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Seld in Brussels, dated September 22, 1555.⁷⁷ In describing Philippe de Monte (1521-1603) whom the Duke wanted to engage for the court at Munich, Seld wrote: "...the best composer that can be found in the entire country, especially in the new manner and *musica reservata*".⁷⁸ From the way this sentence is phrased, it is possible to consider "new manner" and "*musica reservata*" either as an identical concept or as two opposing categories. It would appear, however, from an earlier letter of Dr. Seld dated April 28, 1555, that the synonomous meaning of the terms is intended, for he says: "And thus will the *Musica reservata* come still more into fashion than hitherto".⁷⁹ It seems likely that a style coming into favor would be considered new for its time, even if its origins may have been inspired by older practices.

Dr. Seld provides another equivocal phrase in the first part of the same long letter, dealing there with the vocal excellence of an alto singer, Egidius Fux. "Since we sang all kinds of *Reservata* and music unknown to him", he states, "I find that he is secure enough in all of them..."⁸⁰ Here again a dual interpretation of the words is possible, either uniting the terms into one concept, or differentiating them. In the light of Seld's later observation that *musica reservata* was becoming the fashion, it would be reasonable to assume that

⁷⁶ See *supra*, Chapter II, pp. 49-72.

⁷⁷ Both Munich and Brussels were affected by the Mannerist movement. Benesch, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 124.

⁷⁸ "...der pest Componist, der in dem ganzen land ist, furnemlich auf die new art und *Musica reservata*." The entire letter is printed in M. Van Crevel, *Adrianus Petit Coclico* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1940), pp. 294-295.

⁷⁹ "...Und wirdt also die *Musica reservata* noch vil mehr dann hievor Im schwank geen." A complete copy of this letter can be found in Adolf Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895), III, 302.

⁸⁰ "Da wir allerlay *Reservatam* und Ime unbekhante Musick gesungen, befind, das er der aller gewiss genug..." Sandberger, *op. cit.*, III, 300.

some music of this type would be new and unknown to the singer, and that the terms, therefore, are synonymous.

The identification of "new music" with "musica reservata" does, however, occur definitely in two sources, both written by Jean Taisnier.⁸¹ In the dedicatory letter to Johannes Jacob Fugger prefaced to his *Opus mathematicum* of 1562, Taisnier mentions both concepts briefly: "These [his books of music] will treat the new (which they call *reservata*) and the old..."⁸² In an earlier work, the *Astrologiae iudicariae usagogica*... of 1559, a more detailed explanation is given:

Music, then, is [divided into] [1] theoretical, practical and poetic; [2] universal, human and instrumental; [3] choral [plain chant] and figured; [4] ancient and modern—called new or *reservata* by some who have held that the application of one or the other diesis or diaschisma in a secular song or motet turns the diatonic genre into the chromatic.⁸³

Palisca has interpreted the fourth classification in the following terms: "1) *musica reservata* is the new music; 2) its advocates are the chromatic and enharmonic experimenters; 3) the composers of *musica reservata* do not conform to the rules".⁸⁴

Point 3

Except for the reference to the use of non-diatonic genera,⁸⁵ no further technical details are given. Abrogation of the rules is, however, censured as an attribute of "new composers" not only by Taisnier but also by Ghiselin Danckerts, one of the judges at the Vicentino-Lusitano debate. Danckerts makes no mention of *musica reservata*, but he does speak of the errors of those who "profess to compose in a musical way",⁸⁶ that is, without knowledge. The errors which he lists offer a good indication of the innovations introduced by the more progressive musicians of the mid-*cinquecento*. First of all, he abhors those musicians who do not observe the strictness of the modes,⁸⁷ especially the ones who arbitrarily raise or lower

⁸¹ Both sources are discussed in detail in Palisca, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially pp. 134-136.

⁸² «De nova enim (quam reservatam volunt) & veteri Musica tractabunt...» *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 137. Taisnier feels that the mere introduction of small intervals does not make music chromatic or enharmonic, and thus places himself on the side of conservatives like Danckerts and Lusitano rather than in favor of a progressive like Vicentino.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148. For a discussion of the «errors» which Taisnier finds in this music, see *ibid.*, pp. 137-140.

⁸⁵ See *infra*, pp. 205-208.

⁸⁶ «...fanno professione di Comporre alla musica maniera.» Ghiselin Danckerts, «Trattado... sopra una differentia musicale sententia...», MS 56, Vallicelliana, Rome, fol. 407 v.

⁸⁷ Among them, he would certainly have included Vicentino. Cf. Chapter

the notes outside of their ordinary intonation, by reducing not only the interval of the minor semitone to a whole tone as b to c-sharp or c to b-flat, but also the interval of the tone to a minor semitone, as a to b-flat or d to c-sharp, or (which is worse) to a semitone, as f to g-sharp to a, and this without giving any reason at all, except that they compose this way in the new manner...⁸⁸

He objects in addition to the predilection of some of the newer composers for the application of the title "Madrigali Chromatici" to their works.⁸⁹ Not only is he unable to find in these compositions any progression of the three intervals appropriate to the chromatic tetrachord, but he is also at a loss to find even a single interval or step that belongs to that gender. Apparently Danckerts understood the term "Chromatici" to refer to the gender rather than to the use of "colored" or black notes, that is, notes of short duration, which characterized many of these madrigals. He also misunderstood and rejected the reinterpretation of the older mensuration signs which these shorter note-values introduced.

Scholars have noted a new trend, especially in the madrigal circa 1540, towards increased rhythmic animation and the use of shorter note values.⁹⁰ One reflection of this tendency can be seen in the frequent use of the descriptive words *cromatici* or *note nere* which appear in the titles of many collections. Vicentino, in fact, definitely refers to these shorter note values in terms of speed. The semiminim is called *moto presto*, the fusa, *moto veloce*, and the semifusa, *moto velocissimo*.⁹¹ The slower note values, on the other hand, are not used so much in "modern" music.⁹²

The new trend is also mirrored in the mensuration signs. In the earlier part of the sixteenth century, the use of *tempus imperfectum* (c) and *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (ϕ) signified a real proportional relationship, but by the middle of the century, the latter sign had not only lost all meaning as an indication of diminution, but had even come to signify the same thing as *tempus imperfectum*. This usage became so common that the occasional return by a composer

III, p. 115. See also *infra*, p. 208.

⁸⁸ «...le note fuor della lor ordinaria intonatione, per ridurre non solame[n]te l'intervallo del semitono minore à tuono intiero così  ovvero così  Ma ancho l'intervallo del tuono a semitono minore così  ò così  ovvero (quelche é peggio) a semitono così  & ciò senza assegnare raggion nesuna, se non che compongono di questa sorte alla nuova maniera..." *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 409.

⁹⁰ Alvin Harold Johnson, «The Liturgical Music of Cipriano de Rore» (unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1954), p. 210.

⁹¹ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 42 v.

⁹² *Ibid.*, fol. 76 v.

to the older sign (C) took on an entirely different import. This mensuration sign now represented a shift from the breve to the semibreve as the unit of the *tactus*, which resulted in a concomitant change in the scale of values to notes one degree lower. With the semibreve as the new unit, the order of note-values would appear as semibreve, minim, semiminim, and fusa. Since the latter two are black notes ("note nere"), a composition in this new *tempus imperfectum* could well be described as "colored" or "chromatic".⁹³

This increase of rhythmic activity had already been observed by Bartoli in the music of Gombert,⁹⁴ and became increasingly typical of the music of the progressive composers. According to Palisca, Taisnier's use of the phrase, "contrapuncta fluentia", probably refers "to this very uninterrupted flow and to the rather breathless quality of much of the new music".⁹⁵ Only one source, however, relates continuous rhythm to *musica reservata*. The relationship occurs in a little-known counterpoint treatise of 1571 entitled "De Musica" by an unknown author, which was discovered among the acts of the synod at Besançon.⁹⁶ This eleven-folio tract contains not only a reference to the term in question, but also several other passages of significance. The pertinent sections are the following:

These are the rules: The beginning and the end of the song ought to be arranged in perfect consonance or unison. In rapid canon, however, imperfect consonances are allowed, that is, thirds, sixths, tenths... Third: Attend [to the task] in such a manner that the voices, progressing in diversified, and (as much as may be possible) contrary motion, at the end join together in perfect consonances and bring about the final of some mode. In continuous rhythm, however, avoid the cadence so that what they call *musica reservata* is created.⁹⁷

The technical language of this selection is by no means a model of clarity, but one fact does emerge: a formal and strict application of the rules of counterpoint could be relaxed in those cases in which the music moved in rapid canon or in continuous rhythm. Furthermore, since this rhythmic drive, accompanied by the avoidance of cadences, resulted in *musica reservata*, another term would probably

⁹³ Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600* (4th rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1949), p. 192, suggests that the adoption of ϕ may have been connected with the introduction of the *tactus major* and the *tactus minor*, «terms which indicate, not different tempi, but different conductor's beats for the same tempo, the latter having two movements of the hand in place of one of the former.»

⁹⁴ See *supra*, p. 190.

⁹⁵ Palisca, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁹⁶ Reprinted, with a free German translation by W. Bäumker, «Ueber den Kontrapunkt», *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, X (1878), 63-65.

⁹⁷ «Praecepta erunt haec: Initium carminis et finis poni debent in consonantia perfecta vel unisono. In fuga autem celeri admittuntur concinna: id est

be necessary to describe the more strict observance of the rules.⁹⁸ To investigate this possibility, it will be necessary to digress in order to examine another sixteenth-century source which contains an unexplained and hence disputed term.

In the preface of his *Il primo libro dove si contengono Madrigali, Vilanesche, Canzon francesi, e Motetti...* (1555) Orlando Lassus addresses himself to his patron, Signor Stefano, "who, being enamoured of the music which is here [Antwerp] called *osservata*, wishes that it were known to all and pleasing to everyone".⁹⁹

The expression *osservata* in reference to a style of counterpoint actually occurs in a treatise, although of relatively late date.¹⁰⁰ Girolamo Diruta (1557-1612) published his *Il Transilvano*, a method for keyboard instruments, in two parts, the first appearing in 1593, and the second, sixteen years later in 1609. The section on counterpoint, which is contained in the second book of Part II is, in general, a synthesis of earlier practice, based chiefly on the work of Zarlino. It does, however, supply a clear definition of *osservata* which is extremely useful for the clarification of our problem.

For this type of counterpoint, four "movements" are specified:

- 1) from a perfect consonance to another perfect consonance—by contrary motion,
- 2) from an imperfect consonance to another imperfect consonance—freely (*come si vuole*),
- 3) from a perfect consonance to an imperfect consonance—freely,
- 4) from an imperfect consonance to a perfect consonance—by contrary and step-wise motion (*il semituono*).

"Moto contrario", as described by Diruta, indicates not only the familiar usage of the term, but even oblique motion.¹⁰¹ A special

tertia, sextae, decimae... Tertium: Sic inclinit, ut voces diversis motibus contrartisque (quantum fieri potest) progredientes, tandem perfectis consonantiis conjugantur et alicuius toni finem referant. In ritmo autem continuo clausulam fugies, ut fiat, quam vocant musicam reservatam.» Ibid., p. 64.

⁹⁸ Vicentino also mentions the possibility of writing in strict or free style. In his letter to the Duke of Mantua, he notes that among his compositions can be found some which adhere to the conservative principles of «common music», some which exploit the «new practice», and a few of an intermediate character. Cf. *supra*, Chapter I, pp.

⁹⁹ «...il quale innamorato della musica che qui si domanda osservata, vorreste ch'ella fosse palese a tutti e che a tutti piacesse.» Robert Eitner, «Chronologisches Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke von Hans Leo Hasaler und Orlando Lassus», *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, Supplements to V and VI (1874), p. xxiii.

¹⁰⁰ Claude V. Palisca, in an abstract of a paper entitled «Musica Reservata and Osservata: A Critical Review», *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, VII (1954), p. 168, col. 2, states that a manuscript treatise of 1589 written by Vincenzo Galilei «defined it [*osservata*] as music which observes the rules of counterpoint and noted that it was then no longer in fashion».

¹⁰¹ «...del moto contrario s'intende ch'una parte descenda, e l'altra ascenda,

interpretation is also given for the concept of step-wise motion. Although this usually involves the use of a semitone in one of the voices, this step may be implied, i. e. "silent" ("tacito") as within the minor third, rather than shown, i. e. "expressed" ("espresio") in reality.¹⁰² The fourth condition could thus be fulfilled by the following progression:

Example 24



The first and fourth regulations are especially necessary to follow in order to avoid hidden fifths and octaves ("il suspetto di due quinte e di due ottave").¹⁰³ On these precepts depend "all the good and the beauty of *contrapunto osservato*, so highly esteemed by men of ability in this profession".¹⁰⁴

Opposed to this type of counterpoint is a less strict form called *contrapunto commune*. The difference is explained in the following terms:

The *contrapunto osservato* is more beautiful and rather more charming than the *contrapunto commune*, and its beauty and charm arises from these observations, which have already been explained. In the *contrapunto commune* such observations are not applicable...¹⁰⁵

Later, Diruta continues:

You know that the rule of *contrapunto commune* is very much easier than *osservato*, considering that you do not have the obligation of contrary motion nor even of the semitone, as I have already said. The major observation is not to make two perfect consonances of the same kind, one after the other, just as you have [done] in the *contrapunto osservato*.¹⁰⁶

In other words, the only rule to observe in *contrapunto commune* is to avoid parallel fifths and octaves.

Examples of both types of counterpoint are given in the *Transilvano*, and a comparison of their styles can be made since Diruta

overo che una stia ferma, e l'altra si muovo.» Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda Parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1609), book 2, p. 2.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ «...tutto il buono, e'l bello del contrapunto osservato, tanto stimato da valent'huomeni di questa professione.» *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ «Il contrapunto osservato è più bello e più vago assai, che non è il contrapunto commune, e la sua bellezza, e vaghezza nasce da questi osservazioni, che già vi vado spiegando. Nel contrapunto commune non vi vanno tante osservazioni...» *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ «Sappiate, che la regola del contrapunto commune, è più facile assai

provides examples of *osservato* and *commune* on the same *cantus firmus*

Example 25

Contrapunto osservato

Example 26

Contrapunto commune

A similar differentiation of the two kinds of counterpoint is taught by Adriano Banchieri (1567-1634) in his *Cartella musicale*...¹⁰⁷ Especially informative is his opinion that the best representatives of *contrapunto osservato* are Zarlino and Artusi. "For *Contrapunto Osservato* (we omit the ancient writers) we examine rather the moderns among whom are Gioseffo Zarlino, Gio: Maria Artusio, and others..."¹⁰⁸ Banchieri also recommends that the novice in counterpoint ("il novello contrapuntista") "ought first to learn the rules and precepts in the *Osservato Contrapunto*"¹⁰⁹ before embarking on freer ventures. His own inclinations, however, lead him to suggest a mixture of the two types in actual composition, since, in effect, modern composers, "by making use of both manners woven together, render a pleasing new delight in the music nowadays practiced".¹¹⁰ By the second decade of the seventeenth century, the differences between the two forms of counterpoint may have become as indistinguishable to Banchieri as they are to our ears, and were thus lumped together to produce that form of writing labeled "stylus antiquus" by the Baroque.

In the light of the above observations, the precepts of the Besançon treatise take on significantly new possibilities of meaning. Beginning and ending in perfect consonances and maintaining the purity of the mode would be the aim of both *contrapunto osservato* and *contrapunto commune*, although, due to the recommendation in the Besançon tract to use contrary motion as much as possible, a preference for the stricter type is indicated. On the other hand, exceptional treatment of the material, especially in compositions featuring rapid canon and continuous movement, would then result in a third concept of style, *musica reservata*.

Speed was given as the excuse for all sorts of musical licenses. Hermann Finck, in his *Practica Musica* (1556) states that "great speed

dell'osservato, atteso che non havete obligo del moto contrario, nè anco del semituono, si come già vi ho detto. La maggior osservanza è di non fate due consonanze perfette dell'istesse specie, una appresso l'altra, si come havete nel contrapunto osservato.» *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella musicale nel canto figurato, fermo, & contrapunto*... (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1614), p. 165. This is the third, enlarged edition of the work; earlier editions appeared in 1601 and 1610. The present work is augmented by the inclusion of a section entitled «Discorso sopra la moderna pratica musicale» which is provided with its own title-page, *Moderna pratica musicale*, and the information that it was published at Venice by G. Vincenti in 1613.

¹⁰⁸ «...Del Contrapunto Osservato (lasciamo gli scrittori antichi) mà vediamo gli Moderni trà gli quali sono Gioseffo Zarlino, Gio: Maria Artusio, & altri...» *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ «...deve prima apprendere le regole & precetti nell' Osservato Contrapunto...» *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹¹⁰ «...servendosi d'amendue le maniere assieme conteste, rendono un

makes dissonance easy to rectify",¹¹¹ although he is conservative enough to prefer parallels rather than to use unusual intervals to avoid them. The fifth precept of the Besançon treatise is even more specific: "However, in copious notes [i. e. smaller note values], speed will excuse the dissonance".¹¹² It must be added, though, that this freedom was restricted to the weaker "beats" of the piece.

In actuality, only one specific feature of *musica reservata* is definitely stated by the anonymous author of Besançon: the avoidance of the cadence in continuous rhythm. Fortunately, some clarification of the meaning of this phrase is provided by both Zarlino and Vicentino, in their discussion of cadences. To Zarlino, a cadence is

a certain progression that is made by the parts of the composition singing together, which signifies either a general cessation of the movement of the harmony, or the perfection [i. e. conclusion] of the sense of the words to which the piece is composed.¹¹³

He then goes on to say that when an intermediate point of repose is desired, but the thought of the text has not been completed,

we can use those cadences which end on the third, fifth, sixth, or other similar consonances, because to terminate in this manner is not to end in a perfect cadence, but is known as avoiding the cadence, as some musicians call it. And it was good to discover that the cadence could indeed finish in such a way, since it at times happens that the composer struggles with a fine passage in which he could have best used a cadence, but he had not finished with the sentence in the text.¹¹⁴

Zarlino then sums up succinctly:

to avoid the cadence is (as we have seen) a certain progression which the parts make, seemingly wanting to reach a perfect ending, according to one of the modes shown above, and turning aside elsewhere.¹¹⁵

gustoso novo diletto nella Musica odiernamente praticata...» *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹¹¹ «...Nam nimia celeritas dissonantiae facile mendetur.» Hermann Finck, *Practica Musica* (Wittenberg: successors to Georg Rhaw, 1555), fol. [2T4] v.

¹¹² «Quamquam in fuis notulis celeritas dissonantiam excusat.» Bäumker, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹¹³ «...un certo atto, che fanno le parti della cantilena cantando insieme, la qual dinota, o quiete generale dell' harmonia, o la perfettione del senso delle parole, sopra le quali la cantilena è composta.» Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: [Pietro da Fino], 1558), p. 221.

¹¹⁴ «...potremo usar quelle cadenze, che finiscono per Terza, per Quinta, per Sesta, o per altre simili consonanze; perche il finire a cotesto modo, non è fine di Cadenza perfetta: ma si chiama fuggir la Cadenza; si come hora lo chiamano i Musici. Et fu buono il ritrovare, che la Cadenza finissero anco in tal maniera: Conciosa che alle volte accasca al Compositore, che venendoli alle mani un bel passaggio, nel quale si accomodarebbe ottimamente la Cadenza, & non havendo fatto fine al Periodo nelle parole;...» *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹¹⁵ «...Fuggir la Cadenza sia (come havemo veduto) un certo atto, il qual fanno le parti, accennando di voler fare una terminatione perfetta, secondo l'uno

Example 27 is then given to illustrate the points which had been indicated in theory.¹¹⁶

Example 27

Vicentino also discusses the concept of “fuggir la cadenza” in his *L'antica musica*... under the heading “Demonstration of cadences that do not conclude...”¹¹⁷ In the example of cadences which “avoid their conclusion” (“fuggano la sua conclusione”), the unusual endings are justified with the following prophetic words:

...every bad leap can be adapted to our ears with practice, so that the time will come when all the natural and accidental modes or leaps

de i modi mostrati di sopra, & si rivolgono altrove...» *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227.

¹¹⁷ «Dimostrazione delle cadentie che non concludeno...» Vicentino, *op. cit.* fol. 53.

will be sung as easily as we today sing good leaps, such as the octaves and the perfect fifths, and even some of the bad and very strange leaps.¹¹⁸

He concludes his discussion with a bit of propaganda for his newly invented instrument: “...the more our archicembalo is practiced, the more easy will the difficult leaps be.”¹¹⁹ (For an example of avoided cadences see Example 28.)

Example 28

Point 4

The chief clue to the use of these cadences is provided by Zarlino. Not only are they employed for musical reasons, but they are especially justified by the demands of the text. The meaning of the words becomes the excuse for all kinds of musical license. Most of the theoretical treatises of the *Cinquecento* abound in innumerable rationalizations of this sort. Vicentino, for instance, provides us with countless examples. One chapter of *L'antica musica* is entitled “Demonstration of the first part of a madrigal in four parts, compounded of the species of three genera, confused and mixed, in relation to the words [author's italics], which can be sung in five ways.”¹²⁰ Another chapter advises that note-values in a composition should proceed gradually from long to short, “but in certain other compositions, this order can be broken, according to the subject of the piece and the words.”¹²¹ In speaking of the tritone, he admits that

¹¹⁸ «...ogni mal salto con la prattica à gli orecchi s'imparerà di modo, che verrà tempo che tutti i modi e salti naturali, et accidentali, si canteranno si agevolmente, come hoggi i buoni salti, di ottave, & di quinto giusto si cantano...» *Ibid.*, fol. 53 v.

¹¹⁹ «...come piu si pratticherà il nostro Archicembalo, piu facili saranno i salti difficultosi.» *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ «Dimostrazione della prima parte d'uno Madrigale à quattro voci, misto delle spetie di tre Generi confussi, & misti, in proposito delle parole, che si può cantare a cinque modi.» *Ibid.*, fol. 68.

¹²¹ «...ma in certe altre compositioni si può rompere quest'ordine, secondo

it is often annoying to sing, "nevertheless it is very necessary when it comes about that in the words one wishes to demonstrate an astonishing effect".¹²² As a solace to the injured singer, Vicentino offers this aphorism: "With continuous use, every difficult thing becomes easy in all the professions."¹²³ Most pertinent, however, is his observation that "the subject and the words provide the understanding of how one has to compose the whole piece".¹²⁴ What, then, is the significance of this emphasis on text, and how is it related to *musica reservata*?

As early as 1516, the great humanist, Sir Thomas More had presented in his *Utopia* a prophetic description of the nature of music in his ideal commonwealth:

For all their musicke, both that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe with mans voyce, doth so resemble and expresse naturall affections; the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thynge; that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladness, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger, the fassion of the melodye dothe so represent the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, stire, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes.¹²⁵

More was, of course, writing about an ideal situation, and hence probably reflected the more progressive musical tendencies of his age rather than the common practice.

This does not mean to imply that composers of the High Renaissance, like Josquin, disregarded completely the question of text, but as Hermann Finck so succinctly put it:

...the more recent composers¹²⁶ devote more care to the sweetness of euphony and are diligent and careful in fitting the text so that it agrees with the notes placed above it, and that these [notes], in turn, express, as characteristically as possible, the sense of the language and the individual feelings. Although this care is not to be denied completely to the older musicians,¹²⁷ it must be admitted that they were rather more free,

il soggetto della cosa & delle parole.» *Ibid.*, fol. 76 v.

¹²² «...nondimeno è molto necessario, quando avvieni che nelle parole si vuol dimostrare un effetto maraviglioso.» *Ibid.*, fol. 23 v.

¹²³ «...con l'uso continuo, ogni cosa difficile si rende facile in tutte le professioni.» *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ «...il soggetto, et le parole, daranno adintendar tutta la compositione, come s'havrà da comporre.» *Ibid.*, fol. 79.

¹²⁵ J[ohn] Churton Collins (ed.), *Sir Thomas More's Utopia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), p. 137. The text of this edition is based on the first English translation of *Utopia* by Ralph Robynson, published in 1551. The original Latin version was issued in 1516. The inspiration for More's views was probably derived from a renewed acquaintance with the musical ideas of antiquity. Cf. *infra*, p. 203.

¹²⁶ Finck, *op. cit.*, fol. A2, names Gombert, Crequillon and Clemens non Papa as composers «in our time».

¹²⁷ Namely, Josquin. *Ibid.* See also *ibid.*, fol. 2S v.

and did not keep themselves within such bounds and limits as did the more recent [composers].¹²⁸

In other words, to the older men, musical considerations could often override concern with textual matters, whereas to the newer composer, text became all-important.

More's pronouncement about music closely resembles similar passages in Aristotle's *Politics*¹²⁹ and Plato's *Republic*.¹³⁰ It may even have served as the prototype of the most famous reference to *musica reservata*, that of the scholarly Samuel Quickelberg, born in Antwerp, and a physician at the court of Albert V in Munich, the same court which Dr. Seld represented. Quickelberg's statement appeared in a commentary on the miniatures in a manuscript of Orlandus Lassus's *Penitential Psalms* of 1560, and reads as follows:

He expressed [the content] so aptly with lamenting and plaintive melody, adapting where it was necessary [the music] to the subject and the words, expressing the power of the different emotions, presenting the subject as if acted before the eyes, that one cannot know whether the sweetness of the emotions more adorns the plaintive melodies or the plaintive melodies the sweetness of the emotions. This kind of music they call *musica reservata*, and in it Orlandus proved the excellence of his genius to posterity just as marvellously as in his other works, which are almost innumerable.¹³¹

This subservience of music to text is expressed even more concisely in the maxim of the madrigalist Marc'Antonio Mazzone: "The notes are the body of music, but the words are the soul."¹³²

The source from which this reawakened interest in text-interpretation

¹²⁸ «...Ita recentiores Euphoniae suavitati magis operam dant, ac praecipue in textu applicando, diligentes curiosiq[ue] sunt, ut ille notis appositè quadret, ac hae vicissim orationis sensum singulosq[ue] affectus, quam propriissimè exprimat. Etiam si autem quocq[ue] diligentia veteribus non omnino detrahenda est, tamen fatendum est, liberiores eos continuisse sicut Recentiores...» *Ibid.*, foll. 2S-2S v.

¹²⁹ H[arris] Rackham (trans.), *Aristotle, Politics* («The Loeb classical library» [London: W. Heinemann, 1932]), p. 677.

¹³⁰ Francis MacDonald Cornford (trans.), *The Republic of Plato* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 86-88.

¹³¹ Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 513. The original Latin is quoted in S. W. Dehn, *Biographische Notiz Über Roland De Lattre...* (Berlin: G. Crant, 1837), p. 28 and in Crevel, *op. cit.*, p. 300: «Qui quidem adeo apposite lamentabili et querula voce, ubi opus fuit, ad res si verbe accomodando, singularum affectuum vim exprimendo rem quasi acta ante oculos ponendo, expressit, ut ignorari possit: suavitas affectuum, lamentabiles voces, an lamentabiles voces suavitatem affectuum plus decorarint. Hoc quidem musicae genus *musicam reservatam* vocant: in que ipse Orlandus mirifice, ut quidem in aliis carminibus, quae sunt fere innumerabilia, sic etiam in his ingenii sui praestabilitatem posteris declaravit.»

¹³² «...il corpo della Musica son le note, & le parole son l'anima...» From the dedication to Mazzone's first book of four-voiced madrigals (1569) quoted in Emil Vogel, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vokalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500-1700* (Berlin: A. Haack, 1892), I, 441.

tion stemmed was intimately related to the educational and cultural program of the Humanists. Their study of classical Greek and Latin texts served not only a scholarly purpose, but was also useful in a practical sense, because the ancient authors could be used as models for their own stylistic development. The invention of printing, moreover, provided an impetus beyond measure for the promulgation of their ideas. Probably the most important single venture to popularize the classics, especially in Italy, was the series of pocket editions of Greek, Latin, and Italian authors issued from the press of Aldus Manutius, beginning in 1501,¹³³ at about the same time that Petrucci began to publish music. With the dissemination of these works, their contents became the inspiration for the critical thinking of the century, just as their form had provided models for an elegant style of writing and speaking. Chief among these works—in reality the master document for the literary theorizing of the sixteenth century—was the *Poetics* of Aristotle.

This document had been relatively little known even in antiquity and completely neglected until it was translated into Latin by Giorgio Valla of Piacenza in 1498. The Greek text appeared in an Aldine print of 1508, but its modern influence did not begin until it was issued in a juxtaposed Latin and Greek version in 1536.¹³⁴ By the middle of the century, the critics and poets of Italy had absorbed its teachings and were ready to put its precepts into practice.

The *Ars Poetica* of Horace also served as an inspiration to the critics of the *Cinquecento*, especially in form of its best known imitation, the *De Arte Poetica* of Marco Girolamo Vida. Vida's didactic poem was published in 1527, the first in a long series of similar volumes on the theory of poetry. Most of these theorists considered that the best model for Horace's teachings was to be found in the *Aeneid* of Vergil.¹³⁵

Point 5

A striking commentary on the effectiveness of this revival of learning can be seen in the gradual emergence of a whole series of musical compositions to Latin texts of Horace and Virgil. Among the earliest of these was the setting by Josquin of the last words of Dido beginning *Dulces exuviae...* This text, probably because of its emotional nature, was quite popular during the Renaissance since

¹³³ John Edwin Sandys, *A Short History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1915), p. 196.

¹³⁴ William K. Wimsatt, Jr. and Cleanth Brooks, *Literary Criticism, A Short History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), pp. 155-156.

¹³⁵ Sandys, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

it appeared in musical form in the works of such diverse composers as Jean Mouton, Mabriano de Orto, Jean Verbonnet, Jacques Arcadelt, Adrian Willaert, Derick Gerard, Stefano Rosetti, and Orlando Lasso.¹³⁶ Many of these settings featured a variety of experimental techniques, resembling the "ostentatis ingenii" of Mannerism. Josquin's version, for instance, indulged in a constant shifting and mixture of modes,¹³⁷ the "A Dorio ad Phrygium" which has been pointed out as a feature of the collection *Musica Reservata* of Coclico.¹³⁸ Arcadelt's dramatic setting paid such careful attention to the accentuation of individual words, that he almost seemed to prepare the way for representation of classical meters which became the major concern of later French musicians.¹³⁹ Willaert, on the other hand, was not so much concerned with meter as with a declamatory representation of the word structure.¹⁴⁰ The composition of Lasso based on this text was so free harmonically, because of its extreme chromaticism, that it was difficult to determine the mode.¹⁴¹

Perhaps the most famous experimental work of this *genre* was the "Quidnam [Quid non] ebrietas" of Adrian Willaert, a setting of one of Horace's epistles.¹⁴² This duo, which seems to end on a seventh, has puzzled musical scholars from the time of Spataro to this day.¹⁴³ Its solution called for the use of "musica ficta" to an extent far beyond the normal practice of Willaert's day, which resulted in a methodical and unusual use of modulation.

Among the works of this kind should be included Vicentino's Latin ode, "Musica prisca caput". This ingeniously conceived composition sets the first verse in the diatonic mode, the second in the chromatic, and the third in the enharmonic,¹⁴⁴ thereby summarizing, in a single composition, the essence of his theoretical innovations.

Lasso's *Tityre, tu patulae*, the beginning of the first Eclogue of Virgil, is the only piece of this type that has definitely been labeled

¹³⁶ W. Oliver Strunk, «Vergil in Music», *The Musical Quarterly*, XVI (1930), p. 485.

¹³⁷ Helmuth Osthoff, «Vergils Aeneis in der Musik von Josquin des Prez bis Orlando di Lasso», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XI (1954), 88.

¹³⁸ Bernhard Meier, «The Musica Reservata of Adrianus Petit Coclico and Its Relationship to Josquin», *Musica Disciplina*, X (1956), 70.

¹³⁹ Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

¹⁴⁰ Osthoff, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁴² «What a miracle cannot the wine cup work.» Reese, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-370.

¹⁴³ See especially the complex article by Joseph S. Levitan, «Adrian Willaert's Famous Duo *Quidnam ebrietas*, A Composition which closes apparently with the Interval of a Seventh», *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Musiekgeschiedenis*, XV (1938-1939), 166-192 and 193-233. See also Edward Lowinsky, «Adrian Willaert's Chromatic 'Duo' Re-examined», *Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, XVIII (1958), pp. 1-36.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 214. See also *supra*, Chapter III, pp. 141-142.

as *musica reservata*. This designation appears in a Munich document of 1559 written by the Vice-chancellor, Dr. Seld, and, as is the case with the other references by Seld, gives no further explanation of the term.¹⁴⁵

Point 6

The humanistic orientation of these progressive composers was reflected not only in the use of ancient texts but in the attempts to revitalize ancient theory. The three genera—diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic—had been accepted among theorists from the time of Boethius, but only the diatonic gender was conceded to be practical for musical compositions. A typical medieval viewpoint can be gleaned from an examination of the untitled musical treatise of Johannes de Grocheo in which he describes the diatonic gender as the one “according to which the majority of cantilenae are created”,¹⁴⁶ the chromatic, which the planets use,¹⁴⁷ and the enharmonic, “which they call the sweetest, since the angels make use of it”.¹⁴⁸ This preference for the diatonic was still held by many of the more conservative sixteenth-century theorists.¹⁴⁹

With the growing emphasis on expressive treatment of text, some theoretical justification was needed for the employment of chromaticism and similar advanced technical experiments. The answer for the musician, as for the writer and artist, was to study the heritage bequeathed by the ancients. Franchinus Gafurius in his *Apologia Franchini Gafurii musici adversus Joannes Spataarium...* (1520) states bluntly his intention “to recall to light the truth abounding in both the Greek and Latin sources”.¹⁵⁰ Bermudo, more concerned with practical musical problems, grants that

the singers and players of this time have revived part of the music which has been lost. Great are the skills which in this time are used in music; however, they are not so new that we do not have them in the music of the ancients.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ Bayerisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, München. Kasten schwarz 229/3. Vol. XIV, part II, p. 303 ff. 1559. Also cited by W. Boetticher, «Neue Lasso-Funde», *Die Musikforschung*, VIII (1955), p. 396.

¹⁴⁶ «...secundum quod fiunt ut plurimum cantilena...» Ernst Rohloff, *Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo...* («Media latinitas musica», 2; [Leipzig: Reinecke, 1943]), pp. 46-47.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁸ «Quod dulcissimum dicunt, eo quod angeli eo utuntur.» *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter I, p. 26.

¹⁵⁰ «...veritatem tum graecorum tum latinorum fontibus scaturientem in lucem revocasse.» Gafurius, *Apologia...*, p. 18, quoted by Irwin Young, «Franchinus Gafurius, Renaissance Theorist and Composer (1451-1522)» (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1954), p. 66.

¹⁵¹ «Los cantores y tañedores de este tiempo han resuscitado parte de la

Vicentino concedes his debt to antiquity in the very title of his famous treatise: “Ancient Music reduced to Modern Practice...”, and in a celebrated passage¹⁵² which indicates that the chromatic and enharmonic genera, “as the ancient writers show” (“*come li scrittori antichi dimostrano*”), were reserved for rather special purposes.

This passage has been the source of such a great deal of controversy that it has seemed advisable to present it in full so that complete consideration can be given to its implications:

...comprendono che (come li scrittori antichi dimostrano) era meritamente ad altro uso la Cromatica & Enarmonica Musica riserbata che la Diatonica, perche questa in feste publiche in luoghi communi à uso delle vulgari orecchie si cantava: quelle fra li privati sollazzi de Signori e Principi, ad uso delle purgate orrechie in lode di gran personaggi et Heroi s'adoperavano.

[...they understand that (as the ancient authors prove) the chromatic and enharmonic music was fittingly reserved [reservata] for another purpose than [was] the diatonic, for the latter was sung, for the benefit of ordinary ears, at public festivals in places for the community: the former was used for the benefit of trained ears, at private entertainments of lords and princes, in praising great personages and heroes.]¹⁵³

Lowinsky¹⁵⁴ claims that the term *musica riserbata* appears here for the first time in the work of an Italian theorist, but Schrade¹⁵⁵ has pointed out that this assertion is unfortunately based on a mistranslation of the original Italian. To link the words “la Cromatica & Enarmonica Musica riserbata” (“the chromatic and enharmonic *musica reservata*”) into a single concept, as Lowinsky does, goes against the grammatical sense of the passage. More properly, *riserbata* should be considered the past participle of the verb, which, in conjunction with the *era* that precedes it, results in the translation *was reserved* that most scholars have adopted.¹⁵⁶

Nevertheless, it appears that Vicentino has definitely set up two

musica perdida. Grandes son los primores que eneste tiempo se usan en la musica: pero no son tan nuevos, que no los hallemos en la musica de los antiguos.» Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de Instrumentos musicales 1555*, facsimile ed. Macario Santiago Kastner (Kassel & Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1957), fol. 12.

¹⁵² Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 10 v.

¹⁵³ The translation is by Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 513. Federhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 33 states that as late as 1622, the phrase «purgatissime» was used by the Graz writer of chromatic and enharmonic works, Giovanni Valentini. It appeared in a letter about his collection of *Musiche a doi voci* written to Duke Ferdinand of Mantua.

¹⁵⁴ Edward E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet* («Columbia University Studies in Musicology», 6; [New York: Columbia University Press, 1946]), p. 90.

¹⁵⁵ Leo Schrade, «A Secret Chromatic Art», book review, *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, I (1946-47), p. 165.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Palisca, «A Clarification of 'Musica Reservata'...», p. 152.

separate categories of music that are carefully differentiated. One, characterized by the use of the diatonic gender, is intended for ordinary ears, and performed in community places on public festivals. The other, featuring the use of the chromatic and enharmonic genera, is meant for trained or refined ears, and performed at private entertainments in praise of great personages and heroes. The diatonic music has been equated by Jeppesen with *musica communa*, a term borrowed from Vicentino, which is the usual tradition-bound and perhaps even "academic" music, which stems from a purely musical impulse.¹⁵⁷ The context in which Vicentino employs the term *musica communa* makes plausible the designation *musica reservata* for the less traditional and unacademic music, including that of the chromatic and enharmonic variety.¹⁵⁸

In the discussion of the Besançon treatise, it was pointed out that exceptional treatment of the musical material resulted in a type of composition designated as *musica reservata*. Vicentino gives a striking example of this relaxation of the rules in his discussion of the ecclesiastical modes. He observes that in the case of compositions such as *sonetti*, madrigals, and *canzoni*, which show "a great deal of variety in the treatment of many and diverse passions" ("molte diversità di trattare molte & diverse passioni"), that is, they begin "happily" ("con allegrezza") and end "full of sadness and death" ("piene di mestitia, & di morte"), the composer can exceed the limits of one mode and enter another, because his only concern is to interpret the text.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, "on such words, one can compose every sort of step and harmony, and go outside the mode, and govern oneself according to the subject of the words..."¹⁶⁰ This typical *reservata* approach is not to be used, however, in the customary *musica communa*, "that is, in that [music] which all professors of music compose at this time".¹⁶¹

Point 7

A great deal of significance must be attached to the sociological implications of the Vicentino excerpt given above. The aristocratic bias of most of the music in use up to his time is not to be denied,

¹⁵⁷ Knud Jeppesen, *Die mehrstimmige italiensiche Laude um 1500* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1935), p. LII.

¹⁵⁸ Taisnier's definition of «new» music actually supports the idea of a relationship between *musica reservata* and chromatic enharmonic music. Palisca, «A Clarification of 'Musica Reservata'...», pp. 138-140.

¹⁵⁹ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 48.

¹⁶⁰ «...sopra tali parole si potrà comporre ogni sorte de gradi, & di armonia, & andar fuore di Tono & reggersi secondo il soggetto delle parole...» *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ «...cioè in quella che tutti professori di Musica componano in questo

but with the absolutism of the sixteenth century, musical society turned even more to restrictive practices with an emphasis on the needs and desires of a musical elite. The requirements of other groups were not neglected, but a distinct line of demarcation was set up between the *vulgari orecchie* and the *purgate orecchie*, which showed clearly the resurgence of class distinctions that were a mark of *cinquecento* thinking.

Schrade has pointed out that this aspect of an intellectual elite was often the basis of music during the middle ages.¹⁶² In the treatise of Johannes de Grocheo, for instance, a type of music called *cantus coronatus* is described. This music

was usually composed by kings and noblemen, and customarily sung before kings and princes of the land, so that it moves their spirits to boldness and bravery, magnanimity and liberality, all of which makes for a good government.¹⁶³

Grocheo is, of course, discussing the music of the troubadours and trouvères, but the social impact of these medieval musicians and their courtly concepts were not without significance on sixteenth-century Italy, especially by way of Petrarch and Boccaccio.¹⁶⁴

Just as their northern counterparts had done, the Italians of the *cinquecento*, such as those of Florence or Rome, could hark back to the great masters of their own past. The wave of Petrarchism which swept Italy in that century was matched by a growing respect for the contributions of Dante¹⁶⁵ and Boccaccio. A tramontane, of necessity, was forced to stop with his Gothic forbears, whereas an Italian of Rome, for instance, having reevaluated the Trecento, could continue the antiquarian tendencies of the fourteenth century to ancient Rome, and from there, even to Greece. The humanistic tendencies of the Renaissance were, for them, not only an intellectual and scholarly achievement, but a matter of personal pride in their native heritage. It is evident, then, that the practices of ancient Greece and Rome would be hallowed, not only by age, but as part of a continuing tradition.

Many of the writers and musicians in Italy called upon ancient

tempo.» *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Schrade, «A Secret Chromatic Art», p. 166.

¹⁶³ «...a regibus et nobilibus solet componi et etiam coram regibus et principibus terrae decantari, ut eorum animos ad audaciam et fortitudinem, magnanimitatem et liberalitatem commoveat, quae omnia faciunt ad bonum regimen.» Rohloff, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁴ This thesis is fully developed in Thomas Frederick Crane's *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century* («Cornell Studies in English», [V]; [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920]), *passim*, especially pp. 20, 98-99, 159, 323, 565.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, the title of the Bartoli work cited *supra*, note 66.

customs to explain the activities of their own day. Giraldi Cintio, the Ferrarese writer of *romanzi*, states a typical case in these words:

Just as it was the custom among the Greeks and Latins... to sing with the lyre at banquets and at parties of great masters about the glorious deeds and the great undertakings of virtuous and strong men, so our Italians, following that ancient custom... have always pretended to sing their poems before princes and gatherings of noble friends.¹⁶⁶

Cintio significantly distinguishes these performers from the ones who sang their compositions "in the squares and in public places" ("per le piazze e per i luoghi publici"), in the manner of those of today who, with the lyre in hand, sing their idle tales, and so earn their living". ("...che con la lira in braccio cantano le lor fole, e così si guadagnano il pane").¹⁶⁷

Zarlino, in contrast, avers that ancient music is quite different from that of his day, but in so doing, he uses practically the same terminology that Vicentino employed to describe the conditions for the performance of his chromatic and enharmonic music:

The ancient musicians in their *cantilene* recited materials and subjects quite different from those which modern *canzoni* contain, because they were serious matters, learned and elegantly composed in various verses, such as the praises of the gods, contained in the hymns of Orpheus; [or] the illustrious deeds of men victorious in the Olympic, Pythian, Nemaean and Isthmian games, such as are seen in the Odes of Pindar; or they sing nuptial songs, similar to those of Catullus; one even hears funeral discourses, lamentations, amorous matters, and [songs] pertaining to banquets...¹⁶⁸

It may well be that the conservative Zarlino disapproved of the contemporary experimental music justified on the basis of the practice of antiquity, although he did not entirely escape the consequence of the growing freedom ensuing from these very experiments.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ «...si come era costume appresso i Greci & appresso i Latini... di cantar colla lira ne i conviti & alle mense de i gran maestri i gloriosi fatti, & le grandi imprese de gli huomini virtuosi, & forti: così i nostri Italiani, seguendo quel costume antico... hanno sempre finto de cantare dinanzi a Precipi, & a nobile brigata i lor Poemi.» Giovambattista Giraldi Cintio, *Discorsi... intorno al comporre de i romanzi...* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1554), p. 6. This work first appeared in 1549.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ «Gli antichi Musici nelle lor ca[n]tilene recitavano Materia & Soggetti molto differenti da quelli, che contengono le Canzoni moderne; imperoche erano cose gravi, dotte & composte elegantemente in varii versi; cioè le Lodi de i Dei contenute ne gli Hinni di Orfeo; i Fatti illustri de gli Huomini vittoriosi ne i giuochi Olimpici, Pithii Nemei, & Istmi; che si vedono tra le Ode di Pindaro; over cantavano cantilene nuttiali; simili à quelle di Catullo. S'udivano anco Argumenti funebri, lamentationi, cose amatorie & appartenenti a conviti...» Gioseffo Zarlino, *L'Istitutioni harmoniche...*, 1589, p. 92.

¹⁶⁹ See *supra*, example 4, p. 98.

Both Plato and Aristotle are the sources for many similar recurring phrases that appear in the critical writings of the sixteenth century. In the tenth book of the Republic, Plato affirms that "we must remain firm in our conviction that hymns to the gods and praises of famous men are the only poetry which ought to be admitted into our State".¹⁷⁰ Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, enlarges on this idea in the following manner:

Poetry now diverged in two directions, according to the individual character of the writers. The graver spirits imitated noble actions, and the actions of good men. The more trivial sort imitated the actions of meaner persons, at first composing satires, as the former did hymns to the gods and the praises of famous men.¹⁷¹

In speaking of the grand or lofty style of poetry, the famous Italian critic, Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) echoes these very sentiments:

The grand style is that which portrays eminent characters and notable events. The sentiments are correspondingly choice, and they are coached in choice and euphonious diction. These eminent characters are gods, heroes, kings, generals, and citizens.¹⁷²

Nor is this "stripping of the ancients"¹⁷³ confined to Italy alone. When Joachim Du Bellay wrote *The Defense and Illustration of the French Language* in 1549, he indicated the types of poems which the French poet should choose:

Sing to me those odes, yet unknown to the French muse, on a lute well tuned to the sound of the Greek and Roman lyre, not without a single line in which appears some trace of rare but authentic lore. Material for that the praises of the gods and of great men will furnish you, and the deathward tread of earthly things, and the disquiet of youth: love, the unrestrained rites of wine, and all good cheer. Above all, take

¹⁷⁰ James Harry Smith and Edd Winfield Parks, *The Great Critics* (3rd ed.: New York: W. W. Norton, 1951), p. 22.

¹⁷¹ S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* ([New York]: Dover Publications, [1951]), p. 17. This edition, which contains a critical text and translation of the *Poetics*, first appeared in 1894.

¹⁷² Smith and Parks, *op. cit.*, p. 162. Scaliger's work first appeared in 1561. The Latin text of the quoted passage is taken from Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetics libri septem* ([Heidelberg]: Commelin, 1607), book 4, chap. 2, p. 421: Est igitur Altiloquium Poseos genus, quod personas graves, Res excellentes continet: è quibus lectae sententiae oriuntur: quae lectis item verbis, verborumque: Numerosa collocacione explicantur. Personae graves sunt Dii, Heroes, Reges, Duces Civitates.»

¹⁷³ This picturesque phrase is from the translation of Vida's «The Art of Poetry» by Christopher Pitt (1724?) which is contained in Smith and Parks, *op. cit.*, p. 800. The original text reads: *avertite praedam* (literally: appropriate the spoils to your own use.) Marcus Hieronymus [Marco Girolamo] Vida, *Poematum... continens De Arte Poetica...*, ed. Thomas Tristram (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1722-23), book 3, p. 72. The first edition of this didactic poem on poetry appeared in 1527.

care that the type of poetry be far away from the vulgar, enriched and made illustrious with proper words and vigorous epithets, adorned with grave sentences, and varied with all manner of colorful and poetic ornaments...¹⁷⁴

Vicentino is indeed a man of his age when he reserves his chromatic and enharmonic music "for the use of refined ears in praise of great personages and heroes".¹⁷⁵

The aristocratic level which was repeatedly emphasized by these critics grew more striking as the autocratic courts of the sixteenth century developed. Even Castiglione in the early part of the era recommends that his Courtier should resort to music "not in the presence of ignoble people, nor large numbers [of them]",¹⁷⁶ or, as he reiterates a few paragraphs later, "it pleases me well, as I have already said, that one avoids the crowd, above all, the ignoble ones".¹⁷⁷ This *odi profanum vulgus* resounded as a constant litany among the poets and critics who were more and more dependent on the favors of the nobility. The courtly tradition fostered a class consciousness and a disdain for the common masses that was enhanced by the exclusive nature of the "new learning". The nobility itself, which in the not-too-distant past had paid scant attention to letters,¹⁷⁸ now vied for the esteem of the humanists.

The disdain for the common people transcended all national boundaries, especially since court culture by its very nature is international. It was precisely this accentuated intellectual superiority and exclusiveness that unified the courtly concept of Mannerism and

¹⁷⁴ Smith and Parks, *op. cit.*, p. 176. The original text appears in Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse*, ed. Henri Chamard («Société des textes français modernes» [Paris: M. Didier, 1948]), book 2, chap. 4, pp. 112-114: «Chante moy ces odes incognues encor' de la Muse Francoyse, d'un luc, bien accordé au son de la lyre Greque & Romaine: & qu'il n'y ait vers, ou n'aparoisse quelque vestige de rare & antique erudition. Et quand à ce, te fourniront de matiere les louanges des Dieux & des hommes vertueux, le discours fatal des choses mondaines, la sollicitude des jeunes hommes, comme l'amour, les vins libres, & toute bonne chere. Sur toutes choses, prens garde que ce genre de poème soit éloigné du vulgaire, enrichy & illustré de motz propres & epithetes non oysifz, orné de graves sentences, & varié de toutes manieres de couleurs & ornementz poétiques...»

¹⁷⁵ «...ad uso delle purgate orrechie in lode di gran personaggi et Heroi...» See *supra*, p. 350.

¹⁷⁶ «...non in presenza di gente ignobile, né di gran moltitudine...» Baldesar Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano...*, ed. Bruno Maier ([Turin]: Unione tipografico-editrice Torinese, [1955]), p. 208.

¹⁷⁷ «...piacemi ben, come ancor ho detto, che si fugga la moltitudine, e massimamente degli ignobili.» *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹⁷⁸ Castiglione, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158, sneers at the French for holding all learning to be base, and esteeming only arms. There is hope, however, in the person of Monsignor d'Angolem [Monseigneur d'Angoulême], the successor to the crown, who holds men of letters in greatest honor. The implication remains, of course, that the Italians are much more advanced in their respect for knowledge.

spread its influence all over Europe. Both Munich and Fontainebleau, for instance, reveal this unique flavor of manneristic art, with its appeal to the taste of educated connoisseurs.¹⁷⁹

"I do not at all seek popular approval", writes Du Bellay,¹⁸⁰ and continues with the observation that it is quite sufficient for him to have readers like Ronsard and others of his rank. "To those my small works are addressed."¹⁸¹ In a critical discussion of English poetry, Richard Puttenham (1520?-1601?) makes a distinction between "the rude and popular eare" and the "learned" ear; and advises the poet that he "not give such musicke to the rude and barbarous, as he would to the learned and delicate eare".¹⁸² The great Tasso remembers Pietro Bembo mainly because he rescued the pure Italian language from the abuses of the mob.¹⁸³ And Pontus de Tyard, in his *Solitaire Premier* (1552) cites for special praise those poets, "who so richly decorate their verse with the ornaments of antiquity, that the ignorant and the vulgar can understand them only with the greatest difficulty".¹⁸⁴ The advice given long ago by Petrarch to "follow the [select] few and not the vulgar mob"¹⁸⁵ seems indeed to have been adopted most avidly by these sixteenth-century critics.

Point 8

The musical settings of Latin texts that have been mentioned previously¹⁸⁶ convey in their dedications a similar esoteric intent. Although only Lasso's *Tityre, tu patulae* is actually documented as *musica reservata*, several of the other compositions also show ingenious technical skill designed for the understanding of a highly trained listener. Willaert's enigmatic duo was dedicated to Pope

¹⁷⁹ Otto Benesch, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁸⁰ «Je ne cherche point les Applaudissemens populaires.» From the preface to the first edition of «L'Olive», 1549. Joachim Du Bellay, *Oeuvres Françaises*, ed. Ch. Marty-Laveux («La pléiade Française», 9, 10; [Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1866]), I, 69.

¹⁸¹ «A ceulx la s'adressent mes petiz ouvraiges...» *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Georges Puttenham, «The Art of English Poesie (1589)» in G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904), II, 91. Some scholars attribute this work to Richard Puttenham, an elder brother of George (*Ibid.*, p. 407) although even his authorship has been frequently questioned.

¹⁸³ Vernon Hall, Jr., *Renaissance Literary Criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 55.

¹⁸⁴ «...qui decorant si richement leurs vers des ornemens de l'antiquité, que malaisément y pourront les ignorans et grossiers rien comprendre.» Pontus De Tyard, *Oeuvres, Le Solitaire Premier*, ed. Silvio F. Baridon («Textes Littéraires Français» [Lille: Giard, 1950]), p. 65.

¹⁸⁵ «...seguite i pochi e non la volgar gente...» Francesco Petrarca, *Rime, trionfi e poesie latine*, ed. F. Neri («La letteratura italiana; storia e testi», 6; [Milan: Ricciardi, 1951]), p. 138.

¹⁸⁶ See *supra*, pp. 204-206.

Leo X, and baffled not only the learned singers of the Papal choir, but also elicited long and abstruse discussions among contemporary theorists. The Latin ode, *Musica prisca caput*, was composed by Vicentino, "to honor my Lord and patron, the most illustrious and most reverend Cardinal Hyppolito Da Este".¹⁸⁷

Hellmut Federhofer has recently suggested that dedicatory compositions of this sort, displaying the skill of a musician for the benefit of his Maecenas, fulfill several of the conditions indicated by Vicentino for the performance of his chromatic and enharmonic music.¹⁸⁸ A specific collection by Reimundo Ballestra, a musician of the Venetian School, is mentioned in the Graz archives of 1611, with the information that among the various compositions which it contains, there are a few *reservata*. According to Federhofer, these pieces bear inscriptions in praise of great personages, and were probably performed for the "refined ears" of the nobility at their private gatherings.

The implication of a learned style in conjunction with the *reservata* concept is made in the title of a mid-sixteenth-century madrigal collection by Vincenzo Ruffo, dated 1556. The work is described as a

new work of music entitled celestial harmony in which are contained 25 madrigals, full of every sweetness and musical suavity. Composed in a learned manner and reserved order by the excellent musician Vincenzo Ruffo.¹⁸⁹

Although there seems to be little evidence of harmonic experimentation in this collection, it is still possible to consider the presence of chromatic and enharmonic writing on the basis of Vicentino's special thesis of the genera.¹⁹⁰ It has already been suggested¹⁹¹ that Ruffo and Vicentino knew each other, since both were active in Milan, and that they held correlative views about music on the basis of their concern with the decrees of the Council of Trent—an interest probably inspired by their patrons, Cardinal Borromeo and Cardinal

¹⁸⁷ «...per honorare il mio Signore & Patrone, lo illustrissimo & Reverendissimo Cardinale Hyppolito Da Este.» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 69.

¹⁸⁸ Hellmut Federhofer, «Eine neue Quelle der musica reservata», *Acta Musicologica*, XXIV (1952), 42-43.

¹⁸⁹ «...Opera nuova di musica intitolata armonia celeste nelle quale si contengono 25 Madrigali, piene d'ogni dolcezza, et soavità musicale. Composti con dotta arte et reservato ordine dallo Eccelente Musico Vincenzo Ruffo.» Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 513. Palisca, «A Clarification of 'Musica Reservata'...», p. 158, n. 137, claims that «con dotta arte et reservato ordine» can be translated simply as «with learned art and restrained orderliness».

¹⁹⁰ On the basis of this thesis, it was possible to interpret every minor third as evidence of the existence of the chromatic gender, and every major third as indicative of the use of the enharmonic gender. Cf. *supra*, Chapter I, p.

¹⁹¹ See Chapter I, p. 37.

d'Este. In any event, it is significant that the Ruffo madrigals are full of "dolcezza" and "soavità"—terms which, in Vicentino's treatise, are always used to describe the effect of chromaticism and enharmonicism. Ruffo's "celestial harmony" is also strikingly like that "most sweet" sound of the enharmonic described by Grocheo.¹⁹² Although it is unlikely that the older theorist's treatise was known to the sixteenth century, there is little doubt that similar medieval cerebrations were still a vital theoretical influence on the speculative musical thinkers of the *Cinquecento*, who prided themselves on their academic learning. If, in addition, it can be asserted that "dotta arte" is a concomitant of "reservato ordine", there is implicit an elite of well-trained connoisseurs, capable of appreciating the erudite subtleties of compositions conceived on so lofty a plane.

A coterie of this type was to be found especially in the numerous academies which sprang up during the Renaissance in imitation of the school in which Plato taught his philosophy. These groups of artists, poets, musicians and scholars met regularly to discuss intellectual and artistic matters of a serious nature, usually related to the study of Greek and Roman culture. During the sixteenth century, these academies, increased in number, underwent a change in their character. Although still scholarly, the social and convivial element began to play a larger role in their meetings. More and more attention was also paid to problems arising out of the consideration of Italian literature, art and music.¹⁹³ One of the earliest of these groups primarily interested in music was the *Accademia Filarmonica* of Verona, founded in 1543, which was to serve as the model for similar organizations throughout Italy.¹⁹⁴ These academies indulged in learned discussions of both old and new music, fostered all sorts of theoretical investigations, and performed and criticized all that was new, original and experimental. Within the ranks of the academicians, there arose a proud conviction that their groups were the bearers of a new European cultural tradition.¹⁹⁵ Above all, the members felt themselves isolated, by virtue of their erudition, from the tastes and standards of the common herd, and consequently, deeply concerned with musical problems of a challenging nature. There can be little doubt that many of their gatherings were enlivened with musical presentations in an advanced and provocative idiom, written especially for their "refined ears".

If the composers "reserved" their best efforts for the approbation

¹⁹² See *supra*, p. 206.

¹⁹³ Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

¹⁹⁴ Reese, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-401.

¹⁹⁵ Eberhard Preussner, article «Akademie», *Die Musik in Geschichte und*

of such eminent assemblies, it seems probable that the performers also vied to display their superior virtuosity and skill. A recently discovered source, in fact, seems to support the idea that the concept of *musica reservata* could be extended to include details of performance practice. The source, a statement of the conditions surrounding the employment of Biagio Marini (c. 1597-1665) at the Wittelsbach court of Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm at Neuberg, dates from about 1619, and consists of a literary document existing in three drafts which was recently uncovered in the archives at Munich.¹⁹⁶ According to the stipulations on this document, Marino "will have the title of *Maestro de concerti*" ("...Havera il titolo di Maestro de concerti") and "will be a *musico riservato*" ("sara musico riservato..."), the first known use of this term applied to a person. No further explanation of this puzzling expression is given, but a clue to its meaning may be ascertained by examining the musical duties associated with and relating to this special designation.

In the first place, the prestige of the *Kapellmeister* (cappellmaistro!), Giacomo Negri, was apparently not to be undermined. Thus, "in order not to diminish the respect due to him" ("per non minuire il suo rispetto"), the chapel master was supposed to conduct, especially in the performance of *concerti grandi*, unless he relinquished this privilege to Marini or was ordered to do so by the Duke.¹⁹⁷ Marini, on the other hand, ordinarily rehearsed the musicians for these performances. In addition, as an accomplished violinist, he frequently played solo passages in the *concerti grandi*, and at those times, especially, he was expected to leave the beating of the measure to the *maestro di cappella*.¹⁹⁸ As a "musico riservato" he emphasized the soloistic nature of his duties by avoiding a place "in the middle of the *concerti grandi* where he can not be heard well".¹⁹⁹

Once his official commitments to Negri had been met, Marini would have the time to rehearse and conduct his own "new conceptions" ("novi concetti"), especially at the request of the Duke.²⁰⁰ These "conchetti" were performed either as solos or as intimate chamber music. Indeed, the document made it quite clear that in

Gegenwart, Vol. I (1949-51), col. 193.

¹⁹⁶ Willene Clark, «A Contribution to Sources of Musica Reservata», *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, XI (1957), 27-33.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30. There is, of course, the possibility that «musico reservato» means only that Marini was the *private* musician of the Duke, thus allowing Negri, the official *Kapellmeister*, to maintain his prestige.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁹⁹ «...messo in concerti grandi dove non potra esser ben sentito», *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 30.

canti for three or four parts, the *capellmaistro* was not concerned.²⁰¹

In a sense, then, the musical duties deriving from Marini's own initiative are a definite extension of the idea of *musica reservata* as something special and unique, for the benefit of an exclusive audience. In addition to showing his skill as a composer in these "new works", which were performed at the particular request of the Duke, Marini was also able to demonstrate his technical virtuosity on the violin. If the creator of a work displayed his finest technical craftsmanship for the edification of a highly trained musical listener, why should not the performer likewise be selected from among the foremost virtuosi of the day? And where could such a skill be shown to better effect than in a solo or small chamber group?

Solo singing, for instance, was stressed from the early years of the sixteenth century. Even so cautious a theorist as Glareanus exalts monody to a high position, almost to the detriment of polyphony. He esteems the inventors ("Phonasci") of tenor melodies more than the artful contrapuntalists ("Symphonetae") who wove their patterns around such *cantus firmi*.²⁰² As a humanist, he feels that the antiquity of one-voiced writing is sufficient justification for the regard in which he holds this practice.

There is no doubt, therefore, that just as one voice precedes many, so is it much older to sing with one voice than with many.²⁰³

In general, the model for this type of music is Gregorian chant,²⁰⁴ but in Chapter xxxix of the *Dodekachordon*, Glareanus gives several examples of one-voiced compositions of his own creation written to texts of Horace, which, as he hopes,

being suitably adjusted to the words, will sound sweet to the ears, will affect the mind, and will leave an impression on the soul of the listener, in which the very force of nature seems to be expressed.²⁰⁵

At the close of the chapter, he mentions the performance of a similar work by the poet Hermann Busch, which was sung

²⁰¹ «...in canti da tre o quatro non cena [ce ne ha] da mescularsi.» *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁰² [Henricus] Glareanus, *Dodekachordon* ([Basel: per Henrichum Petri, 1547]), p. 174.

²⁰³ «Non est igitur dubium, quin ut unum plura antecedit, ita una voce, quam pluribus canere sit multo antiquius.» *Ibid.*, p. 175.

²⁰⁴ Herbert Birtner, *Studien zur niederländisch-humanistischen Musikanschauung* (Heidelberg: Winters, 1930), p. 19.

²⁰⁵ «...auribus dulciter, verbis apte iunctis insonet, mentisque insideat ac in audientis animo aculeos relinquat, in quo naturae vis expressa videdeatur...» Glareanus, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

quite as much with dignity as with good taste before the University of Cologne, in the year of our Lord, 1508.²⁰⁶

It is significant to note the select group which heard this rendition. Castiglione also indicates a high regard for solo singing:

...almost all the sweetness is contained in a solo, and the fine manner and the melody are noted and heard with much greater attention when the ears are not occupied with more than one voice alone, and in such a case, it is possible to discern every little mistake even better, which does not happen when singing in a group, since one helps the other.²⁰⁷

In essence, then, a much greater degree of technical ability was required for solo performance than for group singing.

Later in the century, Zarlino explains that singing to the accompaniment of an instrument "approaches more closely the usage of the ancients" ("...più s'accosta all'uso de gli Antichi...") and tells us

with [how much] greater delight one hears a solo sung to the sound of the organ, the lyre, the lute, or another similar instrument.²⁰⁸

In fact, when Vicentino advises against the simultaneous ornamentation of a musical passage by the instrumentalist and the singer, he indirectly confirms the accepted practice of this type of solo singing.²⁰⁹ Certainly, this form of entertainment would be reserved for a limited and private audience, and since, as Zarlino pointed out, this manner of performance approaches ancient usage, it would qualify as *musica reservata* on two counts; first, as music for the elite and secondly, as music revived from the past.

A small chamber group would similarly have an exclusive setting for its presentations, but with a greater variety of ensemble combinations. Much of the polyphonic music of sixteenth-century Italy is inscribed "for voices or instruments". In actual performance, either voices or instruments or a combination of both was used, although, in general, there was a reluctance to separate the vocal and instrumental media.²¹⁰ If such a separation were made, it almost always

²⁰⁶ «...non minus graviter quàm eleganter decantavit coràm Universitate Agrippinensi, Anno à Christo nato M.D.VIII...» *Ibid.*, p. 188.

²⁰⁷ «...tutta la dolcezza consiste quasi in un solo, e con molto maggior attenzione si nota ed intende il bel modo e l'aria non essendo occupate le orecchie in più che in una sol voce, e meglio ancor vi si discerne ogni piccolo errore; il che non accade cantando in compagnia perché l'uno aiuta l'altro.» Castiglione, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

²⁰⁸ «...con maggior diletatione si ode cantare un solo al suono dell'Organo, della Lira, del Leuto, ò d'un altro simile Istrumento.» Zarlino, *...L'Istitutioni harmoniche...*, 1589, p. 92.

²⁰⁹ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 94. For the esteem in which Vicentino held solo singing, see *supra*, Chapter III, p. 173.

²¹⁰ Ruth Halle Rowen, *Early Chamber Music* (New York: Columbia

University Press, 1949), p. 2.

emphasized the technical agility of the performer as well as the intrinsic musical value of the composition that was being offered. It is only necessary to mention the solo-madrigals of Luzzasco Luzzaschi published in 1601 or the Christofano Malvezzi *intermedi* written for the marriage of Ferdinand de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine in 1589.

Despite their late publication date, the Luzzaschi madrigals may have been composed as early as 1570, but were kept from the public realm because of the wish of Duke Alfonso of Ferrara to limit these works to the exclusive use of the *Dame* of Ferrara, Lucrezia, Laura, and Tarquinia.²¹¹ The madrigals, for one, two, and three sopranos, are characterized by highly ornamented voice parts, elaborated with difficult coloratura passages. The written-out keyboard part, on the other hand, is a chordal reduction of the basic material of the vocal part, but without the elaboration.²¹²

The manneristic *intermedi* were especially fitted for music that would display the skill of both composer and performer, since they were given mainly during important events in the lives of the nobility. They demanded a cultivated assembly of spectators and hearers since, as Sonneck says,

...for a ready understanding of the innumerable and often involved allegorical and external symbolical allusions to Greek mythology in the *intermedi* an intimate familiarity with the details of Greek mythology was absolutely indispensable—a familiarity, indeed, which would be quite beyond our mixed modern audiences, but for which the aristocratic audiences of the Renaissance period were abundantly trained.²¹³

Malvezzi's *Intermedii et Concerti*, published in 1591, is especially interesting, because it not only preserves the music written for the 1589 marriage festivities, but also gives an account of its performance which featured Striggio, Caccini, and the famous virtuoso singer, Vittoria Archilei. The latter, for instance, sang a Malvezzi composition to the accompaniment of a lute, a chittarone, and an *arciviola lira* played by the masterly hand of Alessandro Striggio.²¹⁴

Much of this type of music would, of course, be given in rooms of intimate proportions, so that all the subtleties of performance were audible. The author of the description of Striggio and Corteccia's "Psyche and Amor" *intermedi* apparently felt that the use of a large

University Press, 1949), p. 2.

²¹¹ Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 411-412.

²¹³ O. G. Sonneck, «A Description of Alessandro Striggio and Francesco Corteccia's Intermedi 'Psyche and Amor', 1565», *Miscellaneous Studies in the History of Music* (New York: MacMillan, 1921), p. 271.

²¹⁴ Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

area for that particular presentation needed some explanation, since he wrote that

as the Hall, besides being marvellously beautiful, was of a singular magnitude and altitude, and perhaps the greatest of which we have knowledge today, it was necessary to make the Concerts of Musick very full...²¹⁵

In general, however, the sonorities of chamber ensembles were much quieter and less full than those used in public festivities. Vicentino specifically differentiates between a full-voiced, forceful performance ("a piena voce") in church, and the soft singing required in "Musica da camera", especially when the chromatic and enharmonic genera were employed.²¹⁶ Nevertheless, "so that everyone sees that chromatic music can be sung in church in a loud voice", he has written a completely chromatic "Motettino", the "Alleluia haec dies" for Easter.²¹⁷ On the other hand, the minute intervals of the enharmonic are particularly suitable for singing "in chambers, and with a soft voice, because they are very sweet".²¹⁸

Part of the reason for the admonition to sing quietly may have been due to the difficulty of correct intonation in a composition employing a great number of accidentals. In fact, even perfect octaves involving accidentals present uncertainties of intonation when sung loudly, and although the problem is modified when the singer uses soft tones, the pitch becomes much more secure if the voice, in such cases, is accompanied by an instrument.²¹⁹

It may, however, be conjectured that some of the compositions making use of complicated chromaticism were sung "a cappella" for the purpose of impressing a patron with the technical dexterity of the participating performers. Much of the evidence for this type of presentation is implicitly rather than directly stated, although Zarlino, for one, makes a clear reference to the practice. In the

²¹⁵ «...che per esser la Sala oltre alla meravigliosa bellezza, di grandezza, & altezza singulare, & forse la maggiore di che oggi si habbia notizia, fù necessario fare i Concerti della Musica molto pieni...» O. G. Sonneck, «A Description of Alessandro Striggio and Francesco Corteccia's 'Psyche and Amor' 1565», *The Musical Antiquary* (October, 1911), p. 51. The reprint of this article in Sonneck's *Miscellaneous Studies*... substituted an English version by Theodore Baker for the Italian of the original study. The translation of the above excerpt appears on p. 284 of this latter work.

²¹⁶ Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 37.

²¹⁷ «...accio che ogniuno vegga che la musica cromatica si può cantare nelle chiese ad alta voce;...» *Ibid.*, for. 61 v. The composition can be found on foll. 62-62 v. of the treatise. For a transcription into modern notation, see Chapter III, p. 138.

²¹⁸ «...nelle camere, & con bassa voce, perche sono soavissimi...» *Ibid.*, fol. 65 v.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 37.

Istitutioni harmoniche, Zarlino, although impressed with the variety of instruments used at St. Mark's at Venice, nonetheless reminds the reader that there are some who "listen with greater delight to a harmony and a blending of voices than to the blending of sounds which proceed from any instrument whatsoever".²²⁰

When Vicentino recommends the use of an instrument to accompany the voice for greater accuracy of intonation he does not necessarily preclude the possibility of an unaccompanied performance. In fact, he goes into quite some detail about the effort that is necessary to develop facility in the intricacies of pitch in his chromatic and enharmonic music:

Therefore the disciple ought to learn to adapt himself to sing such steps and leaps as these disproportionate ones so that he be a perfect musician and perfect singer, and that in compositions he should know how to attune and accompany with the harmony all sorts of disproportionate and irrational voices, and even to sing them with his own voice, which he will show to the world to be a rare thing.²²¹

The use of the *archicembalo* or a stringed instrument capable of similar small divisions is recommended as a means to this end. In fact, Vicentino even states that

it is to be believed that the first person who discovered the way of singing the steps of a tone and a semitone (which were and are natural) could not have done so if he had not used the means of an instrument.²²²

The implication of this last passage is that the instrument could be used "for rehearsal purposes only", if an unaccompanied performance was the desideratum.

Certainly, the variety of intervals to be found in chromatic and enharmonic music was easier to play on an instrument than to sing, and it may well be that any composition written in these genera which was intended to be sung "a cappella" would come under the heading of music for "refined ears".²²³ Even when accompanied by

²²⁰ «...con maggior diletto si ode un'Harmonia & un Conconto de voci, che il Conconto, che nasce da qual si voglia Istrumento.» Quoted by Hermann Zenck in his article, «a cappella», *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. I (1949-51), col. 72.

²²¹ «...Si ch'il Discepolo dè imparare à comporre di cantare questi tali gradi & salti sproportionati, acciò sia perfetto Musico, et perfetto Cantore; & che nelle compositioni sappia accordare et accompagnare con l'armonia ogni sorte di voci sproportionate, & irazionali; & anchora con la voce cantarle, che dimostrerà al mondo esser raro...» Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 66 v.

²²² «...è da credere che il primo che ritrovò il modo di cantare la distantia de gradi, de toni, & semitoni (ch'erano & sono naturali) non puote se non usare il mezzo d'un stornamento...» *Ibid.*, fol. 16 v.

²²³ As late as 1650, Kircher still comments that «it is difficult for the human voice to express the chromatic». («Difficile est humana voce chromaticu[m] exprimere.»). Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*... (Rome:

instruments, the correct rendering of some of these steps and skips would be no mean feat.

A passage from the *Doctrina de Tonis seu Modis musicis...* of Eucharius Hofmann, published in 1582, indicates that just such a transfer of difficult intervals from the instrumental to the vocal medium constituted a type of *musica reservata*. In a discussion of the chromatic gender he states:

This [gender] has thus far for some reason remained intact in instruments, but was not used in singing. Today, in fact, it has been recalled by some [for use] in song, and is called *Musica reservata* by them, because it was reserved as it were, for certain musical instruments, and was not allowed nor used in singing.²²⁴

It is noteworthy that Hofmann speaks of this practice as one that has been *recalled* into use, another indication that an ancient practice had been revitalized and brought up-to-date to meet contemporary requirements.

To recapitulate, then, the term *musica reservata* has appeared in a variety of sources dating from 1552 to about 1619. Many of these documents relate the phenomenon to the emergence of a new style based on a return to older practices. For the northern musicians, this meant a recall of Gothic concepts of rhythm and expression to explain their manneristic distortions of the clear and orderly High Renaissance style. Since these departures from the norm were justified on the grounds that they were required by the text, the tendency developed to consider music as ancillary to literature rather than as absolute construction. For this reason, the theoretical treatises, which, in the main, deal with the normal practices of musical organization, are peppered with observations defending exceptional and unorthodox treatment on the basis of textual demands. One of these aberrations, the evasion of the cadence (*fuggir la cadenza*) to accommodate the meaning of the words, has been identified with *musica reservata*.

The concern with matters of text was, of course, inspired by the literary researches instituted by the Humanists. The musicians among them, in particular, found corroboration for many of their unusual innovations in the passages concerning music which they found in their perusal of the ancient authors. The famous definition of *musica*

successors to Francesco Corbelleto, 1650), Vol. I, book 7, p. 639. The second volume of this work was published in the same year by Ludovico Grignano.

²²⁴ «...Hoc in Organis huc usque aliqua ratione mansit integram, sed in cantu non usitatum fuit. Hodie vero a quibusdam in cantum revocatur, et ab iis Musica reservata appellatur, quod quasi reservata sit in quibusdam instrumentis musicis et in cantu non recepta seu usurpata...» Quoted in Bernhard Meier, «Eine weitere Quelle der Musica Reservata», *Die Musikforschung*, VIII (1955), p. 83.

reservata by Quicquelberg, for instance, is in essence a restatement of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas.

The Italians especially considered the heritage of antiquity as part of their native legacy and held in esteem many contemporary usages that could be justified by a reference to this great past. Vicentino, indulging in his chromatic and enharmonic experiments, can proclaim proudly that he has “reduced ancient music to modern practice”, secure in the knowledge that his words will evoke a sympathetic response from many of his humanistic colleagues.

Even the sociological conditions under which his “reserved” music was to be performed was an echo of ancient practice. With the growth of autocracy, the separation of a trained elite from the common herd provided the same kind of select audience which had heard the old Greek and Roman music.²²⁵ At exclusive gatherings of this sort, compositions of a most “advanced” nature would be likely to find ready listeners. These pieces, often with a dedicatory motto “in praise of great personages and heroes”, displayed the composer’s musical and literary knowledge in its most erudite form, indulging in intricacies and experimental conceits aimed at the most sophisticated musical connoisseur. Although only Lasso’s setting of the first Eclogue of Vergil is designated as *musica reservata*, it suggests the possibility of a similar interpretation for other compositions of this genre.

Finally, the ability to sing as well as play difficult chromatic and enharmonic intervals, not only implies an unusual skill, but serves as a reminder that just this type of singing “recalled” a practice which had been accepted without question in antiquity. In the same way, the extension of the *reservata* idea to include solo performances of virtuoso dimensions could be related to that custom of solo presentation for which the ancients were famous.

The ultimate resolution of the *reservata* question awaits the discovery of a definitive explanation in a contemporary source. Nevertheless, the existent references, vague though they be, are not as isolated and unrelated to each other as many have formerly thought. The unifying thread connecting practically all the sources is the concept of a type of music revived from the past. This revival was not a mere mechanical imitation of earlier models; such deliberate copying would have presented problems even with Gothic music, but was virtually impossible in the case of the music of antiquity, because of the paucity of extant examples. The most that could be

²²⁵ Aristotle clearly differentiated a higher and a lower kind of audience: «The ‘free and educated’ listener at a musical performance as opposed to one

restored was the intellectual climate that contributed to the rise of specific musical phenomena. However,

not only is the...view of the past conditioned by the intellectual environment in which [one] lives; it becomes in turn an active force in shaping that environment.²²⁶

The stylistic awareness of earlier music supplied the impetus to reevaluate contemporary musical composition and to evolve new ideas of harmony, melody, and rhythm. It is only against such a background that the contributions of the more imaginative sixteenth-century theorists and composers can be assessed.

of the vulgar sort.» Butcher, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

²²⁶ Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), p. 387.

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