8 Francesco Patrizi and the 'Weakest Echo of the Harmony of the Spheres'[1]

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Introduction

The Italian Renaissance philosopher Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597) was born on the island of Cherso in Istria, near Trieste, and studied at the University of Padua, where he became familiar with the mainstream Aristotelianism of his time.[2] As a consequence, a career as an Aristotelian philosopher would have been an obvious choice, were it not for the fact that he 'converted' to Christian Platonism early in his career.[3] In an autobiographical letter composed in 1597, Patrizi reports his miraculous conversion: 'when he [*sc*. Patrizi] heard a Franciscan friar teaching Platonic deductions he fell in love with them'. Patrizi carries on by telling that he requested the friar to help him embark on Plato's path, and that the friar 'proposed the *Platonic Theology* of Ficino, to which he dedicated himself with great eagerness'.[4] Thereafter, it became one of the ruling passions of Patrizi's life to formulate a new systematic explanation of the harmonic universe, which could replace what he saw as the outdated, erroneous and above all pagan Aristotelian cosmology. To achieve this aim, Patrizi consulted the original Plato, (Neo)platonic and even various pseudo-Platonic sources, which were concerned with the harmony of the spheres. Influenced by the search for the key to world harmony in Ficino's *Platonic Theology* and *Timaeus* commentary, Patrizi continued this quest in his own writings. Yet, as we will see in the first part of this chapter, even Ficino's specific interpretation of world harmony became the subject of Patrizi's critique.

The main argument of this chapter is that Patrizi expands the traditional doctrine of world harmony by using it innovatively in the field of poetics, while simultaneously maintaining it as a mathematical model in the field of cosmology. In order to explain this transformation, I will discuss Patrizi's ideas from the point of view of the criticisms he formulated against his predecessors.[5] As I will show, the disputes often function as a positive agent in the transformation of theories of world harmony. That is to say, the often fierce confrontation to, and management of opposing interests in Patrizi's thought, can be seen, in my opinion, as a catalyst for intellectual creativity and cultural change, as a result of which the concept of cosmic harmony continues to be meaningful in the context of

a new philosophy of nature and a new aesthetics of music. Patizi's variegated and sometimes ambiguous conceptions of world harmony raise his polemics to the level of a more fundamental discourse about the nature of the world, man and music, whose relevance extends far beyond the initial argument and context.

In addition to the Plato-Aristotle controversy in his *Nova de universis philosophia* ('New philosophy of the universe', 1591), which shaped and conditioned his reformulation of the doctrine of world harmony in the field of cosmology, Patrizi also became involved in many literary and musical controversies. Treatises such as his *L'amorosa filosofia* ('Philosophy of love', 1577) and *Della Poetica* ('Poetics', 1586) were written in the context of the famous *Camerate*, or Academies, of the period, whose interest in Love as a cosmic and poetic force is well known.[6] More importantly for the purpose of the present chapter, the late sixteenth century in Italy saw the rise of the famous Pythagoras-Aristoxenus controversy, which addressed the very foundations of a music theory and debated the validity of associating musical consonances with arithmetic ratios, which is the very basis of the Pythagorean doctrine of world harmony. Within the long tradition of the harmony of the spheres, the association between music and astronomy meant that music was considered as a science, which could be treated mathematically and objectively. Though this very belief continued to dominate music theory in late sixteenth-century Italy, it was progressively undermined by the fact that Pythagorean tuning was causing a lot of problems for a developing musical practice, in which ensemble playing and harmonic modulation became more important. As will be shown in the second part of this chapter, Patrizi adopted Aristoxenus' radical solution to this problem in *Della Poetica* by arguing that the magnitude of an interval is constituted in the sense of hearing, not in reason, as had been argued by the Pythagoreans.

Patrizi also participated in the famous debate between members of the *Camerate* about the primacy of word or tone in the philosophy of music. In the sixteenth century, music theorists had to provide a theoretical justification for the emerging monodic musical style, which is a freer, more rhetorically expressive style combined with rhythmic regularity, and a new harmonic or 'vertical' organization of musical textures. In the third and fourth parts of this chapter, I will discuss how Patrizi uses traditional ideas from the tradition of the harmony of the spheres as an external reference point to justify these new musical practices and to confer meaning on them.

Critique of Ficino's Interpretation of the Doctrine of the Harmony of the Spheres

In his search for world harmony, Patrizi often consulted Plato's *Timaeus*. In order to understand how according to the dialogue 'God created the

world and its parts', he studied 'the commentaries by Proclus, Calcidius and Ficino'.[7] Notwithstanding Patrizi's great admiration for Ficino, he does not blindly adopt his predecessor's interpretation of the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres. In fact, Patrizi points out many flaws and weaknesses in Ficino's doctrine. He especially criticizes the habit of scholars like Ficino of seeing the animated universe through the lenses of their ideas about the human soul and music.[8] Patrizi's attitude reflects drastic changes in ideas about natural philosophy in late sixteenth-century Italy.

This tendency to strip the concept of world harmony of all anthropomorphic and musical interpretations is seen, for example, in Patrizi's criticism of Ficino's astrological and magical interpretation of the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres. Ficino exploited the scientific possibilities implicit in astrology to the full and employed them in the context of his philosophy of music.[9] In Ficino's interpretation, the correspondences between different parts of the cosmos were conceptualized in terms of an analogy with musical strings and their vibrations. More specifically, Ficino explained the occult relationships between different parts of the harmonious cosmos in terms of 'cosmic sympathetic vibration'.[10] Sympathetic vibration, as Ficino stated in his *Timaeus* commentary, is a harmonic phenomenon wherein a formerly passive string responds to external vibrations of an active string to which it has a harmonic likeness:

> If from one sounding lyre a tone suddenly is communicated to another lyre tuned in the same way, then immediately from this vibrating string a similar vibration is passed on to the [other] string which is equally tuned.[11]

Ficino used this concept of 'sympathetic vibration' to formulate a worldview where the heavenly spheres embody a radiating harmonious law which links everything in the cosmos together. In this view, many cosmic events could be foreseen and were predictable because everything was preordained by a Christian God capable of interfering with His harmonious Creation anytime.[12] Accordingly, the active powers inherent in the stars, stellar rays and planets influenced all different forms of life on earth—including human life. Ficino was convinced that the divine harmonic movements of the heavens (*musica mundana*) communicate their powers directly to human beings (*musica humana*), and are capable of announcing the future by using the variable constellations of planets and stars, as if they were signs or letters expressing divine concepts. To his mind, it was the task of learned astrologers to read these signs, and of the *musici* among them to translate them in music theoretical terms. And, last but not least, Ficino believed that it was his moral task to put this knowledge into practice by drawing down beneficial cosmic influences

during ceremonies in which musical healing took place.[13] Planetarily effective music, to his mind, is possible, because:

> By the same power [i.e. sympathetic vibration], when [song] imitates the celestials, it also wonderfully arouses our spirit upwards to the celestial influence and the celestial influence downwards to our spirit.[14]

At first sight, Patrizi seems to adopt Ficino's conception of world harmony. In his *Pancosmia* ('All-cosmos', the fourth book of the *Nova de universis philosophia*), Patrizi argues—fully in line with his predecessor—that the pure celestial harmony is imitated by way of cosmic sympathetic vibration in a corrupted form on earth:

> It is said that God did not make the stars in vain… but they act outside themselves, as far as they are able to cast their rays, and with the rays also the powers of the seeds by which they reciprocally nourish each other and favour each other and agree with each other and they breathe good things into the whole, and with the goodness (given to them by the Creator) they breathe through all things and so conspire to one [end] so that all things sound together and perform that harmony of the divine Maker.[15]

This passage seems to echo Ficino's ideas of cosmic sympathetic vibration. Yet, this quotation is contradicted by another passage, where Patrizi undermines the astrological reality underpinning Ficino's interpretation of cosmic harmony. In this passage, Patrizi questions the possibility of reading the heavens, especially the notion of foresight, i.e. the use of the art of predicting the future. Yet foresight justifies the idea that music can be used to draw down beneficial influences from the heavens, as Ficino had argued in his treatise *Three Books on Life*. Having rethought the astrological theories of Plotinus, Pico della Mirandola and Ficino, Patrizi defends their shared belief that the heavenly circuit ensures the perpetual generation of sublunar things through the cosmic power of sympathetic vibration. Yet, in contrast with Ficino, he does not believe that human beings are directly influenced by the heavenly bodies, and that knowledge of *musica mundana* may be beneficially used to influence their lives. He argues as follows:

> Let us make our case. The question has been proposed to us whether the stars have any power. This is more universally the case, and their action is not limited to men alone, as these three great men [*sc*. Plotinus, Pico della Mirandola and Ficino] have emphasized. [They proposed the question of] whether the stars take care only of men, or have any good or bad influence on them alone.[16]

Here, Patrizi indirectly condemns Ficino's particular employment of the concept of 'cosmic sympathetic vibration' as a theoretical backdrop for all kinds of possibilities for drawing down cosmic energies in astrological and magical musical ceremonies. Ficino's optimistic notion that life on earth is influenced by the stars and that the study of astrology and music theory can help to reveal and exploit the precise nature of this relationship is classified by Patrizi as pseudo-science. Patrizi wants to make it absolutely clear that it is impossible to influence human life on earth by using music to which planetary musical qualities are attributed. Cosmic sympathetic vibration, in his mind, is a blind macrocosmic power, and planets wander in space irrespective of human (musical) affairs.

Whereas Ficino was convinced that bridging the gap between *musica mundana*, *humana*, and *instrumentalis* had brought humanity closer to an understanding of the secret of world harmony, Patrizi is of the opinion that this particular interpretation is not scientific. In order to remedy this flaw, Patrizi makes a clear distinction between world harmony and sympathetic vibration in the field of natural philosophy, which he separates from pseudo-scientific practices like divinatory astrology, and the astrological and magical musical practices described in Ficino's *Three Books on Life*. The universe is not ordered by the same mathematical proportions that produce consonances in earthly music.

Patrizi's attempt to distinguish facts from values within traditional conceptions of world harmony is also reflected in his criticism of the concept of a World Soul in the *Pampsychia* ('All-soul', the third part of his *Nova de universis philosophia*). Despite the great popularity of the account of the division of the World Soul into harmonic intervals at *Timaeus* 35b–36b among Renaissance philosophers such as Ficino, Patrizi has problems grasping its meaning. Yet, since the term 'World Soul' and its connotations were so deeply rooted in the philosophical language of traditional metaphysics, and since in so old a subject one cannot readily devise a new terminology, Patrizi believes that he has no other choice than to continue to use it in his own philosophy of the universe.[17] He accepts the notion of an animated harmonic world as an axiom in his philosophy, because he simply cannot conceive that God could have created the universe otherwise. Hence, even in his 'new' philosophy of the universe, there is no better way of defining it than in the traditional terms of a harmonically ordered perfect mechanism:

> The powers, I say, of sustaining the whole [cosmic] body, giving it life, unifying it in itself, making it one, and bringing sympathy and harmony to its powers diffused simultaneously through its parts and in its whole and diffusing the body's parts, individual powers and particular natures, which natures, as servants to a universal and single nature, move particular bodies, change, and cause them to come to be, grow, die and return all of them to the power of their Queen

> [*sc*. the World Soul] and bring them together into a single concord, such that from so many parts of the world, they are joined into one with sympathy and harmony as if the one harmony is derived from its first Unity through those steps which we have mentioned.[18]

Given Patrizi's advocacy of the belief in a Platonic World Soul, the most striking feature of his *Nova de universis philosophia* is the almost total lack of Pythagorean theory and mathematical proportions. In this treatise, he discusses the theme of the direct and natural coincidence of numbers and sounds, which had been the very foundation of Pythagorean and Platonic theories of world harmony for centuries.[19] As a point of departure, he revives an old discussion about the status of numbers, which has far-reaching consequences for the association of the musical consonances with arithmetic ratios, the old discovery attributed to Pythagoras that underlies the very belief in world harmony. In quite a polemic way, Patrizi argues that the Pythagorean belief that numbers are the ultimate constituents of reality is nothing more than superstition. 'The Ancients', to his mind, 'based themselves on divination rather than knowing the cause'.[20] Subsequently, he argues that the continuous quantity of line 'exists by nature, while number is the work of the human mind'. Hence, he seems to be of the opinion that a philosophy of nature—including a discourse on the nature of sound—cannot be based on numbers, because they are products of the human mind, namely conventional constructs rather than natural entities.

Arguments against the belief that the universe is ordered by the same mathematical proportions (1:2, 2:3 and 3:4) that produce consonances (octave, fifth, and fourth) in earthly music are also found in his *Della Poetica*. In this text, Patrizi adopts the Aristoxenean point of view formulated by Vincenzo Galilei in his *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna* ('Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music', 1581). Galilei had argued against his Pythagorean master Gioseffo Zarlino, stating that holding on to the Pythagorean principle according to which sound should be expressible in terms of number, had become unworkable in contemporary musical practice.[21] For the tuning of some fretted instruments such as viols and lutes, it was necessary, in Galilei's opinion, to tune them by ear, as a result of which all tones could be of equal measure and hence could be divided into two equal semitones. This was impossible in Pythagorean tuning as well as in the prevailing tuning system of just intonation. In other words, according to him, the actual sound of tones and semitones used in late sixteenth-century musical practice had nothing to do with the arithmetic ratios associated with the musical intervals in the Pythagorean tuning system. To anchor his innovative view on tuning and temperament, Galilei had used Aristoxenus' music theory, which had become available in print in 1497 in a collection of translations from Greek to Latin.[22]

Aristoxenus (fourth century BC) had rejected the opinion of the Pythagoreans that in music theory there must be a coincidence between number and sound before a musical interval can be said to be harmonic or consonant. In contrast, he asserted that one had to judge the correct magnitude of an interval by hearing instead of calculation.[23] Accordingly, he introduced a radically different model for creating scales. Rather than using discrete mathematical proportions to place intervals, as the Pythagoreans did before him, he used continuously variable quantities. Therefore, his *tetrachords* (series of four successive subsequent tones) and the resulting scales have entirely different qualities of consonance than the ones used in Pythagorean tuning.

In his *Della Poetica*, Patrizi follows Galilei in his Aristoxenean definition of harmonies, or consonances. The scale of Aristoxenus that underlies the musical modes is organized into two *tetrachords*, with the extremes of a *tetrachord* separated by the sound of a musical fourth (*suono diatessaron*), like the note 'e' on position A up to the note 'a' on position D on a string (Figure 8.1).[24] Patrizi demonstrates that by filling in the interiors of the *tetrachords* with two pitches one may get, for example, a diatonic scale.[25] His explanation is accompanied by the following diagram:

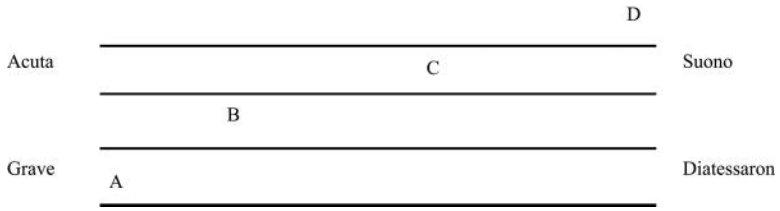

Figure 8.1 Diagram of the Aristoxenian diatonic *tetrachord*, from Patrizi's *Della Poetica*.

Patrizi's definition of the diatonic scale, which he presumably borrowed from Galilei, is simple and elegant, and describes approximately which scale 'modern' Italian musicians used in the second half of the sixteenth century.

In the brief discussion of the science of music included in the *Nova de universis philosophia*, Patrizi resumes this theme, and even goes a step further: instead of a mathematical science, he envisions music as a sub-discipline of physics, i.e. as acoustics, which is all about the quality, not the quantity, of sound. Sound should be dealt with as a phenomenon that is caused by sound waves which manifest themselves in the element of air.[26] By accepting the Aristoxenean tuning principles and the very idea of the conventionality of number that is behind it, Patrizi had to give up the Pythagorean doctrine of world harmony, which is founded on the very idea that the universe is ordered by the same mathematical proportions that produce harmonies in earthly music. Yet this

certainly is a bridge too far for someone like Patrizi, who remained a pious Christian and thus firmly believed that God had created a perfectly harmonious world in which everything consists in 'number, weight and measure' (Wisdom 11:21). Hence, he looks in the *Pancosmia* for new ways of geometrizing space in order to supplement the doctrine of world harmony. This attempt is coupled with an attempt to transform world harmony from a mathematical science into a rhetorical art, as I will now explain in further detail.

In Search of the Musical Origins of Language

Despite the Platonic influence noticed in Patrizi's overall approach to philosophy, in the passages in his oeuvre dealing with the aesthetics of music, he completely transforms the Pythagorean-Platonic tradition. In sharp contrast with his predecessor Ficino, for him, music should be understood not as a system of eternal, rational laws but as a cultural and historical phenomenon, undergoing development and change along with other related cultural phenomena. This attitude is reflected in his historicizing definition of world harmony:

> And therefore Pythagoras and his auditors called philosophy 'the great music', and Plato similarly, since it had the power to bring the human soul into concord with itself, and to let all its different parts perform their specific task, which resulted in a marvellous consonance in contemplating, in speaking and in the performance of acts which lead to a well-tempered life. Thus it came about that they believed and taught that the human soul is composed of harmony, like the World Soul, which on the basis of its essence and powers brings into harmony the whole world that is governed by it, and makes the motions of the heavens produce sounds, which are harmonious and marvellously concordant.[27]

As a consequence of his abandonment of numerical world harmony as a system of eternal, harmonic laws, which also underpin the human soul and earthly music, Patrizi needs to come up with a new explanation to preserve the notion of music as an art with a cosmological range that can influence the human soul. To this end, he shifts the concept of the harmony of the spheres from the realm of the mathematical sciences to the realm of the rhetorical arts. His approach bears witness to a belief in a universal musical grammar behind the development and change of cultural and historical phenomena.

According to him, it is precisely because of their unreflective and direct character as part of nature that of animal sounds represent an unspoiled expression of natural order, whilst human speech sounds and music are seen as being more susceptible to alteration and degeneration of eternal

harmonic laws, because men are able to influence their musical expressions consciously. Thus, animal speech is taken as a point of departure for the study of the musical origins of language, which he associates with the harmonic archetypal music of Creation. This archetypal language, which as a secret musical structure is also hidden in all the different languages of man, must be rediscovered and revived in order to create a solid theoretical basis for poetry and music.

Patrizi begins his research into manifestations of archetypal harmonic laws in speech by stating that animals, like human beings, use speech to communicate and to express their passions (emotions), each in their own articulated language. In his search for the musical origins of language, he compares human and animal speech[28]:

> Human beings have a need for a new set of rules for their speech, considering the small variations from place to place. And often [speech] is such that the animals speak more sweetly than people. Many men in many parts of both the old and the new world inflect their language without any or with hardly any articulation. Certain birds on the other hand do inflect their language in such a way that it is far more articulated [than] any human language, [but also] more varied and pleasant. They themselves do not understand their language any less well at all than human beings do their own, and the sound they bring forth resonates more sweetly. Why else do certain birds and man alone, and also the hyena know how to inflect their voices in several distinct sounds (or even syllables) and to differentiate between [these sounds]?[29]

Behind all the different spoken languages on earth—and *par excellence* in the howls of the hyena or the sloth (Figure 8.2)—a structure of absolute pitches, harmonies and rhythmic formulae is concealed, which Patrizi associates with world harmony. Patrizi is of the opinion that as soon as the secret harmonic knowledge of animal sound in nature is retrieved, it should be used as a model for contemporary music practice: not only for a tuning system, but for a whole music aesthetics modelled after this idealized kind of animal speech.

Patrizi addresses the issue of the musical origins of language again in his discussion of ancient Greek and modern musical practice. Originally, just like birdsong, ancient Greek music functions in his philosophy as an expression of a kind of perfect harmony in which a relationship between natural order, mental concepts, words and sounds is preserved. In his early work *La città felice* ('The Happy City', 1553), Patrizi starts his investigation with the specific role Plato attributed in his *Republic* to music in the education of young children. In the dialogue, Plato had argued that even before a child is old enough to reason, 'rhythm and harmony sink deep into the recesses of the soul and take the strongest hold there,

Figure 8.2 The American sloth singing the hexachord, from Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, vol. I (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1650), p. 27.

bringing that grace of body and mind which is only to be found in one who is brought up in the right way'.[30] Patrizi's own fascination with musical *ethos*, i.e. the moral force of music, echoes that of Plato, and tells us something important about the shifting of the concept of the harmony of the spheres from the realm of the mathematical sciences into the one of the rhetorical arts. Whereas until the late sixteenth century attention was mostly focused on the manifestation of mathematical proportions in the universe, man and music, Patrizi shifts this focus to the impact of music on the 'recesses of the human soul'. He is particularly interested in the musical origins of language, and uses this to increase the impact of the real message of vocal music, which is contained in the text. Moreover, he does not only consider how music can be used to edify the soul and to soothe its irrational elements, but also how it can be used to evoke strong, or even transporting emotions.

The way ancient Greek vocal music was able to influence the human soul is not entirely mysterious for Patrizi. In late sixteenth-century Italy, there is a great amount of extant technical information about it. The question as to which musical modes are suitable to strengthen moral virtues or to express specific emotions is passionately discussed in some of the *Camerate* in which Patrizi participates. These debates are focused

on passages such as Plato's *Republic* 399a–b, where the philosopher had argued that due to its ethical power, music can be used beneficially in an educational programme to breed ideal citizens for an ideal state.[31] In *La città felice*, Patrizi discusses whether, and, if so, how the ancient Greek Dorian and Phrygian musical modes have, according to Plato, a beneficial effect on the human soul:

> Likewise music can be used to stimulate, to tranquillize and to order our soul. Therefore, Phrygian music warms our soul and fills us with passion; Lydian [music] makes us tranquil and replenishes our reserves, Dorian [music] induces in us a harmonious mood[32]; and then Hypolydian [music] makes us sad and plaintive. And although we no longer know thoroughly these kinds of music in our time, [we might assume] that nevertheless our own kinds of music, as is proven every day, are able to move the soul. And there are some kinds [of contemporary music] which somehow resemble those of antiquity: French [contemporary music] resembles Phrygian, Neapolitan music Lydian, and finally Lombard is similar to Dorian. But given that the mean is preferable to the extremes, for virtue lies in between,[33] it would be better that youth should first of all be trained in Dorian [music]—or instead of it in [its contemporary equivalent] Lombard music, which of all kinds of music is the most well-balanced—in order to anchor the soul in a stable state.[34]

Though Patrizi probably still believes that music is a means to obtain a well-tempered life by controlling the unruly passions of the mind, his attempt to relate ancient Greek to modern Italian music in this passage makes a casual and superficial impression. He equates, for example, the sixteenth-century Lombard music from his own native region with Dorian music from ancient Greece, without offering any kind of justification for this equation. His comparison between Lombard and Dorian music recalls a section in Galilei's *Dialogo*, which discusses the pitch of speaking voices in different provinces in Italy and argues that the Lombards generally speak and sing with a lower pitch than the Tuscans, and that this must also have been the case in the provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Doria in ancient Greece.[35] Notwithstanding his interest in the musical origins of language, Patrizi does not investigate in further detail the relation of pitch and speaking voice among different peoples.

As we have seen above, in Patrizi's time, there was a large amount of technical information available on Greek tuning and temperament. But instead of associating the musical intervals which Greek musical modes consist of with mathematical aspects of planetary orbits, Patrizi begins looking for them in the realm of language and the human mind. In doing so, Patrizi's conception of world harmony reflects the principles of the musical humanism of the second half of the sixteenth century, in which words are given preference over tones.[36]

Patrizi defines musical intervals in terms of vibrations in the air, and is mainly interested in how the movement of the air, which is generated by combinations of musical tones, is able to influence the human soul, and in particular moods and passions. His approach to the harmonic patterns underlying speech seems to have been inspired by Girolamo Mei, who analysed in the 1540s the effect of pitch accent in Tuscan prose.[37] Mei attributed the emotional effect of speech on a listener partly to the height or lowness of the reciting voice's pitch. Patrizi elaborates this theory in the preface of his poem *L'Eridano in nuovo verso heroico di Francesco Patritio* ('Eridano in New Heroic Verse of Francesco Patrizi', 1557). He tries to refine it by investigating not only absolute pitch, but also the specific effect of the Pythagorean consonances used in human speech. He formulates his new linguistic conception of the Pythagorean consonances as follows:

> And while in my *Dialogues concerning the Poetics of Music*,[38] I already considered that nature itself made in the words of this language [i.e. Italian] the three harmonies, that is, the octave, the fourth and the fifth, which are the three purest melodic consonances of the music of antiquity, indicated respectively by the terms *diapason*, *diatesseron* and *diapente* [i.e. the Pythagorean consonances: 1:2, 2:3 and 3:4], I decided to apply them to the construction of metrical feet. … Subsequently in my attempt to compose verse with metrical feet made in this way, I saw very clearly that spoken Italian could not contain a *diatesseron* except at the beginning of a phrase; and this is because it has the sound of a dactyl, which is opposed to the *diatesseron*.[39]

Having compared the building blocks of musical intervals in ancient Greek and modern Italian music, Patrizi draws the conclusion that of 'the octave, the fourth and the fifth, which are the three purest melodic consonances of the music of antiquity' the fourth is seldom used in modern spoken Italian. In other words, the melodic and rhythmic components of Greek and Italian are far less similar than he originally expected. Thus, he questions the idea that the three Pythagorean consonances are the very musical origins of language. Even so, he does not abandon the belief that world harmony and song are somehow related.

Harmony of the Spheres as Self-Expression of a Gifted Musician

While conceptions of world harmony in terms of the numerical structure of the three purest melodic consonances were traditionally used to justify the Platonic idea that music has a great influence on the human soul, Patrizi has to come up with a different explanation for this

phenomenon. In order to justify the belief in music's power on man's soul, he starts looking into other dimensions of music than its formal structure to account for this mysterious effect. His attention shifts from the static beauty of the Pythagorean musical intervals to the dynamic expression of musical concepts and affects, which can be used to enhance the impact of the message of a vocal composition that is contained in the text. In so doing, he makes use of ancient models and instruction in oratory that stressed moving passions of the mind.[40] In the texts dealing with the aesthetics of music, he does not identify the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres with tempering unruly passions by contact with ordered sound, but with the subjective experience of being transported by music.

This transformation is documented in Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia*, an ode to his muse, the famous singer Tarquinia Molza.[41] In this unfinished treatise he presents Tarquinia's musical performances as a source of the sublime, because she is able to fill a listener completely with a sense of the 'marvellous', which surpasses the ordered realm of the musically 'beautiful'. He explains that during Molza's performances the mind of a listener is so filled with the musical object of song that it cannot entertain anything else. The feeling of being possessed by music gives the listener the feeling of amazement, because for a moment he transcends his everyday experience. Patrizi reports that because Molza sings 'to the marvel and amazement of those who are truly knowledgeable', he himself was once transported into the higher spheres.[42]

In his description of this personal transporting musical experience, Patrizi refers to Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* and explains why not all people are susceptible to the harmony of the spheres:

> Nothing but the weakest echo of this harmony reaches human ears down here on earth. This does not enter into the souls of all men, the majority of whom have lost their hearing as [those] at the highest falls on the Nile, at the cataracts of their passions and material desires, but it only enters the souls of those whose ears are so purified that these souls derive a most sweet delight from it, since nothing in this world down here, but the harmony of this ninth Siren of ours—or rather of all those Sirens united with her—can compare to it. Or rather, she [i.e. Tarquinia Molza] so diverts them from their lowly thoughts that, as if their bodies had become like senseless stones, their souls drift behind them and give themselves up to the contemplation of their music, music with which this elemental world lives and sustains itself, for scarcely another sensual fruit can be derived from it.[43]

In this passage Patrizi refers to the parable of the cataracts of the Nile, which originates from Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*.[44] In this work,

Cicero describes Scipio hearing the music of the spheres in the heavens, and relates that the ears of men 'overcharged with this sound have grown deaf to it'. This reminds him of an African tribe living close to the roaring cataracts of the upper Nile who are, by this circumstance, completely deaf.[45] Here the theme of the inaudible music of the spheres, which derives from traditional sources such as *The Dream of Scipio*, is no longer applied to the macrocosm, but to the realm of the self of the singer Tarquinia Molza. In her ability to make earthly music an echo of the musically sublime, Tarquinia Molza becomes the very expression of heavenly harmony. She is a microcosm that no longer reflects the exterior macrocosm of the late sixteenth century, but rather a kind of lost harmonic paradise. This paradise is situated in the self of an exceptionally gifted musician, but may be communicated to a perceptive listener. As such, even if Patrizi no longer believes in the real existence of the harmony of the spheres, he deliberately uses it as a metaphor in the context of his aesthetics of music to evoke all kinds of associations with traditional conceptions of world harmony.

Patrizi creates a new concept of the musical ineffable that he associates with ideas originating from of the harmony of the spheres. At the same time, however, he does his very best to reveal the secret of Tarquinia's enchanting vocal performances by explaining her art in music theoretical terms that correspond with the musical practice of the late sixteenth century. By evoking the experience of hearing the harmony of the spheres to describe La Molza's performance Patrizi not only refers to an indefinable kind of musicality, but also to a technical skill, which talented musicians are able to use to move the emotions of their listeners or even cause transporting experiences in them. Patrizi describes Tarquinia's excellent musical skills as follows:

> Since this [*sc*. the marvellous power of La Molza's voice] is a definite fact not only in my judgment, but also in that of many valued and worthy musicians, there is no one today who intones the notes better or more correctly: … It is also rare to find with singers that they express the flats and the sharps with the enthralling sweetness that they desire. And [he] who does it by chance, or who comes close, is justly held in esteem. … But by thus singing the quavers and semiquavers in the empty space of the words underneath [*sc*. applying rhetorical ornamentation or diminutions], whether down low or up high, with such smoothness of intonation and with such clear distinction of each that it is a marvellous thing, the result is that I can well say that my ears never have heard, nor will ever hear a thing that can equal it.[46]

The most remarkable transformation in the tradition of the harmony of the spheres occasioned by Patrizi's transfer of music from the *quadrivium* to the *trivium* is fleshed out more precisely in this passage. First, by praising La Molza for 'singing the quavers and semiquavers in the empty space of the words underneath', it becomes clear that it is not the musical intervals themselves, but the embellishments or diminutions—namely, the small notes to play round the structural notes of a melody in order to express the emotional meaning of the words—are becoming an important aspect of creating a transporting musical experience. Secondly, by praising La Molza's capacity to 'intone the notes better or more correctly' Patrizi means that she 'expresses the flats and the sharps with that enthralling sweetness that they desire'. This is further evidence that the pure Pythagorean consonances of the octave, fifth and fourth have lost their meaning, and that in order to create a 'weak echo of the harmony of the spheres', a singer has to be able to temper the notes, which creates a subjective perception of perfect harmony in the sense of hearing. This notion is in line with the sixteenth-century practice of making tones a little higher or lower for intonation purposes: a practice, as we have seen above (at pp. 146–147), that was justified by the re-introduction of Aristoxenean tuning principles.

Based on the descriptions of her musical art in Patrizi's text and other sources, we can see that Tarquinia Molza must have been a virtuosic and expressive singer, who was able to inspire transporting musical experiences, of which the inexpressible nonverbal content could best be described in terms of the elusive harmony of the spheres. Patrizi concludes his ode by making the remark that just as the music of the spheres is made up of the heavenly song of the Muses

> one could say that the sweetness of her angelic voice is moved by many divinities, as it were, that are in her spirit, throat, tongue, and lips; and through them, virtue rains on our souls whence thoughts, acts, and words are continually created, and this produces in us a sweet, constantly changing springtime.[47] (Figure 8.3)

To recapitulate, in Patrizi's aesthetics, music is part of a metaphysical world that resembles Ficino's metaphysical view of world harmony. But this similarity is only superficial: Patrizi's metaphysical world is the inner world of the human soul of a musician or listener, which as *musica humana* is only loosely connected to the *musica mundana* of the macrocosm. Consequently, Ficino's musical ceremonies to draw cosmic energies are transformed into court performances (*musica humana*), in which the metaphor of 'harmonious rain' refers to a lost harmonious paradise.

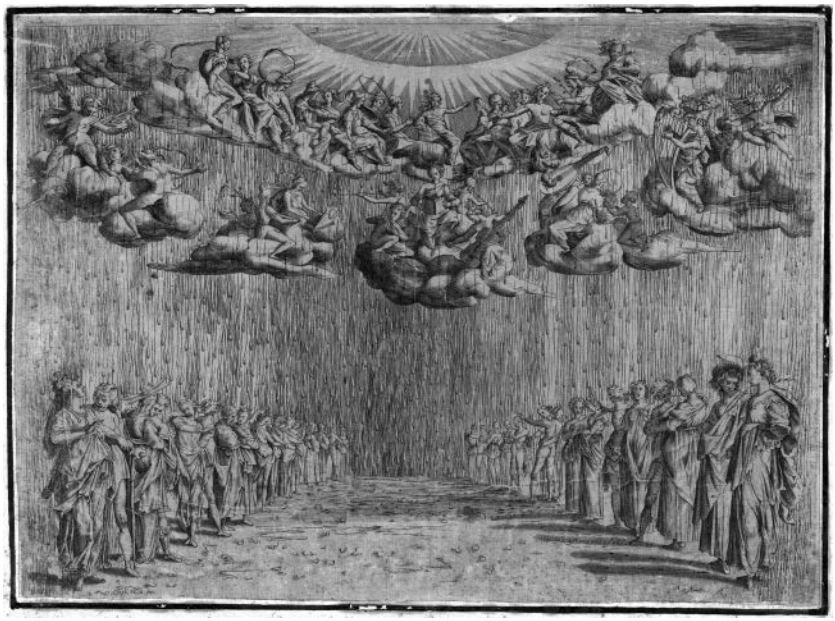

Figure 8.3 Epifanio d'Alfiano's 'The Descent of Harmony and Rhythm' in the sixth *intermedio* of La Pellegrina, composed for the wedding of Ferdinand de' Medici and Princess Christine of Lorraine, 1589. Printed with the kind permission of the Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis presented above, the only univocal conclusion we can draw is that Patrizi's thought on world harmony is ambiguous. As a lover of contemporary music, he advocated a modern music practice in which it was common use to temper the pure intervals of the Pythagorean tuning in order to meet its requirements, and this approach corresponded to his dismissal of the belief that the universe is ordered by the same mathematical proportions that produce consonances in earthly music. Nonetheless, as a philosopher of nature he continued to believe in the harmonizing power of cosmic sympathetic vibration, despite the fact that he criticized the mathematical foundation on which it was traditionally built.

This contradiction can be interpreted as being symptomatic of the emergence of an early modern scholarly practice, in which the traditional link between philosophy and music theory was increasingly called into question. On the one hand, this resulted in the fact that music theoretical concepts, such as the mathematical definition of world harmony, could no longer be used to anchor natural philosophical conceptions and

to give meaning to them. On the other hand, due to the emergence of a new kind of philosophy of nature, the very character of music theory was reformulated. As the science of acoustics developed, music became part of the philosophy of nature, which investigates sound as an empirical object. This development paved the way for a new aesthetics that focused on the subjective experience of music.

The way in which the subjective musical experience gained status is reflected in new conceptions of a subjective experience of the harmony of the spheres that were beginning to emerge at the end of the sixteenth century. Patrizi succeeded in sketching not only a programme for further natural philosophical and music aesthetic research, but also a new aesthetic standard for music as it was understood at the end of the sixteenth century. Thanks to scholars like Patrizi, it became common in the sixteenth century, and remains so today, to think of music as a language of deep insights and emotions, and to use the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres to express a subjective musical experience of being transported into the 'higher spheres'.

Notes

1 My very special thanks to Aileen Das and Tom Dixon for editing the English of my text.

2 For a short introduction to Patrizi's philosophy, see Paul O. Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 110–126; for an in-depth study of Patrizi's conception of world harmony, see Jacomien Prins, *Echoes of an Invisible World: Marsilio Ficino and Francesco Patrizi on Cosmic Order and Music Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), Part II.

3 See Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 116. The accounts of Patrizi's life rely mainly upon remarks scattered throughout his works and one autobiographical letter, which is dated 12 January 1587 and addressed to Baccio Valori. For this letter, see Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *Lettere e opuscoli inediti*, ed. by Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli (Florence: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1975), pp. 45–51.

4 Patrizi, *Autobiographical Letter*, in *Lettere e Opuscoli Inediti*, p. 47: '… sentendo uno frate di San Francesco sostener conclusioni platoniche, se ne innamorò e fatto poi seco amicizia dimandogli che lo inviasse per la via di Platone. Gli propose come per via ottima la *teologia* del Ficino, a che si diede con grande avidità'.

5 The analysis of the consequences of the transfer of music from the *quadrivium* to the *trivium* for the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres given in this chapter builds on and further develops Daniel K.L. Chua's thesis given in his 'Vincenzo Galilei, Modernity and the Division of Nature', in *Music Theory and Natural Order from the Renaissance to the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. by Suzannah Clark and Alexander Rehding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 17–29: p. 18.

6 During the period in which he taught philosophy at the University of Ferrara, Patrizi, for example, became a member of the *Accademia della Crusca* in 1587. See Maria Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530–1630* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 528, n. 22.

7 Patrizi, *De Dialogorum Ordine*, in *Lettere ed Opusculi Inediti*, p. 186: '… il *Timeo*, che ha lo scopo di mostrare come da Dio il mondo e le sue parti sia stato prodotto. E molte cose della divinità dichiara. … E vi sono i commenti di Proclo, di Calcidio e Ficino'.
8 Patrizi, *Nova de Universis Philosophia* (Ferrara: Mammarelli, 1591) [=hereafter *NUP*] III, f. 49*r*. On this treatise, see Benjamin Brickman, 'An Introduction to Francesco Patrizi's *Nova de Universis Philosophia*' (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1941).
9 See Eugenio Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life*, trans. Carolyn Jackson and June Allen, with revision in conjunction with the author by Clare Robertson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 56. On Ficino's astrological music, see Daniel P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1958), pp. 12–24: p. 14, n. 5; on Ficino's theory of world harmony, see also the Chapters 2 (at p. 31 and p. 40), 6, 9, 10 (at p. 185 and pp. 188–195), and 13 (pp. 242–243 and p. 248) in this volume.
10 The sources of Ficino's theory of cosmic sympathetic vibration are, e.g., Plato's *Republic* 531a–b, Plotinus, *Enneads* 4.4.40–41 and Proclus, *Commentary on Euclid's Elements* 41.2. On Ficino's theory of sympathetic vibration, see Chapter 2 (at p. 31 and p. 40) and Chapter 9 at p. 160 and p. 165 in this volume.
11 Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* 31, in *Commentaria in Platonem* (Florence: Lorenzo d'Alopa, 1496), f. 71*r*: 'Nam si ex sonante cithara in citharam similiter temperatam resonat repente nonnihil, et ex chorda vibrata, statim in chordam aeque tentam transit vibratio similis …'.
12 See Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance*, p. 60.
13 Ficino, *De vita* 3.21, in Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, ed. and trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1989), pp. 354–363.
14 Ficino, *De vita* 3.21, in Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life* pp. 358–359: 'Eadem quoque virtute quando coelestia imitatur, hinc quidem spiritum nostrum ad coelestem influxum, inde vero influxum ad spiritum mirifice provocat'.
15 Patrizi, *NUP*4, f. 116*v*: 'Dictat enim, Deum stellas non frustra fecisse. … Extra vero se, agant procul, quam procul lumina sua iacere possunt: et cum luminibus etiam seminum vires, quibus se se mutuo foveant, et sibi mutuo faveant, et inter se invicem conspirent, et sibi invicem, et toti, bona inspirent, et bonitate, sibi a Conditore data, omnia perspirent, et in unum ita conspirent, ut harmoniam illam divini artificis, omnia consonent, et personent'.
16 Patrizi, *NUP*4, XXI, f. 115*v*: 'Rem nos nostram agamus. Quaestio est nobis proposita, utrum stellae aliquid agant. Haec quidem universalior est, quam ut ad homines solos, uti hi tres magni fecere viri, redigatur, an scilicet stellae, hominum tantum, vel curam gerant, vel ipsis solis boni, vel mali influant aliquid'.
17 Patrizi, *NUP*3, f. 49*r*.
18 Patrizi, *NUP*2, f. 27*v*: 'Vires inquam corpus totum, sustinendi, vivificandi, in se uniendi, unum faciendi, viribusque suis in partes, et totum simul diffusis, sympathiam, et harmoniam efficiendi: et partes eius vires singulas, et particulares naturas diffundendi, quae tamquam universalis uniusque naturae ministrae, corpora particularia, moveant, alterent, generent, augeant, corrumpant, et in imperium Reginae suae omnia referant, et in unam concordiam conferant, ita ut ex totius mundi partibus, una confletur, et sympathia, et harmonia, sicuti, et ipsa una est, ab unitate sua prima per eos gradus quos diximus derivata'.

19 On the sixteenth-century transition from thinking in terms of numbers to thinking in terms of sound, see Michael Fend, 'The Changing Functions of *Senso* and *Ragione* in Italian Music Theory of the Late Sixteenth Century', in *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Charles Burnett, Michael Fend and Penelope Gouk (London: The Warburg Institute, 1991), pp. 199–221.
20 Patrizi, *NUP*4, f. 68*r*.
21 Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della Musica Antica et delle Moderna* (In Fiorenza: Appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1581). For an English translation, see *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, trans. with introduction and notes by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).
22 See Claude V. Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 6. On the revival of Aristoxenus in the Renaissance, see Claude V. Palisca, *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 189–199.
23 See Fend, 'The Changing Functions of *Senso* and *Ragione*', p. 210.
24 This figure is taken from Patrizi's *Deca Istoriale* in Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, *Della Poetica*, ed. Aguzzi Barbagli, vol. 1 (Florence: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1969), p. 345 [hereafter: *DP*].
25 The actual positions of these interior pitches are moveable, within limits, and give a wide spectrum of possible scales. Roughly speaking, the pitches in this example of the completion of a *diatessaron* (fourth), which are established by ear, resemble the white keys on a modern piano; i.e. all whole tones are equal, and all semitones are literally half such a tone.
26 Patrizi, *NUP*4, II, f. 68*v*.
27 Patrizi, *DP*, pp. 277–278: 'E quindi è che Pitagora e gli uditori suoi la filosofia chiamassero: musica la grande, e Platone similmente, sì come quella che possente era l'animo humano a concordare con se stesso e a disporre ogni sua parte a fare il proprio uffizzio suo, in guisa che di tutte ne riusciva una maravigliosa consonanza, così nel contemplare, come nel favellare, e nell'operare azioni a buona vita pertinenti. Onde fu ch'essi crederono e insegnarono l'animo humano essere composto d'harmonia, a simiglianza dell'anima mondana, la quale per ragioni dell'essenze e delle potenze sue tutto il mondo da lei governato rendea conforme, e i moti de'cieli facea render suoni armoniosi e di mirabile concento'. On Ficino's conception of a well-tempered life, see Jacomien Prins, 'The Music of the Pulse in Marsilio Ficino's *Timaeus* Commentary'. In *Blood, Sweat and Tears: The Changing Concepts of Physiology from Antiquity into Early Modern Europe* edited by Manfred Horstmanshoff et al., (*Intersections: Yearbook for Early Modern Studies* vol. 21), (Leiden: Brill, 2012) pp. 393–411.
28 See Aristotle, *History of Animals* 530a.
29 Patrizi, *NUP*3, IV, f. 58*r*: 'Homines, ad loci parvam variationem nova opus habent sermonum disciplina. Ac saepe talium, ut suavius habent pecudes, quam homines loquantur. Quorum multi, plurimis regionibus, et veteris, et novi orbis, voces suas vel nulla, vel fere nulla d articulatione flectant. Flectant autem aves quaedam eam ita, ut longe sit humana quavis dearticulatior, variaque suavisque magis. Quam ipsae non minus toto orbe intelligunt, quam homines quique suam, et dulcius resonant. Cur autem aves quaedam, et homo solus, vel etiam Hiena, voces suas in articulos varios flectere, ac scindere sciant'.
30 Plato, *Republic* 401e, trans. Francis M. Cornford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), p. 90.

31 Plato, *Republic* 399a–b, trans. Cornford, p. 87.
32 Plato, *Laws* 656c–657a.
33 Plato, *Laws* 670b–c.
34 Patrizi, *La Città Felice*, in *Utopisti e Riformatori Sociali del Cinquecento: A.F. Doni—U. Foglietta—F. Patrizi da Cherso—L. Agostini*, ed. Carlo Curcio (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1941), p. 189: 'La musica parimente giova molto ad incitare, ad acquetare e ad assettare l'animo nostro. Perciocché la musica Frigia ci riscalda l'animo e ci empie di furore; la Lidia ce lo fa tranquillo e rimesso; la Doria ce lo acconcia in un mezzano stato; la Hipolidia, poi, ce lo fa mesto e lamentevole. E, se bene queste musiche oggidì non sono da noi conosciute, nondimeno le nostre possono anch'elle molto (come tutto dì si prova) movere l'animo nostro. E sono alcune, che con gli effetti dell'antiche alquanto s'assomigliano: le Francesi alla Frigia, le Napoletane alla Lidia, le Lombarde alla Doria. Ma essendo sempre il mezzo da preporre alli suoi estremi, per esse in quello collocata la virtù; meglio sarebbe, che i fanciulli nella Doria, ò in sua vece, nella Lombarda, che sta di tutte nel mezzo, primieramente l'abito facessero, per fermare l'animo in quel mezzano stato'.
35 Galilei, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, pp. 171–172.
36 On this theme in Patrizi's philosophy, see Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985) pp. 402–405: pp. 412–418. On the history of the subject of the musical origins of language, see Downing A. Thomas, *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp. 20–23.
37 See Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 188–189.
38 In this preface, he refers to his *Dialoghi della musica poetica* ('Dialogues on the Poetics of Music'), which could be either a lost treatise or the discussion of music which subsequently showed up in *DP*.
39 Patrizi, *L'Eridano in nuovo verso heroico di Francesco Patritio: con i sostentamenti del detto verso* (In Ferrara: appresso Francesco de Rossi da Valenza, 1557), quoted in Aguzzi Barbagli, 'Francesco Patrizi e l'Umanesimo musicale del Cinquecento', in *L'Umanesimo in Istria*, ed. by Vittore Branca and Santa Graciotti (Florence: Olschki, 1983), p. 72: 'Et havendo io già ne' miei dialoghi della musica considerato che la natura stessa avea posto nelle parole di queste lingua (italiana) le tre armonie, ottava, quarta e quinta, che sono le tre semplici consonanze de gli antichi musici, *diapason*, *diatesseron* e *diapente*; deliberai di servirmi di loro per piedi…. In provando io adunque di fare i versi con così fatti piedi, chiarissimamente vidi che questa favella non pativa di ricevere, fuori che nel primo luogo, il *diatesseron*; e questo perché egli ha suono di dattilo, col quale ella ha tanta nemistà'.
40 One of these sources is Longinus, *On the Sublime*, ed. and trans. William Hamilton Fyfe, rev. by Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Jacomien Prins, 'Early Modern Angelic Song in Francesco Patrizi's, *L'amorosa filosofia*', in *Early Modern Medievalisms: The Interplay between Scholarly Reflection and Artistic Production*, ed. by Alicia Montoya, Wim van Anrooij and Sophie van Romburgh (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 111–135.
41 On this treatise, see John C. Nelson,'"L'Amorosa Filosofia" di Francesco Patrizi da Cherso', *Rinascimento* 2, II s. (1962), pp. 89–106.
42 See Patrizi, *L'amorosa filosofia*, ed. Nelson (Florence: Le Monnier, 1963) [=hereafter *AF*], p. 41; for an English translation, see Patrizi, *The Philosophy of Love*, trans. Daniela Pastina and John W. Crayton (Philadelphia, PA: Xlibris Corporation, 2003).

43 Patrizi, *AF*, pp. 71–72, trans. Pastina and Crayton pp. 99–100 [translation adapted]: 'Della quale harmonia non perviene agli orecchi humani qui giuso più che una debolissima quasi echo. La quale entra negli animi non già di tutti gli huomini, de' quali la maggior parte al cadere altissimo del Nilo, alla catadupa delle loro passioni et materiali affetti, hanno assordato l'udito; ma di que'solamente ch l'orecchie hanno alcun tanto purgate et ne gustano un diletto soavissimo, chè fuor che l'armonia di questa [n]ona nostra sirena—anzi di tutte quelle sirene raccolte in questa—niuna altra di questo mondo qua giuso se le può porre in paragone; anzi sì gli travia da questi bassi pensieri che quasi insensibili pietre divenuti col corpo, con l'animo dietro a loro si disviano, et alla contemplatione della loro musica con la quale questo elementale mondo vive et si sostenta, si danno, chè poco altro frutto sensuale se ne può trarre'.

44 For Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, see the Introduction (at p. 5) and the Chapters 1 (at pp. 26–29), 2 (at p. 34), 3 (at p. 55), 5 (at pp. 81–84, p. 87, and p. 92) and 10 (at p. 190) in this volume.

45 Cicero, *The Dream of Scipio*, in *On Republic* 6.18, ed. and trans. Clinton Walker Keyes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 273.

46 Patrizi, *AF*, ed. Nelson, pp. 39–40, trans. Pastina and Crayton, p. 68 [translation adapted]: 'Con ciò sia cosa che egli è cosa certissima non solo per mio giudicio, ma per quello di molti valenti e prodi musici, non è hoggi di alcuno che canti che intoni meglio le note, nè più giusto, … Molto più rara cosa è ne'cantanti che i sollevamenti e le diesis sieno da loro espresse con quella ammortita dolcezza che esse vogliono. Et chi il fa peraventura o vi si avicina è giustamente tenuto in istima. … Ma nel portare le crome e le semicrome negli spatij voti di parole di sotto, o allo in giù o allo in sù, con tanta egualità di intonatura e con sì chiara spiccatura di ciascheduna che è cosa maravigliosa, sì che io ben dire posso che le mie orecchie nè hanno udito, nè [so]no per udire, cosa che più le appaghi giamai'.

47 Patrizi, *AF*, ed. Nelson, p. 36, trans. Pastina and Crayton, p. 65 [translation adapted]: '…così ella con la soavità della sua voce angelica, mossa da tante, si può dire, deità che sono nello spirito, nella gola, nella lingua e nelle labbra sue, onde piove negli animi nostra virtù, onde si crieno sempre pensieri atti e parole, che in noi fanno una vaga e dolce primavera'.