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UMI
Two Practices, Three Styles:
The Evolution of Typologies of Compositional Genre
in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Italian Writings on Music

By

Clara Kelly Marvin

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Music
University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

Prescriptions for specific genres of musical composition began to appear in Italian treatises on music around 1550. Considerations of text type, affective or expressive goal, social function, place of performance, decorum and propriety became associated with the specific musical materials constituting a musical work. In the writings of Vicentino and Pontio, compositions were divided into ecclesiastical, secular and instrumental types. The art of composition, however, was governed by the understanding that however diversely materials were used in musical 'kinds', all works were governed by a uniform set of contrapuntal standards.

By 1600, perception of the relationship of musical genres was critically affected by increasing awareness of a bifurcation of contrapuntal practices. Standards remained based ostensibly in a unified theory; but musical works were understood to belong either to a first, or strict and observant practice, or to an 'other' second practice using justifiable irregularities of counterpoint premised on affective text expression. This reorganization came about in part due to the reciprocal effects of a series of seventeenth-century polemics and tracts—Monteverdi-Artusi, Scacchi-Siefert, Cazzati-Arresti, Liberati—which subjected works in a 'strict' style to intense critical scrutiny. In setting out 'objective' criteria by which compositions could be assessed, writers were forced to annotate generic prescriptions, and to re-think and re-examine modern musical practices generally. This process is clearest in the writings of Marco Scacchi (c.1600-87?) and his students. After 1650 schematics of musical genres took distinctions of 'practice' into account, so that music was divided into three 'styles', church, chamber and theatrical, and two 'practices', first and second. Meanwhile church music style in the observant manner had been strongly affected by the humanist mandate for a simplification of counterpoint
for text presentation in performance and the traditionalist stream in music theory. For sociological and historical reasons, this aesthetic became focussed on Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and his Roman successors as its model and central authority. Examination of seventeenth-century prescriptions for this style, particularly in the writings of Antimo Liberati, supplement and adjust our understanding of the relationships among ‘first practice’ composition, particular requirements for liturgical genres in this period, and ‘modern’ practice generally.
Acknowledgments

This thesis was many years in the making, with a long hiatus between the beginning of work in the years 1981-84 and its completion in Toronto in 1994-98. For the final happy outcome, greatest thanks are due to my advisor, Professor Mary Ann Parker, who combines warmth, kindness and wisdom with an experienced guiding hand, a keen and critical eye, and a wealth of insight from which I have never failed to benefit. Frankly, I cannot imagine how anyone could get through the dissertation process without someone like Mary Ann. Warm thanks are also due to Professors Robert Fack, William Bowen and Gregory Johnston, who read portions of the thesis and made many valuable comments.

I thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for supporting my thesis with a Doctoral Fellowship in the years 1994-1997; and also the American Association of University Women, who awarded me the Bertha Lauer Endowed Fellowship in 1982-1983 for the earlier stage of my research. I recall with gratitude and pleasure the university libraries in which I read early treatises and glimpsed many treasures: the State University of New York at Buffalo; Columbia University; Yale University’s Sprague Music Library; Sterling Library and the Beinecke Rare Book Library; the University of Toronto Music Library; also, libraries further afield: in Rome, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Biblioteca Nazionale Santa Cecilis; in Venice, Biblioteca Querini-Stampaglia; in Bologna, the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale (with its marvelously helpful staff); in Washington, the Music Division of the Library of Congress, and the Catholic University of America; in New York, the Music Division of the New York Public Library. Professor Harold Samuel of Yale and Ms. Kathleen McMurrow of Toronto were especially helpful with these forays over the years. I should also like to express my particular appreciation to Dr. Ernesto Brivio, archivist of the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, who in 1982 very kindly supplied me with microfilms of the materials dealing with the cathedral’s competition for maestro di cappella in 1684; the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel for a microfilm copy of the extremely rare Examen breve de modestum of Hieronymus Nimius; and again to Yale University for use of its microfilm copy of Marco Scacchi’s Crisnun musium ad tritium syfericam, based on the exemplar located in the Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen (formerly Preussischer Staatsbibliothek, Berlin) and filmed by the Deutsches musikgeschichtliches Archiv, Kassel.

I recall with gratitude the remarkable undergraduate program in music history at SUNY at Buffalo, which prepared me splendidly for the profession of musicology in ways I fully appreciated only years afterwards; also Professor Ernest H. Sanders of Columbia University, whose inspired teaching first breathed life into the reading of treatises of music theory; also Professor Claude V. Palisca of Yale University, who made numerous suggestions in the early stages of my thesis work. I thank friends who have been especially supportive all these years: Gail Hilson Woolu, Marilyn Emerson (Losius), Keith Perrett, David Oliver, Ellen Chaikof, Rosanne King (Narguwalla) and members of my ‘year’ at the University of Toronto, and also to Joan Darroch and Alan Steel, and Anna Chan.

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Portsmouth Village, Kingston, Ontario 1998

Clara Marvin
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Chapter 1
Evolution of the Concept of Generic Kinds of Music in
Sixteenth-Century Texts on Composition

"I propose to treat of poetry in itself and of its various
kinds, noting the essential qualities of each..."

Aristotle, opening of Poetica

What is "genre", or "kind"?

In a 1982 study of the subject, Heather Dubrow emphasized the difficulty in arriving at a
simple and satisfying definition of genre. Not only is it a concept which embraces many qualities
of content, tone and form, but the choice of a particular genre gives rise to a great many
reciprocal influences within and upon a work. 1 Establishing genre has to do with the way our
attention is focussed on the details of a work of literature, poetry or music, and how those
details, chosen from an established set of prescriptions, in turn signal information about the
nature, construction and purposes of the work as a whole. It has often been observed that genre
functions like a code of behaviour established between an author (or here, composer) and a
reader (or listener). These codes differ from one culture to another, but, within a particular
literary culture, sets of generic conventions may be well entrenched. Furthermore, the decision
to work within a particular genre may demonstrate implicit respect for the traditions and past
history of that culture. This being the case, for an author or composer to ignore those
conventions, or intentionally to defy them, is a serious matter which could be construed as a
judgment upon, or rebellion against, the cultural institution which ultimately supports the genre
and the identified values associated with it.

1 Heather Dubrow, Genre (London and New York: Methuen, 1982), 9.
The following pages study how some of these concepts related to genre and genre propriety were absorbed into an emerging poesis of musical composition beginning about 1550. The ideas, grounded in particular Aristotelian texts, were developed in a body of Italian literary and critical writings in the early sixteenth century, and then effectively transferred to critical reflections on the nature and technique of composition. Evolution of these ideas about genre continued for well over a hundred years in a process traceable in the writings of a series of Italian music theorists and commentators. Issues of the identity, purity and stability of genre were, in fact, amongst the most important aspects of some of the most notorious theoretical and musical-critical polemics of the period 1550-1685.

The texts to be discussed here are of two main types. In one type, part of the discussion of musical poesis is presented as prescriptions, that is, directions for use of the materials of music in distinctive and particular ways to produce different 'kinds' of musical pieces. Such passages tend to occur near the end of manuals of counterpoint and composition. In other relevant texts, often of a distinctly more polemical nature, the reader finds critical descriptions of works which are certified as being, or not being, a correct exemplar of some genre. In the evaluative process the writers usually refer to basic rules and conventions which, it is clear, they assume must be presented and observed for the exemplar to be 'correct'. In both types of text, either as a necessary preliminary or as a summary product, some writers also present taxonomies of compositional kinds. They describe and prescribe the technical requirements for each of the available genres, classifying them in a schematic and often hierarchical outline demonstrating their connections, interrelationships and differences. Ultimately, then, the subject of this study is the phenomenon of the appearance and development of these taxonomies. When they are studied in conjunction with the changes in attitude toward the rules of counterpoint in this time frame, they provide much information about how cultural and intellectual attitudes interacted
with the practice of musical composition \textit{per se} in the later Renaissance and earlier Baroque periods.

Western European writers have been interested in classifying the range of available musical forms and styles since the late Middle Ages. A background cultural stimulus for the interest was present in that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the high season for Aristotelian scientific and logical influence in the universities. At that time, when there was an overriding wish to establish order and tangible outlines of knowledge in many things, music (that is, in its speculative aspect) held an honoured place as a discipline enthroned among the mathematically-oriented subjects of the academic \textit{quadrivium}. In addition to speculative or theoretical music, which addressed numerical and philosophical concepts, there was also active or practical music (not itself associated with the \textit{quadrivium}), which embraced the arts of composition—that is, written and improvised melody and counterpoint—and performance. These divisions of the discipline were reflected in the sectionization and even physical separation of respective texts, which were also characterized according to the technical level of the contents and the type of audience to which they were addressed.\footnote{See Lawrence A. Gushee, “Questions of Genre in Medieval Treatises on Music”, \textit{Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade}, ed. Wulf Arnt et al. (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1973), 365-433. Gushee’s article addresses typologies of musical treatises rather than typologies of musical kinds themselves.}

Descriptions of various musical types, more or less clearly distinguished from one another, began to appear in treatises by around 1300. This may have been due in part directly to the Aristotelian influence, since the attitude which informed these early texts is rather close to Aristotle’s point of view on the appropriateness of social divisions of music: they reflected his belief that music should be appropriate to the intended audience. (This attitude was somewhat more liberal than the moralistic outlook of the other classical sage whose comments on music were closely studied, Plato.) A significant case in point was the \textit{De musica} of Johannes de
Grocheo (c.1300), which classified a range of musical kinds present in the world around its author. As Ellinore Fladt has indicated, Grocheo's understanding of the generation, types and organization of music bore a strong resemblance to the Aristotelian scientific perception of natural phenomena in terms of form and material. Grocheo wrote:

The disclosure of all these things is in three parts: first, from universal knowledge, which is obtained from definition or description; second, from the more perfect knowledge, which consists in distinguishing and recognizing [their] parts; but the third, from the final thing which is obtained through the knowledge of their composition.

Grocheo's typology of music followed this scheme and proceeded in three phases. First he articulated the universal constitutive principles of numbers and ratios, consonance and intervals; then he provided universal definitions and divisions of music; and then he differentiated the makeup and properties of particular types or parts of music. [See Table 1, page 5.] These partes were divided into simplex (or civilis or vulgaris), that is, secular vocal and instrumental works, composita (or regularis or canonica or mensurata) or polyphony, and ecclesiastica or music for the mass and offices. The naming of each of these genera was followed by a description of individual

---

1 Johannes de Grocheo [or Grocheio in some sources] was a teacher at the Sorbonne in the years around 1300. A MS facsimile, transcription and German translation of his “De musica” (Incipit prologus in arte musicae) is presented in Ernst Rohloff, Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktheoret der Johannes de Grocheo (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967). An available English translation is Johannes de Grocheo, Concerning Music (De Musica), trans. AlbertSexy (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1973). Grocheo was among several writers who classify different kinds of music. Johannes de Garlandia’s De mensurabilis musica (c.1240) describes subdivisions of organum into discant, copula and organum in the special sense. In De mensuris et discantis (c.1270-1280), Anonymous IV distinguished among “polyphonic compositions” and “collections and different kinds of discants”, and further subdivided the latter into varieties of organum, discant and conductus (see Luther Dittmer, trans. and ed., Anonymous IV’ (Music Theorists in Translation 1. New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), pages 56, 66). Grocheo's text is featured here due to his systematic and comprehensive treatment of the subject according to a methodology which is arguably found in all three writers.


3 Latin text in Rohloff, op. cit., 128, 130. “Notificatio vero omnium istorum ex tubus est, primo enim ex cogitatione universalis, quae per definitionem vel descriptionem habetur, secundo vero ex cognitione [magie] perfecta, que in distinguendo et cognoscendo partes consistit, sed tertio ex ultima, que per cognitionem compositionis habetur.”

4 It is important here to distinguish between two uses of the word genus. The role of humanistic studies in the investigation of the Greek musical genera (chromatic, diatonic and enharmonic) and the affective genera (exciting, moderate and soft) has been the subject of considerable scholarship. Much less well documented is the evolution of the concept of genre with respect to categories of mainstream polyphonic composition in the sixteenth century.
Table 1. Johannes de Grocheo: from *De musica* (c.1300), divisions of music

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Musica simplex</th>
<th>Musica composita</th>
<th>Musica ecclesiastica</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>(or civilis or vulgari)</em></td>
<td><em>(or regularis or canonica)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Vocal</strong></td>
<td>Motetus</td>
<td>Matins</td>
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<tr>
<td>{cantus gestualis}</td>
<td>{organum}</td>
<td>{invitatory}</td>
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<tr>
<td>versicularis</td>
<td>{conductus}</td>
<td>{Venite}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{cantus coronatus}</td>
<td>Hoquetus</td>
<td>{hymn}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{cantilena rotunda}</td>
<td></td>
<td>{antiphon}</td>
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<tr>
<td>{cantilena stantipes}</td>
<td></td>
<td>{psalm}</td>
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<tr>
<td>{cantilena ductia}</td>
<td></td>
<td>{responsory}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrumental</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>{versicle}</td>
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<tr>
<td>{cantus coronatus}</td>
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<td>Hours</td>
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<td>ductia</td>
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These two sets of ideas originate in different matrices. Greek texts specifically devoted to musical systems examine tuning systems and so forth, while literary and critical investigations give rise to conceiving mainstream musical works in terms of genre. In the seventeenth century, however, applications of the idea of affective genera do enter schemata of *seunda prattica* composition, in reflections by Monteverdi and others.
species of practical music belonging to them. Not only did the method here derive from mainly scientific categories in the Aristotelian texts available to Grocheo’s generation, but even the use of terms like *simplex* and *composita*.

There are important differences, however, between Grocheo’s method and results and those of Nicola Vicentino (c.1511-1576), the earliest music theorist whose writings are to be studied here. Although in and of itself Vicentino’s text is markedly original and out of the mainstream for manuals of counterpoint and composition, it seems less eccentric if some of the results of a complex shift in cultural perspective between 1300 and 1500 are taken into account. Summarized in its barest essentials, when examining the individual kinds of composition in the newer landscape, one finds that the new perception of genre is much more than a matter of “distinguishing and recognizing their parts”. While earlier style distinctions had been primarily functional, by about 1550 the outline for the range of musical types had altered. From a taxonomy which had its best analogues in natural and biological phenomena, the concept of music as a formal scheme had been transformed into one which was shaped by affective, sociological and psychological influences. Composers had begun to recognize that through the deliberate selection and shaping of materials, practices which constituted the defining features of a work of music, they might emphasize certain parts or details over others for the purpose of communicating specific nonmusical messages. As the creation of an ‘effect’ came to the foreground, the choice of material content became a function of the effect it was to make. The issue of ‘style’ had become central to the message to be conveyed. The balance of this chapter addresses this shift, touching on a number of factors which contributed to the emergence of concern with musical ‘kinds’ in particular writings dating from between about 1550 and 1600.

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1 Among the most immediately influential upon Grocheo would have been the *Physics*, the *Logic* and the *Politics*, which would have been available in paraphrases and *summaria* as well. See Fladt, *Musikwissenschaft, passion*. 
Rhetoric and Poetics: Texts, Terminology, Distinctions

In order to understand the shift in the perception of genre, one must appreciate the near-obsessive concern with acquiring and practicing the arts of speaking, writing, and coherent and correct social communication which dominated Italian intellectual culture around 1500. This great ferment, an essential feature of the humanist programme, derived ultimately from the recovery and rethinking of certain ancient texts which had begun even before 1300 and was to flourish abundantly throughout the fifteenth century. Those ‘classic’ texts roused their readers to ask whether the standards and qualities they taught should be applied to modern writing, and if so, whether the Latin and Greek languages themselves should dominate contemporary culture or a worthy vernacular could be developed.

Ancient texts on the subject of language arts were universally available. Their influence was powerful, even when indirect: not only were they a central subject of scholarship, but through their introduction into the higher echelons of academic and aristocratic education they had also been diffused into the culture generally. By the early fifteenth century, humanists had declared that true education was based on those disciplines closest to human nature and conduct: eloquence, ethics, the arts of government and politics, history, poetry, literature and “manners”. An education of this kind had a serious agenda. The ancient texts were intensely studied, not only for the sake of their empirical content, but for the deliberate use of that content in ways which were different from the intellectual workings of medieval culture. For by 1500 the humanist mindset was increasingly less likely to receive uncritically the view of an unalterable cosmic and social order the eternal nature and rules of which were essentially known. (For music theorists, there was something of a time lag in this respect; subjects and materials reflecting the newer world view appeared in their texts closer to the mid-sixteenth century.)

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8 Dubrow, Genre, 51.
Writers and thinkers were more likely to understand their environment and the social world as something that could be planned, directed, organized and ultimately transformed through the positive means of persuasion and negotiation.

Obviously, in such a culture high value was placed on texts dealing with the arts of argument and persuasion. In the early sixteenth century, a number of texts of ancient provenance had a powerful impact due to their relatively recent rediscovery and dissemination. Several of these texts are important to mention because their eventual influence on the formation of ideas of musical ‘kinds’ is unmistakable. Relevant for the present discussion was Quintilian’s *De institutione oratoria* (circa AD 90), a manual for teaching the techniques and skills involved in good speaking. The complete text of the *Institutes* had been discovered by Angelo Poggio in 1416 and thereafter was actively circulated by humanists particularly concerned with education, among them Vittorino da Feltre, Lorenzo Valla, Angelo Poliziano, and Erasmus. Not the least of its attractions was that its copious particulars could be, and were, presented in the context of a wider vision. Quintilian’s ultimate aim was to aid in the development of a complete, virtuous and socially beneficial human being through offering an education based on an ethical and philosophical formation and breadth of knowledge, assuming that a person so formed would use speechmaking techniques to noble ends.

Cicero’s *De oratore* (46 BC), on the other hand, had long been known. It was printed at Subiaco in 1465—it was Italy’s first printed book—and had three other Italian editions in the following fifteen years. It was perhaps the most important of several Ciceronian (and, in the case of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, pseudo-Ciceronian) texts which discussed the nature, functions and practice of oratory in the legal court and in public service. They dealt with techniques of exposition and argument, and in general they addressed the persuasive and expressive resources

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of language. Like Quintilian, Cicero conceived the orator as a person who worked from a combined base of strong natural gifts and a well-balanced education in philosophy, ethics, and science as well as the language arts. While the skillful orator was able to persuade his audience through the strength of his ideas, those ideas were supported by the suitable presentation of topics, the parts and arrangement of the speech and the choice of the appropriate level of argument for the audience being addressed. Cicero and Quintilian together were the primary classical authorities for those most intensely studied of literary qualities in the Renaissance, clarity, correctness and embellishment of style. Cicero was also associated with the ‘classic’ formulation of three fundamental ‘levels’ of style—simple, intermediate and high or grand—which became so important to musical, as well as literary genres.

Horace’s *Ars poetica* had been known throughout the Middle Ages and was an authoritative part of the Renaissance cultural heritage well before 1500. A theoretical text on the art of poetry, Horace’s book treated such topics as the internal order of a poem, its diction, the materials of particular genres of poetry, and the behaviour of the poet. Early sixteenth century readers of Horace addressed his text as though it was essentially rhetorical; that is, they interpreted Horace assuming that he believed that the expectations, requirements and tastes of the audience enter into the making of the poem. Horace’s influence was pervasive. With time, as the body of commentary on the newly re-discovered *Poetics* of Aristotle grew, critics would expend much ink on discussion of what insights it offered into Horace’s text. This impulse to read the wisdom of one writer into the texts of another was such that a conflation of

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10 While in literary theory of the 1550s and 1560s the number of *qualities* of style (that is, clarity, beauty, correctness, etc.) multiplied, the number of levels was retained at three.

11 There was a long manuscript tradition for the *Ars poetica*, but the first printed edition was issued around 1475 (see Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 73), and others quickly followed. The circulation of commentaries by Cristoforo Landino (c.1482) and Iodocus Badius Ascensius (c.1500) also meant that Horace was part of the intellectual landscape before serious work on the newly-recovered *Poetics* of Aristotle began.

12 See Marvin T. Herrick, *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531-1555* (Illinois Studies in
terminology and ideas is present in the literature of the period. Renaissance Italian
commentators construed Horace’s work such that, according to Bernard Weinberg, “it is
frequently difficult to distinguish a predominantly ‘Horatian’ text of the Cinquecento from one
which sprang primarily from Cicero or Quintilian transmuted into an authority on the art of
poetry.”

In classical antiquity, the contextual analysis of human psychology and social action,
particularly within a work of art, was the conceptual concern not of rhetoric, but rather of
poetics. The art of constructing certain structural unities and overall characterizations within a
work, poetics was the actual matrix for theories of genre and style. In the early sixteenth century,
the nexus for renewed study of such theory was Aristotle’s Poetica. This work had been
circulating since before 1500 but had its main impact after its publication under Erasmus’s
tership in 1531. Within a generation, these printings of the Poetica text, together with the
immense amount of critical commentary on them, indicate the ferment of interest in Aristotelian
poetical theory. (For that matter, these texts and their commentaries did much to confirm the
establishment of the business of writing about literary genres as a virtual subgenre in itself—they
confirmed the Recognizability as a literary type.) Weinberg noted that by about 1550 it had become
necessary for commentators to consider and cite the dicta of Aristotle on the art of poetry, just

13 Weinberg, A History of Literary Criticism, 72. Chapters 3-5 of this magisterial text deal with the reception of the Poetica in this period and its increasing conflation and confusion with other texts, notably Aristotle’s Poetics.
14 Published in Basel, 1531. See F. Edward Craz, A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions, 1501-1600 (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1984), 27, item 107.928. Aldus Manutius had published the works of Aristotle in five volumes in 1495-98, but several texts, including the Poetica and Rhetorica, were missing. A poorly edited Greek text of Poetica appeared in 1508. When Erasmus supervised the 1531 Aldine reprinting he and Grynaeus included Poetica and Rhetorica. A printed Latin translation appeared in 1498. Alessandro Pazzi de’ Medici (1483-1530) prepared an edition of the Greek text of the Poetica together with his own Latin translation, published posthumously in 1536. Wilkins says that this book marked the beginning of the vogue for Aristotelian critical ideas in Italy (since Tassio’s works, though written earlier, were not published until much later). Francesco Robortello’s influential In libris Aristotelis de arte poetica explicationes appeared in Florence in 1548; Bernard Segni published Rettorica et Poetica d’ Aristotele tradotte di greco in lingua vulgare forentina in Venice in 1551. For the present study I have relied on the text and translation printed in S.H. Butcher, Aristotle’s Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, with a critical text and translation of the Poetics, 4th ed., 1911 (New York: Dover, 1951), in subsequent notes referred to as Aristotle, Poetica.
as it had long since been necessary to reckon with the views of Horace, of Plato, and of such rhetoricians as Cicero and Quintilian.16

In Poetica, Aristotle discussed the species of poetry in terms of groups of defining and descriptive criteria, examining the ‘essential qualities’ and methods of tragedy, comedy and epic. Fundamental to his discourse were two closely connected concepts: mimesis, imitation or representation; and propon, propriety or decorum, the requirement that certain subjects receive appropriate form and treatment. In the pre-Socratic period mimesis meant not the reproduction of an external reality, but expression of the inner one; in Socratic dialectic it came to mean copying of the appearance of things.17 In Aristotle’s Poetica, the term implied primarily the imitation of human action, although it also came to mean imitation of nature.18 Aristotle modified the Socratic idea somewhat to mean the presentation of things as more or less beautiful than they are, or of things as they could or ought to be. He assumed that a subject required appropriate treatment if the imitation were to be successful: “A beautiful object, whether it be a living organism or any whole composed of parts, must not only have an orderly arrangement of parts, but must also be of a certain magnitude.”19 All the genres were modes of imitation, differentiated by their medium (rhythm, melody or verse) and their object (the different moral characters of human beings in action). Each genre had a manner and materials which were involved in projecting its particular message.

Aristotle assumed that there was a ‘natural’ form for a genre, a pure and perfect exemplar of a kind toward which the artist should strive to come as close as possible. It followed, then, as a corollary that in his theory a mixture of styles (which created confusion and effectively

14 Weinberg, A History of Literary Criticism, 422.
distanced the artwork from the ideal) constituted a defect. A tragic character, for instance, was not to be made to use language associated with comedy, and vice versa. This was a violation both at the deep and the surface layers of structure, which was accepted in the oratorical tradition as well. Cicero, who followed Aristotle in this respect, noted: “So in tragedy a comic style is a blemish, and in comedy the tragic style is unseemly; and so with the other genres, each has its own tone and a way of speaking which the scholars recognize.”

Profound respect for appropriate, reasonable and ‘seemly’ modes of representation and behaviour is denoted by the second fundamental Aristotelian precept, decorum or propriety. Cicero noted the meeting of balanced judgment and high moral quality in this concept. “…For to employ reason and speech rationally, to do with careful consideration whatever one does, and in everything to discern the truth and to uphold it—that is proper.” Aristotle believed that both aesthetic and moral virtue resided in the ‘mean’, that is, a point of perfection situated somewhere between extremes of excess and deficiency. Because of its association with the inspiration of states which move listeners to emotion and action, the concepts of decorum, propriety and ‘balance’ contained a strong moral, ethical and sociological component which was retained and increased as it filtered through Latin rhetorical writings. Propriety was “inseparable from moral goodness; for what is right is morally proper, and what is morally right is proper.”

In sixteenth-century Italy, such ideas about the correct and suitable uses of language pointed directly to understandings about self-expression, communication, and general social behaviour. A course of study involving such skills was then incumbent not merely upon the

19 Aristotle, Poetica, 31.
20 Cicero, De optimo genere oratorum, trans. H.M.Hubbell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 355. In her book Genre, Heather Dubrow pointed out that many statements about genre made by Aristotle’s followers in the Renaissance stem from their acceptance of these ideas, and that many statements by other critics reflected their desire to violate it, and to be seen doing so (48). Some of the liveliest literary controversies of the sixteenth century involved very well-known works—Orlando furioso, Gerusalemme liberata, Il pastor fido are only the most obvious—which did not seem to fit established literary generic categories clearly.
public speaker, but upon all those who lived their lives upon a public stage. Personal 'style' was associated with the speech and manners of a particular social stratum and concomitant expectations for behaviour, and a person was expected to use the very kind of language deemed appropriate for that given social role. An appropriate self-presentation which delivered the 'correct' signals was presumed most necessary to social interaction, even if it displayed an appearance, rather than an essence, of good and moral behaviour. If the conventions were challenged, the result was complicated beyond the creation of confusion or incongruity. It created a breach of decorum, an imperfect communication which would have brought upon the offender questions about the quality of his class, family, education, motives and possibly sanity.

The concepts of virtue, and social and ethical responsibility, were instilled simultaneously with language skills; noble deed and noble speech were joined. "[T]his division of philosophy, concerned with human life and manners, must all of it be mastered by the orator."

Just as personal 'styles' served to reinforce individual and class identity, so integrity of various literary styles was guaranteed by respecting their conventions. To keep them distinct was treatment which was acknowledged as serving propriety and decorum. The interrelationship of communication, appropriateness of tone and gesture, and the inculcation of right thought and action—these were constituent parts of a contemporary social view which ultimately had a decisive effect on the musical craft of the period. These influences were evident through the belief in particular forms of communication and persuasion which acted through highly specific stylistic choices among the materials of musical composition. How these particulars were expressed will be examined later in this chapter.

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22 Cicero, *De officiis*, I, 93-94.
Transfer of Terminology from Rhetoric and Poetics to Music

To make formal distinctions in type among musical works, and to attempt a newly critical discussion of them, sixteenth-century music theorists began to borrow concepts and terminology from oratory and rhetoric, for it was a vocabulary known by virtually all educated persons. In the early phase of this absorption into music, however, the terminological line between rhetoric and poetics was often blurred. This was not altogether a lack of categorical thinking, and certainly not intellectual clumsiness as such; rather, it was due to an inherent condition in the sources upon which theorists of practical music in this period often had to rely. Among the classical literary treatises available to the majority of Renaissance musicians in one form or another, rhetorical works were the preponderant type. Their popularity in late antiquity (and consequently their survival rate into more recent times) was relatively high. What is also significant is that even by the fourth century AD rhetoric had effectively subsumed and overlapped the critical discussion which was previously devoted to related subjects.\(^\text{26}\) As a consequence, terminology which had belonged to rhetoric and dealt with the exposition of literary (and later, musical) detail was additionally used for topics which dealt with problems of general structure, style and decorum. Although sixteenth-century literary and critical writings are full of the attempts to reconcile the statements in texts of different ancient authorship and date, their own commingling and confusion of terminology and concepts was by no means new and in some cases was present in the older texts themselves.

Furthermore, in their turn, practical composers and writers on music in the sixteenth century were not effective critical commentators on the ancient texts of Quintilian or Aristotle themselves and thus unequipped to sort out the confusion directly. Rather, they tended to be second-hand receivers and users of what other sixteenth-century scholars were telling them.

\(^{26}\) See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, 60 et seq.
(Humanist scholars of a high order were contributing information and discussions of the classical texts, but in general they were not significant practical musicians whose particular concerns they would have addressed directly either.) One cannot assume that persons even as actively interested in the matter as Vicentino, for instance, always had direct access to primary texts or could deal with them critically when they did. Vicentino’s command of Greek was shaky at best and probably depended heavily on commentaries, conversation and other scholars more qualified to research the literary aspects of the subject at first hand. Another factor at work, admittedly intangible to some extent but unquestionably important, can be described in terms of a Zeitgeist—a cultural environment in which the ideas described above were so pervasive that they were often absorbed osmotically in a loose or inexact form and recited as given cultural assumptions. Understandably, when musicians transferred oratorical and poetic terminology to discussions of composition, they used it with similarly overlapping and indistinct language.

Before 1550, the pre-existence of a terminology dominated by rhetorical concepts made it easier to formulate rhetorical applications to music theory, while the less well-developed language of poetics posed a greater challenge to the creation of a clear critical poesis of music. The increasing intellectual dignity accorded to practical (as contrasted with speculative) music per se and to treatises on actual composition in this period meant the groundwork for the integration of formal and generic concepts into practical writings was present. Theorists of music clearly believed that they could communicate meaningfully about composition in terms analogous to those used elsewhere in the culture. But they also seem to have been aware that, however

27 Maria Rika Maniates, “Vicentino’s ‘Incerta et occulta scientia’ re-examined”, *Journal of the American Musicalological Society* 28 (1975), 335. Maniates pointed out the rough edges on Vicentino’s scholarship, about which more below; see especially page 25.
28 It goes without saying that this cultural fertilization was not confined to literature. A general concern with the arts of persuasion and the related developments in style and style theory, were also an essential part of the plastic arts, architecture, social behaviour and manners. While one can readily document associated sources and influences, one must also allow for popular dissemination, discussion and cultural belief in subjects of this kind.
congenial a language, it was, nonetheless, a language of analogies: the technical processes of the
writer or speaker and those of the composer were not necessarily to be understood as identical.30
In his Supplimenti Zarlino mentioned that the musician who tried to be in all ways like the orator
would end up looking like a clown; Lodovico Zacconi cautioned that the arts and operations of
the poet and the musician were different, even if sometimes comparable.31

Musical Poetics and Bembist Aesthetics

In the first half of the sixteenth century, another major debate took place which had
major repercussions in musical circles: whether, and in what ways, the vernacular (that is, Italian,
rather than Latin) should be used in elevated literature and discourse. Prominent among the
controversialists was Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), the noted champion both of Ciceronian Latin
and Petrarchian Italian, whose writings enjoyed wide study.32 In the course of his attempts to
create a poetics for the Italian language, he amalgamated Ciceronian oratorical concepts with
Horace's Art poética (notably with respect to Horace's idea of poetry as a performance in which
the author manipulates the listener or reader). These ideas formed an important part of his
influential Prose della volgar lingua (1525).33 Dean Mace has argued persuasively for the influence of

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30 The assumption that analogy is the same as identification, found in much 20th-century critical literature on music
and oratory, is a logical fallacy and has caused great confusion. Elaborate and detailed analyses of conrapuntal
structure as orations have extended at times beyond the boundaries of plausibility. See the present author’s paper,
"The Uses and Abuses of Figurenlehre" (1995) and the two outstanding articles by Arno Forchert, "Heinrich
Schütz und die Musica poetica", Schütz-Jahrbuch 15 (1993): 7-23, and "Musik und Rhetorik im Barock", Schütz-
Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium from Bembo to Bach" (Journal of the American Musicological Society 32
(1979): 1-44) can be criticized on several points in this regard.
31 As pointed out by James Haar in "A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Musical Criticism", Journal of the American
32 See W. Theodor Elwert, "Pietro Bembo e la vita letteraria del suo tempo", La civiltà veneziana del rinascimento
(Florence, 1958); Carlo Dionisotti, "Bembo, Pietro", Dizionario biografico degli italiani 8: 133-51.
33 Pietro Bembo, Prose della volgar lingua (1525), ed. Carlo Dionisotti-Casalone (Turin: Unione Tipografico Editrice
Tozinese, 1931).
Bembo’s language theories on the development of the early madrigal, while Martha Feldman has indicated the manner in which Bembo’s treatment of the literary vernacular reflected complex cultural tensions between calculated artifice and natural grace evident not simply in poetic forms, but in Bembo’s Venetian ambience generally. Bembo’s ideas repay further examination because they seem strikingly to foreshadow some important ideas which were implanted in early formulations of musical 'kinds' generally.

Bembo spearheaded a radical aesthetic shift in early sixteenth century Italian poetry. He adopted the characteristic Ciceronian attitude to propriety and to the distinctions among high, middle and low styles, and he reiterated that different texts and subjects called for the use of differentiated and suitable levels of style. Materials appropriate for a style had to be selected and applied in a consistent and judicious manner. However, Bembo also proposed new poetic means to achieve a desired affective end. For the sake of emphasizing the “expressive” functions of rhythm and sound, he advocated neglect of the formal patterns established by rhyme and meter. Rather than using words chosen exclusively for their semantic power, he called for a greater realization of the power of sound and rhythm per se to convey certain essential qualities.

[Bembo] was giving over to sounds and rhythms without fixed intellectual meaning a major share of effect in poetic language... sound in language could at the same time be without fixed meaning and yet embody affective “meaning”. If this could be imagined as a possibility with language alone it had to be imagined with music associated with language—if music was to be at all “expressive.”

The qualities of affective ‘meaning’ indicated here were essentially of two kinds: gravità or seriousness and piacevolezza or pleasingness, words denoting both manner and mood. Each was created by the qualities of suono, or vowel and consonant sounds, numero or quantities of poetic syllables, and variazione or the suitable combination of contrasting effects. Gravità, for example,

35 Martha Feldman, City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
could be conveyed by stressing the last syllables of words; by filling words with appropriately sonorous vowels and clusters of consonants which lengthen the syllables; and by placing rhymes far apart. All of this served to foster a characteristic slowness. *Piacenleza* was stimulated by stressing penultimate syllables; by using quick and short rhythms and intervals; and by placing rhymes close together.\(^{37}\) While language could be rewritten or changed, it was the way speed, rhythm and sound were altered which was significant to the change in *gratia*.

Although this part of Bembo's discussion was carried on in the context of Petrarchan poetry, his theories lent themselves to wider application.\(^{38}\) There are striking parallels in language between discussions in early sources about *musica poetica*, genre, and aspects of style in individual kinds of music, and both certain classical texts and theoretical-literary commentary such as Bembo's. Careful manipulation of the materials of music in a deliberate and consistent way, in order to evoke a mood or 'state', in effect served a dual purpose. Not only did such choices reflect the paramount aesthetic of decorum and moderation, but there is also implicit the idea that the choice of materials, apart from the obvious semantic content in a text, could powerfully advance the achievement of affective ends consistent with generic propriety.

The implications of transferring ideas such as these of Bembo’s to music were profound. On the micro-compositional level, they implied a closer relationship between word sound and tone sound: intervallic adjustment, choices of pitches and intervals were more explicitly associated with the sonic effect a word could convey. On the macro-level, general choices about

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37 Bembo, *Piaeze* (ed. Casalone), 56-67. The present discussion is also indebted to Mac's reading of the text.
38 In his article, Mac offered several examples relating Bembo's ideas to the contemporaneous madrigal literature. Howard Mayer Brown found relationships between Bembist ideas and Willaert's madrigals. See Brown's "Words and Music: Willaert, the Chanson and the Madrigal about 1540", in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations: Acts of Two Conferences at Villa I Tatti in 1976-77*, vol.2 Il Cinquecento, ed. Christine Smith and Salvatore I. Camporeale (Florence: Nuova Italia Editrice, 1980), 217-266. In turn, Claude Palisca extended Mac's Bembist analysis of Willaert's *Astro oore e seuggio* by exploring not only textual rhythm but the careful use of intervallic progressions and the treatment of the bass part. See Claude Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 355-368. Palisca's analysis is useful, although he cites Galilei rather than Vicentino as his source; Vicentino's writings are more immediately contemporary with Willaert than Galilei's.
compositional materials associated with a text became more consciously conventional. The genre of a piece was no longer conveyed to the listener exclusively by its text (however crucial this remained). Until the 1530s it had been universally assumed that the semantic content of language was the ultimate source of meaning and affect, to which music provided a suitably ornamental or elaborative layer. But the materials of music had begun to become more than vehicles of meaning for a composition: choices of sound per se could communicate a layer of meaning in themselves. Conventional uses of certain musical materials could themselves act almost metaphorically, reinforcing the particular sense, meaning and messages of the composition, helping to make its 'kind' clear. In terms of practical musical examples, this was already becoming evident, in choices made by Josquin and his later contemporaries; it was, perhaps, only a question of time before such decisions became so conscious and deliberate as to be incorporated into texts dealing with compositional instruction. Going a step further, the choice of those materials and gestures over time might signal not only 'kind' per se, but were open to conveying some of the deeper socio-cultural values inherent in the presentation of that 'kind' to an audience. That is, not only might slow rhythms and note values become a rule for, say, a mass setting in an older contrapuntal style, but their establishment as a style feature of the genre might eventually signal 'iconographic' information about attitudes to traditional learning, authority and personal spirituality. If one applies to musical works Rosalie Colie's description of the meanings inherent in literary genres, one can point beyond the use of the technical aspects of musical genres to some of the importance of certain generic systems for musicians as members of a profession.

[The musical profession] changed over time but maintained a consensus of values which—however different specific opinions were at different times and in different places—offered a ready code of communication both among

Martha Feldman's 1995 volume (City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice) has studied at length the consolidation of literary and linguistic theory in the music of mid-sixteenth century composers (see especially pages 123-193).
professionals and to their audience.\textsuperscript{39}

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this will be evident again and again, particularly with respect to uses of the older ‘strict’ style and the so-called ‘Palestrina’ style.

\textit{The Simplification and Modernization of Musical Language}

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers of classical writings received powerful but ambivalent messages about the nature and effects of music. According to the ancients, music, as an enhancer of the language arts, had profound abilities to persuade, educate and delight all at once. It had an uncanny power to manipulate and transform the psychological states of human beings, whether through the effects of calculated choices of materials, or through various kinds of divine possession.\textsuperscript{40} Renaissance readers saw various implications in these texts. Some envied ancient music and its seemingly magical properties, and they sought to recapture the experiences it stimulated. They practiced scholarly analysis and attempted reconstruction of evidence in the texts, or experimented with the simulation of actual sound. Others rethought the qualities of their own art music as it then actually existed, and as a result began to advocate a new manner of composition and performance which more greatly respected the power of language to persuade listeners to appropriate thought and action.

Many of these readers were not vocational composers or music theorists. Rather, they were scholars, educators and rhetoricians whose knowledge of such authors as Plato and Plutarch caused them to perceive music as a powerful moral force in ancient society, able to sway humanity to good or ill. They tended to focus on the implications of music for the ethical formation of the young through suitable instruction. They stressed the variety of responses that

\textsuperscript{39} Colie, \textit{The Resources of Kind}, 8.

Greek music was said to inspire, and, perceiving contemporary music to have similar potential within their own society, they advocated that it be fabricated so as not to subvert virtuous ideas. For instance, Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547), humanist and bishop, heavily influenced by Platonic ideas, did not specifically object to the musical language of his time. But he did denounce exercises in harmonic technique for their own sake as morally subversive of true textual meaning, recalling with his language St. Augustine’s denunciations: a “pandering gratification of the ear, devices which consist of hardly anything but variation and modulation of note”. Music, rather, was designed not to afford “a base pleasure to the ears”, but to “bring the mind...to easy grace, and yet...to hold it firmly in the bonds of a steadfast goodness.”

Likewise the erudite bishop Bernardino Cirillo Franco (c.1500-1575) explicitly criticized the way in which contemporaneous musical practices caused the hoped-for textual embellishments and affective intent to be diffused and unfocussed:

Music among the ancients...created powerful effects that we cannot produce either with rhetoric or with oratory in moving the passions and affections of the soul...Nowadays they sing these things in any way at all, mixing them in an indifferent and uncertain manner. And then, you see what they inevitably do. They say, “Oh, what a fine Mass was sung in chapel! And what is it, if you please? It is L'homme armé, or Hercules dux Ferrariae or Philomena. What the devil has the Mass to do with the armed man, or with Philomena, or with the duke of Ferrara? What numbers, what intervals, what sounds, what motions of the spirit, of devotion, or piety can be gathered from them, and how can music agree with such subjects as the armed man or the duke of Ferrara? Now, my dear Lord, read what little I have said and draw your own conclusions, for what I say of the music of the church I say of all other music as well. ...[Music should] be framed to the fundamental meaning of the words, in certain intervals and numbers apt to move our affections to religion and piety, and likewise in psalms, hymns and other praises that are offered to the Lord.

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42 Ibid.
43 Bernardino Cirillo (Cirillo Franco), Letter to Ugo Boncompagni (1549), pub. in Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi buonissimi...libro terzo, ed. Aldus Manutius (Venice, 1564), 114-118; translation by Lewis Lockwood, in his Palesinian Pope Marsbius Mai (New York: Norton, 1974), 12.
Franco likewise admonished musicians to regain and recover the art of the ancients, as those in other disciplines had done.\(^44\)

Franco's remarks above point to a fundamental stylistic and aesthetic change in motion by about 1550. They indicate that things sung in "any way at all, in an indifferent and uncertain manner" failed to communicate in a focussed style that moved the affections to a 'right' sentiment. The means used to the stated end of enhancing the semantic and affective qualities of language were inconsistent, even contradictory. Confusion of materials, that is, a 'mixed' style, gave rise to the confusion 'inherent' in the polyphonic delivery of a text, where several contrapuntal lines obscured one another. Correcting this 'confusion' through more consistency and focus on 'simplified' and 'clarified' materials served better communication by amplifying expressive power and directing the affections properly.

These considerations were, in effect, style awareness, a self-consciousness about musical processes which was new and modern. Although a contrast of 'ancient' with 'modern' was in itself hardly a new idea, later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers on music treated the perceived shift to a less complex, pleasanter and more directly apprehended manner as a historiographical benchmark. They began to look back on the years around 1550 as a time when it became possible to distinguish between composers of earlier generations, 'ancients', and those of the present, 'moderns', according to the complication and intricacy of their music and their sensitivity to generic distinctions. Lodovico Zacconi, for one, divided musicians into three classes: the 'ancients', musical philosophers of a long-past antiquity, the 'old' (vecchi), polyphonists of the Josquin generation, and the 'moderns' from the time of Willaert to the present.\(^45\) Zacconi, for instance, distinguished the vecchi by remarking that their music was still

\(^44\) Franco (trans. Lockwood), 13.
\(^45\) Lodovico Zacconi, Pratica di musica utile et necessaria si al compostori per comporre i canzi suoi regolamente... (Book I) Venice: Girolamo Polo, 1592; [Book II] Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1622), Book I, 8. For an assessment of
studied, but that they produced their effects

by means of musical figures. They proceeded well by means of consonances and
harmonic numbers, but they were disposed in another way. [They used] fugues
and other *assonations*\(^6\) that they disposed always in the same style, the truth of
which their works demonstrate, for when singing them we feel always the same
manner of harmony, and they move almost always in the same way... They had a
mind fixed on inventions and the diversity of fugues...joining many together
with artifice and art (as is seen in the motets of Gombert)...to demonstrate the
great understanding they had of the sonorous numbers and consonances.\(^7\)

The 'moderns', however, beginning with Willaert, dismissed certain 'subtleties' used by older
composers, especially awkward melodic shapes and the more complicated prolational values.
Instead, they looked for "other new and lovely effects", "beautiful things" and a "pure and
simple *modulation*"\(^8\) instead of *inventioni* or superfluous complexities. Modern composers, noted
Zacconi, were willing to follow an imaginative flight from the beginning to the end of a
composition, regarding nothing so much as beauty and sweetness, giving greater attention to the
diction and meaning of the text, a more beautiful order and more willingness to please the
listeners.\(^9\) That there was a specific association between 'simplified' style and text audibility in
the minds of composers of sacred music after 1560 is undeniable and an important part of the
discussion of the evolution of "genres" of church music in the remaining chapters. But the
simplification of polyphonic texture so long associated with the Counter-Reformation ethos was
in fact one aspect of a more general and diffuse cultural phenomenon.

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\(^6\) Zacconi's work, see Friedrich Chrysander, "Lodovico Zacconi als Lehrer des Kunstgesangs", *Vierteljahresschrift für
Musiktheoretiker*, Habilitationsschrift, University of Vienna, 1972. Elsewhere in his text, Zacconi modified his
chronology somewhat; Willaert, Morales, Rose, Zarlino and Palestrina were described as *secoli*, while the modern
composers were those still living in his own time, or those who had died young (I, 7).

\(^7\) That is, a condition or rule which had to be observed in the realization or treatment of a subject.

\(^8\) Zacconi, *Prattica di Musica* 1, 7.

\(^9\) Ibid, 8. *Modulatione* refers to a well-formed and correct melodic line which could be appreciated both in itself and
for the polyphonic complex to which it could give rise.

\(^{10}\) Zacconi, *Prattica di Musica*, 8.
Musical "Kinds" According to Nicola Vicentino

Scholarly interest in Nicola Vicentino (1511–c.1576) has centred on his attempts to adapt the systems of ancient Greek musical theory to the practices of his own time, together with the polemics and theoretical writings in which he engaged as a consequence of his researches.50 His writings have not always attracted admiration, for they lack scholastic tidiness, and he has been taken to task for his uneven and sometimes muddled discussion of some issues.51 Yet the mode of thinking indicated by his subject matter and manner of discussing the art of contemporary musical composition was strikingly original for the 1550s. Most remarkable was his attention to aesthetic theory and by connection to his theory of musical styles, and his was the first detailed examination of compositions as genres. Vicentino was the earliest Italian to formulate the combined connection of literary poetics and rhetorical theory to music in a full-scale treatise. His blend of poetical theory and a strong secondary mixture of rhetorical and oratorical considerations was also characteristic of the literary poetics of his time.52

Not much is precisely known about Vicentino's early training, although it is likely that during his early life in Vicenza he came under the influence of a circle of humanist scholars concerned with such questions as the qualities of ancient music and the use of the literary vernacular.53 Unfortunately, what scholarly associations which might be suggested are based on

50 Vicentino's own surviving compositions are few in number, they seem to date from various times in his career, and they are often fragmentary or incomplete in their transmitted state.

A comprehensive study of Vicentino is found in Henry W. Kaufmann, The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965). His extant compositions are studied on pp.49-99. Hermann Zenck's "Nicola Vicentino's 'L'antica musica' (1555)" in the Theodor Kreyer-Festschrift (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1933) is an older article. Maria Rika Maniates has translated and edited Vicentino's principal work as Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). The translation is prefaced by an insightful study which investigates the theoretical sources for the Ancient Music, his theory of the genera, and a study of the Danckerts/Lustiano controversy. Passages from Ancient Music quoted henceforth are from the Maniates translation.

51 Maniates, Ancient Music, xxxii–xxxiii.

52 See above, pages 14-18.

53 The center of this circle was Giangio Trissino (1478-1550), whose writings were among the first to exhibit the full impact of Aristotle's Poetics. Trissino wrote two "Divisions" during the 1530s that were expanded paraphrases of the Poetics, although their posthumous publication delayed their wider influence. Scholarly enquiries into ancient Greek music were initiated in Trissino's circle (Kaufmann, Nicola Vicentino, 18). Kaufmann also described
circumstantial evidence, and they by no means indicated that Vicentino himself had direct primary acquaintance with the body of texts on music theory, either in the original languages or in translation. For all the originality of his formulation, many of the ideas he proposed must already have been in the air in the 1550s. Only three years after Vicentino published his work, Zarlino's magisterial *Istitutioni harmoniche* appeared (1558). Zarlino's venerated text represents the 'most lucid and perspicacious' exposition of systematic rules of counterpoint and musical traditions of the sixteenth century. He too demonstrated a keen sensitivity both to the suitable setting of a musical text and to compositional values already described: suitability and decorousness of setting, an intensified concern with how musical notes were to be set to words, sensitivity to intervallic qualities and relationships, and differences among various types of composition.

Maniates's close investigation of Vicentino's sources and references indicated that much stimulus for his work must have come second hand, perhaps in conversation or other current writings, from information which had already passed into general circulation, or an imaginative application of material from Greek lore and legend. His sources were heterogenous but tended to concentrate on particular authors—Boethius, Aristotle, Plato and pseudo-Plutarch especially. Vicentino explicitly cited *Poetica* to authorize the layout of his material and repeatedly invoked The Philosopher as a general authority in passing. Nonetheless, however acquired, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica* (1555) contained extensive passages which constituted the

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54 The words are Claude Palisca's, found in the preface to his and Guy A. Marco's translation of part III of the *Istitutioni, The Art of Counterpoint* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), xii.


56 For a discussion of the extent of Vicentino's knowledge of Greek and his use of Greek sources, see Maniates, *Ancient Music*, preface and notes passim.
earliest extended attempt in an Italian source to devise a poetics of musical composition influenced by recent ideas on aesthetics, stylistics and generic 'kinds'. His treatment of these concerns was among his most original contributions to music theory.

Book IV of *Ancient Music* dealt with the *poesis* and categories of musical composition. Among the topics noted in the *poemen* are “how a composer should govern himself when writing such varied compositions as motets, psalms, masses, hymns, madrigals, dialogues, and other works that can be sung with a full or with equivalent voices; how to set introits, responses, and lamentations…” The chief task of the *genus postarum* or composer was the creation of ‘melodies’. He had to understand “the entire substance of music [which] consists of knowing how to provide the motion, steps and consonances appropriate to the subject on which you are composing.” While discussed apparently in terms of monophony, this description, close to Greek concepts of *melodia*, was readily adapted to polyphonic constructions to a great extent. “Compositions differ according to the subjects on which they are made.” His concerns in this respect were those that later writers associated with devising a melodic subject for polyphonic elaboration: the qualities of various intervals (steps and leaps), how they contributed to an atmosphere of cheerfulness or sadness, and how their impact is increased by their pacing and by use of the register in which they are placed.

If a composer wishes to make a work cheerful, he should always match a fast or very fast rate of motion with tense steps, and take care that the major third and major tenth are never missing among the consonances and unisonances. On the other hand, if he wishes to make a melancholy composition, he should do everything exactly the opposite to the cheerful work: he should select a slow pace and slack steps and use minor consonances.

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58 Vicentino divided musicians into three classes: practical (the performers), speculative (theoreticians) and poetical (composers).
60 Ibid., 299.
61 Ibid., 87.
He spread over several chapters a discussion of the method of musical dispositio, that is, the method a composer should follow at the beginning, middle and end of a composition.\(^\text{63}\)

Depending on the kind of work being written, Vicentino admonished the composer to use differences in approach to the subject and to the working-out of the composition, according to the kind of text and the audience and place where it was to be performed. In a manner similar to that found in literary criticism in the 1550s, his discussion constantly and liberally cross-cut between poetical and oratorical concepts.\(^\text{64}\)

Regardless of the kind of composition being made, the composer was required to take certain considerations into account to ensure the appropriate delivery of the textual message.

The most important foundation a composer must have in mind is this: he should consider what he plans to build his composition on, in keeping with the words, be they sacred or another subject. The foundation of this building is the selection of a tone or mode suitable to the words or to another idea. On that foundation, then, he will use his judgment to measure well and to draw over this good foundation the lines of the fourths and fifths of the chosen mode, which lines are the columns that support the building of the composition and its boundaries... However, composers must always sustain the mode carefully whenever they write sacred words that anticipate the response of choir or organ, such as masses, psalms, hymns, or other responses expecting a reply. There are, moreover, a few other Latin compositions that seek to maintain the design of the mode, whereas other vernacular compositions enjoy great latitude in treating many and diverse passions; for example, sonnets, madrigals, and chansons, which begin cheerfully and then at the end are full of sadness and death, or vice versa. On the contrary, the composer's sole obligation is to animate the words and, with harmony, to represent their passions—now harsh, now sweet, now cheerful, now sad—in accordance with their subject matter.\(^\text{65}\)

Moto, 'movement' was also of central importance for establishing the nature of a piece:

Movement in compositions is of great importance, and it is so powerful that it alters the nature of intervals, consonances, the words and the instruments; and that composition which does not move according to the subject of the words, or


\(^{64}\) The book clearly suggests that categories of composition derived from the language arts were directly superimposed on the tasks of the composer. In an instance of boldover from the older counterpoint manual, Vicentino even brought into his new scheme the practices of improvised counterpoint and canon, which to him suggested the manner in which speakers improvised oratory on given topics.  

\(^{65}\) Vicentino, *Ancient Music*, 149-150.
according to the design of other fantasies, will not be pleasing to the listeners because it will seem to be made without study and without any judgment.66

Likewise,

Movement and repose bestow much grace on compositions. A certain amount of repose in keeping with devout words in motets induces considerable devotion, whereas motion induces cheerfulness. When a composer is writing a cheerful motet, he must see to it that the parts move continually, right up to the end, and that of the four singing parts at least one is in motion. If the others are in motion as well, they will have a good effect...Sometimes it is good to hear simultaneous motion, as in villotte, Napolitane, and madrigals as well as in French chansons with a fast pace. Depending on the words, repose and movement lend grace to compositions.67

The other key aesthetic value in establishing and upholding the type of a work, which in great part encompasses the others described here, is the sense of decorum. This is the sense of differences of ‘kinds’ meant for different purposes, together with the appropriate musical means assigned for each. Vicentino drew parallels between the Ciceronian generus dicendi of high, medium and low kinds of speechmaking, and the ‘high’ ecclesiastical, ‘middle’ courtly and ‘low’ popular styles of music. The ‘high’ church style was equated with a relatively slow pace, surely because of its essential gravità. It was generally sung aloud and in a well-projected manner; even ‘musica Cromaticà’ could be sung “in churches in full voice”.68

In the wish to preserve the integrity of a genre, Vicentino’s moral agenda emerged, such that his descriptions were not only a rich source of contemporary style thinking but revealed the association with clear sentiment.

Depending on the subject, composers should adhere to the proper system and respect conditions in accommodating the parts and certain consonances that are not easy to accompany. They must consider the words or other ideas. So, for instance, Masses, psalms, hymns, motets, madrigals, French chansons, and other texts set to four voices entail certain conditions in going from the fifth to the fourth and vice versa—to avoid having them sound like two [consecutive]

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66 Vicentino, Ancient Music, 87.
67 Ibid., 253.
68 Ibid., 272.
perfect consonances—and in writing steps and leaps that produce sweet or harsh effects, as was described earlier.

Four-voice settings of the mass and Latin words should be serious and not too intemperate in character. For the procedure of Masses and psalms, being sacred, must of necessity be different from that of French chansons, madrigals, and villotte. As it happens, some composers proceed contrary to the subject of the Mass, which requires a gravity full of devotion rather than lasciviousness. Some even compose the Mass on a madrigal, a French chanson, or a battaglia, so that when such compositions are heard in church they make everyone laugh. It almost seems that the temple of God has become a place for the recitation of wanton and ludicrous matters, as if the church were a stage where it is permitted to recite any sort of ridiculous and lascivious buffoons’ music. It is not surprising that in these times music is not valued, for it has been applied to low-class items such as ballets, Napolitane, villotte, and other silly things. This practice goes against the opinion of the ancients, who restricted music to the singing of hymns to the gods and about the great deeds of men. Certainly, we must have great respect for such subjects, for great is the difference between composing a piece to be sung in church and one to be sung in the chamber. A composer should keep his judgment finely honed and compose his works in keeping with the subject matter and the purpose of the words.\(^6\)

This passage rings as though Vicentino were personally enlisted in defence of the slighted honour of church music. It suggests how closely related was the sense of ‘kind’ to decorum in manner, and its formulation is strikingly reminiscent of the language which emerged from Tridentine deliberations on propriety in ecclesiastical polyphony.

For Vicentino was among the earliest to insist in a full-scale treatise on the observance of decorum, that is, that a composition convey an appropriate manner and be procedurally correct. His drawing of associations among propriety, pace and style recall the Bembist polar values of gravità and piacevolezza, as do his discussions on the effective use of register, the nature and pronunciation of long and short syllables and the difference in effect of slow and rapid motion.

The paragraph about the mass, above, also suggested that Vicentino personally assigned much more interest and weight to church music genres than to other types. He wished devoutly to defend the propriety and grandeur of ecclesiastical music from frivolity and disrespect, and at

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times gave secular musics, particularly those associated with the ‘low’ style, rather short shrift. Two factors contributed to his emphasis. One most likely had to do with certain ancient texts which described the past glory of Greek music and bewailed its ‘degeneration’ in the time of the authors of those texts, particularly Plato and the pseudo-Plutarch—a sentiment which, as Maniates has pointed out, seems to have had a particular effect on Vicentino. It is also possible to note in retrospect that those who discussed and set up taxonomies of musical kinds, especially those who were traditionally trained musical professionals, tended ever after to have the most to say on the categories of church music. They were not only the most absorbed by classical technique, but culturally of the greatest weight and substance. The ‘lower’ styles particularly received much less attention, some of which was virtually derisive (‘low-class items...and other silly things’).

The present author’s summary of Vicentino’s musical kinds is presented in Table 2, page 31. A Mass, which may be constructed on a plainchant, a motet or other ideas, ought to have “a somewhat severe character” in its beginning and “a gravity full of devotion”, “not too intertemperate”, “and this goes for all things Latin”. It was customary to begin at a slow pace (“unless compelled to do otherwise by some sort of swiftness depicted in particular words”). Whenever the beginning of a church style piece is made with one voice entering after the other, it is advised that the voices follow one another at the same distance of one, two or however many breves. Composers were apt to use longs at the beginning of a work, then breves, then semibreves and so forth, which advanced the design of *cose gravi*, ‘serious things’. Certain other compositions could break this order, however, according to the subject of the work and the words.

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70 Maniates, in *Ancient Music*, introduction, xxxv.
Composers who wanted to write a motet on a plainchant were advised to maintain the tone or mode in the bass or the lowest parts, because they governed the mode. Nor should they cause any pitches to sound in the bass that would detract from the design and mode of the plainchant. If the composer wanted to compose an antiphon on a texted chant and needed to make a second section, he could also select a chant in another mode and transpose it a fourth or fifth, 'using it as if it were a single plainchant'; or he could compose on a plainchant hymn. All of these varieties gave pleasure and yet kept the boundaries of the mode or tone.\textsuperscript{72}

Excessive homorhythmic movement was inadvisable in motets. When hymns, psalms or other material which responds to a choir is set, the tone or mode should be present in the ending so that the choir can respond to the ending in turn in the proper mode.\textsuperscript{73}

Vicentino also provided general directions for composing for \textit{cori spezzati} [\textit{chori spezzati} in

\textsuperscript{72} Vicentino, \textit{Ancient Music}, 257.
his text] which constitute the earliest extended description in a treatise, although this was
probably an established practice by 1555.\textsuperscript{74} While the medium by its nature was suited to pomp
and prestigious occasions, it must nonetheless have been performed by a large number of
establishments able to muster the resources required.\textsuperscript{75} It was a technique rather than a genre,
but it rapidly became a defining feature of particular musical kinds: Masses written in strict
polyphony, for example, were soon clearly subject to prescriptions different from those which
applied to \textit{ori speczati} settings. Much of this had to do with style considerations of purpose and
effect. Its use was considered appropriate to “masses, psalms, dialogues and other works to be
played with various instruments mingled with the voices”, based on the need to “make a big
sound in such places [as churches], and for the sake of variety.”\textsuperscript{76} Vicentino suggested that the
composer should select the mode and begin the first choir on perfect consonances. The second
choir should enter halfway through the last note of the first choir, on the unison or octave of its
pitches. When two or three choirs sang together, it was advisable that the basses of all choirs
agree with one another. He also noted differences in technique between writing for choirs which
are physically separated, and those where the singers form a circle, as in dialogues.\textsuperscript{77} Carver
recognized an implication of Vicentino’s description of the subject, namely that the forces
involved could be contrasted in terms of their colour, as well as their physical arrangement.\textsuperscript{78}
Together with Zarlino’s remarks a few years later on the same topic, Vicentino’s suggestions for
this kind of writing were a virtual standard for close to a century.

\textsuperscript{73} Vicentino, \textit{Ancient Music}, 267.
\textsuperscript{74} See Anthony F. Carver, \textit{Cori Spezgati: Volume 1: The Development of Sacred Polyphoral Music to the Time of Schütz}
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 5-12, for a parallel discussion of Vicentino’s and Zarlino’s
(pub.1558) prescriptions for the technique.
\textsuperscript{75} Carver, \textit{Cori Spezgati}, 5.
\textsuperscript{76} Vicentino, \textit{Ancient Music}, 224. Unlike Vicentino, Zarlino’s description was evidently based on psalmody \textit{per se} and
does not clearly mention the use of instruments, although he alludes to them. It was not an exclusively liturgical
technique, either; the 1589 Florentine \textit{intermedi} for \textit{La Pellegrina} used it to sumptuous effects in madrigals, for
example. The reference to wanting a big sound in certain large spaces points to the practical and aesthetic
consideration of performance locus as a contributing factor to the technical shaping of a genre.
For secular music based on the more elevated genres of poetry, such as madrigals, sonnets and canzonas, “a medium pace is customary”. In this genre, concentration on text expression was central, not solely for intelligibility’s sake but also for highlighting its affective qualities. Thus certain things were permissible which were less appropriate in the serious style. In setting madrigal texts the composer was to pay particular attention to the use of intervallic qualities conveying relative tenseness and relaxation, to suitable rhythmic values and melodic shapes. The composer was permitted to finish outside the mode for the sake of imitating the words, because there would be no disagreement with a responding choir but only with the mode articulated at the beginning of the work. Ideally, however, if this is to happen, the composer should lead up to the shift in mode in the course of the work so elegantly that the listener is unaware of the shift and the sense of hearing remains satisfied. The composer should also be advised against the use of the more arcane devices of canon and mensuration in secular music, since they interfered with text expression. For French chansons, vielle, Napolitane and ‘other similarly inconsequential texts’, it was permissible to ignore the general suggestion that a composition be begun at a slow pace; items in a ‘lower’ or more popular style “require a rapid beginning”. These types support simultaneous rhythmic motion, as do some madrigals and French chansons with a fast pace.

Vicentino also drew an early distinction between composition for voices and that for instruments—one which was to become very important to many later writers. He understood that the workings of an instrumental piece were necessarily different from vocal. If a vocal composition followed its text it was well served, even if some passages looked otherwise badly

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77 Vicentino, Ancient Music, 225.
78 Carver, Cori spezzati, 8.
79 Vicentino, Ancient Music, 272.
81 Íbid., 253.
written—'the words themselves provide the rule'. But such music did not transfer well to performance by instruments alone. "Some words will allow a composition to be sweet and good for both playing and singing, but not all compositions made for words are appropriate for playing because the subjects occurring in them are too diverse." Instrumental pieces required different kinds of *sussurri*, much variety, and carefully prepared dissonance treatment as well as variety.

When [the instrumentalist] plays he is of necessity to make the sweetest and most harmonious music he knows how, because with an instrument there is not a subject for words which might move the instrumentalist to compose some bad and poorly-placed interval for some reason.

In other words, without a text as justification, instrumental style almost by default had to revert to strict treatment. Vicentino also made suggestions for devising fugues, part replications and other means of inventing compositional material which he considered appropriate for instruments but not for voices, since certain kinds of repetition to words were meaningless but for melodic passages alone were pleasing.

However one might assess his erudition *per se*, Vicentino's contribution to style theory was extraordinary. He seemed to touch virtually all the fundamental points in attempting to work out a musical poetics. In claiming the need for decorum in church music, and yet in allowing for license in certain other kinds of composition based on text expression, he effectively anticipated concerns which would come to the fore in the *prima* and *seconda pratica* debate.

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82 Ibid., 291.
83 Ibid., 87.
84 As it is spelled in the Italian text.
Pieter Pontio on Genre and Style

Apart from his compositional activity, the cleric Pieter Pontio (1532-1595) is known as the author of two significant theoretical works: Ragionamento di musica (1588) and Dialogo del r.m. Don Pietro Pontio parmigiano (1595). Much of the secondary literature about Pontio deals with him as a source for other theorists. In particular, the incorporation of passages from the fourth part of the Ragionamento into the prescriptions for composition in Pietro Cerone’s enormous El melopeo y el maestro (1612) is well known. James Armstrong has set out Cerone’s large-scale adoption of Pontio’s discussion of psalm and magnificat composition in his study of vespers music in late sixteenth-century Italy. In a work dealing with sixteenth-century imitation masses, David Sibley analyzed Cerone’s adaptation (El melopeo, Book XII, ch.13) of Pontio’s discussion of Mass composition.

Yet as a theorist and writer on style Pontio calls for more direct recognition, as his contribution to theories of musical style was dual. Not only did he present clear and detailed discussions of style categories in themselves in the Ragionamento; but in his later text, the Dialogo, he made a remarkable attempt to clarify how distinctions in style were made by the listener and critic, not just between one genre and another, but amongst manner and use of materials from one composer to the next. In the course of his discussions of style he posed a direct challenge to

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86 A native of Parma, Pontio may have been a student of Cipriano de Rore. He held positions as maestro di cappella in churches in Bergamo (1565-1567), Parma (1567-1569, and 1582-1595) and at Milan Cathedral (1577-1582). He published several volumes of masses, motets and other sacred music in the years 1580-1595.
88 Pietro Pontio, Dialogo del r.m. Pietro Pontio parmigiano, ove si tratta della Teorica, e Pratica di Musica... (Parma: Erasmo Viotti, 1595).
90 David Sibley, The Sixteenth-Century Parody Mass (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1989), 24 et seq. The Pontio passage is in Ragionamento, 156. Sibley noted that Cerone’s chief addition to Pontio’s discussion of mass composition was his admonition to use as many subsidiary motives as possible in composing an imitation movement, and that Cerone made it explicit that “as a rule” the mass is usually composed upon some motet,
the ascendancy of traditional music theory over practice and championed the intellectual accomplishments and skill of the practical composer.

Discussion of the various genres of music is found in the fourth section of the *Ragionamento.* The information is presented within the last of a series of dialogues between two clerics, namely Don Paolo, an authority figure who provides instruction, and Don Hettore, an inquiring student. Containing a discussion of rhythm and a rather broad set of general rules for composition, this dialogue is a telescoped digest of information mainly derived from the last third of the third book of Zarlino's *Le istituzioni harmoniche,* to which is added other Zarlinoan material regarding the arrangement of parts of a vocal composition and the assignment of note values to words.

Don Paolo advised the aspiring composer that all musical works should have five qualities. Compositions should adhere to a mode or tone; they should consist of consonances and dissonances; their 'argument' or end (conclusion) should be derived from the text; they should have new inventioni or subjects; and when in four parts their harmonies should be full—that is, contain thirds and fifths—as often as possible. Then Paolo dealt with the importance of using suitable note values and rhythms, both for the propriety of the composition and for making generic distinctions generally. He stressed that if one part began with a particular rhythmic figure, the others should as well, in the name of clarity and consistency. His concern for gravità and the older issue of unity of the subject is clear.

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91 That is, *Ragionamento,* 153-161. The most important passages are transcribed with parallel translation in the appendix.
93 Zarlino, *Art of Counterpoint,* chapter 35.
94 Pontio, *Ragionamento quarto,* 139. "Deve il compositore esser svenrito, che la sua composizione habbia cinque qualità; Prima, sia formato sotto vn Modo, ò Tuono, che dir vogliamo. Seconda, che sia formata di consonanti, e
The beginnings thus of motets, as in masses, psalms, ricercars and madrigals and other compositions made by invention, should be similar in note values [figure], and this has been observed by excellent musicians...and this order should be preserved, because if one hears a part that begins with seriousness, and then another which begins with rapid, nay, extremely rapid, motion with respect to the beginning, doubtless it appears deformed, unless there was a part which began with words signifying running, fleeing or fighting... [After observing that the latter treatment is sometimes appropriate in madrigals.] in motets and other ecclesiastical things it is not permitted because of the seriousness of the composition, as, speaking of motets, you will understand clearly. Their beginnings should indeed be consistent in note values, so that if one part begins with a figure of a breve, the following [parts] should be by breves; and if it begins with a figure of semibreves, the following [parts] should be similar...

Having set out some more general concerns, Paolo then proceeded to explain the "manner, or style" of various compositional kinds. These kinds were divisible roughly into ecclesiastical, secular and instrumental types, the sequence in which they were treated in Pontio's text. Pontio's treatment of kinds was clearly more systematic than Vicentino; rather than scattering observations on practice through a large part of the text, he attached his remarks as a section on to the end of material with a longer pedigree in manuals of composition—counterpoint, rhythm and prolations. He described kinds both on the basis of the nature of the text itself, and with respect to the materials of music which characteristically were chosen to set that type of text.

When distinguishing among types and subtypes of composition, Pontio emphasized two qualities in particular. First, strikingly, distinctions among rhythmic note values were fundamental to the sense of genre. As was the case with Vicentino earlier, the 'speed' of

dissonantie. Terza, c' habbia le sue conclusioni delle parole. Quarta, ch' in essa vi si trovano nuove intenzioni. Quinta, ch' in essa vi sia sempre la terza, & Quinta, quando cantaranno quattro parti; se sia possibile senza discommodo."

95 Pontio, Regiones. 140. "Che gli principij coi di Motetti, come di Messe, Salmi, Recercari, & Madrigali, & altre compositioni per intensioni fatte, debbano esser simili di figure; & questo è stato osservato da Musici Eccellenti... & quest' ordine si deve servire; perch' entendendosi vna parte, che comincia con gravità, & poi vn' altra, che comincia con moto veloce, anzi velocissimo, rispetto al principio; senza dubbio pare difforme; eccetto se non fosse vna parte, che cominciasse con parole significanti correre, oser fuggire...nelli Motetti, & altre cose Ecclesiastiche no si permette per la gravità della composizione, come chiaramente de Motetti parlando intendere. Deuono bene i loro principij esser conformi di figure, come se vna parte principiera per vna figura di Breue, per Breue le seguenti debbono essere; & se principierà per vna figura da Semibreue, le seguenti debbono esser simili..."

96 Even in the sixteenth century, specific performing and composing traditions would have been immediately invoked with the choice of particular genres: lamentations, for example, were associated with homorhythmic
characteristic note values was associated with a musical modus dicendi and with particular types of
text: 'high' Latin church genres tended to receive slow settings, 'intermediate' secular texts used
moderately-paced and 'lower' secular ones fast values. As they were associated with the
consistent and signal-like use of other musical materials, text and pace are specifically identified
with 'style'.77 For example, Pontio distinguished a motet from a madrigal in part by the manner
in which rhythmic figures were used to set the text, especially if clear audibility was a criterion.
To create a sense of gravità, a motet setting would involve a choice of breves, semibreves and
minims and a 'slow' movement of parts. While chroome, semichroome and continuous semiminims
were inappropriate in motet style because of their rapid movement, use of a judicious mixture of
the accepted values was emphasized.98 The importance of variety in the use of rhythmic values
was reiterated in the Dialogo: it was necessary not only in itself, but also to avoid "dead
composition", homorhythmic movement by all the contrapuntal lines in breves or semibreve for
a time.99 (The sense of generic identity and of decorum could be violated immediately if a
passage of unseemly rapid note values crossed over into 'serious' composition in particular.)
Reiteration of words like gravità in Pontio's text connected note values with affective qualities.
Text and musical movement work together to promote a particular external effect and stimulate
the desired interior response.

The other primary quality which, according to Pontio, contributed to the distinctions
among musical kinds concerned inventione. This term can described broadly as meaning the
'subject' or dominating musical idea, but it also had overtones suggesting the general creative

treatment, the choice of certain modes, and a slow and sustained manner, meant to invoke both the solemnity and
the sorrowfulness of their subject.
77 For Pontio, text and pace are more critical to the sense of genre than, say, the affective use of dissonance, which
is used in very particular cases only.
98 Pontio, Ragionamenti, 154.
99 Pontio, Dialogo, 54. He made an exception in the case of the Et incarnatus of the mass, the Gloria patri of the psalm
and Holy Saturday lections, where homorhythmic treatment was felt particularly to enhance the solemnity of the
process inherent in elaborating and realizing the potential of that idea.\textsuperscript{100} Some considerations which shaped the \textit{inventione} were related to the sense of pacing and, ultimately, decorum.

Depending upon the nature of the text and musical traditions associated with its delivery, the subject may characteristically have longer or shorter note values, a recognizable individual rhythm, may be shorter or longer in length, may space the parts closely or widely and so forth.

The mass was similar to the motet with respect to movement or note value treatment, but different in its use of \textit{inventioni} or primary subject material. Pontio's description assumed that the composer would adapt material from a previously existing polyphonic source to one which was to be newly created in several sections, and which required musical unity among those sections. That is, the composer would be using an imitation or parody technique.\textsuperscript{101} He emphasized that each of the mass ordinary movements was based on the same \textit{inventione} used in various ways: "now [in one movement] the tenor begins it, now [in another movement] the soprano, now the bass, so that there is variety in the parts, but not in the subject".\textsuperscript{102} Pontio also specified that the material of the model be distributed amongst the sections of a mass movement in an order similar to that of the model:

\ldots in making a mass the \textit{inventione} of its first \textit{Kyrie}, that is, the beginning, and that of the \textit{Gloria}, the \textit{Credo}, the \textit{Sanctus} and the first \textit{Agnus} concur in that they are similar...I do not mean however that they should be similar in progressions [\textit{consonantia}], as it were...but that the same \textit{inventione} is used in different ways...

Now, granted that the first \textit{Kyrie} will be made on the \textit{inventione} or beginning of the motet or madrigal or other work that it may be, the \textit{Christe} will be made on some other \textit{inventione} sung from it; thus the mass will be made. One of its \textit{inventioni} can also be engaged as long as it is appropriate to the given tone, if worthwhile thus.

\footnotesize{statement. His remark probably denoted dissatisfaction with some of the experimental works of Vincenzo Ruffo, whose work in this style was considered boring by some.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{100} The term itself was directly associated with oratonical theory. Cicero's \textit{De inventiones} was a book of precepts for the public speaker, dealing with issues and argumentation in various kinds of legal cases. His \textit{Topica} summarized 'topics' or the general sources of argument, while \textit{De partitione oratoria} dealt with the divisions of speech and their invention and arrangement. The concept \textit{inventiones} is associated in all cases with the generation of ideas, or procedures for elaborating them.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{101} Precedents for the mention of imitation treatment can be found in Zarlino's \textit{Le istitutioni harmoniche} (Book III, ch.54).}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{102} Pontio, \textit{Ragionamento}, 156.}
Of the last Kyrie the beginning will be according to your wish, but it is advisable that at the end it use the *inventiones* from the end of the work on which the mass is made... Thus the end of the *Gloria*, and likewise the end of the *Credo*, and *Sanctus*, and the last *Agnus* should conform to the *inventiones* and preserve that same order... and this is the arrangement which should be observed.  

As Pontio describes the quality and treatment of the *inventiones* for other church genres, and for the secular genres as well, he in effect outlined what the entire working-out of the material should be like. In commenting on observances to be made at the beginnings and endings of a word, and sometimes on the middle as well, he covers the principal ‘parts’ of each and thus the fundamental qualities of each kind of *modulazione*.

The principal qualities of each of the church and other genres described by Pontio are summarized in Table 3 on page 41. In addition to the motet and the Mass, he recognized two kinds of psalm settings, where it was necessary to respect the presentation of the tone: one as a paraphrase in imitation where all the voices were engaged, and one in which a psalm tone sounded through the texture while the other voices developed independently. Thus settings of the canticles were treated as a special subgenre of psalms, which due to their solemnity and special nature were allowed a more complex imitative treatment than true psalms. Holy Saturday lections had a particular status sufficient to establish them as a subgenre, in that their setting was homorhythmic and called for an affective treatment involving the choice of “naturally mournful” tones and a use of dissonance which “sought out” the meaning of the words.  

Turning to the madrigal, Pontio noted that its *inventiones* should be short, not more than a beat of two or three semibreves, or else its beginning would seem more like a Mass or motet, though one which was faster-paced than was appropriate. It was proper to madrigals to use very rapid note values, in imitation, syncopations or declamatory rhythms. Its principal property, however, was to express the text; in depicting or echoing the language and images of the text,

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103 Pontio, *Regiomantum*, 156. Transcription and translation in appendix.
Table 3. Pietro Pontio: *Ragionamento di musica* (1588): prescriptions for musical kinds

All compositions are disposed according to a mode or tone; they consist of consonances and dissonances; their working out derives from the text; they should be based on new inventioni or subjects; their harmonies should be as full as possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ecclesiastical genres</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Motet | Manner is ‘serious and quiet’  
*Inventioni* are serious  
Predominant rhythmic values are breve, semibreve, minim |
| Mass | Manner is similar to motet, but its arrangement is different  
Beginnings of each movement concur |
| Psalm | Material is based on a cantus firmus, but its imitation in all the parts is not necessary or appropriate  
*Inventioni* at beginning of verset should be brief  
Internal cadences should follow behaviour of the tone of the psalm  
Words to be pronounced ‘almost together’, as if resembling *falsebreves*  
Last verset may be in a ‘more learned style’ |
| Canticles  
(Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, Benedictus) | Considered to be psalms, but composed in a ‘more learned style’  
All the parts may imitate the cantus firmus or subject  
One part performs the entire psalm tone, or else ‘one part does half, and another finishes the remainder’  
Internal treatment resembles psalms |
| Lections | Require the use of a ‘naturally mournful’ tone  
‘commonly run together’ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secular genres</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Madrigals | *Inventioni* should be short, not more than 2-3 semibreves  
Use of many minim and semiminims; faster than the motet or mass  
Parts can move equally together  
Great attention to following the words; fast, disjunct or dissonant passages are acceptable if appropriate to the words |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrumental genres</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ricercar | *Inventioni* should be long, and the parts distant from one another  
Constant motion should be maintained; parts should not be sustained together with semibreves  
Two parts should not begin together unless they have different *inventioni*  
An *invention* can be created from a rhythmic paraphrase of a plainchant  
One *invention* can be retained throughout a composition, or new ones can be devised in course |

it was permitted to invent not only pleasant but harsh passages. The composer was admonished in general to pay the greatest attention to following the words.105

Like Vicentino before him, Pontio devoted attention to the ricercar. He was one of the last writers close to the conservative theoretical mainstream who incorporated this instrumental genre into general discussions of musical kinds. Its inclusion suggests that in the later sixteenth century the conceptual relationship between some vocal and instrumental genres was still fluid. Some remaining closeness of the contrapuntal ricercar to vocal forms was sensed; publications of the time contained instrumental works called ‘ricercars’ which were evidently parodies or simple transcriptions of vocal pieces.106 (Interestingly, the passage discussing the ricercar in the Rationamento is situated immediately following that for the various church genres but before that for the madrigal, suggesting some subconscious logical continuity in Pontio’s organization of material.) But he also realized that both the nature of the ricercar inventione and its elaboration had already pushed it away from the vocal motet to some extent. Pontio understood clearly that since an instrumental inventione was not shaped through an analysis and interpretation of a line of text being set, the treatment of musical extension generally needed to be different from that used in a vocal work. He noted that unlike the motet, the subject of a ricercar could be long, the parts rather distant from one another and the counterpoint in constant movement. The subject could either be used in each successive point of imitation, or a new one could be invented for each point.107 He reiterated specifically that the ricercar accommodated techniques not considered

105 Pontio, Rationamento, 160; transcription and translation in the appendix.
106 Andrea Gabrieli’s posthumous publication Canzoni alla francese et ricercari ariosi (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1605) contains (in addition to 24 madrigals and chansons) both intabulations of French chansons and ‘parody-ricercar’ pieces deriving from those chansons, together with ‘ricercari ariosi’ probably derived from vocal pieces (Hartmut Schick, “Ricercar”, MGG (Scriba) 8: 323). (Such publications also indicate that the ricercar may not have been associated exclusively with motet style in actual practice; instrumentalists may have recycled whatever vocal pieces were available to them.) Ricercari have been divided typically into imitative and non-imitative or prehedral kinds; but the latter appeared with short imitative passages as well. Most likely imitative passages were imported into the prehedral ricercar for greater variety, extension, coherence or continuity.
107 Pontio, Rationamento, 159-160.
appropriate in other kinds of composition, citing works by Jacques Buus, Claudio Merulo, Annibale Padovano and Luzzasco Luzzaschi as cases in point. The denser counterpoint associated with the older sixteenth-century school, increasingly being relegated to instrumental music by the legion of musical humanists, was comfortably assimilated as the province and special quality of the ricercar. (Other vocal-to-instrumental transfers were taking place: the sectional instrumental canzona, for one, associated with the ‘middle’ style French chanson.) But sixteenth-century Italian theorists addressed the ricercar particularly because of its sensed connection to a ‘high’, learned and older style associated not only with analogous genres of church music but with advanced contrapuntal tradition. This conceptual connection persisted in Italian musical culture (and elsewhere) for several subsequent generations, especially insofar as it came to be used as a vehicle for instruction in counterpoint, and rapidly came to be perceived as the instrumental equivalent of the older observant (vocal) style.

Pontio indicated that diversity among compositions in terms of the materials of music was not a matter of a variety of contrapuntal standards, as such. Rather, it derived from the selection and application of particular materials from on a uniform fund of material and designated for a specific place or purpose.

You should know (as I have already said) that from this florid or diminished counterpoint come varied compositions, such as masses, motets, psalms, ricercars, lamentations and madrigals. All of these avail themselves of the same consonances and dissonances found in counterpoint; but certainly not in the same manner, or style, as we would say.

This observation is germane to a remarkable and fairly lengthy conversation in Pontio’s later Dialogo (1595). The discussion was less immediately concerned with individual genres than

108 Pontio, Dialogo, 48.
109 See below, chapter 4, pages 189-191 for a more extensive discussion of the position of the ricercar after 1600.
110 Pontio, Ragionamento, 123. “Voi dovrete sapere (come già vi dissi) che da questo contrapunto florido, ouer deminuito vengono variate compositioni, come Messe, Motetti, Salmi, Ricercari, Lamentations, & Madrigali; quali tutti si senino delle medesime consonantie, & dissonantie, che nel contrapunto si trouano; ma non già nell’ stesso modo, o stile, che dir vogliamo.”
with a contribution to the other part of the issue of genre—the nature of individual musical style itself. Pontio effectively divided into two separate and systematic discussions—genres in
Ragionamento and style in Dialogo—what Vicentino dealt with in a blended and more casually observational way. Like the Ragionamento, the Dialogo was cast as a series of discussions, with an air of polite debate as well as of instruction. In it, three aristocratic academicians named Giordano, Marco and Alessandro hold a series of three talks concerned chiefly with the relationship between music theory and musical practice. During the first session, the friends had already united in the tradition-upsetting conclusion that the practice of music was both more difficult than, and superior to, the study of music theory. While to learn music theory required only the mastery of a finite body of information, to practice musical composition required the constant exercise of both the imagination and the intellect. A composer did honour to himself by showing intelligence and skill in composition. For others to show discernment in judging musical works meant that they honoured accomplishments which were worthy and significant.\(^{111}\)

The second session of the Dialogo was a discussion of the differences between compositions and how 'style' was judged. Through his chief mouthpiece, Marco, Pontio wondered why, given that there was a common fund of musical materials and techniques universally used, there was so much variety in sound, skill and the ability to please. This was true not only amongst the different genres of composition, but from composer to composer and even amongst various works by the same composer. In answering this question he provided some indication by what criteria judgments were made of music during the later sixteenth century. He set out a list of nine considerations by which distinctions in technique, quality and manner could be articulated:

The causes of this dissimilarity are diverse... first, the invention; because one will do it more beautifully than another, in that he will be more apt, and he will know how to arrange it such that it will make listening to the compositions pleasing.

The second cause is that through great study one will have acquired a more lovely, more elegant and more musical style of composing (so called) than another.

The third is that one will know better than another how to arrange the consonances and dissonances in his composition; and that thus they will give the listeners more pleasure to hear...

The fourth cause—and in this creates great variety—is because one considers the words more than another, because if [the words] signify happiness or sadness he will find a tone which is of its own nature happy or sad.

The fifth is because when one composer begins his composition, he will find subjects made according to the proposed tone and appropriate to it, which he will preserve thus in the middle and end; and sometimes such a composition is seen, made in the manner of imitating a plainchant, which will be observed extremely well by one and not be observed by another.

The sixth cause which gives rise to great variety among composers is because one will make his composition more learned and ingenious than another.

The seventh is that one will make one invention alone in the middle of his composition which will not be considered, or will be poorly heard, by the listeners, and by another it will be done so that it will be observed and very well understood.

The eighth reason which causes variety is because one will observe the tone more than another.

The ninth cause is that one will avail himself of cadences outside the tone, and the other not. And these are the causes which give birth to so much variety among composers.¹¹²

¹¹² Pontio, Dialogo, 45. "Diverse sono le cause di questa dissimiglianza: Causa di questa è prima l'invenzione; perché vna la farà più bella dell'altro, in quella sarà più pronto, & talmente la saprà accommodare, che farà nelle composizioni grato udire; la seconda causa è, che vna per lo studio grande haurà acquistato vna stile di comporre (così chiamato) più vago, più elegante, & più musicale dell'altro. Terza è, ch' vno saprà meglio accommodare le consonanze, e le dissonanze nelle sue composizioni d'una d'altro; & che perciò daranno all' ascoltanti più grato udire,... La quarta causa è, & in questo fà gran varietà; perché vno più, che l'altro, haurà considerazione alle parole. Perché se quelle significaranno allegrezza, oner mestitìa, troverà vn' tono, che sarà propria natura allegro, o mesto. La quinta sia; perché quando vno compositore darà principio alla sua composizione, troverà inventioni fatte secondo il tono propostosi, & appropriato a quello, le quali sentirà così nel mezo, come nel fine; & si vedrà alcuna volta tal composizione fatta ad imitazione del Canto plano, che benissimo sarà osservato da quello, il che non sarà osservato da vn' altro. La sesta causa, che fà seguire fra compositori gran varietà, è perché vno farà la sua composizione più dotta, & ingegnosa, che non farà vn' altro. La settima sia, ch' vno farà vna sola inventione nel mezo della sua composizione, che non sarà dalli Ascoltanti considerata, ne tampoco intesa, & da vn' altro sarà fatta
This passage has points of resemblance to one in Lodovico Zacconi’s *Prattica di musica* which, as James Haar has noted, has been commented on since Friedrich Chrysander pointed it out in 1894. Zacconi purported to transcribe some remarks of Zarlino’s in which the great theorist described criteria according to which the quality of a composition can be assessed, and in so doing opined on the qualities in which contemporaries excelled. In explicating the passage, Haar noted the resonances of its language with the rhetorical terminology of Quintilian and other writers. Haar’s methods and insights can be readily applied to a reading of Pontio’s text. Pontio’s notes form a useful complement to Zacconi’s. Pontio’s text is also more detailed in some respects; much of the second part of the *Dialogo* is taken up with fleshing out each of the nine distinctions with explanations and examples.

The nine *cause* or criteria bear further examination. Like the Zacconi passage, they involve concepts and techniques which frequently overlap one another, and subtle differences of meaning are not always apparent. The first cause, *inventione*, had both general and specific connotations: it referred either to “the product of imaginative creation in general or some single idea”. The term, derived directly from rhetoric, denoted that quality which enabled the composer to discover the key musical ideas within the work and the realization of its potential qualities in the course of the composition; the term was also used for the principal idea itself. More specifically, *inventione* referred to the qualities and treatment of the musical subject: it was to be “beautiful, and comely; it will be that which moves with comely movements or intervals...”

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114 The relevant passages are found on pages 45-67; the second dialogue continues to page 84.
115 Haar, “Music Criticism”, 206.
This beauty consisted of making the parts move well together, with intervals which were comfortable for the singer, and in designing the parts with suitable rhythmic figures and appropriately spaced entries. In the activity of his *inventione* the composer used a kind of intellectual science to fashion a musical subject and ponder its potential. Its first and foremost requirement was to be fashioned according to a mode or tone with legitimate intervals. It was a particular mark of great musical judgment if the composer had the ability to find several diverse *inventioni* in a single subject or tone and expound them in the course of a composition.

Pontio's remarks on the *stile di comporre* or compositional 'manner' (the second cause) harmonize with Zacconi's *buona disposizione* or creation of a sense of good proportion and fluent part-writing. 'Style', according to Pontio, consisted in knowing how to arrange the parts of a composition (*bell'ordine*), by conjunct motion as much as possible, according to the nature and cadences of the tone, and in rendering the work agreeable for the singer and harmonious in general. It had general overtones of skilled technique and presentation, balance and elegance. *Bell'ordine* and a true sense of style would be lacking, and the composition would fail to please, if the part-writing were unbalanced; if the composition failed to express the intervallic relationships of the mode or form cadences proper to it, whether at the end or internally; or if it lacked variety in rhythmic disposition of the lines singly and together.

The 'arrangement' (*disposizione*) of consonances and dissonances (the third cause, also closely related to Zacconi's *buona disposizione* and Pontio's *stile*) will vary from one composer to another. This term was likewise rhetorical and denoted the proper order of the various 'parts' or
sections of a work over its course from beginning to end. Musically speaking, here it also suggested the harmonious functioning together of various contrapuntal lines. Different effects would be created in the listeners' ears according to the singability of individual lines and the way the composer joined them in polyphony. Intervallic disposition is closely connected to the fourth and fifth causes, consideration of the words and observation of the mode or tone. Pontio held the older received view that the general affective quality of a composition was created by the inherent properties of the mode or tone on which it was based. It was the composer's responsibility to make a judicious choice of tone based on his insight into the text itself. However, "any tone can be made sad or happy if the composer is knowledgeable in the practice of music", and "with considerations and the experience of having made harmony many times, the knowledgeable man will be able to transmute a subject of one nature into another." That is, an experienced composer should be skilled in deploying important materials, such as slow or fast motion and specific intervallic choices, which can manipulate or even momentarily override the general affective quality of the tone, the better to convey the sense and passions of the words. He noted some examples commonly cited in this period: use of the minor third and slow motion rendered a cantilena sad, and the major tenth with rapid movement created a sense of happiness. In making such choices, the composer had to be guided by sound judgment and genuine understanding of the text. Composers varied in their capacity to do this, as well as in their ability to devise and deploy an inventione according to a tone (the fifth cause of variety) not

122 Pontio, Dialogo, 54.
123 The issue of affective qualities as related to the choice of mode is much too large to explore in great detail here. The subject is treated brilliantly in Bernhard Meier's Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie (Utrecht: Oostheek, Scheiterna & Holkema, 1974); English translation The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony, trans. Ellen Scott Beebe. Beebe's Mode, Structure and Text Expression in the Motets of Jacob Clemens van Papen: A Study of Stylistic Development in Sacred Music (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1976), is a remarkable and original application of Meier's research.
124 Pontio, Dialogo, 58. "...ogni Tuono si può far mesto, & allegro, se il Compositore sarà intelligente in questa Pratica della Musica."
125 Ibid. "...l' huomo intelligente con le speculazioni, & con l' esperienze dell' harmonie più volte fatte, saprà trasmutar' vn soggetto d' vna natura nell' altra."
only at the beginning of a work, but in the middle and end, particularly if the subject is based on plainchant.

Composers also varied in their ability to make a work “learned and ingenious” (the sixth cause). ‘Learnedness’ in this passage was considered under three aspects: the ability to deploy inventioni and imitative passages not only at the beginning, but also in the middle and end; the use of plainchant, specially devised subjects or artificially imposed conditions (obligations); and the use of canons. Generally speaking, their use indicated the relative intelligence of the composer, and skill in special contrapuntal devices was welcomed and praised. But the suitable presence of such devices was contingent to some extent upon the genre and purpose of the composition. Where text articulation was of the utmost importance to devotion, it could be inappropriate to use more learned counterpoint because of the risk of obscuring sacred language through its embroilment in dense polyphony. If a composition lacked the most direct means of expression appropriate to its type, propriety and decorum would not be served in the circumstances.

The seventh cause overlapped with one of the hallmarks of ingenuity described in the sixth. Pontio pointed out that composers varied in their ability to sustain interest in their inventione through the course of the work. In considering this, he apparently reverted to a rhetorical idea of the kind found in Cicero, namely of preventing the listener’s interest from palling by providing a good pace of ideas throughout the work. If the inventione was presented in an unrelieved manner, without offering the listener variety and a chance either to sustain his interest or to rest, the efforts of the composer will fail.

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126 Pontio, Diagoge, 58.
127 Pontio, Ragionamento, 159.
128 Pontio, Diagoge, 60-61.
129 Pontio, Diagoge, 61.
130 Ibid, 62. "Honi l’Inventione datta senza alcun riposo dalla Ascoltanti non potrà esser’ osservata, né intesa." The underlying concept is found in Cicero, De oratore III, 96-99. "...in order to embellish [the oration] with flowers of language and gems of thought, it is not necessary for this ornamentation to be spread evenly over the entire speech, but it must be so distributed that there may be brilliant jewels placed at various points as a sort of decoration....For
While noting that composers varied in their degree of modal observance (the eighth cause), Pontio confirmed that fundamentally the mode or tone had to be observed above all other things, since otherwise everything else would be done aimlessly. As someone with real practical knowledge of composition in this period, he grasped the intimate relationship between the layout of cadence structures based on pitches natural to the tone and the larger sense of formal extension.\(^\text{131}\) If the mode was not properly articulated, the composition by definition lacked musical coherence and was beyond the pale of good rule.\(^\text{132}\) Yet as his ninth cause, he noted that some composers tended to avail themselves of cadences outside the usual ones indicated by the mode. He declared that to indulge such a practice required the 'greatest consideration and diligence', and if done with bell' ordine it could render a good and pleasing effect—though not everyone was capable of this.\(^\text{133}\) He seems to have felt his view needed an explanation, since he assumed that to create internal cadences which seemed to contradict the underlying structural mode should nominally result in a poor effect. Yet he justified the practice in two ways. For one, if the internal cadence pitch was not drawn from the mode, it might be rationalized in terms of being drawn from a psalm tone.\(^\text{134}\) The second reason, however, is the "judgment of the ear, which gives certainty of the good effect which is produced in the said tone, because it is not offended."\(^\text{135}\) The passage continued:

It can be said in this faculty of composing music that the sense of hearing, and not the reason, has place... because through the hearing, music has acquired its knowledge, and has chosen by this means from the sad to the good, and from the good to the better... in this practice of music, the ear obtains primacy in judging the things which have a good or evil effect in compositions.\(^\text{136}\)

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\(^{\text{131}}\) Ibid., 66.

\(^{\text{132}}\) Ibid.

\(^{\text{133}}\) Ibid., 67.

\(^{\text{134}}\) Ibid., 69.

\(^{\text{135}}\) Ibid., 69-70.

By mentioning this final criterion of ‘dissimilarity’ Pontio implied that there was a body of composers involved in this practice sufficiently large to warrant describing it as a distinguishing quality; or at least that the practice is sufficiently common to serve as a criterion. (He did not specifically associate it with any particular genre.) In technical terms, the question of “foreign” internal cadences may be a premonition of the mode/tone confusion which became a prevalent feature of much seventeenth-century Italian music theory. Pontio may also refer to cases of commixtio modorum, which often have an affective rationale, although he did not cite one here. Or he may have written out of an awareness of the practices of some of his eminent contemporaries, who in certain genres wrote passages freely directed by harmonic and affective considerations, rather than the absolute structural requirements of mode at all times. This latter possibility is redolent of what was later called seconda pratica, although Pontio did not articulate very clearly an explicit text role here (given what he said elsewhere, he might have taken it for granted).

But what is striking in this final context is his assertion that the judgment of the composer’s ear, rather than musical ‘reason’ or intellectual considerations, was a final authority. In Pontio’s text there existed not only a distinction, but a discrepancy and disjunction, between theory and practice, in part based on the greater role he afforded the ear and the judgment of the composer in refinements of style. This marked an important moment in the debate over the relative merits of reason and the senses as criteria of judgment. It reflected a nascent ascendancy of the composer as the arbiter of value and propriety in his or her own work. But bringing the taste of the composer and the authority of universal theoretical rule into confrontation was already creating a major challenge to aspects which Pontio himself had carefully presented.
Zacconi and Bona on Types of Music

References in texts by Pontio’s contemporaries confirm that his prescriptions for various musical kinds reflected a general agreement about the subject. In 1595, Valerio Bona (c.1560-1619) advised in his *Regola del contraponto, et compositione* (1595) that it was necessary for someone wishing to write a composition, “whether it be a motet, mass, psalm, madrigal, canzone or other kind”, to understand two things—tone or mode and cadence.\(^1\) One had to accompany the words well in respect of note values, intervals, correct counterpoint and ‘imitation of the words’\(^2\). Pages 68 to 70 of the *Regole* synthesized Zarlinian teachings for the planning of works in general:

Then you are advised to compose your works, each according to its degree: that is to say: if you make ecclesiastical works, do not make them with black notes in the madrigal style, nor are lascivious things for ecclesiastical [style], but all things according to their level. For truly ecclesiastical things [should] maintain gravity and devotion. In sum, all compositions should have (and he has it who knows how to find it) their appropriate air.

Church things, in one manner; madrigals, in another; *canzoni*, in another; *villanelle*, in another; and carrying on thus in all other compositions.\(^3\)

As Zarlino did, Bona gave a special note for *coni spezzati*:

Then you are advised that in making a composition for eight voices, you will cause the bass of the second choir to begin in unison or at the octave with the other, because it enters more easily and securely.\(^4\)

Another passage at the very end of this treatise assumed a relatively relaxed attitude toward contrapuntal rules in certain situations. Bona said that he had seen compositions which were

\(^{1}\) Valerio Bona [da Brescia], *Regola del contraponto, et compositione brevemente raccolti da diversi autori*… (Casale: Bernardo Grasso, 1595), 31; 35.


\(^{3}\) *Ibid.*, 70. “Poi, tu hai d’auercire di comporre le tue cose, tutte in suo grado, come dire; se tu fai cose Ecclesiastiche, nò le far con note negre alla Madrigalesca, né cose lascie alla Ecclesiastica nò; Mà ogni vna nel grado suo. Perche veramente le cose Ecclesiastiche, ritengono in loro gravitä, e deuotione. In somma ogni compositione deue hauer, (& hà chi la sà trouare) l’ aria sua proportionata. Cose di Chiese, à vn modo; Madrigali, à vn’ altro; Canzoni, à vn altro; Villanelle à vn’ altro; & và discorrendo d’ ogni altra Compositione.”
faulty with respect to the rules, whether from ignorance or lack of regard; but if the text being set contained words like aspro, duro, fallo, errore, peccato, illicit and disallowed passages were permitted. Doing this, though, “you will be praised by some, blamed by others…”

Comments by Lodovico Zacconi (1555-1627) in his two-volume Pratica di musica (1592, 1622) indicate that even before 1600 expectations and patterns for generic classes of music had become fairly consistent. Zacconi scattered comments on the subject throughout Book II in particular (published in 1622 but which nonetheless reflected the ambience of Book I of 1592), which dealt chiefly with rules for writing or improvising counterpoint to a cantus firmus.

Zacconi noted that music was usually considered either secular or sacred. In his personal typology, however, music consisted of three generi di cantilene, distinguished by place of performance, purpose and maniere. These were sacred, secular, and a third type associated with kinds of improvisation (“counterpoints which are made alone or in company”), in all of which the true composer was expected to be well versed. Zacconi might have understood the third type as a genus, rather than simply a technique, if he considered it a style or manner of composition, which when practiced involves an aggregate of materials governed by a text or general affect and directed to a particular purpose. (Many of his observations were coloured by the consideration that embellished or affective performance could heighten or alter the very nature of a composition not merely emotively, but even generically.) It may also represent the attempt to classify kinds of music which might be generated by such techniques: alla mente

140 Bona, Regole, 70. “Poi, tu hai d’auertire, che facendo vna Composizione à otto voci, tu fari principiar il basso del secondo Choro, in vnuiono, à in otava con l’altrò, perche più facilmente, & con più sicurezza s’intra.”
141 Ibid., 71.
142 Zacconi, Pratica di musica II, 55.
143 Ibid., II, 88.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid., I, part 1, 8r. This remark is striking because by around 1600 Caccini and others emphasized the association of embellishments with affective expression, and because among the rationalizations for the notorious passages in some Monteverdi madrigals made a few years later was the notion that they represented written-down improvisation.
singing to a preexistent melody; variation types or improvisational methods associated with instrumental music but which, although written down, were adapted by singers; or types of composition which sound like they could be improvised, like the canzonetta or villanella. These latter ‘counterpoints made alone or in company’ may have constituted a subdividing criterion within each of the broader classes of sacred and secular, contributing to the distinctive identity of ‘lower’ relatives of the respective ‘higher’ forms. The ‘lower’ secular forms, like the villanella, carried the connotation of improvised or unpolished counterpoint. It seems unlikely, however (if this understanding were expressed as a scheme), that subito libero practice for sacred music would be considered a ‘lower’ form, except insofar as it did not have the prestige of appearing on a written page. Such a scheme would suggest a division into four styles, rather than three, however.

In Zacconi’s scheme, ecclesiastical music included masses, vespers, the Magnificat, motets and litanies. Following the ancient dictum that a thing was judged by its end, he described church music not in terms of the beginning (as might be expected for generic identification) but in terms of the end (that is, the final portion, not simply the ‘purpose’) of the respective composition, which he deemed the most important in leaving an impression with the listener. As a class, such works possessed

a grave and artful manner, with a certain liveliness in the end; the counterpoints move with artful and frequent movement toward the end. For their ornament, when possible, they ought always to have a certain artful and grave final cadence. However, I would give this reminder: that from the obblighi and fugues to that with which all these should terminate and end, all the rest should conclude with something artful and delightful, giving them an air and a manner, as if it were a well-woven section which was just sung…

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146 Zacconi, Pratica di musica II, part 2, 88. "...con maniere graui & artificiose, con alquantu d'allegria nel fine: ma I Contrapunti vanno con artificiosi e spessi movimenti sino al fine; e per loro ornamento quando che si puo, debbano sempre hauer vn certo finale artificioso e grave. E pero si da questo ricordo; che da I Contrapunti d'obligo e di fughe in poi, che con quelli sempre si debbano terminare e finire, gli altri tutti si debbano concludere con qualche cosa che sia d' artificio e dilettuole, dandoli aere e maniera come se fosse vna ben contessuta parte che vi cantasse sopra...."
These works were to be pitched at a judicious level, neither too high nor too low. For this an understanding of the nature of the modes, required for planning a composition in ‘just proportion’, was essential. The parts had to be well-spaced in range, both for the convenience of the singers and—in consideration of the locus of performance—for proper acoustical resonance. Such compositions were to be sung with attention to the tactus, and neither too slow nor too fast.

Secular music included canzone, madrigali and villanella and had “a very lively manner from beginning to end”. Zacconi noted that he was more willing to have a motet embellished with passaggi than a madrigal, for madrigals were “ordinarily more difficult”, and their part-writing was less susceptible to the insertion of other material. Their rhythmic values and syllabic setting might be rapid, or they might be so composed to the sense of the words that propriety would deem embellishment inappropriate or insensitive. The canzone and madrigal represented forms of poetry more elevated than the villanella or (as later included) the canzonetta, and their respective maniere were different. Villanella and all other such ‘little things’ were like, but not exactly, ‘simple’ (presumably popular, ‘common’ or lower-classed) airs. They were made according to musical rules, but imitated ‘rough songs’; they were ‘imitators of those airs which seek more notes without an understanding of music’, but in being sung together united ‘by way of natural consonances’. Zacconi described their layout and structure, noting that they could be made with two, three more more parallel fifths without intervening dissonances or imperfect

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148 Zacconi, Pratica di musica, II, 54. To some extent, these directions appear to be admonitions, for in Book II (1622) Zacconi in fact bewails the state of modern music (and from the context, in which he cited motets by Croce, he seems to mean modern church music). He laments that tempo signs are not accurately stated, and that proportions are without rule and “mature consideration”. These observations of course reflect the fluid state of these aspects of music theory around 1600.
149 Ibid., II, 88; 55.
150 Ibid., II, part 1, 55-56.
Here the generic distinction was both technical and sociological; the type was deliberately associated with a musically unlettered stratum, but the manner was adapted through the use of artful stylistic caricature. That Zacconi dealt with these 'lower' forms in some detail suggested both his very practical orientation and his acceptance of the mixture and complexity in the musical culture that later Italian theorists of genre were more likely to marginalize. The canzonetta and villanella were also associated with the pastoral tradition, and the slight uncertainty about characterizing their sophisticated artlessness was reminiscent of the analogous confusion in literary controversies of this period about the nature of pastoral and tragicomic genres. Zacconi’s address of a problem in the ‘lower’ genres was yet another indication of high awareness of growing diversity in the practices of written counterpoint, and that by the 1590s the degree to which ‘improvised’ practices were crossing over into the written and printed musical culture was significant.

Zacconi also observed that some composers succeeded more readily in composing madrigals, canzonas and similar works, than they did writing Masses and motets. He noted that some had a more ready and facile invention for one sort of music than another; one composer’s genius and inclination might dispose him to church music (such as Palestrina) rather than madrigals (such as de Monte and Marenzio). But, he affirmed, the accomplished musico should be versed in all genres of composition.152

Zacconi’s understanding of musical styles, if schematized, might look something like this:

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151 Ibid., I, 80v.
152 Zacconi, Pratica di musica I, 278.
Table 4. Lodovico Zacconi: from *Prattica di musica (1592)*, possible hierarchy of musical kinds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written composition</th>
<th>Improvised counterpoint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sacred (grave)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>higher manner</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass</td>
<td>[improvisation to a cantus firmus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motet</td>
<td>[possibly, ornamentation of vocal part]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vespers (psalms)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnificat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litanies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular (lively)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>higher manner</em></td>
<td>[alla mente part improvisation]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canzona</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madrigal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lower manner</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>villanella</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canzonetta and other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'little things'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While genres were understood to be distinct from one another in terms of their choice of materials, and while composers differed in the relative degree of skill they brought to a particular compositional genre, Zacconi’s immediate successors understood that both generic and expressive variety alike originated in the individual uses of a common contrapuntal language. Orazio Tigrini, who in *Il compendio della musica* made a useful compilation of practice drawn chiefly from Books III and IV of Zacconi’s *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, insisted that if one will consider the various kinds of counterpoint, [one sees that] such variety consists in the various ways the above-mentioned rules are used, and not because the rules are various and diverse. Such variety (so that it is better understood) consists solely in the use and disposition of the consonances, and not in the rules from which, as it has been said, it will never be allowed to depart, as anyone will be quite able to understand by himself.154

The decisive factor in the subsequent conceptions of musical genre, however, was a shift in perception which raised a major challenge to this view. For, tellingly, in the course of his declaration Tigrini let slip that there were “more modern musicians” active who purported to practice “other kinds” of counterpoint.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}.}
Chapter 2

The Division of Contrapuntal Practices and
and Its Effects on Categories of Musical Kinds and Styles

As Tigrini said, although variety in composition derived from the rules being used in various and diverse ways, the rules themselves were unified. By about 1600, however, a spectrum of irregularities in written and printed practical music came under more detailed scrutiny. An increasing distinction between music as it was written and music which was heard, that is, music rationalized first as an aural, rather than intellectual experience seemed to be leading to the questioning of the understanding of generic proprieties as they stood. *Harmonia* was becoming the province of the intellectual musician; *melodia* the practical musician who exploited new expressive ends. Unusual dissonance treatment might have been associated with salient details of text at some given moment in the course of a work, or might simply have been considered a pleasing gesture. But such treatment might well affect mode formation and cadential structures as well, and thus address the work’s fundamental *poesia* and conceptual processes. Apparent surface irregularities might have serious implications for the structural conception as a whole. In an era with so heightened a consciousness of genre and issues associated with it, a composer’s treatment of such matters could be construed as a measure of the seriousness with which he regarded the rules. There were profound implications for criteria of judgment also; this implied that the individual judgment of the composer might well supersede accepted rules and “natural” laws of contrapuntal treatment. It could measure the degree to which he was prepared to assert his personal autonomy as the maker of the work, or an index of his technical knowledge and skills, and his attentiveness to decorum and propriety.
These irregularities began to be justified as a defining characteristic of particular categories of composition, rather than simply as ‘errors’. Effectively, such a response pushed these compositions into separate generic classes, by insisting that deviations had a specific place and justification based on the affective expression of the text.

In the literary world of this era there was an interesting parallel in its own controversies over genre theory. Since the early acceptance of Aristotelian poetic theories, questions arose as to whether certain vernacular media genuinely belonged to one of the then-accepted ‘kinds’. Certain de facto genres seemed to contain mixtures of other traits, derived chiefly from existing types of culturally traditional literature or poetry. In the 1590s one of the most intense debates of this kind involved Battista Guarini’s Il Pastor Fido, significant here because of Guarini’s close associations with Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga and the Mantuan court in the early 1590s and his direct impact on Monteverdi.¹ Guarini’s antagonist, Giason Denores (c.1530-1590)², attacked the poem as an affront to proper moral formation. Applying to it a fairly rigid reading of Aristotle’s Poetica, he suggested that there was a link between Guarini’s seeming indifference to generic proprieties³, as Aristotle conceived them, and the dubious propriety of the “dramatic pastoral” poem.⁴ Denores’s denunciation effectively implied that a ‘hybrid’ kind confused the message, made the affects more obscure, complicated and less subject to rational reflection, and left the audience unsatisfied. But for all the disdain of literary theorists, such literature was immensely popular, supported by enthusiastic

¹ See Gary Tomlinson, Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) for a full study of Guarini’s impact on the Mantuan court. Significantly, Monteverdi’s early tenure there in the 1590s coincided with Guarini’s visit.
² Author of Della rhetorica libri tre (Venice: PaoloMegretto, 1584), an elaborate study of rhetorical artifice in the art of speaking.
³ In Il Pastor Fido Guarini had effectively created a hybrid of tragic and lyric poetry, with implications for the integrity of poetry, and so forth.
aristocratic patronage, and widely disseminated. The disjunction between literary theory and practice in northern Italy in this period held implications for thoughtful musicians whose livelihood involved addressing text setting and were in a condition to experience such debate in some proximity.

Distinctions between a more remote style of composition and "modern" music seem to have been made universally in terms of more recent music's attention to clear, articulate and sensitive text setting. These traits required that the musical setting be crafted so as to provide the executant or musical orator with opportunity to deliver a more directly meaningful recitation of text. In great part this was a rationale for the simplification and greater harmonic sonorousness of polyphony in the later sixteenth century: text became better heard. Deliberate inobservance, however, also became identified with modernity because it was a radical means by which text delivery was brought into the foreground of the listeners' consciousness. Yet these departures from accepted practice posed a highly problematic corollary to theory: they were largely held to be incidental, by nature irregular and ultimately beyond the pale of rational explanation. Logically, such lapses inevitably raised the issue of propriety, not simply for an individual genre but for polyphonic music generally.

The balance of this chapter examines remarks by various musical writers about developments in musical style and the effect of those developments upon the perception of genre ca. 1600-1650. Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634), while sensitive to modern style developments and current in his thinking, based his observations on a fundamentally conservative perspective. On the side of those grounded in traditional theory but creating a new justification for current practice, Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643) stood out. His writings divided into two phases: the early formulation of

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3 Vincenzo Gonzaga tried to get *Pastor Fido* staged throughout the 1590s. See Weinberg, *ibid*; also summarized in Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the end of the Renaissance*, 73-141.
*prima* and *seonda prattica*, and then the attempt to form a poesis for musics appropriate for court and theatre embedded in the 1638 madrigal book preface, governed by the second practice, for which, ostensibly, 'no rules [of *harmonia*] can be made.'

Another kind of text addressed in this chapter examined ways in which writers belonging to a humanistically-educated connoisseur and amateur understood the changes and relationships in style around them. With no vested interest in the older church polyphony, they felt freer to examine the assimilation of solo and embellishment techniques into the compositional mainstream. Both their insights and the historiography are different as well. These writers included Monteverdi's sometime correspondent, Giovanni Battista Doni, on types of the modern reciting style, and the Roman aristocrats and connoisseurs Pietro della Valle and Vincenzo Giustiniani. Following Monteverdi is Severo Bonini, whose writings suggest the intellectual tensions in the life of a musician in the 1630s and 1640s, given his orientation based on the post-Tridentine Roman conservative tradition on the one hand and his passionate championship of the affective solo style on the other. However untidy Bonini's writings may appear, he came close to realizing some of the implications of the *prima/seonda prattica* position and creating a classification somewhat akin to Marco Scacchi's.⁶

Finally, some notes on the Cazzati—Arresti controversy are provided. While Arresti's method of polemic was scholastic, Cazzati's shrewd response indicated the degree to which the claims of genre and the exclusiveness of the strict style had, even in the 1660s, already been superseded by the demands of 'taste' and aesthetic judgment. *Praetica* had overcome *theoria*, *senso* had overridden *regione*, and the tightly logical construct of seventeenth-century Italian stylistics had already begun to disintegrate.

⁶ Guarini himself was defended in turn in print by Giovanni Savio in an *Apologia for the Pastor Fido* (Venice, 1601).
⁷ Scacchi's will be dealt with in the next chapter.
A conceptual split in musical thinking was evident in the decades which bracketed the year 1600. It was reflected both in the perpetuation of received contrapuntal theory drawn from the historical texts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and explorations in monodic theory, in the practice of an 'obsessant' style as well as monodic and reciting styles. This situation was characterized in a number of ways, some of which resonated with the deeper cultural tendencies of the period. But to a remarkable degree, the music-historical situation around 1600 reflected what William J. Bouwsma has noted as a general intellectual bifurcation in late Renaissance culture. He described this situation as being manifested in the tense co-existence of two main cultural strands. On the one hand he noted the broad humanist strain, focussed on rhetorical, educational and ethical issues, while on

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8 Gary Tomlinson, to name only one writer, has noted and characterized the “stark philosophical contrasts and intellectual eclecticism” of the late sixteenth century (in Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance, 3). While many of these tendencies have been formulated as oppositions, I hold that a number of them can be understood as differentiated streams of development which occur in tandem and at times distinctly affect one another.

Explanations of the cultural and intellectual history of this complex period have been undertaken by scholars of widely different philosophical persuasions. Prominent among them has been the French cultural historian Michel Foucault, who perceived the predominant intellectual impetus of the seventeenth century as being toward the search for taxonomies. (See Michel Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences (New York: Pantheon, 1971)). “What has become important is no longer resemblances, but identities and differences.” However, there are difficulties in applying Foucault’s ideas generally to developments in this period in Italy. His characterization of the seventeenth-century 'episteme' is a serious oversimplification which ignores many of the subtle tensions and countertendencies in the thought of this time, particularly as expressed through works of art. His understanding of literary and artistic sources, either from Classical antiquity or from the Renaissance itself (which was deeply imbued with many of the modes of classical thinking), was not strong. He noted as a primary intellectual characteristic of the sixteenth-century Renaissance “the search for resemblances”, but he appeared to have limited insight into the actual relationship between ‘resemblance’ and such central cultural notions of the period as emulation and homage. His structuralist and semiotic viewpoint understood intellectual artifacts virtually exclusively in terms of linguistic categories, French ones (not Italian) at that. Since musical conventions can be set up and perpetuated without a necessary superimposition of linguistic categories, it is difficult to extend Foucault’s system to the construction and associative properties of non-verbal or or secondarily verbal artworks without major recourse to complementary or alternative views.

In “Monteverdi’s Changing Aesthetics: A Semiotic Perspective” (in Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George Buehler (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), 242) Prof. Jeffrey Kurtzman has noted that concepts of metaphor derive from language, but that they can be adapted to the pairing of divergent media such that music is given a more precise semantic significance than music usually has. Clearly, this is often true. Yet, given the state of seventeenth-century Italian theoretical sources, it cannot be taken for granted that musicians of the period themselves would have effectively encoded music semiotically in this deliberative manner.
the other he found what he described as a kind of “revivified scholasticism”, that is, a tendency to create systematic orderings and constructions of an intelligible universe where all necessary information was essentially present. In the musical learning of the late sixteenth century, both intellectual streams took account of generic concepts of decorum, propriety and projection of a text; but each strain generated some new responses to the situation. Humanist research into the educational, ethical and affective implications of music found in Greek sources generated a specialist application, in that some seventeenth-century writers attempted to describe and classify “new” solo, theatrical and representative musics, Monteverdi and Doni being the best known. They tended to associate music with moving the affections, eloquence, rhetoric, beauty of air and direct communication. (Texts which deal with ornamentation and embellishment of a part, in the manner of rhetoric, rather than dealing with counterpoint, are associated with these ideas.) Musical art was conceived platonically and psychologically, as an act of divine creation which impressed itself upon the emotions. Concurrently, the neo-scholastic strain was best represented in Zarlinian music theory, which continued to be codified in handbooks of speculative music and rules of practical counterpoint, as in those of Artusi and his successors. In this stream, genre theory continued as an extension of the materials of traditional harmonic science, attached to manuals of counterpoint and directing the judicious use of the materials of music within prescribed parameters. These would flow in a second mainstream epitomized by the schematics of Marco Scacchi and elaborated by his successors. The principles and assumptions which underlie Scacchi-type formulations fueled other musical writings as well. Using traditional standards as their touchstone, generic schemata of

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10 The Cazzati-Arresti controversy (see below, 110-117) began with strict style assumptions, but Cazzati’s shrewd
composition evolved after 1600 in two slightly different directions: either 'modern' music came close to being theoretically dismissed altogether (as among some of the religious conservatives) or it was integrated as one of several varieties of practices and "types" within a unifying rubric of a "modern" style.

In part, the tension between styles was expressed in terms of the old distinctions between the ancients and the moderns. The 'ancients' followed the rules of counterpoint and thought in terms of a work's harmony, while the 'moderns' judged style in terms of 'air', manner and the quest for ever-intensified eloquence and beauty. For example, the historiography of style change found in the writings of Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634) was based on perceptions as to how composers and theorists over time had treated structure, mode and text expression. Initially, in the years around 1600, he interpreted "modern" to mean whoever and whatever represented the best in current music, whether theoretical or practical. He mentioned specifically Zacconi, Artusi and "other modern authors" and advocated using the compositions of Marenzio, Gabrieli and Palestrina as models. He went on to articulate a historical chronology in greater detail. In the "Narrativo dell' Autore" of the Cartella musicale, he postulated six 'schools', all of which 'delighted in their [own] time'. They somewhat resembled the divisions of antichi, vecchi and moderni drawn up by Zacconi. They distinguished between a more remote phase, which saw the evolution of judicious rules, and a more recent one characterized by improved attention to verbal expression and beauty. The ancient Greeks, Guido d'Arezzo, Jean de Muris, and Josquin, who composed "under diverse proportions

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response to his critics pulled the issues in a different direction.

11 Adriano Banchieri, "Discorso sopra moderna pratica musicale", Cartella musicale nel canto figurato sermo, & contrapunto (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614), 165-166.
12 Ibid, 166. In the Cartella musicale (p.169 et seq.)Banchieri gave effective simulations of actual composition lessons. In a series of exercises he took one melodic part from a work by a well-known composer, added a new part to it, and explained with detailed annotations what he did and why.
and varied tempri" comprised the older four schools. More recently Cipriano, "perceiving many
difficulties, reduced song to sweet harmony", and Marenzio "invented new beauties to support the
words under the notes well", while each retained the most important teachings of their antecedents.

Now in modern times we have a new school, making use of all six schools; they have
introduced a graceful manner, and particularly in the churches, that the psalms,
masses and concerti clearly deliver delight and, as well, devotion together,
understanding what is sung without so many fugal obscurities. Next what shall we
say of vernacular words? that with musical notes are imitated the affects proper to
them, sorrow, harshness, deception, questions, accents, happiness, laughter, song;
and in a word speech is imitated naturally with new connections, so the whole strung
together yields a perfect model of sweetest melody, sung with seriousness in a
manner that one judges to recite the perfect sense of the entire speech...some say
that now music is brought to its greatest perfection; however, one sees from day to
day it is being brought further to greater ease and beauty, under new and graceful
inventions.\textsuperscript{16}

Banchieri wrote as a professional musician grounded in the traditional learning, but with
great interest in recent events. Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1637), on the other hand, wrote as an
aristocratic Roman amateur who perceived shifts in fashion, giving special attention to a change in
compositional manner which he dated to about 1575. He alluded to differences and changes in more
recent music, characterized not in terms of the approach to \textit{harmonia} or to contrapuntal standards,
but in terms of \textit{style}—the development of a new ease and suppleness of melody. In his youth,
compositions in favour were polyphonic madrigals by composers associated with \textit{seconda pratica}

\textsuperscript{13} Banchieri, \textit{Cartella musicale}, sig.A3v-4.
\textsuperscript{14} Zacconi, \textit{Prattica di musica}, 1, 7-8.
\textsuperscript{15} Banchieri, \textit{Cartella musicale}, sig.A3v-4.
haviammo naua scula, che servendosi di tutta sei le scule hanno introdotto un gratioso modo, & in particolare
nelle Chiese, che gli Salmi, Messe, & Concerti, distintamente senza tanti offuscamenti fugati, diletto, & intendendo
quel che si canta pongono devotione assieme: presso che dieremo delle parole volgati? che con le note musicale
vengono imitati gli di loro proprij affetti, di dolore, asprezza, falsità, interrogativa, scentì, allegrezza, riso, canto, &
in un sol parola imitata l'orazione al naturale con nuove legature, che il tutto con catenato assieme rendono un
perfetto modello di dolcissima melodia, cantandosi con gravità in modo, che s'intende recitare il perfetto senso di
tutta l' Oratione... alcuni dicono che la Musica hora sia ridotta in somma perfezione, vedesi però che di giorno in
girono vassi maggiormente riducendo a maggior facilità, & vaghezza, sotto nuove, & gratiose inventioni."
harmony—Arcadelt, Lassus, Rore and so forth.

In a short passage of time the taste of music changed and there appeared the compositions of Luca Marenzio and Ruggiero Giovannelli, with the inventions of new delight...the excellence of which consisted in a new air, pleasing to the ears, with some easy fugues and without extraordinary artifice.

At the same time Pellestrina [sic], Soriano, Giovanni Maria Nanino composed works suitable to be sung with ease in church, of good and solid counterpoint with good melody and decent ornamentation; so excellent that even today their compositions are preferred to those of the moderns, all of whom obtained from them [the older composers] the discipline which they have attempted to vary more with pretty ornamentation than with basic and fundamental devices.  

Then around '1575, or shortly thereafter', a 'very different' style of singing emerged for "works to be sung by several voices in the manner of a single one accompanied by some instruments" and the practice of concerted madrigals at Mantua and Ferrara and the madrigals of Gesualdo.  

Then appeared Caccini with 'exquisite style and passage-work, and with extraordinary feeling', and soon the 'florid style and the new sentimental style' had become popular. He noted the arrival of monody and the reciting style with interest, but suggested recitative was not universally accepted, saying that it was "so rough and without variety of consonances and ornaments" that members of salon audiences sometimes left the room out of boredom.  

He went on to relate that in the years around 1620, composers "soften and simplify" the manner of composing. He 'heard' this quality *melodically*, as it were, in terms of the use of the general quality being easy and flowing and the embellishment of the structure, rather than *harmonically*, in terms of the solidity of the counterpoint.

Today in compositions to be sung in church not so much value is given as formerly to the solidity and artistry of the counterpoint as to the great variety and diversity of the embellishments, and to the use of several choirs at solemn feasts with the

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18 Giustiniani, "Discorso", 69.
accompaniment of orchestras of various instruments; even the recitative style is
introduced. This music demands great practical knowledge and liveliness of invention
and effort to write rather than great maturity and knowledge of refined
counterpoint. 20

He concluded:

Music is reduced to an unusual and almost new perfection, being practiced by a
great number of good musicians who... bring the greatest pleasure to whomever
hears them by their artistic and sweet song. For having left the old style, which
was somewhat unpolished, and also the excessive passage-work with which they
embellished it, they now devote their attention for the most part to a recitative
style, gracefully embellished with ornaments appropriate to the thought; and
from time to time they execute passages with judgment and distinctness and
with appropriate and varied consonances to mark the end of each period...
Above all, they make the words clear, using one note for each syllable; now
piano, now forte, now slow, now fast—by the expression of their faces and by
their gestures giving meaning to what they are singing, but with moderation and
not in excess. 21

Senso and ragione

Another serious question, though one closely related to the ancient-modern issue,
continued in the late sixteenth century regarding the manner in which music was critically
received and justified. On the one hand, in the traditional view, the criteria for judgment of the
quality of a composition were fundamentally constant, as the laws of counterpoint were claimed
to be based on harmonic and mathematical science and unchanging natural law. On the other
hand, it was increasingly asserted in some quarters that in the course of a musical work certain
practices, though technically suspect, might be justified by affective, aesthetic or sensuous
criteria. Not only the intellect or 'rational' decisions but sense perception or discretionary
choices participated in the genesis of musical works. Intellect governed fundamental structure
and procedure, but input from the senses contributed to the delectation of particular details.

20 Giustiniani, "Discorso", 77.
Did one claim have primacy over the other? How did exceptions to the rules made on the basis of sensus affect the integrity of the genre of composition?

Around 1600 a “combination of erudition and sheer musical delight” caught the imagination of composers, as James Chater has noted. But this combination also possessed a strong admixture of intellectual tension brought about by the competing claims of the erudition of reason and the delight of sense. In an outstanding article, Michael Fend has pointed out that in the course of the sixteenth century, beginning with Ramos de Pareja and eventually expressed most radically in the later writings of Vincenzo Galilei, the absolute value ascribed to musica theorica, particularly interval and tuning theory, weakened somewhat. This was expressed in both moderate and radical ways. In the Istitutioni armoniche of 1558, Zarlino understood that in practice composition was more than a question of combinations of sonorous numbers, although he adhered firmly to the concept that musical number was founded in natural order. His perspective was shared by his successors of the next generation, Artusi for instance, although they usually understood that “reason” was the criterion of last resort in matters of judgment. But some of the more obvious loosening of the ties to musica theorica was expressed through an increased interest in Aristoxenian tuning theory. This allowed for the consensus of performing musicians in practical situations, even if the tuning system thus derived


25 Zarlino, Le Istitutioni harmonica, Part 1, presents traditional classifications of music and theory of musical mathematics.
was not mathematically 'perfect.' Even Giovanni Maria Artusi's embrace of it indicated his hope to close the widening gap between theories of tuning and compositional style. But while Artusi, a worthy successor to Zarlino, believed that musical judgments could not be made solely on mathematical grounds, he nonetheless still considered music to be based on the application of mathematical proportion to intervallic relationships. Irregular progressions (that is, polyphonic passages claimed to be 'incorrect' because they exceeded the bounds of justifiable lapses from regular treatment, but nonetheless deemed passable because of their appeal to the senses) thus constituted a deception of the sense which the intellect could not tolerate. This, of course, was the belief at the heart of his criticism of certain of Monteverdi's madrigals.

In actual fact, however, a more radical willingness to trust the judgment of the senses in practical musical situations grew steadily after 1550. Galilei, for one, distinctly urged the musician to trust his or her own judgment, rather than rules. Pontio argued similarly, though less aggressively, basing his assertion on the greater role he afforded the senses in refinements of style and, ultimately, the greater role he afforded the composer. He explained in the Dialogo that a composer used intellectual science to fashion an appropriate musical soggetto and ponder its potential with respect to intervallic relationships, mode, implications for structure, and generic identity. Yet that which guided him to choose one solution over another—those very things which created individual distinctions between one work and another—were based not solely on considerations of mathematical proportion and rule, but also on personal judgment and taste. Ragione dealt with musical number in the abstract, but senso governed practice. Practice was in fact the more important and praiseworthy discipline, because it was the more difficult to master and required greater natural talent, critical

26 Fend, "Changing Functions", 208.
judgment and imagination. The composer was thus claimed to have a more total right to make final judgments concerning propriety in the techniques of composition. This attitude may have indicated an increased willingness—and need—to justify personal choices in a growing print culture, where the composer's works were distributed more widely, and compositions might be more subject to scrutiny by a buying public.

Allowing for the relative claims of ratio and sensus, a basic conceptual difficulty remained. There were two diverging sets of attitudes on the subject, held by those who founded music on the science of number and those who founded it on affective expression of text. With respect to finding the most apparently systematic schemata of compositional style, the conservative musicians dominated. Given that they held that musical science was founded on unalterable rules, alternative practices could seldom if ever be justified in terms of their own inherent contrapuntal logic. With a few important exceptions, such irregularities would always exist beyond rationalization and beyond the pale. Thus, depending on the context in which they were interpreted as a work was studied, they would either be difficult to categorize, considered simply unacceptable, or left out of consideration altogether.

Responsive practicing musicians, who had professional pride in their work and who wished their work to be both properly crafted and fashionable, themselves found the conflicting views of the theorists and amateurs a little bewildering. Their dilemma was illustrated in a charming preface to La Cinga, a book of madrigals (1609) by Marsilio Casentini (1576-1651). It conveyed the interest of a

28 Galilei, Kontrapunktstrukturen (ed. Rempp), 152.
29 Pontio, Diasko, 70.
30 In “Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music” (Musical Humanism and Its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1992), 171-194) Tim Carter argued that the emergent ‘print culture’ for music in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries both encouraged and facilitated subjection of the work of individual composers to public scrutiny. Carter opined that the polemic may even have been encouraged by
practical composer in contemporary developments together with a certain hesitation over the rival
tendencies of various authorities. While Casentini wished to heed the call of traditional practice,
authority and the 'ancient rules', he also observed

> with how much applause the licenses of the modern way of composing have been
embraced by some (not to say by the larger part), because of that delight that it
appears they draw from this manner (the end of music, when well considered,
having no other effect than to delight)... 31

Alternately attracted and deterred by both sets of claims, he resolved to follow a middle course, "not
obligating myself precisely to the severity of the one, or the liberty of the other" and thereby doing
injury to neither. 32

Looking back in 1615 on the then-recent Artusi-Monteverdi controversy, the Pavese lawyer
and organist Giovanni Battista Magone betrayed the general ambivalence about the subject in this
period. In Ghirlanda musicale (1615), 33 Magone committed his reflections to a chapter entitled,
significantly, "Rhetoric,...in which it is seen how persuasion, the final part of rhetoric, may also be
made manifest in the art of music." Considering Artusi's position, he found it to be based upon solid
reasoning, 'philosophical ends, educated speculation, geometric and arithmetic considerations' and a
method with which he personally could not find fault. On the other hand, Monteverdi's
counterclaims had directed Magone's attention to the relationship between alternative musical
practices and the practices of oratory. Just as the end of speechmaking was to 'persuade' the listener
through the skillful and affective use of language, so was the final purpose of musical rhetoric the

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31 Marsilio Casentini, La Cosa Madrigali a Cinque Voci di Marsilio Casentini Maestro di Capella di Gemona. Libro
Quarto...(Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1609), prefatory letter to his 'benign Singers'. "...con quanto applauso siano
state da alcuni (per non dir dalla maggior parte) abbracciate le licenze del moderno comporre, per il diletto che pare
che da questa maniera essi causino (non essendo, quando ben si considera il fine della Musica, altro in effetto che il
dilettare)..." 32

32 Ibid., 57.
33 Giovanni Battista Magone, Ghirlanda musicale (Pavia: Giovanni Negri, 1615).
same—to ‘persuade’ the listener by instilling distinct affective responses.\(^{34}\) Although the speechmaker moved and delighted the audience with incidental and ornamental rhetorical flourishes, he needed to create the speech with an appropriate structure. Analogously, while “the delight of the hearing [was] the principal end of music”, Magone noted that

> in musical matters judgment should be applied not totally to the sense, but part should be attributed to sense and part to the intellect, and consequently the hearing should not be considered as principal object, but reason should prevail over it.\(^{35}\)

Upon consideration, however, he decided that Monteverdi’s compositional licenses were acceptable and appropriate, because

> Mr. Claudio said in his letter that modern or new music did not have the intention of making a new rule, but only a new invention of delighting...there are some asperities in his compositions, however not in all, save those sung by skilled and intelligent singers in like profession, which with their disposition and gracefulness dispose the listeners to remain attentive with their song.\(^{36}\)

Furthermore, Monteverdi was as accomplished in a strictly observant style as in the modern manner. Magone praised Monteverdi not only as the author of ‘beautiful’ and ‘learned’ madrigals, but also cited him as a master of the old and ancient style (stil vecchio et antico), citing the Missa In illo tempore and the great Vespers publication of 1610 as evidence.\(^{37}\) The writer concluded that Artusi’s and Monteverdi’s respective points of view were not incompatible, and he enjoined them to friendship.

> But this fence-straddling attitude epitomized a general attitude for the next generation.

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\(^{34}\) Magone, Ghirlanda, 23.

\(^{35}\) *Ibid.*, “Poiché nelle cose musicali il giudizio non totalmente si deve applicare al senso, ma parte al senso e parte all’intelletto si deve attribuire, e conseguentemente non l’udito deve attendersi per principale oggetto, ma si bene la ragione qual ad esso deve prevalere.”

\(^{36}\) *Ibid.*, 27. “...Sig. Claudio nel scrivere la lettera sua con dire moderna, à Musica nuova, non habbi havuto intenzione di dar nuova regola, ma solamente nuova inuenuzione di dilettare, & ancor che vi sijno alcune durezze nelle sue composizioni ...”

"The sense of hearing delights in it": Adriano Banchieri and Moderna prattica musicale

Adriano Banchieri's large and various production encompassed not only musical compositions but a wide variety of literary and theoretical works. In their totality, they testify to his intelligent mind, great imagination and curiosity, lively and sometimes raw humour, and an engaging streak of eccentricity. Examining the state of Banchieri's knowledge at a specific time gives the historian important information about which crosscurrents of innovation and controversy were affecting an intelligent musician who was current, though not avant-garde. They seem to represent more of what the picture for a thoughtful musician of ca. 1600-1630 was actually like than perhaps the writings of Monteverdi, who spent much of his professional life in an exceptionally sophisticated environment beyond the experience of many musicians. Throughout his professional life, Banchieri addressed questions of the distinction of ancient and modern, the relative functions and merit of strict and free counterpoint, and the significance of the 'modern' manner.

Moderna prattica had as its special distinction a new and more beautiful naturalness, rhetorical refinement and perfect rendering of the qualities of speech. This meant an advance in the progress of music, since its proper end was to offer delight by "[imitating] a perfect orator who wants to express that oration learnedly and well"—a pleasure conceived both in terms of the will of the composer and in consideration of the singers and audience as well. Such delight was characteristically rhetorical, in that the musician executant was perceived as delivering speech in music (recitar cantando), as it were,

38 See Andreas Wernli's valuable Studien zum literarischen und musikalischen Werk Adriano Banchieri (Bern and Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1981), 129; 137-53. Wernli's monograph coherently presents Banchieri's unusual and somewhat disorganized canon in its full range.

39 Adriano Banchieri, "Discorso sopra moderna prattica musicale", Cartella musicale nel canto figurato (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614; rep. Bologna: Forni, 1968), 165-166. "Hora mò il moderno compositore, per porgere diletto alla maggior parte (essendo il suo proprio fine) meglio considerando, cerca imitare vn perfetto Oratore che spiegha volgir dotta & bene istessa oratione... Così ricercarsi al moderno compositore di Musiche nell' esprimere vn Madrigale Motetto o quali sieno altre parole, deve operare imitando con l' armonia gli' affetti dell' Oratone, accio che nel cantiure habbino diletto non solo il proprio compositore, mà paritente gli Cantori & audienti..."
where affective qualities were projected "with musical notes natural to them". Like Magone and other writers of this period, he conveyed a connection between music, rhetoric and persuasion. Delivery of the text, however, was still the province of the performer, and in retrospect this was where the understanding of "orator" and "oration" became equivocal. There existed a disjunction in the classical concept of speechmaking between the acts of setting out the structure and parts of an oration, and the use of applied techniques of delivery, persuasion and ornament to increase its moment by moment effect in actual practice. And singers influenced by rhetorical thinking described song and the singer as imitating someone speaking. Those applied techniques of musical delivery—which might well be improvised, and done for emphasis or pleasure—entailed contrapuntal inobservance. Exactly how this was understood to happen in particular vocal compositions is unclear, although it was probably interpreted as a rhetorical gesture analogous to a spoken accent, emphasis or flourish. These events, however, do not seem to be at all systematically conceived, and many of them seem to happen accidentally (or perhaps rather without conscious deliberation) in the sample lessons in composition provided in Cartella musicale.41

Banchieri puzzled out the relationship of strict and inobservant counterpoint for some time. Initially, his writings reflected some of the more current thinking on the subject around 1600; his considerations were interesting and useful, although not overly subtle. Shortly after the publication of L'Artusi, Banchieri congratulated the author, a fellow Bolognese and one of "the most excellent musicians of our time", 42 for defending music against "certain destroyers of the good rules

40 'Analogous' does not imply identification or suggestion of a semiotic relationship between the musical ornament and the semantic content of the word it embellishes.
41 That is, beginning on page 170, following "Discorso sopra la moderna pratica musicale".
Banchieri’s position indicated a fundamental adherence to the post-Zarlino/Artusi position but made an allowance for the admission of practical exigencies, such as the need to improvise in liturgical situations.

During the first decade of the century, Banchieri’s view of contrapuntal licenses became more sophisticated. He began to discuss moderna pratica in terms of contrapunto commune, an early attempt to describe some technical inobservances associated with manuals of instrumental or vocal improvisation. Banchieri’s formulation evidently relied upon a roughly contemporaneous discussion of the subject in the second part of Girolamo Diruta’s U’Transilvano (1609). Contrapunto commune referred to unusual voice-leading or dissonance treatment, normally considered unorthodox in theory but acceptable in practice. In effect, it was a version of an improvised or quasi-improvised event written down at the discretion of the composer for the sake of the satisfaction or pleasure it gave the ear. The chief difference between osservato and commune counterpoint was that in the latter only the most fundamental laws of intervallic motion were faithfully observed: perfect parallel movement was forbidden, and contrary motion had to be interpolated between perfect intervals. For everything else, wrote Diruta, composers “do as they please.”

Diruta made it clear that contrapunto commune was an art of exigency for use in practical

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4 Diruta, Seconda parte del Transilvano, 3.
situations and was not based on a theoretical construction. Banchieri confirmed that “of that species of contrapunto misto (or, as we might say, commune), I do not really believe that anyone can write about it, since (in my judgment) it has no other rationale than that the sense of hearing delights in it.” That is, it could not be discussed ‘rationally’. But Banchieri moved beyond Diruta’s commentary on instrumental performance, in that he made a specific connection between inobservance and the “more perfect art” of writing for voices. Banchieri considered that inobservant counterpoint served to facilitate fluent part-writing, helping to produce that general air of artless grace noted by masters of singing such as Caccini and associated loosely with the modern manner. On the other hand, the examples in *Modern pratica musicale* did not indicate uniformly the new and consciously focussed use of primary dissonance founded on text expression that Monteverdi used; that is, it is not clear that they are what might be described specifically as seconda pratica events. They include irregular passing dissonances, “fleeing the cadence” and ornamental passaggi. They are contrapunto commune because they are irregular, but as to text association they are vague. Banchieri’s own composition lessons in *Modern pratica musicale* sometimes label ‘licenses’, ‘modern observance’ and other irregularities as ‘for the sake of the text’, but it is not always clear how they actually work in this way.

Banchieri’s examples here are interesting in part because they were presented in the context of actual compositions. They may, however, have reflected similar (and diffuse) views held by other musicians of his time. As a case in point, Camillo Angleria’s *Regole del contrapunto e della musical composition* (1622) showed some of the same practical attitudes toward liberalized counterpoint,

47 Banchieri, *Discorso sopra la moderna pratica musicale*, 165. “Ma di tal specie di Contrapunto misto (o dir vogliamo comune) non gia credo sia per scriuersene da nisuno, non hauendoui (a mio giudizio) altre ragioni, solo che il senso dell’udito se ne consiace.”
48 See Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 170 *et seq.*
49 Camillo Angleria, *Regole del contrapunto e della musical composition* (Milano: Giorgio Rolla, 1622). Angleria (b?
although it did not project the same open acceptance of inobservance found in Banchieri’s writings. Working in the conservative Milanese ambience, Anglezia laid out his treatise with the traditional subject matter in a conventional but succinct presentation and supplied a wealth of annotated examples. Though his book was traditionally oriented, Anglezia nonetheless felt that practical considerations rendered some inobservant passages acceptable without further justification. Several of these were annotated ‘license’, ‘license by authority (i.e. use),’ ‘good, but it is a license and not according to rule,’ and so forth. These were discrete progressions, not associated with any setting of text. Given the resonances with instrumental practice his book suggests, they should most likely be rationalized as part of the contrapunto commune idea, although the term itself was by then virtually out of use.

The frequent occurrence of contrapunto commune events indicated a loosening of standards, which in itself does not seem to have disturbed the practical Banchieri unduly. He praised passages which constituted errors in counterpoint if they heightened text expression, citing Monteverdi in particular as a great inosservatore.50 But he seems to have felt that a true judge could sense a real abuse, and that either ignorance or boldness characterized the destruttori delle buone regole. For all his enthusiasm and friendly bias toward modern practices, he could not consistently argue for them from a base of fundamental principles. His roots were too firmly grounded in traditional theory for him to be able to find and articulate some system at work behind the appearances of deviant counterpoint, and thus he continued to insist on the primacy of traditional rules as the ultimate governors of composition. He certainly believed that for a young musician to acquire the true craft of

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50 Banchieri, Conclusioni, 60.
composition, he had to learn the observant style in the traditional manner. While he believed there might be new ways of delighting the listener, he did not advocate a new standard as such.

Should not excellent musicians also be accurate observers of the rules of the first most erudite and most commonly acknowledged masters? Above all, then, I should admire the excellence of them who to the observance of the good rules join the perfection of delightful sweetness, which in my opinion should be regarded in relation to the good observant rules as incidentals to the substance.

In discussing the modern compositional school he also brought up distinctions of compositional genre. He tended to group church musics in terms of affective style and purpose. Apart from the proscription of excessive contrapuntal artifice, he made general observations on genre and did not provide the extensive prescriptions of Pontio. In ecclesiastical music of whatever sort, text was articulated through a certain clarified polyphony. But “modernity” here was associated with the use of *basso continuo*, this is the chief stylistic distinction between the older polyphonic style and its *gracioso*, and the newer concerted manner:

Masses, psalms, [sacred] songs, motets and concerti to be performed with the organ should be in style affective, devout, beautiful and reciting, imitating the speech and using seriousness in performance. It should be observed that the guide of fugue should not extend longer than eight or ten beats, more or less. Likewise double, retrograde, interwoven and crushed [*squarciate*, broken] fugues, considering that at the same time it is heard as the greatest extravagance...

Concerning concerti with organ,...have one, two and three voices sing, with the reciting and consonant style, in a manner that over the *basso continuo* the words are heard distinctly, truly to the common satisfaction of organist, singers and the listeners. That such a style is pleasing we perceive in modern composers...

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51 Banchieri, *Cartella*, 166.
52 Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 107. “...non devono altresì gli eccellenti Musici essere accurati osservatori delle Regole de’ loro primi più dotti e più comunemente accettati Maestri? ... sopra il tutto poi ammirare l’ eccellenza di quelli, che all’ osservanza delle buone Regole aggiungessero la perfezione della dolcezza dilettuole, quale à mio pare deue reputarsi in comparazione delle buone regole osservate, come accidenti rispetto alla sostanza.”
53 Banchieri, “Settima conclusione dilucidata,” *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo*. “Le Messe, Salmi, Cantici, Motetti, & Concerti per concertare con l’ Organo, debbono essere in istile, affettuoso, devoto, vago, & recitativo, imitando le parole, & vsando grazia nel concertare: Auertendo, che le Guide ouero fughe, di otto, dieci, più o meno pause in tali composizioni nulla riescono; Similmente fughe doppie ricevere intersecciate, & squarciate, atteso, che nell’istesso tempo si sente grandissima stravaganza; ...Ne gli concerti Organici...in far cantare vna voce sola, due, & tre, con
Unlike Pontio, who set out fairly detailed prescriptions for various kinds of church music, Banchieri grouped the church genres in terms of a more general affective style and purpose, noting that attention should be made to the speech and virtually proscribing contrapuntal artifice. He added that regardless of whether the music constituted a motet or a madrigal, the composer was to create a harmony appropriate to the speech. Such would please not only the composer personally, but also singers and the audience.  

The Monteverdi prefaces and changing conceptions of genre

Claudio Monteverdi’s name has been continuously linked to the critical debate on stylistics and the place of contrapuntal license in compositional practice in the early seventeenth century. Apart from his incomparable musical oeuvre itself, his principal contributions to the ongoing consideration of issues were his much-discussed madrigal book prefaces: those to the Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1605), the Dicembratone or gloss upon that preface by his brother Giulio Cesare, published in the Scherzi musicali a tre voci (1607), and the Letter to the Reader in Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi... libro ottavo (1638). These writings derived from different points...
in the composer's creative life; a gap of over thirty years separated the publication of the first two from the third.

The specific question examined here is how Monteverdi's reflections expressed in print contributed to the changes in understandings of compositional genre in this period. His writings dealt with two separate but related topics. The first was the influential formulation of the *prima* and *secon da prattica*, made in an attempt to address the issue of contrapuntal licenses in contemporary composition; the later one was his attempt to devise a schematic of styles for *secon da prattica* genres based on ideas derived from ancient Greek musical writings. As Tim Carter has noted, the issues ultimately went beyond even "simple [sic!] matters of genre to profound questions concerning the status of musical expression as the Baroque period came into its own.'56

*Prima et secon da prattica.* The controversy which arose between Claudio Monteverdi and the distinguished Bolognese music theorist Giovanni Maria Artusi (1546-1613) continued the debate about issues already explored elsewhere in this chapter—the competing claims of ancient *versus* modern, *senso* and *ragione*—but it focussed particularly on the implications for composition of the use of license in the treatment of counterpoint. The polemic had an ideological dimension—on the one hand, scholastic theory sanctioned by authority, but already inadequate to deal with the range of practice and increasingly obsolescent; on the other hand, new practices, genres, crossings and mixings of style which conceptually had not yet found a clear voice and rationale. Artusi and Monteverdi were representative of these two different tendencies.

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Artusi, like Banchieri, was a Bolognese monastic and theorist whose musical education and environment would have reinforced his attachment to traditional learning and standards; while Monteverdi was a true representative of the practical avant-garde, who had been working at the most elegant and sophisticated of Italian courts for well over a decade when the polemic began. Tim Carter has opined that Monteverdi’s positing of a first and second practice constituted “a striking resolution of the dialectical confrontations that had dominated sixteenth-century theory.” Whether it was an actual resolution of these tensions, or mainly served to throw them into bolder relief, there is no doubt that the formulation was a pivotal moment in baroque music theory, and it quickly became a rallying cry for modernists.

Claude Palisca has treated the complicated history and issues of the polemical exchange with clarity and insight. Because the various exchanges, which went on intermittently over a period of several years, have been described in detail in Palisca’s article and elsewhere, a simple statement of the principal issues will suffice here. The controversy ostensibly revolved around certain ‘irregular’ contrapuntal techniques applied within selected madrigals of the initially-unnamed Monteverdi, which were brought to public attention in Artusi’s L’Artusi, ovvero delle

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58 Claude V. Palisca, “The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy”, *The New Monteverdi Companion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), 127-158. This printing is a slightly revised version of the same article originally published in the earlier edition of the *Monteverdi Companion* from 1967. Its principal change involved Palisca’s response to a review of the first edition by Stuart Reiner, who addressed Palisca’s speculations on the identity of the writer who signed himself *L’Ottuso Academico*. Significant later articles on the subject have glossed Palisca’s, notably Tim Carter’s “Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music” and Charles Brauner’s “The Seconda Pratica, or the Imperfections of the Composer’s Voice”, which is also in *Musical Humanism and Its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning (Festschrift Series no. 11. Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), 195-212. Paolo Fabbi in *Monteverdi* has also done much to clarify the tangled history and phases of the debate (pp.34-52), quoting liberally from the primary sources.
imperfettioni della musica moderna [The Artusi, or the imperfections of modern music].\textsuperscript{59} The effectiveness of these progressions was meant to be expressive and auditory, although some of their rationale was lost when Artusi did not print their underlying words. Palisca pointed out that these passages could be generally classed as the application of ornaments to a consonant framework, the use of contrapunto commune (as Banchieri and Diruta would have called it) and similar practices derived from improvisation within works in a ‘serious’ style, and the use of dissonances motivated and rationalized by the expressive demands of a text.\textsuperscript{60}

The ‘Monteverdian’ voice in L’Artusi\textsuperscript{61} explained that such new effects as were found in the cited examples were necessary, even if ancient traditions were being left behind, in order to discover a new concerto and new affections without departing from ‘good reason’. Monteverdi strove for a new harmonia, so when expressing new and violent passions the modulazioni\textsuperscript{62} that made up harmonia\textsuperscript{63} had to be new to produce a new melodia, that is, the synthesis of the musical, textual and expressive content of a composition.\textsuperscript{64} Artusi countered with the response that Monteverdi’s melodia was no melodia at all, because it violated the standards of good modulazioni and harmonia propria. As Palisca indicated, part of the difficulty among the parties to the debate derived from how terminology was used: Artusi remained close to Zarlinian language and meaning, while his opponents tended to use those terms in a looser way consistent with current

\textsuperscript{60} Palisca, “Artusi-Monteverdi”, 129.
\textsuperscript{61} L’Artusi was cast as a dialogue-debate among several parties, one of whom acted a mouthpiece for the views on modern practice ostensibly held by some composers.
\textsuperscript{62} That is, the movement of two or more parts meeting in consonances through measured rhythm.
\textsuperscript{63} The product of modulazioni, harmonia (according to Zarlinio, as cited in Palisca, “Artusi-Monteverdi”, 141) can be of several kinds: propria, a mixture of two or more moving lines of low and high sounds that strikes the ear smoothly; non propria, a mixture of low and high sounds without any change of pitch; perfetta and imperfetta, where the outer parts are or are not, respectively, mediated by inner parts. Monteverdi’s part-writing was not harmonia propria because it did not strike Artusi’s ear smoothly, and his modulazioni was sometimes faulty.
\textsuperscript{64} Palisca, “Artusi-Monteverdi”, 141.
musical jargon. In seeking to resolve the issues Artusi insisted that the rules of counterpoint be observed, because they were based on nature, demonstration and the models of excellent composers. He insisted on a justification of Monteverdi’s contrapuntal ‘lapses’ on Artusi’s own terms—consonance theory and mathematics (that is, ‘nature’), which by definition was logically not possible—and called for the sanction of authority, that is, a pedigree of composers who followed similar practices. Paolo Fabbri has also pointed out the importance of Artusi’s focus on traditional and modern music as “natural” and “against nature” respectively. Artusi wrote:

In so far as it introduced new rules, new modes, and new turns of phrase, these were harsh and little pleasing to the ear, nor could they be otherwise; for so long as they violate the good rules—in part founded upon experience, the mother of all things, in part observed in nature, and in part proved by demonstration—we must believe them deformations of the nature and propriety of true harmony, far removed from the object of nature, which is...dilectation.

Modern composers were too willing to “take too much refuge in the deficiencies of the senses.”

That which sounds good to the ear corrupts the sense, meaning simply that the ear is so taken up with the other parts that it does not fully perceive the offence committed against it (as it would if the composition were for two, three, or four voices), while reason, which knows and distinguishes the good from the bad, perceives right well that a deception is wrought on the sense, which receives the material only in a certain confused way, even though it borders on truth.

Monteverdi responded to Artusi in his Dichiarazione (“Explanation”). He not only cited a

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66 Ibid., 155.
68 Suzanne Cusick’s feminist deconstruction of some of the gender implications of the terminology used by the parties to this debate and the Monteverdi brothers’ “rhetorical effort to legitimate modern music as an alternative patriarchy” might be read with profit here, although in my view her article is not directly germane to the present discussion. (See Suzanne G. Cusick, “Gendering Modern Music: Thoughts on the Monteverdi-Artusi Controversy”, Journal of the American Musicological Society 46 (1993): 1-25; see also the response of Charles S. Brauner, (“Communications”, IAMS 47 (1994): 550-554) and Cusick’s reply to Brauner (Ibid., 554-563.).
list of authorities but connected them with a context, a seemingly inexorable historical process.\textsuperscript{71}

He argued that the second practice was the product not only of a legitimate historical development—the growth and progress made in music by a series of illustrious personalities, cited by name—but it brought the ideas advocated by the ancient Greeks to a greater perfection.\textsuperscript{72}

Monteverdi’s more radical justification for seconda pratica treatment, however, had to do with the assertion that the striving for affective expressiveness was a paramount quality which might at times even supersede the normal requirement to observe contrapuntal ‘correctness’. On some level, Monteverdi or his brother Giulio Cesare (the signed author of the 1607 gloss) was unwilling or unable to challenge the unified nature of Zarlinian theory conceptually. So they bypassed and undercut Artusi’s argument by appealing less to rules than to a notion of types. A ‘second practice’ did not challenge the validity of Zarlinian theory \textit{per se} but rather was to be understood as deriving from a partially different set of premises: seconda pratica compositions should be classed, and therefore judged, differently. Seconda pratica dealt with the particular mandate to represent a text by means of ‘affetti’ in the music. The representation was directly incumbent on “the diversity of the subject [in which account] the voice is sometimes strengthened, sometimes sweetened”. Seconda pratica was premised not on the destruction of rules; rather, it could be understood as a kind of generic consideration, when musical rhetorical detail representing the text (however rationalized in terms of harmony) became sufficiently important as to constitute a distinctive feature of the work in which it was applied. Monteverdi posited the distinction of practices in subsequently famous and often-quoted language:

\textsuperscript{71} Carter, “Poetics of Modern Music”, 187.
[Modern and older music] are indeed different from one another (in their manner of employing the consonances and dissonances...). And since this difference is unknown to the opponent, let everyone understand what the one is and what the other, in order that the truth of the matter may be more clear. Both are honored, revered, and commended by my brother. To the old he has given the name of First Practice from its being the first practical usage, and the modern music he has called Second Practice from its being the second practical usage.

By First Practice he understands the one that turns on the perfection of the harmony, that is, the one that considers the harmony not commanded, but commanding, and not the servant, but the mistress of the words... By Second Practice... he understands the one that turns on the perfection of the "melody," that is, the one that considers harmony commanded, not commanding and makes the words the mistress of the harmony. For such reasons, he has called it "second" and not "new," and he has called it "practice" and not "theory," because he understands its explanation to turn on the manner of employing the consonances and dissonances in actual composition... [Giulio Cesare Monteverdi continued] my brother has used the title "Second Practice," that is, second practical usage, because he wishes to make use of the considerations of that usage, that is, of melodic considerations and their explanations, employing only so many of them as concern his defense against his opponent.73

Fabbri noted that as the expressive style was vindicated, Artusi's arguments became vague, unsubtle, "losing their efficacy and restricting themselves solely to defending tradition".74 This is mainly accurate, although the argument regarding decorum was still a weighty one in 1600. Artusi used the issue of decorum against the modern manner, addressing not only counterpoint but behaviour: it was not the musical setting itself with its licenses which produced the vaunted effects, but the extra-vocal grimaces and contortions of the singers.75

Though apparently sufficiently noisy at the time (it was commented on not only by

74 Fabbri, Monteverdi, 46.
75 Artusi, L'Artusi, 41.
Banchieri, as Carter has pointed out,\textsuperscript{76} but further afield, by rhetoricians like Magone), the polemic blew over. Monteverdi even claimed in a letter to Giovanni Battista Doni that Artusi eventually began to like and admire him.\textsuperscript{77} Carter has also noted that the presses had a hand in boosting the profile of the affair, presumably to improve sales.\textsuperscript{78}

Reverting to the context of the present thesis, the notion of a \textit{prima et seconda prattica} had profound implications for genre theory. The most significant effect of the 1607 glosses in the context of the present discussion was that Monteverdi’s statement pushed the argument beyond debate over the propriety of particular harmonic and contrapuntal licenses \textit{per se} into a statement about stylistics, aesthetic and poetical qualities. By focussing on the specialness or otherness of licenses in a “strict” context, as it were, these gestures were elevated from the status of incidental rhetorical flourishes to intimate linkage with the \textit{poesis} of the composition itself and its conceptual \textit{modus operandi}. By proposing a \textit{prima} and \textit{seconda prattica}, Monteverdi proposed a stylistics in which affective treatment (rather than \textit{harmonia} exclusively, in the Zarlinian sense) could be associated with particular musical ‘kinds’. Counterpoint which was ‘irregular’ if conceived in classic sixteenth-century theoretical terms could become a signifying feature of certain genres which are particularly associated with representation of the affections. At the same time, the ‘strict’ style did not need to be confined to works created by masters of the past. If the \textit{prima prattica} were associated with a compositional method which became a signal feature of certain genres, then by virtue of that deliberate and conscious association of materials, style and genre the \textit{prima prattica} could be regarded as a part of contemporary,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{76} Carter, “Poetics of Modern Music”, 193.
\item \textsuperscript{77} Letter to Giovanni Battista Doni, 22 October 1633; repr. in de' Paoli, \textit{Claudio Monteverdi: Letters}, 319-324; translated in Denis Stevens, \textit{The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi}, 419.
\item \textsuperscript{78} Carter, “Poetics of Modern Music”, 193.
\end{itemize}
'modem' practice, as it were. This kind of reasoning eventually led to the schematics of composition explicitly proposed by Marco Scacchi.

If *seconda prattica* works were of a different type, how did one describe and rationalize those types? Apart from the rationale of their subjection to text expression, how genres subject to the *seconda prattica* criterion were understood to be formed in terms of structure and material was at first glance elusive. But there was clearly more to genre than a *seconda prattica* attitude to setting text in and of itself. The formulation reflected the turning away of certain larger formal procedures from a rationale based on consonance theory and mode-dominated structure toward a new aesthetic based on the episodic affective treatment of material. These structures might be made of sections, the impression of each of which was reinforced by contrapuntal treatment, characteristic rhythm, the presence or absence of instruments, the type of affective manner, and so forth; they coalesced as sections containing increasingly conventionalized and virtually encoded kinds of material, which taken together signalled a musical 'type'.

Because strict counterpoint was already associated by that time with 'decorum', the newer aesthetic reinforced indirectly, by corollary, the particular association of 'strictness' with some genres (primarily varieties of church music) and 'license' with others (madrigals, representational types and genres premissed on affective expression of text). From the traditionalist point of view, there was a reciprocal way of looking at this situation: the integrity of genres was increasingly a function of their contrapuntal observance, and if a work was not 'strict', it became something 'other'.

Tim Carter has stated the crux of the matter of genre in this period:

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79 That is, with its concomitant requirements of mode observance, melodic shaping, linear interrelationships, etc.
The link was forged less by resemblance—although that could still be an issue—than by conventions fostered by tradition or created by invention, establishing a code to be learned by and shared complicitly between producer and receiver. In contemporary terms, such notions of difference—and the emotional and other effects that such juxtapositions could produce—were intimately linked to the concettismo and meraviglia central to Marinist aesthetics. But they also had more far-reaching implications, for the increasingly autonomous sign also took on a life of its own, permitting an ever deeper exploration of its intrinsic nature and effects.

Such a generic reading of the prim-seconda practica formulation is supported by recent findings by Massimo Ossi. He has argued that there was demonstrably a much closer relationship than had hitherto been realized between the preface to the 1607 Dichiarazione and the works within the Scherzi musicali, to which the Dichiarazione served as a preface. Ossi demonstrated that the Scherzi were another instance of the absorption of performance practices into written-down compositional practices, but on a formal, more than a specifically rhetorical level. In using these module-like, highly conventionalized units as building blocks for more extended structures, Monteverdi was laying a foundation for the development of his later operatic and concertoato styles. The makeup of the units creating these balances are highly conventional, and encompassed formalities of rhythm, texture, language and other compositional aspects already well understood in Monteverdi’s day. Ossi suggested that “the Scherzi musicali may be seen as broadening the terms of the debate with Artusi beyond the confines of contrapuntal propriety and toward the new concepts of rhythm, form, genre, and expression” that were to become central to Monteverdi’s

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80 Carter, “Resemblance and Representation”, 131.
83 Ossi, “Claudio Monteverdi’s Ordine novo”, 301.
approach to text setting later in his career. Jeffrey Kurtzman has provided complementary insights drawn from a study of Monteverdi’s *concertato* style. In noting Monteverdi’s brilliant gift for the organization of a musical time span—“its structuring, its coherence and its sense of passage through the process of change”—he demonstrated that Monteverdi was concerned with large-scale structural organization based on symmetries and durational proportions, not the series of short aphoristic statements met with in madrigals.  

One of the striking qualities of Monteverdi’s creative genius was “his ability to create variety while maintaining underlying threads that unite the multiplicity of individual differences.” While the surface of his works offered constant variety, the underlying similarities provided a larger coherence.  

In many his technique was an epitome of the new manner of organization and a concept which already pointed, later in the century, to the sectional mixtures in large-scale church compositions eventually pointed out by late Baroque theorists such as Fux.

*The preface to ‘Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi’ (Book 8 of madrigals, 1638).*

Monteverdi himself attempted to form some coherent idea of genres governed by the *seconda prattica* by re-thinking material drawn from ancient texts on music and ethos. All his life he had been a practical rather than theoretical musician; but he apparently believed that he had to bow to the humanist and conceptual consideration of these subjects which had been pursued in academic circles. He must also have been compelled in this direction by the realization that there was no real scope for such a project within conventional contrapuntal theory.

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85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.
As is well known, Monteverdi indicated that he had written, or would write, a treatise to be called either Melodia or Seconda prattica, ovvero Perfezione della moderna musica. In this work he planned to treat "another way of considering [the consonances and dissonances]... different from the established way, which, with satisfaction to the reason and to the senses, defends the modern method of composing." Writing in 1633 to a correspondent, almost certainly the Florentine aristocrat and classical scholar Giovanni Battista Doni, he confirmed that he still intended to find what he called the "via naturale ad imitazione" and complete the treatise, although the original stimulus was long since past. Implying an origin for his ideas in Plato, "I am dividing the book into three parts corresponding to the three aspects of Melodia [or the second musical practice]. In the first I discuss word-setting, in the second, harmony, and in the third, the rhythmic part." The preface ostensibly justified the composer's invention of the concitato or agitated genus, examples of which appeared in the 1638 publication, notably in the Combattimento di Tancredi et Clorinda, initially presented in 1624. The genus was expressed as a particular treatment of rhythmic diminution associated with agitated emotion or actions.

Several divisions of musical types were described in this preface. The closest to traditional is the division into music for theatre, chamber and dance, partly conceived in terms of location of performance, partly according to the function of the music itself and the presence or absence of the use of gesture. But there is also a division into the genera of functional-affective types, guerriera (warlike), amorosa (amorous) and rappresentativo.

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87 As stated in the gloss to the 1607 preface.
88 Fabbri (in Monteverdi, trans. Carter, 224) reported that Matteo Cabeloti's funeral oration for the composer (Lamentazione della alta qualità di Claudio Monteverdi [1644]) mentioned that Monteverdi was still working on the treatise when he died. Given Doni's scholarly interest in ancient Greek music, and that before the 1630s Monteverdi's apparent knowledge of these sources was limited, it is likely that Doni introduced him to the classical texts and musical systems on which his own tripartite division of musical genera were apparently based.
(representative). (See Table 5, on page 93.) It is difficult to discover relationships and alignments among these types and states, let alone their *raison d'être*, unless Monteverdi's underlying ideas are studied carefully.

The genera proposed in the 1638 preface nominally emerged from a matrix that created compositional morphologies in terms of text and its psychological component. But Monteverdi seems to have sought a theoretical pedigree for his ideas, and it appears that he modelled it on ideas originating in antiquity. In her excellent study of this preface, Barbara Russano Hanning has emphasized that concentration on what Monteverdi understood to be the *concitato* genus has caused neglect of consideration of the other two genera, the *molle* (soft) and *temperato* (moderate), and their relationship to be neglected. These genera, taken together, had their origin in ancient Greek ideas regarding the imitation of the soul's affections. Hanning traced the origins of Monteverdi's tripartite system to at least three ancient authors and noted that their classifications of melodic ethos into diastaltic, systaltic and hesychastic types (excited, moderate, and painful passions, respectively) had parallels with Monteverdi's genera. She also noted that Monteverdi's 1638 preface bears some resemblance to ideas in Giovanni Battista Doni's study of melodoeia and classifications of melody. For that matter, in his late book *Supplementi musicali* (1588) Zarlino had also examined some of the ancient tripartite systems at length, repeating Cleonides's classifications of ethos into the three genera, but making a more

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89 Republic, book 3.
90 Letter 124 (22 October 1633), in Stevens, The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi, 421.
91 Barbara Russano Hanning, "Monteverdi's Three Genera: A Study in Terminology" (Musical Humanism and Its Legacy, op. cit., 145-170), 151. I am indebted to this exemplary article for most of the following discussion.
92 That is, Cleonides, Aristides Quintilianus, and Bryennius. See Hanning, "Monteverdi's Three Genera", 153.
93 Hanning, "Monteverdi's Three Genera", 153-156. Hanning noted also that Aristides's classifications are especially interesting because of his application of the ethical divisions of music to rhythmic composition.
Table 5: Claudio Monteverdi: from *Madrigali guerrieri ed amorosi* (1638), genera of music:

[according to the place of performance]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>da camera</th>
<th>da teatro</th>
<th>da ballo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>madrigals</td>
<td>(works in the representative genus)</td>
<td>(without gesture)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vague association between them and the high, middle and low of *melopoeia* than Monteverdi did in his preface. Together with his own classical readings, Zarlino’s writings enabled Monteverdi to shape some of the concepts and language which went into the 1638 preface.

While the *concitato* genus has received attention, the *molle* and *temperato* genera have to be considered in order to appreciate the integrity of Monteverdi’s system. Hanning suggested that Monteverdi may have identified the *temperato* genus, which was a neutral and moderate rather than an impassioned state, with *prima pratica* composition and its inherent restraint and
serenity, while the molle genus was suggestive of the more dissonant and expressive seconda prattica madrigal. It is not altogether obvious that this was Monteverdi's explicit intention, if Hanning was thinking in terms of discrete musical kinds, given both the preface and the internal makeup of the publication itself. For example, although what Scacchi called madrigali da tavolini were classed with prima prattica composition, this polyphonic manner had become closely identified with the church style, which is outside the consideration of the publication. However, as Ossi, Kurtzman and others have pointed out, Monteverdi's structural concept after the beginning of the seventeenth century encompassed sectionalization where variety and contrast were featured within a larger formal structure. If the genera were meant to be conceived not only as types, but as psychological states, they might well alternate as contrasted episodes throughout a work, signalled by changes of mood and the use of material. Hanning in fact alluded to this possibility herself: "Judging by the association in the treatises, both ancient and modern, between modulation and melodic genera, it is logical to assume that a variety of genera was permissible within one composition." 

Kurtzman has also perceived Monteverdi's association of the concitato genus with a particular rhythmic figure as his marking the identification of such figures as musical 'icons' or emblems. While in Monteverdi's 1607 preface the dissonance practices described therein were examples of ephemeral metaphors which offered a generalized resemblance to text passages being expressed, in the 1638 preface the resemblances (e.g. between the rapid rhythmic figure and the concitato genus) had become emblematic symbols embodying a certain significance. Once

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94 Hanning, "Monteverdi's Three Genera", 163.
95 Ibid., 169-170.
96 Ibid., 169.
97 Ibid., 170.
that emblem or icon was established as a convention, it could conceivably carry its significance in the absence of the words that ostensibly generated it in the first place. The Eighth Book preface sought to identify icons and classify them in categories, establishing new kinds of compositional and psychological possibilities for the embedding of such icons into sectioned but extended musical structures.98

Even in the first decade of the seventeenth century Monteverdi not only felt the effects of the division in contrapuntal standards (virtually every sensitive musician was aware of it), but was aware of its practical impact on his understandings and shapings of musical structure. His formulation of the issue was one of several which emerged in writings of the period, but it was his which was retained and continued to be echoed by other theorists because of the manner in which it could be read and manipulated. He himself tried to deal with some of its logical implications by drawing upon classical writings, as he did for the 1638 preface, but it could also be used from a conservative standpoint, to hold the relative claims of older and newer practices in a kind of working stasis.

Later humanist-amateurs: Giovanni Battista Doni (1595-1647), Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), and Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1637)

Ecclesiastical polyphony was mostly beyond the view of Giovanni Battista Doni, Florentine patrician, papal secretary and scholar of Greek musical sources. Among his correspondents on

musical matters was Monteverdi. Doni seems to have had only a very limited knowledge of the church polyphonic repertory; he apparently was not very interested in it and was critical of what he did hear. His primary expertise was in scholarship of ancient treatises and building musical instruments, an enthusiasm shared with Pietro della Valle. But in his discussions of theatrical music, Doni did take various kinds of secular vocal music into account. The rough schematic which can be constructed from his writings shows little resemblance to those found elsewhere in more traditional types of writing on music, although there were points in which it resonated with Monteverdi's 1638 text. Writers like Doni, however, who were largely divorced from the more conservative part of the music theoretical mainstream, were able to venture typologies for the reciting style precisely because their interest was not in the vagaries of counterpoint. Their interest was in techniques of declamation per se. That certain polyphonic passages, for example, may have been 'beyond the pale' of 'rational' practice was irrelevant to them, because polyphony itself was very secondary, and because their observations were not constrained by the need to adhere to received or acceptably intellectual theoretical topics.

"Discorso sopra la Perfezione delle Melodie, ò de' Concenti"99 distinguished between three types of secular vocal music. Monodie was music for a single voice, with or without accompaniment. Chorodie was music for several voices in which all participants preferably uttered the same words and syllables of text at the same time. The term madrigal implied neither monodie or chorodie, because it did not originate with the ancients, but apparently it was a broad term referring to a mainstream of polyphony which developed in a series of phases between about 1400 and 1600. In a curious reversal of the relegation of contrapuntal artifice to instrumental music in this period, Doni characterized the

99 In Giovanni Battista Doni, Io. Baptistae Doni Patricii Florentini Lyra Barberina Amphiboreus...ed. Antonio Francesco Gori (Florence: Imperial Printer, 1763).
development of ‘madrigal’ style by the gradual transfer of instrumental artifices such as fugue and imitation into vocal music. These genres appear to include both sacred vocal music for choirs and secular madrigals as generally conceived, *sonetti*, *canzoni* and *mascherate*.

Doni listed a number of no-longer-novel criticisms of the older madrigal style. In his view it lacked effectiveness because it mutilated poetry and declamation, obscured the sense, had too many repetitions of text and artifices of counterpoint, and confused rhythm by altering the quantities of syllables. These criticisms obviously resembled those applied to polyphony before Willaert. In *De praestantia musica veteris*, he had his interlocutor Philiponus say that Renaissance composers such as Mouton and others had “a marvelous facility in blending and distributing the consonances, which indeed delights the ears, but the delivery of the text (*elocutio*) is quite barbarous and babbling. As for moving the emotions, however, they never so much as dreamt of them.” On the other hand, he clearly preferred the newer monodic style, one of solo vocal music which stressed text declamation and was of a relatively elevated style. This concept of monody seemed to cross with some of his categories of recitative.

Recitative, of which there were three types, was described as “every melody sung by one voice alone”. *Narrativo* was suitable for long narrations and recited ‘much on the same notes’, for which Peri’s “Per quel vago boschetto” from *Euridice* and Monteverdi’s *Lettera amorosa* were representative examples. *Lo speciale recitativo* was apparently identified with *proprio recitativo* and was characteristically halfway between expressive and narrative in style. It was suited to one “who recites

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101 Doni, “Discorso”, 99. “...si perché preferendosi più cose unitamente, ‘l'attenzione dell' uditore ci distrae; e molto se ne perde; si anco perché tali Ridette, ò Ripetitioni hanno troppo del triviale, ò affettato; e finalmente perché le parole si storipiano; la buona pronuntia si corrompe; e tutta la quantità delle sillabe s' altera, e confonde notabilmente.”
102 Doni, *De praestantia musica veteris*, in *Lyra Barberina*, I, 35.
musically”. These two types were both performed without the use of gesture, but the *expressivo* or *rappresentativo* made a profession of expressing affects and used gesture (that is, presumably, motions of the head, eyes and hands to reinforce musical messages). In “Musica scenica”, this type was called *madrigalesca* and was characterized by the presence of a solo melody with instrumental accompaniment, the use of many notes and intervals and a spare use of diminutions. The *lamento* from Monteverdi’s *Arianna* (in its solo form, of course) was a much-admired example of this kind.

The Roman aristocrat Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) brought some of the more mainstream ideas about genre in the modern affective style together succinctly. In his ideas he was strongly influenced by his friend Doni, in whose *Lyrna Barberina* della Valle’s discourse was reproduced. Della Valle wrote in a style which was not scholarly, but rather was between the conversational and journalistic; he commented freely not only on kinds of music but on how various types were performed by his contemporaries. He too had little use either for contrapuntal artifices or for older polyphonic music of any kind. He is well-known for remarking that the *Missa Papae Marcelli* should be relegated to a museum, along with other “beautiful curiosities.” Counterpoint may have had for its end “artifices and the finest subtleties of this art”, but it could not, in his view, claim ‘expressiveness’. Poor effects were produced in music by too much artifice, when fugues confuse the

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103 This is to be distinguished from Doni’s use of the term *madrigal*. Most likely *madrigalesca* reverted to the solo madrigal, which had a solo and continuo monodic texture but otherwise used many of the musical qualities particularly associated with the late polyphonic madrigal.

104 Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) is perhaps best remembered for his exotic travels, which extended to the Middle East, Turkey, Persia and India. He was a polymath whose accomplishments extended from decipherments of cuneiform writing to the devising of a Turkish grammar to studies in astrology. His travel memoirs filled several volumes. By his own testimony, he was well educated in practical music in his youth; he studied several instruments and folk musics, and wrote several texts for musical setting. His passion for exotic instruments was shared with his friend Doni.

sense of the words,\textsuperscript{107} or the mixture of fugues, which did not allow words to articulate the proper accents or long and short rhythms of syllables of text,\textsuperscript{108} and with artificial counterpoint, the composer is constrained to produce melodies which can carry an affective quality producing an effect contradictory to the spirit of the language. While appropriate for certain instruments, it was not suitable for vocal music, and he favoured solo music generally.

Counterpoint, the part of music most necessary for enabling all its other parts to be well employed, has for its end not only the foundations of music but, perhaps, even more artfulness and the finest subtleties of this art, which are direct and inverted, simple and double fugues, imitations, canons, deceptions [perfidie] and other delicacies thus made. Experience teaches us that the frequent use of these artifices of music is much more suitable for instruments than for singing, and especially when an instrument is played alone, since I concede to Your Worship that organs played with so much mastery by these worthy men you named must doubtless ravish people. But in vocal music these refinements of artifice, when adopted sparingly in some suitable place are very fine, as is seen in many madrigals by the old masters, and particularly in the famous Vestiva i colli of Palestrina. Nonetheless for the most part they do not customarily succeed; because in singing solo, which today is very much used and to many is the more pleasing, they can have little place; also, because singing in ensemble, they make some extremely bad effects for which the composers of the past (with respect to Your Lordship) never had much regard, but those of today, with greater precision, have known how to supply.\textsuperscript{109}

The difference between composers of the present and of the past was that those of the present used certain most sweet concertini; and when they used fugues, they used them sparingly and briefly; and for

\textsuperscript{107} Della Valle, "Della musica dell' età nostra", 261.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 250.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 249-250 (trans. C. Marvin)."Il Contrapunto, parte della musica necessarissima per potere ogn'altra parte di essa bene adoperare, ha per fine, non solo i fondamenti della Musica, ma forse anche più l'artificio, e le più fine sottigliezze di quest'arte, quali sono le fughe a diretto, e a rovescio, semplici, o radoppiate, le imitazioni, i canoni, le perfidie, ed altre galanterie così fatte; E la spezzienza c'insegna, che l'uso frequente di questi artifici di Musica è assai più convenevole per lo suono, che per lo canto, e massimamente perquando un instrumento si suona solo: inde concesso à VS. che gli Organi toccati con tanta maestria da questi Valtentuomini, che ella mi nomino, senza dubbio dovevano rapir le genti. Ma nella Musica vocale queste esquisitezze di artificio, sebbene addoppiate parcamente in qualche luogo conveniente, fanno assai bene, come si vede in molti Madrigali de Maestri vecchi, e particolarmente nel famoso vestiva i colli del Palestrina, per lo più nondimeno non sogliono riuscire; si perché nel cantar solo, che oggi girono si usa assai, e a molti e quello, che più piace, poco luogo possono avere; si anco perché nel cantare in compagnia, vengono a fare alcuni malissimi effetti, a i quali i Componitori di già con buona grazia di VS non hanno mai avuto molto riguardo; ma quella d'oggi con più accuratezza hanno saputo rovvedere."
the most part they use imitations instead of fugues. They paid much more attention to the accents and rhythms of words. The first compositions which in della Valle's view truly followed this path were the early examples of recitative and opera out of Florence and Mantua.

In response to his addressee's statement that 'the excellence of the moderns is solely in monody and the reciting style', della Valle asserted in turn that in addition there were other works full of concertini for two, three, four voices [presumably motets in the modern style]; for a choir of many voices [in the updated conservative motet style], and finally works for several choirs [polychoral music], a style which had been introduced into the composition of masses and vespers at Rome, as well as for 'many voices together'.\footnote{Della Valle, "Della musica dell' età nostra", 252.} This list of types dated 1640 strongly resembles Marco Scacchi's divisions of the church style, also formulated in the 1640s.\footnote{See below, Chapter 2, pages 121 et seq. for a full discussion of Scacchi's style divisions.} His apparent preference for solo styles did not hamper his general observations of the Roman musical scene of that time.

Della Valle was also among the earliest writers to consider music involving instruments in a kind of typology of practices (not, specifically, of compositional types as such. Zacconi had made many observations of applied practice but did not systematize them.). It was possible for della Valle because, again, he could write about what he actually observed and was unconstrained by the need to respond to the intellectual theory tradition, which had had little use for instruments.\footnote{Here meaning music involving instruments, could be considered under several kinds: playing solo; playing accompanied by other instruments or voices; voices and instruments together; instruments supporting a choir. In solo playing the greatest ingenuity and artifices of counterpoint might be used; but della Valle also reported indirectly that instrumentalists (he referred to organists in particular) could sometimes bore their audiences by going on too long without relief of lightness or
gracefulness: this was like a meal favoured with the finest ingredients, but lacking salt.\textsuperscript{112} Playing with other instruments required not so much the artifices of counterpoint as the \textit{grazie dell' arte}, the graces of art, which involved not only technical skill and the art of embellishment \textit{per se}, but the ability to accommodate all the other instruments and performers. When instruments and voices play together, artifices of counterpoint should give way to 'jesting' (\textit{scherzi}) with a lightness in imitation. When accompanying voices, the instruments must give place to them and serve them. When supporting voices in a choir, the instruments must perform in the simplest manner with no contrapuntal artifices, with only good consonances and graceful accompaniments which second the voices with finesse.\textsuperscript{113}

Vincenzo Giustiniani, another aristocrat whose comments on changing fashions in music have already been discussed, was another representative of that type of cultivated amateur or academic who had a polite and sometimes profound humanist erudition, and who was keenly aware of recent shifts in musical language and taste, due both to his interests and to his social breeding. He did not discuss the fundamental "rule and just measure of tones", as a more traditionally-trained musician would have done. But neither did he embody a social or academic elitism, for he insisted that the study of Aristotle and Greek poetics was not required in order to appreciate good composition. Nor, apparently, would he have been unique in this respect. He noted that connoisseurs generally were prepared to rely on empirical judgments of musical quality, for it had become unsatisfactory to many to try to account for the effects of music in terms of older philosophical and mathematical theories. "Notwithstanding the fact that the ancients and moderns tried to attribute [musical affects] to the proportions of numbers and to the movement of the

\textsuperscript{112} Della Valle, "Della musica dell' età nostra", 253.
\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Ibid}, 254.
spheres, this nevertheless does not seem able fully to satisfy the intellect; therefore one is forced to have recourse to experiment alone, and to a practice based on the hearing ..."114

Giustiniani wrote his observations on different ways of singing and playing in a generally chronological historical narrative form. These have their basis in aural experience and performing activity which is noticeably different from other contemporary chronologies of music theory and history, suggesting that alternative forms of written stylistic criticism had already taken root. His observations constituted a discourse which did not take the form of an intensive discussion of contrapuntal choices within a composition; rather, he offered in part an aural and social perspective, reporting whether a performer or a work had moved its listeners and succeeded in gaining the approval of the audience. It was organized less in terms of generations of composers,115 than according to shifts in "sound" and changing lists of performers—fashionable singers and musicians at various courts where the most avant-garde developments would have been patronized. Giustiniani said that in his time (ca. 1628) (and, presumably, in the circles in which he moved) less attention was being given to solid counterpoint than to the variety of embellishments. He himself paid great attention to embellishment, rhetorical detail and effective delivery, as well as to inventive and elegant composition.

It is notable that Giustiniani commented positively on forms of the reciting style which had gained practical acceptance in churches.116 He pointed to the special applications of recitative to which Doni also alluded,117 some of which Marco Scacchi described some twenty years afterward as

114 Giustiniani, "Discourse on Modern Music" (trans. Carol McClintock), 75.
115 And their theoretical and contrapuntal accomplishments.
117 See above in this chapter, 97-98.
Giustiniani assumed that as long as audibility and diction were operative positive values in church music, the reciting style could be employed for singing ‘with sweetness and decorum’ Latin verses and hymns as well as ‘odes of piety and devotion’, such that the words and ideas were clearly and distinctly heard. Giustiniani may also have been alluding indirectly to the kind of reflective devotional music that was part of the spiritual life of early seventeenth-century Italy, a type for which the affective potential of solo music was well suited.\(^\text{119}\)

He also noted the sheer variety in kinds of church music: “…in various styles and inventions for several choirs, even as many as twelve. And this style and manner of writing for a great number of good singers has been continued and is in use even today.” Music had become more ennobled and illustrious than ever; even the greatest princes practiced it personally.\(^\text{120}\)

When Giustiniani finished his historical outline, he gave a general guide for the critical estimation of compositions by the well-educated listener. One had to know both the necessary considerations of the composer in creating a work and how to judge effectively whether, and how well, the goals of the composition were realized. Rules of counterpoint, the properties of voice and instruments, the effects which music caused in the human soul and “the taste which prevails in different periods” were all involved in formation both of a work and of judgments upon it. Implicit is a certain bracketing of connoisseurship of the modern affective manner and generic sensitivity with the exercise of individual taste and judgment. To acquire critical ability, “much application of the intellect is required, and much discussion is necessary to come to some conclusion about the work

\(^\text{118}\) See below, chapter 3, pages 145-146.  
\(^\text{119}\) The first half of the seventeenth century was a fertile time for the publication of books of spiritual madrigals and solo devotional music, often called ‘mote’. These publications carried titles such as “sacred garlands”, “musical flowers” and so forth.  
\(^\text{120}\) Giustiniani, “Discorso” (trans. McClintock), 72. This is an endorsement of music’s suitability as a pastime.
when the principles have been worked out beforehand." The fundamental criteria include the following, namely that a composition

must be written first of all in good counterpoint founded on the correct rules, with novel and difficult passages to weave together in all the parts without burdening it with superfluous notes, sometimes writing it by the rules in the ordinary way, sometimes in inversion.

Secondly, that the entire composition, and the points of imitation particularly, be easy and flowing in such fashion that the artifices do not make them harsh, else they may not be understood except by persons expert in the profession and who give especial attention to such things.

And in the third place, that they be pleasant to hear [de buon aria] and have unusual grace.\(^{122}\)

**Generic classifications and "a new manner": Severo Bonini**

The writings of Severo Bonini, a clerical musician active in Florence through the mid-seventeenth century, embody a somewhat more complicated orientation than those of the cultivated or scholarly amateurs already encountered. He was clearly torn between allegiance to the delightful new solo manner, where natural enjoyment and his formative musical experiences drew him, and the claims of traditional ecclesiastical polyphony, reinforced by his clerical commitment and church environment. His treatise *Discorsi e regole*\(^{123}\) dealt for the most part with the musical situation in northern Italy between about 1600 and 1630, although it contained topical information which was clearly of a later date. Apparently it was compiled in spurts of activity over a number of years and eventually completed about 1650.

From Bonini's work a relatively clear typology of musical styles can be extracted, one which

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\(^{121}\) Giustiniani, "Discourse", 68.

\(^{122}\) Ibid., 72-73.

\(^{123}\) Severo Bonini, *Discorsi e regole*, trans. and ed. Mary Ann Bonino (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979). Bonino presented a bilingual edition of Severo Bonini's text (Italian/English), and her English translation is
is similar in some respects to Marco Scacchi's (also written in the later 1640s). Bonini discussed both vocal and instrumental music. His treatment of the latter, however, dealt with embellishment techniques and naming varieties of composition, rather than articulating definite structural procedures. For vocal music, he followed a sixteenth-century precedent in dividing composers into three ordini or historical groups. (This division is expressed in Table 6, page 106.) The first ordine, evidently applying to music before 1530, may well have concerned music which was either unfamiliar or inaccessible to him, as his comments are derivative and unsupported by example. This ordine was defective as reflected in the “disproportionate length” of compositions, which caused “boredom and aggravation”, and the misuse of melismas and note lengths:

[S]acred works [contained] very long melismas on syllables and vowels which were consequently so distant from each other that one lost the sense of the words. Even worse, long syllables were set as short and vice versa,...the words obeyed the notes [rather] than the notes the words, as is reasonable.\(^\text{125}\)

Following Zarlino, Bonini cited Willaert for removing “error” and restoring music to the honour it once possessed.\(^\text{126}\) Composers belonging to the second category included Palestrina, Monte, Victoria, Vecchi, Marenzio, Morales, Giaches de Wert, Fèlice Anerio and Orlando di Lasso. Characteristics of music of the second ordine included proper intervallic use and dissonance resolution; appropriately placed melismas, comprehension and observance of the modes, and a decorous use of note values and rhythm.\(^\text{127}\)

The third ordine was distinguished from the second “in the matter not of harmony, but of

\(^{124}\) This similarity has also been noticed, both by Bonino in the preface to her Bonini edition and by Barbara Russano Hanning (see her review “Discurci e regole sopra la musica by Severo Bonini. Ed. with introduction by Leila Galleri Luisi...”, *Journal of Music Theory* 22.1 (1978): 111-115).

\(^{125}\) Bonini, *Discurci e regole*, 159.

\(^{126}\) Bonini, *Discurci e regole*, 161.

\(^{127}\) *Ibid.*, 102. “The beat is not altered”...“note values are varied little”.
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<td>Very long melismas “losing the sense of the words”; Long syllables set as short and vice versa; “Words obey the notes” rather than vice versa</td>
<td>Appropriately placed melismas; frequent melismas producing a full texture Proper use of intervals (i.e. resolution of dissonance); “The beat is not altered”; and “note values are varied little”</td>
<td>Regarding sacred genres, this is different from category II “in manner not of harmony, but of style” Melismas producing full texture are forbidden or at best incidentally permitted; “It is permitted to startle to express certain affects”; affettuoso manner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Composers</td>
<td>Palestrina, Monte, Victoria, Vecchi, Marenzio, Morales, Nanino, Soriano, Giaches de Wert, Felice Anerio, Orlando di Lasso</td>
<td>Gesualdo, Crivelli, Stefano Bernardi Galeazzo Sabbattini, Agnolo Conti, Antonio Guelfi, Tarquino Merula, Francesco Foggia, Monteverdi, Carissimi</td>
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Bonini's conception seems slightly confused here, in that he seemed to consider under the same heading what someone like Scacchi would have distinguished—both chamber and theatrical types which had their relatively recent dates of origin in common. Monodic and theatrical recitative types were not clearly differentiated with respect to their use of musical materials, but Bonini did indicate what the types had in common stylistically. Melismas which produced a full texture were forbidden, or at best were only intermittently permitted. Considering the disparities among the authors in both categories, Bonini seemed to perceive the second and third *ordini* in terms of a chronological divide similar to Zacconi's divisions into *vecchi* and *moderni* (he does not seem to have used the terms *prima* and *seconda pratica*), but also in terms of a shift in style in favour of different kinds of texture and a more elegant and pleasing manner. Bonini cited several cases where both manners are observable in the works of the same composer. While composers of both *ordini* ostensibly looked to a common fund of compositional technique, they had became distinguishable in sound and treatment by Monteverdi's time. Composers of the third *ordini* included Gesualdo, Pecci, Monteverdi, Nenna, Marenzio (again, with citation of different works), Grandi, Gagiano, Vitali, Donati, Crivelli, and many others.

Bonini used categorical divisions where the demarcation was chronologically indistinct but stylistically fell between a gentler and refined manner, where dissonance was carefully introduced, and a bolder expressive manner. In many respects he considered his second and third *ordini* together and recommended both as models for imitation, suggesting that he saw them as *prima* and *seconda pratica* works all within a 'current' modern style. Since Bonini had strong traditional biases even though he enjoyed the affective delights of the modern manner, his generic divisions seemed to reflect more a

128 Bonini, *Discorsi e regole*, 102.
129 That is, in terms of a distinction between the preceding generation of composers and those who were still
distinction of spirit than of technical polyphonic language. He did believe that competence in the

older manner was in decline because of the pursuit of newer secular styles:

Since [arie napoletane, concerto on chaconnes and passacaglia] have an attractive style and
are accepted gratefully by everyone—especially those ignorant of counterpoint—those composers have abandoned the study of unaccompanied madrigals and, even worse, that of a cappella Masses, Vespers, and motets, where one cannot stray from the mode or strain the fugues. But if they can only reply by criticising the works of Palestrina, it must represent a loss of courage, for those works are of an excellence that no one will ever attain. And so, little by little, the art and study of music a cappella is going to be lost.\textsuperscript{130}

“When you reach the point of learning to compose in the true modern style,” he admonished his

pupil in the dialogue, “…I believe that you will not alter the rules unless you allow yourself to be

advised badly…”\textsuperscript{131} Again like the connoisseur-amateurs, Bonini dealt at length with the major style

shift in vocal music. The new solo reciting manner was experienced by the listener as qualitatively
different. He mentioned that audiences had been accustomed to hearing madrigals published for

several voices performed as solos (probably in the manner of Vincenzo Galilei’s ‘pseudo-monody’),

but “because it belonged to a contrapuntal scheme, a simple soprano line would have no effect at all

when sung by itself alone”.\textsuperscript{132}

Bonini advised that in composing masses one must imitate a cappella music of the second
category but not chamber music of the third category. This was not because their harmony was
different, but because their style was.\textsuperscript{133} In ecclesiastical style Bonini placed Masses, vespers, motets

and hymns, all a cappella, music for “two and three choirs” (probably associated with the same
categories as a cappella music); and concerto motets or sacred concerto for two to five voices, with or

\textsuperscript{130} Bonini, \textit{Disaveti e Regole}, 163.

\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Ibid.}, 169.

\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Ibid.}, 145.

\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Ibid.}, 178.
without instruments. Chamber music included madrigals in four or five parts without instruments, that is, “at table”, concertato madrigals; and a less well-defined concertato music for one, two and three parts. The theatrical style encompassed the stile recitativo, described as used in particular forms: recitativo, stile di Firenze è recitativo per modo di dialogo, a stile misto. There was a less well-defined area of ariette for one or two voices and harpsichord which may be either chamber or theatrical. Most likely Bonini was alluding to chamber airs, or even the early cantata, but he may also have in mind the introduction of such organized pieces into theatrical music.

In the a cappella style of ecclesiastical music there were “frequent melismas which produce a full texture, the modes are observed, the beat is not altered, and note values are varied little.” Notes had to be properly adapted to the words lest the sense be lost; the singer had to enunciate with care. In his praise of Palestrina, Bonini cited as characteristic features of his style “the proper use of the sixth and seventh, and of some appropriately placed melismas; and he understood well and observed the modes...particularly in the sacred works, which must maintain the decorum of the place they serve.” Such compositions, described in connection with their being sung in large churches or from balconies, also typically displayed full resonance. In places Bonini debated the permissibility of using concerted music for voices and instruments in church. He knew of the Tridentine disincination to such use, and he mentioned his belief that instruments were not used in the papal chapel, but he himself was in wholehearted favour of the practice.

He also alluded to a “new and modern style” of combining the affective quality of the solo madrigal with the style of the solo motet and with motets concerted for several voices, as well as with

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134 Bonini, Discorsi e regole, 178.
135 Ibid., 109.
136 Ibid., 160.
137 Ibid., 117.
madrigals and sonnets for several voices. Bonini lamented that madrigals to be sung at table and without instruments were no longer being composed, which was mostly but not altogether true at the time. However, he may perhaps have said so in concern over want of quality, because in the same breath a similar charge was levelled at a cappella music. In madrigals of the chamber style, particularly those of the third category, “frequent melismas which produce a full texture” were forbidden, although for the sake of giving grace to the melody, or to imitate the words and sense of the text they were incidentally permitted when “few and brief.” In the course of their composition “it is permitted to startle in order to express certain affects, and one may alter or sustain the beat upon a single note, even an eighth note.” He added that “this style will not resonate as well as does that of the second category”, particularly in large churches or balconies, pointing to the necessity of associating it with intimate private spaces.

In an interesting postscript to this discussion, he described the polyphonic style of Gesualdo as new and different from the past, although he mentioned a wealth of devices associated with counterpoint, but he adds that “none of [them] shatters the sense of the text and its conceits but imitate them with respect to their seriousness, sadness, or gaiety.”

Bonini also described a madrigal of the third category for solo voice, which apparently denoted the kind of musiche for solo voice and continuo which had qualities associated with recitation but also developed technical and affective features of the late polyphonic madrigal. Referring to

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138 Bonini, Discorsi e regole, 103.
139 Ibid., 147.
140 Ibid., 100.
141 Ibid., 179.
142 Ibid., 164. “His Excellency has introduced a style new and different from that of the past and full of artifice: making the voice-parts combat each other well with fugues, imitations, inversions, double subjects, many suspensions, dissonances prepared and accentuated, melismas, free syllables which observe their longs and shorts, and full and half cadences—none of which shatter the sense of the text and its conceits but imitate them with respect to their seriousness, sadness or gaiety.”
Caccini, Bonini described a manner which sought to “imitate the meanings and the words (seeking those notes which [express] an affect greater or lesser according to the sentiments of the texts and, in particular, those which possess grace)...”

Theatrical or dramatic composition also constituted a clear type. Most of his own discussion of the type derived from Peri’s theory of dramatic music and description of behaviour of the reciting style: “passing now and then through several dissonances while holding the bass note steady”.

**Style, Genre and Taste as Criterion of Judgment: Cazzati**

In the early seventeenth century the growing assertion of the claims of senso over ragione spearheaded a secondary set of reactions. Whether for specifically seconda pratica reasons or simply a matter of the composer pleasing self or audience, acceptance of a principle of ‘delighting’, based in part on professional discretion, was also a watershed for aesthetic, as well as technical judgment of the value of a work.

In Pontio’s *Dialogo* Alessandro (the interlocutor who holds the authority position and is most likely the mouthpiece for Pontio’s own views) had declared that skill and knowledge of practice was better than being a good theorist. Theorists all conformed to one another and said the same thing, while practitioners demonstrated variety, which was the essence of composition. The practice of composition was in fact a most worthy science, “even though today it is so little esteemed and held in low consideration”, and it was more difficult to acquire than theory. Furthermore, there was a real discrepancy between theory and practice: “in composing music the sense of hearing has place,

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143 Bonini, *Discorsi e regole*, 146.
145 Pontio, *Dialogo*, 44.
and not reason”, “since through the hearing Music has had its knowledge, and has made an election by means of this from sad to good, and from good to better…This causes in me no little wonderment, that the ear prevails over the reason.” In his article, Sachs indicated that Pontio subtly develops the thesis that practice excels theory not only in difficulty, but in “valore”.\footnote{148}

The consideration of inobservant practice under the concept of a \textit{seconda prattica} evolved in the first decades of the seventeenth century such that not only could generic and stylistic proprieties be preserved in many cases, but the demands both of the intellect and the sense could be thereby satisfied. Monteverdi had claimed that there was another manner of considering consonances and dissonances, different from Zarlino’s, which “satisfied the reason and the senses [and] defend[ed] the modern way of composing”.\footnote{149} While this had been intolerable to the intellect from Artusi’s point of view, it nonetheless became one of the rallying cries of the modern manner. In the first decades, however, the appeal to experience consisted not solely in the individual instance which technically may have departed from the rules, but in recollection that the experience of consonance and dissonance was contextual. ‘Ottuso’ had declared:

There is no dissonant interval which is in itself one that by circumstance cannot be made good with reference to the accompaniments among which it is placed…As an accent, as a deception, or indeed as a dissonance, though sweetened by the accompaniment of the other parts, it [a seventh] will undoubtedly not only have a good effect but, being something new, will give greater delight to the ear than would the supposed octave. And since you desire a proof, you will draw it very easily from this: you allow an excellent poet the metaphor purposefully used; similarly the seventh is taken in place of the octave.\footnote{150}

As Fend noted, Ottuso could be seen as a member of a group—probably an Italian academy—who based their argument on what they considered to be good or bad taste. “Instead of identifying the

task of *ragione* in musical studies with a universally valid mathematical demonstration, they judged a composition according to aesthetic values shared within that group.\(^{151}\)

This judgment could be swayed in either direction, depending on the group in question and the interests which were vested in the judgment. As the century proceeded, conscious inobservance (however rationalized), tied into the attempt to rationalize the relationship of genres and styles and became increasingly genre-specific. But a ‘modern’ appeal to ‘taste’ might also be manipulated to challenge or *erode* an argument for the specific requirements of a genre, such as they might be understood by a traditional theorist. This of course might be perceived to corrupt the carefully constructed distinctions among styles, and in fact it seems to have been a factor in the deterioration of the relationship of styles implicitly understood in mid-century and posited in the schemata of Scacchi and others.

The controversy between Arresti and Cazzati was a particularly interesting case in point, because beneath the surface dispute it was clear that real changes in a practical aesthetic viewpoint were occurring and had begun to clash with the tense stasis achieved by traditionalist-oriented theorists. For the fourteen years (1657-71) during which he was *maestro di cappella* at San Petronio in Bologna, Cazzati apparently was at the center of a bureaucratic storm.\(^{152}\) For most of that time, he was involved in a bitter polemic with the cathedral organist, Giulio Cesare Arresti, a difficulty surely exacerbated by Cazzati’s less than cordial relations with several of the other church musicians.\(^{153}\) In 1659, a musician priest, Lorenzo Perti, complained to the canons of the cathedral of instances of

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151 Fend, “Changing functions”, 221.
153 Upon his appointment in 1657, Cazzati made substantial changes in the musical personnel at San Petronio, replacing 35 of the 46 members within a few months and overriding minor privileges apparently with little tact.
compositional licence in Cazzati's music, masses in particular, amounting in Peri's view to incompetence.\textsuperscript{134} Peri argued in terms of the standard traditionalist position: genre was one thing, but one unified standard of contrapuntal rules held throughout, and practice was not established through arbitrarily set parameters:

Mr. Maurizio should not practice a new method and a new rule of composing, which is distanced from the precepts of excellent and approved authors by saying that it is a new manner, being that manner is one thing, and rule another. Manner consists in composing cheerful, sad, easy, difficult; but rule should be observed inviolably; and he who wants to depart from that should either support a new school or should publish a book of theory and sound reasons why he should endeavour that errors be admitted in place of rule; and if someone should say 'I print books of practice in which there are many errors, and yet a few of them are sold in bookstores'; another responds: 'you need to see who is buying them.'\textsuperscript{135}

Peri refused to regard Cazzati's methods in terms of 'inobservance,' temporary deviations written either for the sake of the satisfaction they gave the ear, or as useful contrapuntal solutions. He considered the lapses simply as a breakdown of rule. To Peri, such 'modernity' was equated with the disruption of solid tradition, departure from intelligible procedures and a violation of unalterable laws. Nor was his opinion mediated by considerations of strict or free categories of composition, or by specifically citing issues of genre-associated technique. By the 1660s, even for an adherent of observant composition, such reasoning was somewhat passé. Similar reasoning and attitudes also informed Arresti's dismissal of a Cazzati Mass as poorly done, although Arresti was somewhat more genre-conscious. He described composition as a 'mathematical science' founded in abstract theories

The challenge to Cazzati's intellectual competence as a musico was surely part of a campaign to get him removed.\textsuperscript{134} Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, I.44, dated 13 September 1659; transcribed in Brett, 512-515.\textsuperscript{135} Arresti,\textit{ Diálogo}, 4r (trans. Clara Marvin), where Peri's letter is transcribed in summary form. "Il Signor Maurizio non deve praticare un novo modo, e nova regola di comporre, che s' allontani da precetti dall'autori eccellenti e approvati col dire è una nova maniera, stante, che altro è maniera, e altro è regola: la maniera consiste nel comporre allegro, mesto, facile, difficile, ma la regola si deve inviolabilmente osservare, e chi da quella partir si vole, o regga una nova scuola, o mandi alla luce libro di teorica e salde ragioni, s' adopri che siano ammessi gli errori per regola, e se qualche d' uno dicesse io stompo libri di pratica, ne quali sono assai errori, e pur se ne vende qualchuno nelle librarie: e questo risponde, bisogna vedere chi li compone." The parallel to statements such as Tignini's of 1588 on
of consonance, from which finite rules of harmonic progression had been deduced. Being complete, nothing new could be added to them; therefore their violation admitted of no natural justification.

It is not altogether clear just what Cazzati's own original compositional rationale was. If considered in strict-standard generic terms, it did appear initially that Cazzati had leaped the bounds of strict technical observance with his Masses: his 'formation of the mode' was unusual according to the current standard. With historical perspective it is possible to see that the modal/tonal system was in a major state of flux, sufficiently so that it is unlikely that any of Cazzati's contemporaries had a clear idea of how the system had evolved in the preceding thirty years or where it was going.\footnote{Brett, \textit{Music and Ideas}, passim.}

Possibly Cazzati did write 'carelessly', since he composed and published prolifically, often under considerable pressure, attending more to his ears and general compositional activity around him than to rules. But in any event he proved capable of defending himself vigorously. The argument to which he appealed was to taste. Cazzati dismissed the impugning of 'modernity' with light wit: it was necessary to make one's reputation as a modern in order to be remembered and honoured long enough to gain the appellation \textit{antico}.\footnote{Cazzati, \textit{Ricordi}, 56.} His response stepped beyond the traditional equation of correct with beautiful or good, arguing that adherence to the rules \textit{per se} did not determine the merit of a composition. The careful constructions of strict and free genres implicitly did not matter at all. Continuous strict conformity belonged to beginners and those with little knowledge of composition; the 'esteemed masters' were those who alone could and did avail themselves of licenses.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, 56.} This in itself had been said for some time. Rules were part of the heritage on which all musicians drew as a base and governor for their works. Cazzati's distinctive departure from the accepted attitude was in
the universality with which he made the claim that rules themselves were a matter of opinion and
convention, from which one could depart freely according to the necessity of the situation and the
genius of the composer. The final criterion of compositional quality was the taste with which such
licenses were taken and the agreeableness of the result.

Know then, o reader, that the rules of music are not divine precepts, but human
opinions, and diverse ones, as is seen from publications; and very many virtuosi who
have departed from them have not admitted to erring on that account, because it is
necessary to see if the composition pleases; that in pleasing, one can then say done
depending upon the rule; and that which does not please, even if done with observance of
all the good rules, is not good while it displeases, since music is made to please and
not to displease. That there are many virtuosi who have departed from observation
of the rules, various books will demonstrate to you.159

Cazzati, however, made this remark without clear reference to text expression or even to the genre
of composition with which he dealt. Rather, he sought to justify exercise of the composer’s
discretion at any opportune moment with a simple but shrewd appeal to Zarlino’s remarks on
oration and its power heightened in connection with music.

So in case you paused with apprehension regarding the meaning of those words, that
the fundamentals of music are not divine precepts, I repeat it to you, and confirm
the same; but I do not mean by that to make it legitimate for anyone to brush them
aside or to neglect them totally, almost as if their observance were not necessary for
a good composer. But I spoke this only to declare to you that the fundamentals of
music, not being divine precepts, do not detract from or prohibit anyone’s talent
from sometimes expanding in caprices, in well-ordered and harmonious digressions,
to his own liking, which may serve to embellish unadorned and true subjects.

I said in the second place, that that music is good which pleases, since you know very well, o
reader, that music and poetry converge in the same end of pleasing, as Zarlino also noted.
So with this proposition, not only are the precepts from which true pleasure is born not
excluded, but they are necessarily presumed as means appropriate to this end; and I claim to

159 Cazzati, Risposta, 6. “Sapi, però, o Lettore, che le regole della musica non sono precepti divini, ma opinioni
umane, e diverse, come si vede dalle stampe, e tanti virtuosi, che sono usciti da quelle, non hanno però preteso
di errare, perché bisogna vedere se la composizione piace; che piacendo, allora si può dire fatto con regola, è
quella, che non piace ancora che sia fatta con osservazioni di tutte le regole non è buona mentre dispiace, essendo
che la musica è fatta per gustare e non per disgustare. Che molti siano li virtuosi, che sono usciti da le osservazioni
delle regole, vari li libri te lo mostreranno.”
have operated under the same foundations as the authorities have claimed, which I have brought forth to you in the book.\textsuperscript{160}

This appeal to taste, “this music pleases, therefore it is good”, as a justification for license, must have set the Bolognese academic establishment on its ear, for the proposition continued to be debated in literature emanating from the academicians or their friends for the next twenty years. Berardi was still in a flurry about it in 1693—and still dismissive of the idea.\textsuperscript{161} Cazzati notwithstanding, it was an argument which was advocated somewhat defensively. In his preface to a book of sonatas and “some studious and observant canons”, Giovanni Maria Bononcini also claimed that even if his counterpoint was not observant in every particular, his reason was none other than “I sought in it to delight the hearing with the variety of sonatas, fugues and diverse imitations, breaking and interlacing of figures which may convey to the ear (in my opinion) more lively harmony, which I pray you to defend from those tongues which, whether through envy or wickedness might unjustly malign them.”\textsuperscript{162}

Cazzati shrewdly manipulated the argument by quoting the highest authority on strict rule,

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item\textsuperscript{160} Cazzati, \textit{Riposta}, 46. “Onde se a caso ti fosse fermato con appressione sopra il significato di quelle parole, che \textit{i fondamenti della musica non sono precetti divini}, io ti ridico e confermo il medesimo, ma non per ciò intendo di far lecito ad alcuno lo scostarsi da quelli, o totalmente negliersi, quasi che l’osservanza loro necessaria non fosse ad un buon compositore, ma solamente così paroli per dichiararti, che non essendo i fondamenti della Musica precetti divini, non tognono, ne proibiscono all’ingegno di chiunque, che non possa difendersi tal volta a suo talento in capicci, e digressioni ordinate, & armoniche, che servano d’ abbellimento al nudo, e reali soggetti.

Dissi in secondo luogo che \textit{quella Musica è buona, che diletta}, poiche sai benissimo, o Lettore, che la Musica, e la Poesia, nello stesso fine di dilettare convengono, come note anche Il Zarlino; laonde con questa propositione non solo non si escludono i precetti da’ quali nasce il vero dilettto, ma necessariamente si suppongono, come mezi proportionati per consecuzione di questo fine, & io pretendo di haver operato su gli istessi fondamenti come il confermo le autorità, che nel libro ti ho portato.”

\item\textsuperscript{161} Berardi, “Letter to Benedetto Stella”, \textit{Il perché musicale} (Bologna: Monti, 1693), 49-50.

\item\textsuperscript{162} Giovanni Maria Bononcini, \textit{Varii Fieri del Giardino Musicale, Ovvero Sonate da Camera a 2, 3, e 4 col suo Basso continuo, \& aggiunta d’alchini Canoni studiosi, \& osservati... [Opus 3]} (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1669). repr. Gaspari IV, 87.

“...perciò non ti rechi meraviglia se ritrovassi il contrapunto non essere in tutto osservato secondo le regole o precetti ch’ à quest’ arte s’ appartenono, essendo che altro non hò procurato in essa che di dilettare l’ Udito co’ la varietà delle Sonate, fughe, e imitazioni diverse, rimpimenti di figure, & intrecci, ch’ all’ orecchio apportino (secondo me) più viva armonia, la quale ti prego a difendere da quelle Lingue, che ò per invidia, ò per malignità potessero ingiustamente calunniarlo.”
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Zarlino, in support for a modern empirical approach to judgment. Cazzati reached back to a historical point where contrapuntal standards were in fact more flexible than they became by the mid-seventeenth century. Zarlino believed that

the observation of the...rules may so restrict a composer that he is unable to write beautiful and graceful lines or to write his parts in fugue or consequence as he would wish. He may for this reason occasionally deviate from the rules. Such licence is conceded to poets, who at times depart from metric rules by using one sound for another or a long syllable in place of a short one, and vice versa. Musicians may also write certain things in exception to the rules; but the privilege must not be abused, just as the poet may not often take such licences.163

This argument, though eloquent, had a whiff of the smokescreen about it. Most likely Cazzati’s actual attitude was that he had a job to do; his audiences were satisfied with what they heard; so he did not care what the academicians thought. It might have been Cazzati’s personal way of coping with the professional animosity around him, but it was also done in an environment where it was possible to appeal to the taste of his patrons and public and rely on their support for his music.

Considering what would ‘please’ was a criterion the practical musician might use in decision making regarding the actual composition or execution of a work of music. But ‘judgments’ which mattered included those of the listeners or patron or consumer. While ‘taste’ had operated as a criterion of judgment since the Renaissance, it came increasingly to the fore in this period, manifested in the decline of clear standards for many genres of music. On the one hand, there were compositions ostensibly in the older style which were judged by the strict rules. The significant critical controversies which did occur were conducted according to the criteria of the older or stricter style, as (it is clear by now) this was the area with the developed and disciplined technical language in which to do so. Very often these writers were fighting against what they consider to be the “erosion” of standards by attitudes asserted by modernizers. On the other hand there were many kinds of
“modern” compositions, whether church, secular or theatrical musics, which, while claiming to be founded on the ‘rules’, could not really claim the older standards as their criterion.

The persons most likely to be writing as musical critics in this period were of two kinds: musical theorists/academics, or journalists and aristocratic reporters. More recent compositions (i.e. from the 1660s on) were most often not reviewed in contexts which invited or delayed long or detailed analysis of structures per se. As Eleanor Selfridge-Field has pointed out, much writing about music in this period occurred in journalistic contexts. Such writing was very different from theoretical analysis in both tone and focus. Journalism often involved advocacy or outright propaganda, where music was presented in a context otherwise meant to suit the interest of its sponsors. The “superlatives” quality of its descriptions has been noted by Lorenzo Bianconi and others. This did not necessarily imply an inherent lack either of discernment or of an analytical inclination on the part of the reporter; rather, it reflected the opulent impression that a patron sought to convey by underwriting the performance in the first place. Selfridge-Field described a manner of criticism more like evocation than that of evaluation in the modern sense.

Descriptions of modern works in such sources are interesting both for what they do, and do not, say. Supporting the general air of evocation, one can find detailed descriptions of scenery, and costumes, the appearance of singers, the use and variety of their vocal ornaments, in a manner which is not very different of the amateur-connoisseur style of Giustiniani half a century earlier. (For that matter, Giustiniani did provide careful descriptions of styles and their changes.) But formal, harmonic

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165 Lorenzo Bianconi, Music in the Seventeenth Century, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
and melodic particulars are usually lacking. A work may be praised, because of the singer’s performance and the fact that he or she impressed the audience, but the reader may remain ignorant how a composition proceeded in technical detail.

Cazzati to some extent was relying upon his sense of this new kind of critical audience to defend himself from Perlù’s and Arrestù’s traditionalist arguments. He dealt with the controversy shrewdly in that he only used those kinds of arguments which he could manipulate to support his case—mainly arguments drawn from ambiguities in Zarlino and other authority figures—and as for the rest, he refused to argue at all, or quickly dropped arguments based on the conservatives’ terms, such as explanations of his mode irregularities in terms of mixture, etc. To some extent he understood that he might rely on changing critical attitudes on the part of those he most needed to please—his performing audience, not the academicians. In ostentatiously cutting through the terms of some of the style controversies of his generation, he addressed what were, historically speaking, the signs of things to come, the more forward-looking and progressive attitudes within his musical culture.

1987), 202-203.
166 Selfridge-Field, Pallade Veneto, 41.
Chapter 3

Two Practices, Three Styles:
Marco Scacchi, His Scheme of Musical Genres, and Its Influence

Monteverdi never completed and published the systematic work on *moderna pratica musicale* about which he had thought for so many years. But what he did publish had a profound impact upon his successors: he threw some of the critical issues into bold relief, helped to offer avant-garde composers a conceptual rationale and gave them a kind of rallying cry for innovative music. “First and second practice” continued to be asserted in Italian writings on stylistics for the better part of the seventeenth century. One of the most intelligent style critics of the time was among those who took up Monteverdi’s division, creating with it a taxonomy of both ‘ancient’ and ‘modern’ genres joined under the rubric of a ‘modern’ style.

*Marco Scacchi, the controversy with Sieffert, and his concept of musical kinds*

This writer was the Italian composer Marco Scacchi (c.1600-after c.1681), a much-respected practical musician active mainly in Poland. He was one among the remarkable influx of musicians disseminating Italian influences in northern Europe in the early part of the seventeenth century. Scacchi was a pupil of Giovanni Francesco Anerio, one of the premier composers of the post-Palestinian Roman generation, and Scacchi’s extant church compositions demonstrate a Roman

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1The dates of Scacchi’s birth and death are not yet accurately known. He was most likely born in the years around 1600, either in Rome, or in Gallese, near Viterbo. Zygmunt Szweykowski (in *Musica moderna w wizjach Marka Scachiego* [Modern Music as Conceived by Marco Scacchi]. Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzykowe, 1977) pointed out that his marriage certificate described him as “Roma oriundus,” and that several publications refer to him as Roman. This may have been as much a professional as a personal claim. Yet Angelo Berardi, who knew the older composer well, reported that after returning from Poland and living for a time in Rome, Scacchi chose to retire to Gallese, where his family forebears had lived (*Documenti armeni* (1687), 11). Scacchi arrived in Poland around 1621, became *maestro di cappella* at the Polish court chapel in 1628 and continued there officially until 1654, although his actual residence in Warsaw seems to have been interrupted at least once between 1649 and 1654 due to ill-health. From Berardi’s affectionate testimonial it is inferred that Scacchi died at Gallese sometime after 1681 and before 1687. However, in a recent personal meeting (July 1996), Prof. Alexandra Patakas of the Jagiellonian University indicated that she has located evidence that Scacchi died in Rome in 1662, within months of the death of his wife in the same city. The present author has not seen this evidence.
musical formation, reinforced by study of the writings of such solid theorists as Artusi. In addition to serving as master of the royal chapel in Warsaw, he was apparently involved in court entertainments, including the production of some of the earliest Italian opera and oratorio presented in Poland. He also enjoyed a network of professional connections extending through Danzig, Hamburg and Dresden back to Rome and Venice, and extended his fame upon his retirement to Italy after 1654 as a teacher. His best-known student was Angelo Berardi.

Scacchi was fated to be embroiled in a complicated polemic during the 1640s. Like Monteverdi, he declared his intent to write a systematic treatise on composition but never succeeded in completing one (if he did, it never reached publication and has long since vanished). But his theoretical reputation rests solidly on the polemical and critical tracts deriving from that controversy. These writings required Scacchi continually to sift and clarify not only his critical method but the very stylistic assumptions upon which his method was based. This process eventually resulted in a schematic analysis of genres which is perhaps the most persuasive attempt of his time to reconcile traditional views with the full spectrum of contemporary practice.

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1 There is evidence that operas were produced for the Polish court in the 1630s and 1640s. (It is interesting to note that the librettist for some of these lost works was the court secretary, Virgilio Puccidelli, who had important connections with literary and academic circles in Venice during its earliest years of public opera.) The relevant material has apparently been lost, so it is unclear whether Scacchi composed operas or portions of operas or related theatrical entertainments for the court. Szweykowski is somewhat doubtful; he has cautioned that such productions were likely to have been collaborative efforts, and not of Scacchi’s exclusive authorship in any event. Szweykowski also found it telling that Berardi did not mention Scacchi as an opera composer. (The present author believes, though, that Berardi may unconsciously have preferred to think of Scacchi as a church or learned composer in any event.)

2 A number of works by Scacchi are either known to have existed and have been lost, or were announced for publication but did not appear. In the *Letter for more information*, a document prepared in 1644 to summarize the arguments he used against Siefert, he announced a ‘brief treatise on the rules of counterpoint with some very curious secrets, for young students of this musical art’, which has not been found. He wrote an answer to Siefert’s *Antioritatio* but did not publish it “on the advice of friends”; in the *Letter to Christoph Werner* he mentioned that he would send the treatise “de Bassis Generalibus” [basso continuo] another time”, but no trace of this treatise has been found; he mentioned the publication of a “Consideration of the canons of the Rev. Don Romano Micheli, a Roman” in 1647, but no prints have survived; a forthcoming treatise on counterpoint by Scacchi was mentioned by Heinrich Schütz in 1648 (who might have been thinking of the *Letter for more information* announcement); and in the *Brevis discursus*, Scacchi announced a treatise on modern music, which has either disappeared or remained unwritten.
Scacchi's writings of the 1640s will be examined specifically for the insight they offer into these developments. In *Cribrum musicum ad triticum syriaticum* [Musical sieve for the Syriac wheat] (1643), he commented at length about the requirements for strict-style *prima pratica* church music. Given Scacchi's assumptions about established rules and parameters for *prima pratica* composition, as well as his scholastic manner of argumentation, such emphases were justified. But as a natural corollary he had significant things to say about the nature of chamber and theatrical musics *en-dire* their stylistic relationship to church music; so virtually all the materials for his later schematic of genres were essentially present in *Cribrum musicum*. In *Ad Excellentiss.: Dn. Ch. Wernerum* [Letter to Christoph Werner] (c.1646), he made explicit a schematic premised on the existence of one theory, two practices and three styles. In the *Breve discurso sopra la musica moderna* [Brief discourse on modern music] (1649), he turned to commenting on, and championship of, contemporary music and style.

Scacchi's originality was established by how he addressed some of the most tense and vexing theoretical issues of the period. Well before 1640, freedom in dissonance treatment (whether as a result of ornamental practices or specifically for the sake of affective expressiveness) had become normative in many genres of practical composition. In some quarters, the sense of discrete genres, and the production of decorous, correct and proper musical exemplars, seemed threatened by this practical 'contamination'. Conservative theorists continued to affirm received contrapuntal theory, and also to bewail the breakdown of musical science, the decay of the wealth of historical learning associated with it, and the imminent loss of a concomitant value system both intellectual and spiritual. The modernist avant-garde, on the other hand, had already embraced a psychological concept of music's effectiveness which in important ways flaunted the underpinning of traditional theory. In his stylistic schematic of two practices and three styles, Scacchi found a way to hold in stasis the tension of the various (and sometimes contradictory) intellectual and cultural claims in which contemporary musical practice
was embedded. His formulation remained fairly workable as a concept for much of the rest of the seventeenth century. Much of his system was based on the premisses of post-Zarlinian composition and asserted many of the traditional values then associated with the 'strict' genres of church music. The very key to his schematic, and his point of departure, was an insistence on maintenance of the boundaries for the strict style: style distinctions were considered not only socially (in terms of purpose and place of performance) but technically (in that the deliberate choice of contrapuntal manner, in itself, in addition to the other materials of music, conveyed certain messages with the work being performed). Certain formalities of construction were accepted, and distinctions among particular conventions associated with a genre, purpose or place of performance had to be carefully observed. They reflected the more narrowly articulated parameters for formal composition that were observable in Italian compositional theory by the 1640s. In the case of strict genres, seconda pratica treatment of such parameters as dissonance and rhythm was severely disallowed. This increasing strictness was considered to update the style and show the composer's sensitivity to stylistic and psychological values associated with its 'kind'. Paradoxically, it was conceptual bifurcation which enabled Scacchi in part to be a ready champion of 'modern music'. It had become 'modern', as well as well-informed, to insist on clear distinctions of genre. Those practices and values being rejected by advocates of a virtually sanctified strict counterpoint were increasing being pushed into a separate box, as it were. But with the superimposition of the idea of separateness upon ideas associated with genre, and the respect for differences in the actual treatment of compositions, both traditional and innovative commonly became aspects of 'modern' style. (Distinctness of genres in itself was an old idea; what was new was Scacchi's expansion of Monteverdi's prima et seconda pratica idea into genre, an intellectual notion which held together the simultaneous claims of ancient and modern, tradition and innovation.) At the same time, some sought to place in some semblance of classification
those types of 'modern' music—reciting and affective kinds—which were beyond the pale of
traditional contrapuntal formulations and stylistics. These latter attempts (chiefly Monteverdi
and Doni) were based on adaptation of classical formulations and relied on associative and
psychological criteria; they may use materials of music in a particular way, but not according to
'harmonic' rule. Generally speaking, however, writers on music, especially practical musicians
who were often attached to the traditional conceptual framework for music, were dealing with
practices for which a systematic theoretical language had not yet, strictly speaking, evolved. But
with the schematic proposed by Scacchi, it was possible to embrace practically the full range of
style practices in the musical environment of mid-seventeenth-century Italy, giving both the
conservatives and the avant-garde their due. With their formalities properly observed, all 'kinds'
of music acquired integrity and currency, each 'kind' on its own terms.

Although the Scacchi-Siefert polemic have been treated in musicological literature to some
extent, it will be reviewed here because of the light it throws upon the evolution of Scacchi's
generic ideas. It began when he, then maestro di cappella at the court of the King of Poland in
Warsaw, responded to disparaging remarks made about Italian musicians by Paul Siefert (1586-
1666), composer and organist of the Marienkirche in Danzig. Siefert, who "had not a small

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Festschrift A. Tillman Merritt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972; repr. in Studies in the History of Italian
Music and Music Theory (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994, 88-145); Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, Musica moderna u ojicis Marka
Scacchiego [Musica Moderna as Censored by Marco Scacchi] (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzykane, 1977), summary in English,
Giuseppe Massera, "Precisazioni teoriche nel "Cibrum" di Marco Scacchi", Primo incontro con la musica italian Australians
allo schema formale degli stili musicali", ibid, 209-222.

5The most extensive published information available about Scacchi is found in Szweykowski, pazzam, Claude Palisca's
article "Scacchi, Marco" in the New Grove 16: 542-44 is also useful.

397-428. However competent he may or may not have been, Siefert seems to have been a difficult person whose
behaovour was to some extent fueled by personal animosities. Giuseppe Massera suggests that Siefert, whose
professional origins were thoroughly north German, blamed particular Italians, notably Asprilio Pacelli, for
thwarting his own favourable reception at the Italian-dominated Warsaw court and eventually transferred his
antipathy to Scacchi, Pacelli's successor. Siefert also had a long-running feud with Caspar Förster senior, with whose
family Scacchi had a warm personal relationship. Scacchi taught Förster's son and was sufficiently attached to the
father to dedicate Cribrum musicum to him (Massera, "Marco Scacchi: Dalla polemica antisifertina allo schema
reputation among the less sophisticated,7 published a volume of psalm settings in 1640.8 Siefert believed that in these works he exhibited a ‘true and pure manner’ of composition in the older strict style. He made known his view that the Italians had lost this art, with the result they were ‘innocents’ about serious vocal writing and could produce only superficial and frivolous music.9 Scacchi was sufficiently incensed to respond in print. Aside from the personal issues probably at work,10 he claimed that he wished to defend the professional honour of Italian musicians from Siefert’s allegations of their incompetence. So he submitted sixteen of Siefert’s psalm settings to a withering critique, published as the *Cribrum musicum ad tritium syferticum* in 1643.11

The scaffolding of Scacchi’s critical method in this long, detailed text was built on the intimate interconnection between contrapuntal style and the canons of generic integrity. He assumed that a composer had to know what style of contrapuntal treatment was consistent with the nature and purposes of a particular genre,12 and insisted that the *grau.ind* of church music was not served by corrupting it with licences suitable to other genres whose standards were more relaxed. Compositions such as Siefert’s psalms were meant to be understood as *prima pratica* works and had to be governed by the strictest standards of practice. From this position followed the central proposition of *Cribrum musicum*: Siefert’s compositions were defective, because his slipshod contrapuntal treatment corrupted the strict generic requirements of *cantus firmus* writing. Given Siefert’s manifold errors of counterpoint, he demonstrably did not maintain *any* consistent

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7 The words are Marco Scacchi’s. “Ad candidum lectorem”, *Cribrum musicum ad tritium syferticum* [“Musical Sieve for the Siefert Wheat”] (Venice: Vincenti, 1643). The present author believes that there were real issues of style—and rates of style change—also involved.


9 Marco Scacchi, “Lettera per maggiore informatione”, 1. The copy of this document used by the present author was inserted into the copy of *Cribrum musicum* at an early point in its history. See note 11.

10 See footnote 6, page 125.

11 I consulted the rare *Cribrum musicum* through Yale University’s microfilm of the exemplar held by the Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen. The film was very kindly supplied to Yale by the Deutsches musikgeschichtliches Archiv, Kassel.
contrapuntal style, so he had proved himself ignorant of the requirements of genre and propriety and therefore inept at composition generally. Therefore, Siefert had no right to question the competence of others.

Scacchi’s case was presented according to the scholastic conservative starting point then characteristic of much Italian music theory written by vocational musicians (traditionally trained and practical composers). He argued with the logical intransigence characteristic of adherents of the older view of music as founded in science: either a passage was ‘correct’, or it was not. Massera noted that in *Critismus musicum* Scacchi embraced a scientific and methodological rigour which might have been particularly consonant in German cultural circles of that period, and that cited among his authorities were not only Artusi, but also Ornithoparchus and Ottman Luscinus. Given the premisses from which he worked, however, his rigour and the strict standards superimposed upon his material were as Italianate as they were German for that era. His extreme rigour and coherence made his arguments current, not retrogressive.

Scacchi performed a piece-by-piece critique of Siefert’s psalms, which were chorale motets on tunes from a Huguenot psalter. Scacchi interpreted this genre as analogous to Italian liturgical music for four or five voices based on a *cantus firmus*, and thus claimed that it “require[d] a grave and terse style” that mandated a treatment of strictness greater than for other types. For general criteria of judgment in *Critismus musicum*, he provided a list of seven general laws of counterpoint. These rules leaned heavily on Artusi’s writings, of which Scacchi displayed an intimate and sympathetic

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13 Scacchi’s method offers an advantage to the twentieth-century reader, in that rather than being presented with a finished book in the mold of counterpoint treatises of the 1620s and 30s, one can see the actual critical process at work.


15 Scacchi, *Critismus musicum*, 7. “Observavi ante omnia volo, ut es, quae nimis accurata & acuta in melopoeia mea requiri videntur, non de quolibet Compositiones genere intelligatur, sed saltem de illo genere, quod super Cantum firmum est concinnatum. Hoc genus enim Compositionis omnes Regulas accuratissime sequitur, quod secus est in reliquis Compositionis generibus.”
knowledge, and were grounded in the traditional unified theory of counterpoint. These precepts were: (1) Any sort of composition should be filled with consonances, and intermixed incidentally with dissonances disposed according to the mode. (2) The parts of a composition should begin with legitimate intervals according to its own genus, so that it can be sung without difficulty. (3) The *concentus* and the *modulationes* should be varied continuously; the parts should not remain for a long time in high or low registers, but stay in their own designated ranges (*terminus*). (4) The composition should be disposed according to a certain mode or tone. (5) The *harmonia* should be suitable to the nature of the text. (6) Suitable rhythmic figures and movement should be maintained. Scacchi, however, himself added a seventh and significant extra precept, which underlined the intensified reciprocal relationship between technical propriety and generic integrity: (7) “Let the composition not be defiled with unsuitable things, but accomplished, without too many freedoms. For if one of these rules of composition is lacking, this is called imperfect by law.” This addition confirmed the seriousness with which technical issues of style were regarded, and it intensified the force of Scacchi’s argument.

This genre of composition [to a *cantus firmus*] requires a serious and terse style, which is different in *ariette* or *barzellette*, as they are called. For these are not subjected to such severe censure because the words must be imitated, which demands such different effects that the conception and affection are different in themselves.

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16 Scacchi, *Critica musicae*, 8. Notwithstanding Scacchi’s acceptance of the Monteverdi formulation of style relationships, he evidently respected Artusi’s work profoundly and looked to him as a major authority on *prima prattica* counterpoint; at times he paraphrased Artusi freely. Massara asserted (“Dalla polemica antiasfertina”, 205) that Scacchi was influenced to some extent by Artusi’s view of the distinction of practices. Artusi founded this distinction on the relationships of *modulationes* and *concentus*. If consonance is taken in itself and treated according to the rules, it guides the melodic motion of the parts and their vertical placement in terms of the prima prattica. On the other hand, arbitrary *modulationes* and superposition of the notes cancelled the rules of consonance and dissonance, and in this sense *modulationes* did not make a *concentus*, but the *concentus* made a kind of *modulationes*, and hence music under the *seconda prattica*.


Each Siefert piece was printed (without the text it set—fairly, unlike Artusi’s examples of Monteverdi’s work, since in Siefert’s pieces *harmonia siu domina orationis*) and scrutinized by Scacchi, who enumerated and tallied its errors—151 *in toto* in 16 compositions. Unlike post-seventeenth century critiques, where a work might be considered individually and specifically in terms of its own internal processes and goals, judgment of this kind of music in Scacchi’s time depended on how satisfactorily a piece exemplified the prescriptions of the model type. Thus lack of quality might well be determined by Scacchi’s heaping up of an error count, for that would point directly to the violation of decorum and propriety, the ultimate error.

Scacchi recognized, though, that the critical method he used did not present his principles altogether systematically. So for the use of his readers he prepared a supplement entitled the *Lettera per maggiore informazione a chi leggerà il mio Cribrum* [*Letter for more information to those who will read my ‘Cribrum’*] (a lithograph print dated August 29, 1644). He explained that he wished to clarify what he considered the ‘school of harmonic fundamentals’ which Siefert accepted, and what pertained to the practical composer in the art of counterpoint in composition.

I wish it to be understood before all things that those things which appear to require from me excessive accuracy and acuity in their composition are not understood to pertain to any genus of composition, but reserved for that genus which is harmonized to a *cantus firmus*. For this genus of composition follows all the rules most accurately, which is not the case in the remaining genres of composition... Those compositions written to a *cantus firmus* are conditioned strictly according to the old manner; that is, they are in all things composed in the ancient style, preserving all requirements according to the harmonic rules of ancient musicians.

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20 The primary goal for composing in a musical ‘kind’ was the production of a representative example of the genre, proper to its place and purpose. If the requirements were known and prescribed by rule, but were inadequately or ineptly realized, the composition would have to be judged harshly.

21 Scacchi, *Cribrum musicum*, 7; 134. “Observavi ante omnia volo, ut ea, quae nimirum accurate & acute in melopoëia à me requiri videntur, non de quodlibet Compositionis genere intelligantur, sed saltem de illo genere, quod super Cantum firmum est concinnatum. Hoc enim genus Compositionis omnes Regulas accuratissime sequitur, quod secus est in reliquis Compositionis generibus...” “...tales cantiones super Cantum firmum compositae obligantur strictè more veterum, hoc est, stylo antico omnia sunt componenda servando omnia requisita secundum Regulas harmonicas antiquorum Musicorum.”
In the *Letter for more information*, he asked and answered the following questions: (1) Did Siefert's pieces have the 'true and real' formation of the tone?—Scacchi responded that Siefert neither understood this, nor had the capacity to do it. (2) Did Siefert bypass the rule of not using two perfect consonances (fifths, octaves) one after another?—Scacchi insisted that he did this, many times. (3) When two subjects or fugues were proposed in a composition, did the parts correspond among themselves in a real way and conform to the *propositio*?—Scacchi asserted that Siefert was 'extremely innocent' in this. (4) Did Siefert's interweaving of the parts conform well to the rules of true composition?—Scacchi insisted that there was more confusion than true harmonic order. (5) Did Siefert's final product better resemble that of a master or student?—Scacchi claimed: "Every professor of the art will be able to tell." (6) Did Siefert's *modulatione* proceed by legitimate intervals, and was it natural according to the kind of composition composed to a *cantus firmus*?—Scacchi responded that pieces written on a *cantus firmus* were subsumed under those which look to the true, perfect and refined harmonic rules. But in his day many went beyond the bounds of this art of composing, without making a distinction between one composition and another, almost always preserving one same *modulatione*. Few considered the art of *modulatione* in a composition, but this art was one of the principal challenges of music; if one is to judge the work of a composer one must consider what is good and bad, and what is well-regulated. (7) Did the *modulatione* of Siefert's works begin by *corda naturale*?—Scacchi asserted that Siefert missed this requirement altogether. (8) Was Siefert an unlettered beginner with regard to accomplished counterpoint?—Scacchi concluded: Yes. Siefert's inner parts in particular were awkward, when they should proceed 'in the most observant and regulated way possible'. While expounding this consideration, Scacchi described some of the essential divisions among styles.

...It is necessary to know what licence or leeway the composer has or should have in his compositions. That is, if the piece is for two voices, it is more observant than that for three, and compositions which are for three voices have less range than those for four and five and so forth. When the composition is for
more voices, the composer has much more range to extend or to take some licence. But compositions founded on cantus firmus are much more confined or restricted, without comparison, than free ones. And one should also make a distinction between one composition and another. That is, whether it is a canzonetta, arietta, madrigal, motet, mass, psalm, and other similar things, the composer should take this license appropriate to the composition which he wishes to compose, whether full ensemble or concerted, always having, however, as much regard as possible for the polish of the counterpoint among the parts, the middle ones in particular. Those compositions which are composed to be sung without instruments (or organ) are subject to, and are considered, and made differently by the author. That is, the composer should have regard for the fullness of the composition, that the parts move suitably, and that the entry of the fugue or subject they enter on natural intervals and near a consonance to that part where it moves or guides the subject, that the movement of the fugue at the beginning of the composition be at 4, 5, or 6 beats at most, and that the parts are united amongst themselves without distastins themselves too much form one another, and not done like this ignoramus of a Siefert has done, where between the parts of his works there is so much space that you could, so to speak, drive a carriage with six horses between them. And this observation of keeping the parts united is given as a general rule of any sort of composition, whether concerted or full [polyphony]; and on this particular point I address those who are true professors of the art of counterpoint, knowing full well that not everyone will understand what counterpoint, and observant counterpoint under the rule of the true harmonic school, is, particularly when the composition has the cantus firmus as its basis and subject.22

(9) Were Siefert’s compositions under the pure rule of harmony or melodia?—Scacchi complained that they were quite the reverse. (10) Did concerted composition seek those requisites used by Siefert?—Scacchi insisted that they did not, and that Siefert sometimes treated the bass line as a

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22 Scacchi, “Lettera per maggiore informazione”, 4. “...poiche è necessario sapere qual licenza è campo largo habbia, oovro debba havere il Compositore nelle suo Cantilen, come à dire, se la Cantilena è a 2. voci, và più ossenata di quella che sarà a 3. & le Cantilen, che sono a 3. voci, hanno meno campo di quello à 4 & à 5. e caso di mano in mano, quando la Cantilena è a più voci, tanto maggioremente il Compositore ha campo di allargarsi à pigliarsi qualche licenza: Ma le Cantilen fondate sopra le canti fermi sono più chiuse, & ristretto assai senza paragone, che non sono le libere; & anco si deve far distinzione da Cantilena à Cantilena, cioè, se è Canzonetta, Arietta, Madrigale Motetto, Messa, Salmo, & altre simili, deve il Compositore pigliarsi questa licenza che comporta la Cantilena che vorra comporre, tanto piena, quanto concertata, buendo però sempre riguardo alla politezza del Contrapunto più che sia possibile tra le parte, di mezzo in particolare. Quelle Cantilen che sono composte per cantarsi senza Istrumento (o vero organo) soggiacciono, e vanno considerate, e fabricate differentemente dall’ Autore; cioè deve hauer riguardo l’ Artefice alla pienezza della Cantilena, che le parti modulino commode, & che nell’ entrar della fuga nel principio della Cantilena sia da 4.d.5. ó 6. battute al più, & che le parti trà di loro vadino mute senza allontanarsi molta via dall’ altra, & non fare come hà fatto questo Ignorante di Siefert, che tra le parti delle sue Cantilena c’ è tanta distanza, che come se suol dire, vi passaria vn Carro con sei Caualli in mezzo; & questa ossenanza di tenere le parti mute si da per regola generale a qual si voglia sorte di Cantilena; tanto concertata, quanto piena, & in questo punto particolarmente parlo con quelli che sono veri professori dell’ arte del Contrapunto, sapendo molto bene che non tutte interederanno che cosa sia Contrapunto, & Cantilena ossenata sotto
basso continuo and sometimes as an added part. (11) Did the tempo alla breve work as Siefert used it?—Scacchi responded: No. Siefert failed to divide the proportions correctly.23 All in all, it was quite a dismissive assessment.

Throughout *Crübrum musicum* Scacchi scattered comments about the requirements and distinctions of genre. Much of the schematic he eventually wrote out in succinct form in the *Letter to Christoph Werner* a few years later can be extracted from the peripheral remarks about the relationship of styles and genres which fill *Crübrum musicum*. But the central criticism he hammered home again and again had to do with the uncertainty of Siefert’s adherence to the rules of the contemporary strict style.

*Crübrum musicum* was chiefly concerned, of course, with the requirements of the strict church manner. This belonged to the *prima prattica*, in that the text was understood to carry the semantic layer of composition (what Zarlino called *melodia*), adorned by well-regulated *harmonia*. Strictness in itself had become a criterion of good observance: when Siefert claimed that some of his practices were justified by the authority of older respected composers, Scacchi noted that what might formerly have been allowed to musicians may not currently be the case.25

Toward the end of *Crübrum musicum*, Scacchi printed a large number of compositions intended as models of good practice in various genres. He included several of his own works among them. Sitting discreetly among those works is a striking piece of direct musical evidence which indicated that strictness in *prima prattica* music had increased, not only generally speaking but in Scacchi’s own thinking and practice in particular. This evidence is found in a group of Scacchi’s

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23 These eleven questions and answers are from Scacchi, “Letter per maggiore informatione”, 2-4.
24 Not to be confused with the *seonda prattica* understandings of the term, Zarlino meant by *melodia* the kind of harmony and rhythm which were determined by the text or semantic layer of composition.
25 Scacchi, *Crübrum musicum*, 87. “Et licet Musci superioris seculi (ex quibus haud dubio illud haussi) idem num exemplum nonnunquam usurpaverint, indistincte tamen omnis, quae ab ipsis sunt posita, imitanda non sunt,
own *prima prattica* compositions, namely his first book of masses. Originally published in Rome in 1633, these works have been described by Miroslaw Perz as illustrating an 'interesting moment' in the transformation of the classical renaissance model into the contrapuntal style of baroque polyphony. The composer chose to reproduce certain movements in *Cribrum musicum* ten years later. The sections drawn from the 1633 publication adhere to most of the external conventions of the post-Palestrina generation: judicious and ingenious use of counterpoint, lip-service at least to mode as an organizing principle, attention to the interrelationship of lines like that of the later sixteenth century. In some respects they resemble Anerio's music, particularly with regard to rhythmic idiosyncracies—‘busy’ and sometimes less than smooth melodic lines, occasional use of reiterated sixths and values smaller than semiminims. But Szweykowski made the fascinating discovery that when Scacchi reprinted some of these movements in *Cribrum musicum*, he altered the pieces, some so significantly as to constitute recomposition. In the 1643 *Missa sine nomine*, he reshaped the vocal ambitus, especially that of the *canto*, to define Mode V more clearly. Measures 10-11 of the 1633 version have been reworked from a V-I cadence on C to a third-unison cadence on C in measure 9 of the 1643 version, with a C-oriented extension in measures 10-11. The sharp in measure 14 of the 1633 version was removed in 1643 (bar 16), making the resultant F-natural conform better to the *cordi naturali* of the mode. A clash with the F-natural in the bass was also avoided, and the implicit *commixtio modorum* of the earlier version was removed. The midsection of the 1643 version was also clarified harmonically, with a much stronger centre on C. Finally, the later version took greater care to ensure the sonority of full triads. [See Example 1, pages 134-136.]

praestert cum Recentiiores multa, quae apud antiquiores fuenint in usu, postea emendi aversint. Longinquitate enim temporis quaelibet ars magis ac magis excollitur."

26 Marco Scacchi, "Missarum quattuor vocibus liber primus" (Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1633).
Example 1: Marco Scacchi, Missa sine nomine, Kyrie eleison

This is probably more than retrofitting his own music, as it were, to appear to Siefert in the best light. As Scacchi was adjusting material which had already been published, he was not correcting material written in haste. The kind of revisions made suggest that Scacchi was distancing himself from the somewhat freer compositional ambience of his teacher Anerio. In *Crismum musicum* he noted the differences between his own and older generations, affirming that even between the admired Artusi’s and his own, musical thinking had changed. In 1643 his editorial hand was guided by the conceptual attitude and changed ideas of a slightly later generation.29

While generic relationships among styles and kinds were further developed in the Letter to Christoph Werner, they were already well thought out in *Crismum musicum*. The distinction amongst genres of music, for one thing, was in fact based on the relative strictness of the counterpoint, as well as considerations of resources, purpose and performance locus. The *Crismum musicum* critique made explicit a method based on the division of contrapuntal practices into first and second and thus realized one of the important implications of the Monteverdian position. Scacchi did not, here or elsewhere, provide a grammar or code for the second practice, although in *Crismum musicum* and even more so in his later work he described different kinds of relationship between a reciting or singing voice and a *basso continuo*. While the contamination of a strict genre was among the reasons cited by Scacchi for his severity regarding ‘irregular’ practices, it was not the only one. The new practice was not simply a matter of departing from the old, simple cases of slipshod attention to genre. It possessed an integrity in itself, as it revolved around a new concept of dealing with language and was justified in a reconsidered view of *melodia* or the interrelationship of melody, rhythm and harmony. It was not, and should not be, carelessly or incidentally done:

> From which you can gather that this is a most elegant and lovely style, and if and when they appear to have been diverted from the harmonic rules or the first practice, know that this was done with study, in order to express the affections of

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29 It was probably a good thing for Scacchi that Siefert never got wind of these changes.
the words, where those words *I die, I languish, sigh, bitter pain*, and similar things are used.\(^{30}\)

Using the strict style as a touchstone, Scacchi distinguished between the older manner and the "style of younger and modern" composers according to style. While the older manner was strict, a new practice, "most elegant and lovely", was invented among the younger composers, which departed from the rules of the first practice for the expression of highly charged affective words and was associated with the use of the *basso continuo* in the lowest part. He largely lifted Giulio Cesare Monteverdi's preface concerning Plato and the three constituents of *melodia* for insertion into *Cribrum musicunm*. He used the passage in part to add that when he said that the moderns had done well to introduce affective expression, he meant it specifically to refer to those things and compositions which are "less serious" [*minus gravibus*], otherwise he would not approve them. "This second manner should be exercised only for the expression of the affections of the words, and according to certain times and occasions, otherwise it should be written off as a blemish."\(^{31}\)

\(^{30}\) Scacchi, *Cribrum musicum*, 132. See fn 31 for Latin text.

\(^{31}\) Ibid. "A modernis hae nova praxis inventa est ad variandas modulationes ac variis atque extraordinariis demulcendas aures, dum taliter gravem Partem cum Basso generali connectunt, ut optatum effectum fortiantur, sicut egomet in meis compositionibus quinque Vocum (Madrigalibus nimium) faciendum dixi. Caeterum ut aliquid luminis intali re percipias, in fine istius operis aliquot concensus secundum modernorum stilum & Italic & Latiné concinnatos ponere non gravabor, ex quibus colligere poteris stilum elegantissimum & suavissimum hunc esse; & si isti quandoque ab harmoniae Regulis seu à prima praxi deflexisse videnantur, studio factum intelligas ad exprimendum verborum affectum, uti sunt verba ista, morior, langueo, suspire, dura poena, et similia. Dico igitur, quod, si moderni declinasse videantur à priori praxi, novacque se applicasse, quae vix ab eximis Musicis Theoreticis tacta fuit, non temere illi hoc fecerint, fundatur enim in oratione, & velunt, ut oratio sit domina & non ancilla harmoniae, & secundum hunc dicendi modum debent considerari, examinari ac judicari Modernorum Compositiones in melodia: & hoc videtur Plato asservisse, dum ait 3. de Republ., Melodiam ex tribus constare; oratione, harmonia & rithmo. Et paulo inferius: quinetiam consonum ipsorum & dissonum eodem modo, quandoquidem rithmus & harmonia orationem sequuntur, non ipsa oratio rithmus & harmoniam sequitur. Postea, ut magis inferat, sequitur & dicit, quid vero locundig modus ipsaque oratio, nonne animi affectionem sequunatur & addit; orationem autem caetera quoque sequuntur, ut erudite Iul. Caesar Monteverde ex Platone in quadam Epistola dissentit. Et quando ego dico, Modernos bene fecisse, intelligo in rebus & compositionibus minus gravibus propter rationes adductas, quod si in talibus talement stilum servasset, utique non approbarem. Quamvis autem Artusiis librum de imperfectione Musicae modernae compovent, notandum tamen es tam secundum Logicos quam Philosophos objecta materia posse diversimode considerari secundum diversas rationes formales... Artusiis considavit Musicam ut dominam Textus seu orationis, Moderni vero, ut ancillam Textus vel orationis; itaque minus non est, quod ita sensest, quia sibi proposuit diversum objectum formale, & sicon repugnat, quod Musica aliter ab alios pertractari non possit. Venum tamen est, quod iste secundum modus debeat usurpari (uti dixi) solum ad exprimendas verborum affectiones, & secundum aliqua tempora & occasiones, alioquin vito ascribendum est."
When he inserted examples of madrigals, written by himself, into *Cribrum musicum*, he claimed to offer them diffidently as samples of what current Italian composers regarded as acceptably representative of the genre. He clearly distinguished madrigals as a separate genus, very different in treatment from the older style, in which the various affections of the soul are expressed through a varied treatment of the words. On that account consonances and dissonances are treated differently from the old style. So departing from the mode and certain series of notes (evidently meaning passage) are ‘not without grace’ in such cases, even though they are not used by the older composers.

However, in madrigals, canzonettas and similar things some license to wander on a wider path is given on account of the different end and means which must be considered. I wish it to be observed before all, that those things which seem to be too pointedly and exactly required by me are not understood of any sort of genre of composition, but are reserved to that genre which is composed to a cantus firmus. For this genus of compositions follows all the rules most accurately, which is different in the remaining genres of composition.

Scacchi also alluded repeatedly to *ariette, barangiette, canzonette*, secular genres by definition distinctly less serious, but only for the sake of suggesting the level of corruption of the serious style by admixture.

Significantly, the reciting style *per se* was specifically addressed only on the very last page of *Cribrum musicum*. Because Scacchi’s entire formulation was built on the harmonic principles of the *prima prattica*, in which one ‘theory’ ultimately governed all genres, the reciting style was by definition beyond the ‘rational’ and did not admit systematic ‘harmonic’ codification. Scacchi described a manner of embellished monodic singing obviously derived from Caccini, alluding also to the dramatic theory of recitative associated with Peri. His own remarks consider both simple recitative

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and a more florid embellished manner under the common concept of a rhetorically directed
‘reciting’ style.

The style which is called “reciting” and which is a particular species of music, was
invented so that one could speak in singing [melodically, harmoniae]. That is, it is a
certain harmonic speech; or through which one speaks in singing and sings in
speaking. For the way of singing seems neglectful36, constituting for one the liberty
of wandering through naked false chords, which are very suitable for the expression
of any kind of affect. If we look into the time of its invention, I think it does not
exceed the space of 42 years, as one may gather from printed works, especially from
Euridice, by Giulio Caccini the Roman. In the Letter to the reader in his Dafne, Marco
da Gagliano claims that Jacopo Peri, who was the first to recite in singing, was very
celebrated in the music of his time. Others think, however, that this style was traced
to the ancient Greeks, who used it in their tragedies and stories. But if you desire to
have fuller information about these things, read the above-cited authors. In
demonstrating the manner of composing various songs, such as ottave (which is a
certain genus of poem), coloratae, ariette, madrigals, sonnets, lamentations, and other
such things, which are considered and sung in a different way, with various accents,
exclamations, repercussions, trills and gruppi (as they are customarily called),
reiterated sighs, sliding inflections of the voice, protracted extensions of the same,
breaking [the voice] and many other ways in which a song is rendered, no certain
and determined rule is given, for all these things which add something most elegant,
most lovely, and greatly moving in a wonderful manner, are known and learned
more quickly and comfortably orally than in writing. Thus I did not want to deal
with them at length.37

36 Neglegere sidetur, it appears careless or effortless. The language here reverts to Caccini’s description of the new
manner, ‘a certain noble neglect of the song’, and ultimately to the concept of sprecaturos, seeming casualness in
execution which conceals great art and study.
37 Scacchi, Critica musicum, 245. “Stylum iste, quem Recitativum vocant, & qui quaecumque peculiari est species
Musices, ad hoc inventus est, ut quis harmonica loqui possit seu, est ausadam locutio harmonica; vel quo quis
canendo loquitur & loquendo canit. Modum autem cantandi negligere videtur, cum sibi libero et constituens
divagari per nudes falsas chordas, quae ad exprimendum quemlibet affectum sunt valde idoneae. Si tempus tali
inventionis spectemus, puto non exceedere 42. Annorum spatia, ut ex impressis operibus colligere fas est, &
presentem ex Euridice Iulii Caccini Roman. Marcus a Galiano in sua Dafne in epistola ad Lectorem asseit
Isacobum Perum in Musici suo tempore satis celebrem fuisse, quiprimò cantando recitaret. Alij verò existimant,
hujusmodi stylum apud priscos Graecos originem duxisse, quo in suis Tragediis & Fabulis ipsi usi sunt; quod si
ampliorem notitiam de his habere cupis, legas supra citatos Authors. In demonstrando modum componendi
diversas cantiones, ut sunt Octava (quod est certum genus poematis) coloratae, Azetiae, Madrigalis, Sonetti,
Lamentationes, & alij hujusmodi, quae diversimode & considerantur & cantantur, cum variis accentibus,
exclamationibus, guttuis repercussionibus, Taillis, Gruppis, (uti loquantur) reiteratis respirationsibus, vocis
inflexionibus obliquis, extensis, vim reassumentionibus, fractis, & alij pluribus modis, quibus cantus rediditur non
datur certa & determinata Regula, quoniam haec omnis admirabili modo quodam elegantissimus, suavissimus, &
maximè patheticus, citius & commodius viva voce quam ex scriptura cogoscentur, ac discurrent, & proinde nolui
fuse de illis agere.”
Scacchi would expand on the subject of recitative in the Breve discorso, where he addressed more directly the question of various kinds of recitative and the proper locations and contexts for their use.

Paul Siefert was understandably upset with Scacchi’s analysis and published a response, Anticribatio musica ad annam schachianam [Musical anti-sieve for the Scacchi chaff] (1645). Siefert seemed to argue his case on Scacchi’s terms, responding point by point to virtually every single criticism. But the greater interest of his response lay in his more general justifications. They demonstrated in effect, just how far apart Scacchi and Siefert were, not so much in their ostensible fidelity to strict practice, as in terms of the effects of crosscurrents of style and the rate at which ideas and techniques travelled from one place to another. Siefert took Scacchi to task for his “ignorance of the German idiom”, arguing that his alleged ‘errors’ were found not only in Scacchi’s work but in that of Sweelinck and other distinguished authors, and that there was a difference between the Italian and the ‘Belgian’ or north German and older Netherlandish school of composition. Siefert proceeded to criticise the compositions Scacchi had printed in Cribrum musicon, attacking in particular Scacchi’s second motet as well as the second madrigal, which he judged to have been made in the ‘reciting or narrative style’ and charged Scacchi with the very fault of

38 Paul Siefert, Pauli Syferti organismus Gedanensis, Anticribatio musica ad annam schachianam. Hoc est, ocularis demonstratio crassissimorum errorum, quos Marcus Scacchi, Author libri, Anno 1643. Benetij editi quem Cribrum Musicon ad tritium Syfertium baptizavit, passim in eo commissit, cum annocca Sieferti justa defensione honoris ac bonae famae, adversus ampellas & falsitates Schachianas... (Danzig: G. Rheten, 1645).

39 Siefert, Anticribatio, 1. At the beginning of Cribrum musicon (p.5) Scacchi said that if at times Siefert’s music seemed ill-accommodated to the words, it might be because of Scacchi’s small knowledge of the ‘German idiom’.

40 In the course of his text Siefert cited Sweelinck, Lassus, Jacob Vaet, Samuel Scheidt, Hermann Schein, Johannes Vierdanck, Cornelius Verdonck, Peter Philips, Giovanni Valentini, Johann Hassler, and Giovanni and Andrea Gabrieli. Few of these composers were alive in 1645. The only one who does not fall into a clear picture is Giovanni Valentini (c.1582-1649), known especially for his elaborate vocal canons. He was a Roman composer who worked principally in Vienna but who had spent some time in Poland. Siefert seemed by and large to rely on the authority of practitioners of the previous generation, sometime two generations.

41 ‘Belgian’ reverted to the Latin name for the peoples of German and Celtic origin who lived in northern Gaul, an area roughly bounded by the Rhine, Seine and Marne rivers and the North Sea.

42 Siefert, Anticribatio, 18.
style mixture for which Scacchi had berated Siefert. Considering that Scacchi had specifically labelled his own composition "recitativo, ac mixta", noting that they lay under a consideration other than that of recitative, Siefert's rant seemed uncalled for.

Siefert's defense should be examined more closely, for it addressed some of the real peculiarities of the whole controversy. If the approximate dates of origin for his models for good composition are checked, Siefert's authorities were of a distinctly earlier period than the 1640s.43 He was either unaware of, or indifferent to, important theoretical shifts in the Italian scene. He did not readily acknowledge that a difference in practices existed, or that licences might be allowed in certain genres of composition. He held that valid rules were valid everywhere and denied that licenses might be allowed in madrigals or *canzonette: a licence was an offence against the rules of music 'in all genres of composition'.44 He did not seem even to be aware that the rules for the strict practice had altered since Zarlino's time. For example, in support of his use of the real answer (rather than the modal answer, which was firmly required in fugal writing by the 1640s in Italy), he cited as practitioners of the real answer Lassus, Sweelinck, Hassler and Ivo de Vento, all of whom (with the qualified exception of Sweelinck) were active well before 1600 and would have been unaffected by the relatively recent Italian injunction to use modal answers.45 (Significantly Scacchi had remarked in *Cribrum musicum that what might have been allowed to musicians formerly might not currently be the case.46) Even if new Italian music was being performed in northern Germany and Poland in the 1640s, it was not especially likely that Siefert would

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43 Carl Dahlhaus, "Christoph Bernhard und die Theorie der modalen Imitation," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 21 (1964): 45-59 discusses Siefert's *Anticribatio* and his citations of Lasso, Hassler and Sweelinck in an attempt to counter Scacchi.


have welcomed it from his Lutheran organ loft, or that he would have felt any great
compulsion to read current Italian music theory. In fact, he seems actively to have resisted
the newer Italian manner. The issue is probably complicated further by Siefert’s view that
he cultivated an individual style that saw no need to adhere slavishly to Italian models. 47

Another suggestive instance of out-of-sync assumptions held by Scacchi and Siefert
involved Scacchi’s citation of the use of a chromatic alteration (a sharp) in a Siefert psalm. 48 Scacchi
would have found this doubly suspect. Either the chromaticism suggested mode mixture or the
juxtaposition of a natural mode form with its own transposition; or it represented the intrusion of
the seconda pratica through the choice of a contrapuntal irregularity for affective purposes,
specifically justified by the text—ortio sit domina harmoniae. Siefert responded in the Anticribratio that
he used it because it was “harsh, cruel and crass,” as was the text, which dealt with the passion of
Christ. However, he claimed not to desire that kind of affective response; rather, the sharp [♯, das
Kreuz, cross] was symbolic of the cross, the instrument of the passion, “and nothing else.” 49 In other
words, Siefert insisted that it was a resemblance, not a representation. 50 This eye-music claim may
have been an equivocation, but it is also characteristic of a type of notational iconography much
closer in concept to a medieval analogical layer or to renaissance mannerism than to the affective
intensity of Baroque Italy.

46 Scacchi, Critium musiciam, 87.
47 See Jerold Baab, “Siefert, Paul”, New Grove 17: 297. Baab’s contention that Siefert’s compositions belonged to
none of the genres listed in Critium musiciam may be technically accurate but is not quite on the mark: Scacchi
equated them with psalm style, and Siefert did not specifically dispute this. But Siefert did belong to a circle of
composers who cultivated an individual style that could be considered ‘German’, particular to its time, place and
purposes. This should be taken into account even as the origins of this style are examined.
48 Scacchi, Critium musiciam, 136.
49 Siefert, Anticribratio, 6. This very use of a ‘Kreuz’ seems to have persisted as a tradition in German religious music.
Certain chromatic alterations in some of J.S. Bach’s Passion music suggest a similar metaphorical interpretation.
50 As musicologist Tim Carter might put it.
Scacchi noted that some of Siefert’s errors resembled instrumental, rather than vocal writing. He described Artusi’s censure of such a practice[51], and later repeated:

This tenor is deformed not by the understanding or with the mind according to the harmonic rules, but by the lifting of your fingers on your clavichord, in a manner condemned by everyone...You have formed these two real octaves with three voices from the sound of your clavichord...[52]

Scacchi was saying that because of composing at the keyboard, Siefert was unable to discern when the number of real parts sounding in his polyphony was reduced because of doublings and parallel voices. By suggesting that Siefert ‘doodled’ in this way, Scacchi insinuated that his training was by definition imperfect and that Siefert’s brain was ignorant of the science behind what his fingers did. (This of course reverted to the old idea from Aristotle that, unlike a true musicus, such a person was virtually a lower form of life:—‘a beast does what he does not know’.)

By Scacchi’s own testimony, he prepared an answer to the Anticribratio, but did not publish it on the advice of friends.[53] While he may have held his peace in public, he continued to find private media through which to explore the issues raised by the polemic.

Remarks in the Letter to Christoph Werner (late 1646/early 1647, transcription and translation in the appendix) indicate that this document was occasioned by a request for a professional testimonial.[54] Some small sacred concertos (“Musical First-Fruits”, 1646[55]) written by Christoph Werner (1617/18-1650), a composer-organist, a colleague of Caspar Förster senior

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[51] Scacchi, Criticorum musicorum, 32. This was then, and remained through the century, a means of suggesting that someone was not an advanced thinker about music generally, let alone ignorant of advanced counterpoint.

[52] Scacchi, Criticorum musicorum, 56. “Tenor iste non formatus est non intellectu seu mente secundum Regulas harmonicas, sed digitis saltem per tum Clavichordium, cum talis modus ab omnibus anathematizetur...Hic ex sono Clavichordij tui duas versus Octavas Tribus Vocibus formasti, nec mirum, digit enim tui non sunt ocultati...”

[53] As stated in the Letter to Christoph Werner.

[54] The letter had several references to Siefert and even examined some of his music. Scacchi clearly had material for his anti-Anticribratio in mind, but given Werner’s evident place in the Scacchi-Förster circle, the criticisms of Werner’s compositions may well have come from one of “these northerners”, Siefert himself. If Scacchi had resolved not to answer Siefert further in print, it was certainly not for want of something to say, and the polemic effectively continued in private. Jerrold C. Babb noted further (article “Werner, Christoph”, New Grove 20: 348) that Werner personally underlined an opposition to Siefert in his publication Musikalischen Arien (1649).
and well-known to Scacchi, had been attacked by "the evil tongues of detractors": certain of
"these northerners" found the works too avant-garde, too mixed stylistically, probably too
Italianate. Scacchi praised the works as following the precepts of the seconda pratica, and, the
better to establish his criteria for judgment, set out a long first section in his letter which
systematically categorized the styles of music and their respective subdivisions. (A summary of
Scacchi's schematic is given in Table 7, page 146.)

The types of church music started with strict-style masses and motets without organ and
passed through the techniques of polychoral and concertizing church music to 'motets in the
modern style'. Generic distinctions were determined by a hierarchy of contrapuntal observance
as well as expressive and social functions and (indirectly, to some extent) the nature of the
audience to be addressed. Scacchi opened the discussion of the ecclesiastical style with a series of
nine basic norms to be observed particularly, summary material which had already been
elaborated in Cribra musices and the Lettera per maggiore informationes. The elimination of the
organ in the first of the categories may have to do with the intellectual approach to such
compositions. Since these works were presumed to be based on a 'most perfect manner',

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56 Christoph Werner, Praemissa musices in quibus motetae singulares vel una vel duobus vocibus, & duobus vel tribus instrumentis
musiciis moturando una cum basso ad organum (Königsberg: Author ("typis Paschalis Menseri"), 1646). The work
contains 15 small sacred concertos in Latin and German, to scriptural or devotional texts.
57 Christoph Werner (1617/18-1650) was organist at the Katharinenkirche in Danzig from 1646-50. He also served
as deputy Kapellemeister at the Marienkirche during the illness of Caspar Förster senior. The brother of Friedrich
Werner, comertist and also at the Dresden court, Christoph was himself appointed Vize-Kapellemeister in Dresden
in 1655 but died before he could take up the position. He was among those who wrote a testimonial for Scacchi in
the Judicium oriii musici, [MS I-Be E.50] and seems himself to have opposed Siebert. The Latin text of Scacchi's letter,
Ad Excellentiss.: Dr. C. Wernerem, is transcribed in Erich Katz, Die musikalischen Stilbegriffe des 17. Jahrhunderts
(Inaugural dissertation, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926), 83-89. [MS English translation by the present writer, in the
Appendix, pages 243-256.] The manuscript, which formerly belonged to the Hamburg Staatsbibliothek (MS
ND.VI.5573) was presumably lost during World War II.
58 Palisca reproduced some of this material in "Marco Scacchi's Defense of Modern Music (1649)", in Words and
article was reprinted in Palisca, Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994),
88-145, which added the original Italian text to Palisca's translation. The pagination referred to in the present text is
from the 1994 edition of Palisca's article.
59 See translation of this passage in the appendix, pages 246-249.
Table 7. Marco Scacchi, from *Letter to Christoph Werner* (c.1646): musical kinds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church style</th>
<th>Chamber style</th>
<th>Theatrical style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masses, motets and similar vocal works for 4, 5, 6, 8 voices, without organ</td>
<td>Madrigals da tavolini (without instruments)</td>
<td>A single type and style: ‘song is perfected in being spoken and speech in being sung’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar music with organ, added in such a way that it may be composed of several full choruses</td>
<td>Vocal music with general bass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar vocal music in concerto</td>
<td>Admits all musical instruments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motets in the modern style (which belong to the second practice: these are different from the chamber and scenic styles and take a ‘middle course’. Harmony follows the text, but consonances and dissonances are disposed according to the second practice.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With total integrity of the individual parts, *basso continuo* or *seguito* was considered, strictly speaking, an admixture, or slightly suspect as an inadequate representation of the rest of the polyphony. Scacchi then set about giving a list of requirements for polychoral composition, which stressed the manner in which the choirs were linked to one another, sonority, balance in resources and scoring (especially in the relationship between *concerti* and a full ensemble), avoidance of complicated and excessive speed, and a general fullness and dignity of sound.
“according to the meaning of the words”. On account of the number of voices or the use of concerti in compositions for several choirs, the composer was not quite as constrained by contrapuntal rules as in four- or five-part music, though it was to be understood that such works nonetheless belonged to the first practice. “The greater the number of voices, the greater will be the liberty.” While the first three genres were claimed as explicitly prima prattica, the fourth motet category was considered in terms of a monodic type with basso continuo and nominally included works using either reciting or ornamental style procedures or a mixture of them.

Especially interesting was the discussion of motets in the modern style, one of the original pretexts for the writing of the letter. Such compositions were to be shaped so as to be distinct from both theatrical and chamber styles and took ‘a middle course’. This style was considered appropriate for use in oratories, presumably because spiritual devotions in a non-liturgical musical context could be suitably associated with the use of the seconda prattica. They were clearly of the seconda prattica, in that the disposition of consonances and dissonances was different from the first practice; the harmony followed the text, and “the natural expression of the words should be observed as much as possible”. But as far as the particular genre was concerned, all this was to be allowed ‘with much discretion’. These remarks were clarified by a passage in the Breve discorso, in which Scacchi answered the objection that certain modern styles were being used in churches, addressing issues both of technique and of decorum. ‘Motets in the modern style’ appear to be similar to what Scacchi referred to as the ‘hybrid’ style (stile imbastardito). He distinguished two manners within recitative style: a simple representational, “which is the one accompanied by acting in the theater”, that is, by gesture (which would be indecent and ludicrous in a church singer), and another, called imbastardito or hybrid, “which will go on for a while

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60 Scacchi, Letter to Christoph Werner; in appendix, 248.
61 A reference to a remark on the last page of Critium musicum.
62 Scacchi, Letter to Christoph Werner, in the appendix, page 250.
representing the text in the recitative style and then, all of a sudden, will be varied with passaggi and other melodic effects...which are not permitted...[in] simple representational recitative”. 63 This term might also describe the embellished solo version of falso bordano practiced in the early seventeenth century. He added that what the moderns use in church, according to the demands of the occasion, the place and also the text, is a varied kind of vocal line, rather than a specific representational type, so it was not the same as that used in theatres. Additionally, when an honourable singer performed the reciting style in sacred vocal music, it was not acted out and did not offend decorum. 64 It is significant that Scacchi here did not actually formulate a new view of the reciting style, as such; the description in Letter to Werner is very brief, little more than establishing the type itself and providing an interesting report of contemporary practice in this respect. The issues which concerned him most, and the Breve discurso confirmed this, were those of decorum—was this style appropriate for church?—and the proper separation of styles, which in fact had been among his chief concerns since Cribum musicum.

Chamber styles were arranged in a manner analogous to church music. Madrigals da tavolino (‘for the table’) were polyphonic pieces without basso continuo. By the 1640s Severo Bonini was lamenting that they had almost disappeared as a subject for new publications. 65 Strictly speaking, this was not quite accurate. A repertory of such works continued to be sung widely, both for pleasure and as a means of learning the art of counterpoint. As an advanced exercise in composition, composers continued to write unaccompanied madrigals into the eighteenth century; 66 the redoubtable Heinrich Schütz himself experimented with

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64 Ibid., 111.
65 Bonini, Discorsi e regole, 82.
them in his old age. 67 *Basso continuo* and concerted madrigals were clearly associated with the *seconda pratica.*

Although theatrical style was afforded a separate category in the *Letter to Christoph Werner,* Scacchi did not elaborate upon it there, even to the extent he did in *Cribrum musicum.* This omission was to some extent explained by the letter's direct purpose, commentary on church motets, and the indirect orientation of the schematic itself to the strict style. In the *Breve discorso sopra la musica moderna* [Brief discourse on modern music] (1649), 68 however, Scacchi clarified the position of the reciting style, and more generally where the real catholicity of his musical culture became fully clear. He issued the little work because, contrary to its detractors and intellectual resisters, he believed that "musical art today has reached nearly the summit of perfection through the foundations of this second musical practice", and he wished to demonstrate on the other hand "how much damage to music is being done by those who pay more attention to fabricating canons in their composition than to creating smooth harmony." 69

For all the rationalist argumentation he used in the *Cribrum musicum* against Siefert, his full grounding in post-Zarlinian contrapuntal theory and his professed inability to provide rules for modern theatrical composition, he indeed was still an enthusiastic advocate of modern practice. In the *senso-ragione* debate, he came down firmly on the side of *senso,* declaring that

The case for modern practice is so well founded that it has no fear of being resisted by a certain small number of opponents, so long as it is granted the opportunity of laying out its reasons with the corroboration of the hearing, the principal instrument for judging music. For with the ear we have gathered the good and perfect in the

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67 See below, page 156.
68 See note 56.
69 Palisca, "Marco Scacchi's Defense", 99. The remark about canons was an allusion to the Roman composer Romano Michel, who cultivated the art canon in this period. Michel had gotten wind of the Scacchi-Siefert polemic and sent both men copies of some of his canons, some of which contained elaborate contrapuntal artifices. Scacchi was intensely irritated at Michel's confusion of the issues and published a now lost reply (noted in the *Letter to Christoph Werner*), claiming that Michel understood little of true text-music relationships and condemned the obsession with canons.
harmonic art, as I said, since experience in this music of ours is the mistress of all things.  

Likewise, “the hearing judges [the modern composer] as one from whom music has received, and daily receives, greater perfection.” Scacchi's aesthetic philosophy of music, in language often tinged with religious sentiment, emerged to greatest effect in this document. He was primarily concerned with defending current practices against those who argued that modern music was written in ignorance, devoid of rules and principles. The final goal of music was to give delight, and in itself this justified the modern style, as modern compositions gave more pleasure than the ancient, “insofar as regards style”. “The world has reason to be indebted to modern composers in the measure that they have brought finesse of harmonic delight to the representation of words with their new musical accompaniments. He implicitly allowed that older compositions provided a kind of satisfaction on the basis of their revelation of intellectual science per se, but he also stated that “harmony alone is also not sufficient, however perfect it may be.” Ancient music consisted in one practice and virtually one and the same style of using consonances and dissonances, that is, of counterpoint. The end of the second practice was different from the first, and did not ‘pretend to destroy the first’. Ancient music need not be abandoned for the new; rather, “let the two both stand and be augmented, namely, the ancient for masses, hymns and similar pieces a cappella, the modern for concerti and vernacular poetry and similar pieces.” In asserting the claim of ‘style’, he implied that modern composition had a different manner of treating musical materials which addressed different kinds of musical goals; it achieved its intense effect on different as well as psychological terms, according to the demands of an occasion, place and text.

71 Ibid., 97.
72 Whether Scacchi was actually religious or not, such language would have been politically acceptable considering the persons and institutions to which the argument was addressed, who were also among his current and prospective sources of patronage.
74 Ibid., 113.
Scacchi argued that modern music’s detractors disparaged what they did not understand and acted as though they preferred to impede progress. If some modern composer actually violated good practice, let judgment be made on the basis of the particular: “if any practitioner of modern harmony has run too far ahead by taking some intolerable licence in his vocal compositions, we should impugn him specifically and not disparage all the many honoured and well-grounded masters of modern music in general.” In tracing the origins and history of music it became clear that with divine protection and pleasure music progressed from small beginnings to almost optimal perfection in the present:

The opponent of modern harmony asks me: What increased novelty can the new varied styles, which produce a new sonority, bring to the art of music? As long as the foundations of the harmonic art that I possess are broadening, I do not see the necessity of reducing music to a single style of Palestrina, however full of qualities and esteem he is as a composer. For the art of music could be rich with so many varieties of different styles composed almost throughout the world that it would be a marvel. All honoured theorists and practitioners have laboured to demonstrate this goal of delectation. Therefore, if these modern compositions, insofar as regards style, give greater pleasure than the ancient, it does not seem to me to be a case for abandoning them. ...If everyone were compelled to pursue the same style and one school, music would be reduced to poverty and left without variety of styles. Besides, it would become beggarly in inventions to please, which is the principal end of the art of music.

Scacchi’s ideas disseminated (1): Germany: Schütz and the Geistliche Chormusik (1648): prima prattica alla germana

For the rest of the seventeenth century, Scacchi’s ideas would linger amongst coteries of professional musicians in northern Germany, Poland and parts of Italy. His oeuvre doubtless moved in manuscript copies as well as prints. Enough evidence from various sources has survived so that it can be assumed reasonably that Scacchi’s writings were passed around musical circles in

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75 Palisca, “Marco Scacchi’s Defense”, 117.
76 Ibid., 97.
77 Ibid., 99.
78 Ibid., 107.
79 Ibid., 113-115.
Danzig, Hamburg, Warsaw and Dresden. In those cities, they appeared in the hands of those interested in the Italian style or in some way influenced by Italian connections.

Perhaps Scacchi's most impressive, though not fully appreciated, impact was upon the towering figure of Heinrich Schütz. Schütz himself became indirectly involved in the Scacchi-Siefert polemic when, as the incumbent of one of the most prestigious musical posts in Germany he was asked for a testimonial letter for the *Judicium cribri musicæ* which had been meant to support Scacchi's case against Siefert. Two letters in the *Judicium*, in fact, were from Schütz, who testified that Scacchi, his fellow Kapellmeister in Warsaw, was well known to him. It should also be recalled that Christoph Werner had important connections with the Dresden court and might well have been the means of transmitting ideas and material orally or in manuscript to Dresden.

Schütz and Scacchi clearly admired each another. In the Werner letter of 1646 Scacchi wrote:

> Nor can I withhold special praise celebrating Master Sagittarius, who first brought this new style from Italy; and for the rest, a man highly skilled in the art of music, and who by his merit is held in the highest esteem by all followers of that art.

Schütz in his turn wrote:

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80 The number of manuscript copies of Scacchi's material (some of which were formerly known to be extant and now are destroyed) suggest that informal circulation played a large role in the transmission of his ideas. An interesting study of transmission via manuscript copies can be traced in Paul Walker, "From Renaissance 'Fuga' to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the 'Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts", Schütz Jahrbuch 7/8 (1985/86): 93-104.

81 For example, the copy of *Cribrum musicæ* consulted by Erich Katz in the 1920s contained the *Zettel* of the Hamburg cantor Thomas Selle, some of whose works show the early impact of Italian on native German musical styles. On Selle's death, the book went to the Hamburg library (Katz, Stilbegriffe, 30). This could also have been the copy consulted by Matheson regarding his comments on Scacchi in *Der vollkommen Capellmeister* (1739). See Jürgen Neubacher, *Die Musikbibliothek des Hamburger Kantors und Musikdirektors Thomas Selle* (1599-1663). Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen und Bestrebung des erhaltenen, überwiegend in der Staats- und Universitätlsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky aufbewahrter Bestände (American Institute of Musicology. Neuhausen: Hässler-Verlag, 1997).

82 *Judicium cribri musicæ* (Warsaw, c.1649). The print is lost, but a MS copy exists in the Civico Musico Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.

83 Both in Müller, *Gesammte Briefe*. They are Nr. 59, "Litteranum celeberrimi Viri Excellentissimi Domini Henrici Sagittarii Copia Elocutor Saxonic Capelle Magistri meritissimi ad D. Christinum Schirmer ex Germanico Latina" [pp. 169-170, dated 7 September 1646] and Nr. 69, "Epistola secunda Excellentissimi Domini Henrici Sagittarii ex germanico Latina, ad Amicum" [188-190, dated "Anno 1648"].

84 "Letter to Christoph Werner", 1646; transcription in Katz, Stilbegriffe, 86. "Neque inficiari possum, singularem Encomio celebrandum D. Sagittarium, qui primusque ex Italia novum hunc stylum aspertiavit, vir ceteroquin Artis Musicae peritissimus, et qui merito ab omnibus ejusdem Artis sectatoribus summa in existimatione habeatur ..."
Master Scacchi...is an extremely well-grounded musician; and thus I shall have no choice, it seems to me, but to agree with him in many things...The most excellent Master Scacchi is not only highly learned in theory, but is a man well versed in practice, who also not undeservedly, on the basis of his excellent qualities, has directed his most celebrated and illustrious chapel. 85

Schütz was acquainted both with Clavrum musicum and the Anticribratio. When he had had opportunity to consider the polemic, he noted:

I must confess that I, too, was drilled and instructed in my youth by my master of blessed memory Giovanni Gabrieli in a manner similar to that in which Master M. Scacchi in the Clavrum sets Master Syfert right. This I desire that Your Excellency will impart to Master Scacchi on the proper occasion with my best regards...[He then urged Scacchi to] complete and publish the treatise on counterpoint which he promised us in his book. He would surely be of great service therewith to our German nation and would gain for himself undying renown. 86

Meanwhile, in the preface to Geistliche Chormusik (1648), 87 Schütz also expressed his hope that a musician well-known to me, highly experienced in theory as well as in practice, will soon publish such a treatise on this subject [of counterpoint] which will be very beneficial and useful, especially to us Germans. 88

The subject material and shape of Schütz’s much-noted preface to Geistliche Chormusik may well reflect Schütz’s active engagement of, and responses to, some of the style issues raised by Scacchi.

Furthermore, consideration of the Werner letter particularly may contribute to resolving some of

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the puzzling questions about the internal organisation of the publication itself. *Geistliche Chormusik* is grouped into 12 five-part, 12 six-part and 5 seven-part motets respectively. The majority of the pieces are vocal alone without *basso continuo*, one of the six-part and all but one of the seven-part motets clearly call for both voices and instruments. 

The organisation of the collection from a liturgical perspective has been considered by Wustman. But Schütz may also have had an expository and didactic rationale: he may have grouped the contents not only by arranging them in a progression from small groups to larger ones, but also intending to demonstrate, step by step, techniques within various genres of *prima pratica* music. Among the “notwendige Requisita” for composition Schütz listed in his preface are “*Differentia Styli in arte Musica diversi*”. At this point in the preface, he referred not so much to church style *per se*, as to the essentials of compositional technique generally. He meant that the composer must know the particular requisites of church, chamber and theatrical styles and how they differed from one another. In addition, there were further generic subdivisions of each class, dependent on contrapuntal strictness, resources demanded, social use and place of performance. In Scacchi’s Werner letter, the church style (Schütz’s focus in *Geistliche Chormusik*) was subdivided into masses, motets and similar compositions for four, five, six or eight voices without organ; similar compositions with organ added, such that they consist of several full choruses; similar music in concerto; and motets according to the modern style. Scacchi further confirms that the first three subdivisions (those present in *Geistliche Chormusik*) belong to the *prima pratica*. *Geistliche Chormusik*’s groupings mirror Scacchi’s hierarchy of *prima pratica* church compositions sufficiently well to

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89 The arrangement 12-12-5 appears asymmetrical and somewhat unfinished. One can infer from the title-page designation Erster Teil is that a projected second volume was meant to continue with more seven-part works and perhaps expand into *cori spezzati*.

90 Rudolf Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs I: Bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Kistner & Siegel, 1926; repr. Berlin: Merseburger, 1974. 470. He opined that each grouping (5, 6 and 7 voices) held representative music for the first part of the liturgical year, from Advent through Epiphany, with special pieces for occasional services, especially funerals. This suggested to him that it may have been the first of perhaps four projected volumes intended to cover the entire liturgical year.
construe a possible influence, or at least that Scacchi and Schütz shared such assumptions. Scacchi’s categories also explain why *a cappella* and vocal/instrumental works appear in one publication, sometimes with an overlap between them: Schütz understood them less as distinct types than as part of a *prima pratica* continuum. While some works show a concerted manner of writing, the generically troublesome word *concerto* need not imply *seconda pratica*: it signals reversion to an older manner of writing for voices, or voices and instruments, in more than one choir.

Schütz’s assumption of the premises of *prima pratica* generic integrity also explains his emphasis on presenting these works without *basso continuo*. When a *basso continuo* or *segmente* was used to accompany sacred music in early seventeenth-century Italy, it used simple and unsubtle harmonies; in this context it was understood as a kind of shorthand full score where ‘real’ parts were neither fully nor adequately realized. Thus it was not really faithful to the integrity of *prima pratica* textures, and thus unable to represent or teach to others the true subtleties of counterpoint. For this reason Schütz quietly implied that the composer who chiefly practised the *Bassum Continuam concertirende Stylus Compositionis* might possess an underexercised and slipshod technique. *Basso continuo* was also closely associated with recitative and monodic music; by definition it was a signal feature of the modern style and effectively represented a generic intrusion into strict-style compositions.

Schütz’s statements may also represent a high-minded comment upon the simmering nationalist issues inherent in the Scacchi-Siefert polemic. In his musical life in Dresden, Schütz himself was no stranger to tensions associated with national and religious biases, and the *Geistliche Chormusik* preface may have represented an indirect opportunity to present some of his views on

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91 One of the six-part works, *Was mein Gott will, das geschehe allein* [SWV 392], uses instruments; two seven-part works, *Ich weiß das mein Erlöser lebt* [SWV 393] and *Der Engel sprach* [SWV 395] do not have any obvious indications for them, all parts being texted.

the state and crosscurrents of music theory at the time. Although secondary sources have
predominantly stressed his quintessentially Lutheran and German orientation, Schütz’s own
testimony indicated that Italian compositional theory must have influenced his musical formation
from the outset of his career. In its beginning, “I too was drilled and instructed in my youth by my
teacher Giovanni Gabrieli of blessed memory...”, “in Italy, where the real university of music
lies...in my youth, I first began to lay my foundations in this profession...”. Even in his old age,
perhaps as a kind of mental hygiene, Schütz continued to experiment with the composition of
Italian madrigals, by then regarded as an excellent method for learning composition. The evidence
suggests that he believed deeply in the efficacy of his Italian training, though this was not because it
was Italian per se. Rather, he conceived of music as a science based on eternal, supranational laws;
and because, from his perspective, certain Italian musicians had retained the ability to transmit that
science, they deserved to be emulated by any of music’s true students. Considering in retrospect
how fractious and partisan Italian-German musical issues could be from time to time, Schütz’s
magisterial attitude and dignified response still commands respect.

Modern German scholars in particular have considered Scacchi’s influence upon
Christoph Bernhard. Bernhard might well have come into contact with Scacchi’s ideas orally in
the 1640s because of his network of connections with musicians in Danzig, Hamburg and
Dresden. Erich Katz drew a parallel between Bernhard’s *stylus gravis* and *stylus bocerians* and

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93 Arno Forcher’s “Heinrich Schütz und die musica poetica”, *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 15 (1993): 7-23 is one of the first
sources to examine this idea in any depth.
94 “Letter ad Amicum”, Nr. 69, ed. Müller, *Gesammelte Briefe*, 188-190. “...ego in juventute mea a bone memoriae
Johanne Gabriele Preceptore meo quoque fuentm instructus ac institutus...”
95 *Geistliche Chormusik*, preface.
96 Letter to Caspar Ziegler, August 11, 1653, in Müller, *Gesammelte Briefe*, 236. The *madrigale da tavolino*, even in this
period, retained use as a medium through which to teach and learn *prima prattica* polyphony, both by sightsinging
and through composition. The image of the aging Schütz, one of the towering figures of his age, still receptive to
refining his technique in this way, is profoundly impressive.
97 See Hellmut Federhofer, “Marco Scacchi’s ‘Cribrum musicum’ (1643) und die Kompositionslehre von Christoph
Scacchi’s *prima* and *seconda prattica* (a nominal division of styles extrapolated from Bernhard’s writing is provided in Table 8, page 158.) But the strict/free and first/second formulation had already become fairly general by the 1640s; and Hellmut Federhofer pointed out that although Bernhard was probably acquainted with *Cribrum musicum*, he did not repeat Scacchi’s three-fold division of styles.

Indeed, genres were far from being as articulated as Scacchi’s. Insofar as Bernhard’s classification of styles can be discerned from the *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, his model seems to be drawn more readily from the older chronological division of pre- and post-Willaert, the Monteverdian paradigm, and indigenous German modes of thought, notably rhetorical applications. He did not differentiate between church and chamber vocal music and lumped them together with ‘sonatas’ under the rubric of *stilus communis*. His citation of composer-practitioners of respective styles was more current than his theory.

Scacchi’s ideas nonetheless remained known in Germany, albeit in a sometimes garbled form, long after he had passed from the scene. He was remembered as the originator of the divisions of music into church, chamber and theatrical types (although in fact he was not) and for his clarification of the differences between the older and more modern motet styles.

Johann Mattheson, who himself had been embroiled in some exchanges with Heinrich Buttstedt on the subject of stylistics, eventually cited Scacchi as an authority in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739).

Marco Scacchi, a famous Italian musician in his time, and for thirty years Capellmeister for two kings of Poland…confirms in a hand-written, unprinted book, which can be found at the public library of St. John in Hamburg, and which is addressed to Christian Werner, then cantor in Danzig, that the division of musical styles into three classes, namely into church, theatre, and chamber styles, is not only absolutely correct; but also necessarily thus, and could and

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98 Katz, *Stilbegriff*, 55 et seq.
99 Federhofer, “Marco Scacchi’s *Cribrum*”, 78-80.
Table 8. Christoph Bernhard, classification of styles (after Müller-Blattau, p. 19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stylus gravis</th>
<th>Stylus antiquus</th>
<th>Stylus luxurians</th>
<th>Stylus modernus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slow movement</td>
<td>Few dissonances</td>
<td>Rather rapid movement</td>
<td>More dissonances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Not so much the text as the harmony taken into account'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'More good air, so as to agree best with the text'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A cappella Ecclesiasticus</th>
<th>Communis</th>
<th>Comicus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harmonia Oratiois Domina</td>
<td>Vocal works for church and chamber, sonatas</td>
<td>Theatrical, recitative, oratorical ‘Invented for putting speech into music’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[harmony mistress of the speech]</td>
<td>Sowohl Oratio Als Harmonia Domina</td>
<td>Oratio Harmoniae domina absolutissima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestrina, Soriano, Morales; among the older, Willaert, Josquin, Gombert (among whom the text was set somewhat more ponderously); among the newer, both Gabrieli, Pioli, Benevoli, Ratti</td>
<td>[speech mistress as much as harmony]</td>
<td>[speech the absolute mistress of the harmony]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monteverdi, Rovetta, Cavalli, Bertali, Fabri, Francesco Porta, Turini, Rigatti, Cassati, Carissimi, Tenaglia, Albrici, Scacchi, Bontempi, Peranda. Germans: Schütz, Kerll, Förster</td>
<td>Monteverdi, Rovetta, Cavalli, Carissimi, Tenaglia, Albrici, Bontempi, Luigi [Rossi]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Mattheson continued:]

must not be done any other way, notwithstanding the fact that one might well examine these three styles of writing and expand them into various secondary kinds.

At that time, however, some one hundred years ago, the church style comprised within itself only four barely distinguishable categories; the chamber style had three, and the theatrical could not be divided at all but remained one; thus with effort one could enumerate only eight secondary styles. Now one can easily see that many changes have taken place since then, and that the number has been increased. But whether such an increase will go still further in the future we will gladly leave for posterity to experience: it is sufficient that the principal classification will constantly maintain its basis and certainty, without any doubt, and also that all new secondary styles probably could easily be traced to the above three classes.¹⁰¹

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Mattheson's own thinking on stylistics was demonstrably a confused graft of several different and not altogether compatible approaches to the subject, and may very well reflect the virtual breakdown of seventeenth-century style systems in practical composition (even more so than in theory) by the 1730s. Although it demonstrated an appreciation of changing ideas over time, Mattheson was unable to sort out the historical, temporal and cultural differences among the sources he cited, and his remarks became more of a personal outlook than a scholarly representation of these ideas. But his note about Scacchi did indicate that such ideas were still respected, and they heightened Mattheson's sensitivity to the pervasive stylistic mixtures and crossovers of his own time. Thus in 1739 his book commented:

[A]fter considering everything carefully, I am a little worried, namely that as time goes by only a few or even perhaps not a single one of these styles and their categories might remain unadulterated and with distinguishing characteristics. For there is already such a mishmash to be found in the styles of many self-instructed composers, as if everything were deteriorating into a formless mess. And I believe that one would find many who, upon inquiry as to the style in which this or that piece was set, would be embarrassed for an answer.

There were other theorists working in German-speaking countries in the early eighteenth century who continued to show the influence of Scacchi's ideas about style: perhaps the most influential was the composer and theorist Johann Joseph Fux. He and others seem to have acquired them more at second hand than did Mattheson, in that they learned them from Angelo Berardi or other Italians who themselves or through their writings travelled into German countries in the latter seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These writers on style will be examined briefly at the end of this chapter.

103 Mattheson, in Harris, Mattheson's Capellmeister, 225.
Scacchi's ideas disseminated (2):
An unknown intermediary: Hieronymus Ninius and his “Brief and modest examination” (1647)

In tracing Scacchi's influence beyond his immediate German- and Polish-speaking environment back to his country of origin, account should be taken of a hitherto unknown document which appeared not long after the publication of Siefert's Anticribratio. It will be remembered that Scacchi himself related in the Bruve disoruo that he had prepared an answer to Siefert's text, but on the advice of friends decided against its publication. But at this point another person, writing in response to the Anticribratio, took up the cudgels against Siefert. This work, Examen breve ac modestum sex chororum a Paulo Syfertio...in bonum et utile Musiced Studiorum... , was published in Braunsberg [presently Braniewo, Poland] by Caspar Weingartner in 1647.104 Nothing is presently known of the author, one Hieronymus Ninius, except that he was Italian, for he referred to terms and expressions as those "we Italians" use. He proclaimed himself a Scacchi disciple and was probably associated with Scacchi's personal circle: Examen breve, like Cribrum musicum, is dedicated to Caspar Förster, the Danzig organist and theorist.

Examen breve constitutes the earliest published document to adopt and quote Scacchi's methods and ideas about the relationships of musical styles in an independent critical analysis, antedating Berardi's books by more than three decades.105 It is also the first to show the influence of Scacchi's language in the prescriptions for a particular category of composition, that is, music for multiple choirs. The tract itself is a densely printed Latin text of sixteen pages with numerous musical examples. It contains a critique of a now-lost wedding ode for six choirs which Siefert composed for the marriage of King Vladislav IV of Poland with Luisa Maria Gonzaga on March 1,

104 RISM B/VI/2, 618. The only known exemplar is conserved in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, through whose kindness I consulted a microfilm copy.
105 As will be seen below, Berardi in fact used Ninius as a primary source and copied passages (translating the Latin into Italian) directly from the Ninius text into his own work.
1646.\textsuperscript{106} Divided into four parts, plus an appendix, it establishes the precepts for correct composition of polyphonic music; it discusses Siefert’s failure to fulfill these requirements; it analyses his contrapuntal errors; and provides a concluding discourse. Unfortunately, the musical examples quoted in Ninius’s text, while holding some important clues as to the style of the whole work, are decontextualized and very brief, and there are obvious risks in speculating about a work known only through the argumentation and selective quotations of a notably hostile critic.\textsuperscript{107}

For Ninius proceeded with undisguised relish to do a hatchet job on Siefert’s showpiece.\textsuperscript{108} Effectively he condemned the German for treatment of virtually every aspect of the musical materials which nominally signalled the identity of a polyphonic composition as he understood it.

Ninius set up the discussion by listing nine precepts he considered applicable to correct composition in a work for six choirs. (These precepts are excerpted and translated in the appendix.) It is clear that he understood this work as an exemplar of a \textit{prima pratica} genre and brought to bear on its critique the strictest standards for its contrapuntal, its disposition of the parts and of the choirs, compositional considerations based upon the place of performance and the various expectations of the audience. He did admit that “it is allowed to the composer to take some licenses in his compositions which admit many voices (as Marco Scacchi teaches in his \textit{Cribrum}), which I would not dare to deny.”\textsuperscript{109} However, not only did Ninius treat Siefert’s freedoms as a gross abuse of that principle, but in fact he seemed to tolerate licenses no better than he did breaches of

\textsuperscript{106} In Jerrold C. Baab’s article on Siefert in \textit{New Grove} (17: 297), it is stated that the epithalamium was published by the composer in \textit{Psalmorum Davidicorum ad gallicam melodiam...pars II} (Danzig: Rheten, 1651) as Psalm 128. Actually, this latter composition was written for the marriage of Vladislav’s brother and successor, Jan II Kazimierz (reg. 1648-68) and does not resemble the musical and text fragments of the work analyzed in \textit{Examen brevius}.

\textsuperscript{107} Ninius began by characterizing Siefert’s \textit{Anticribratio} as full of “false and naked ignorance, pride, deceptive precepts, envy, ineptitudes, malice, craftsmanship, supreme mutilation of the rules of harmony, and arrogance (false statements, meramque ignorantiam, superbia, praecipita fallacia, invidiam, ineptias, malitiam, valetudinem, Harmoniae regulae supremam pessimam, & Arrogantiam).” (sig. A2). The text is peppered with derisive exclamations and asides.

\textsuperscript{108} For a showpiece it must have been, considering the occasion and the resources involved. Polyphonic music had enjoyed great prestige in German-speaking countries since the 1560s and was highly favoured for celebratory occasions when the resources were available (Carver, \textit{Cori spectabilis}, 194-195). German composers showed enthusiasm for such music as disseminated by the Venetians, and also for what was available by way of anthologies.

\textsuperscript{109} Ninius, \textit{Examen brevius}, sig.Dv.
important formal principles. Like a number of theorists before him, Ninius was particularly concerned with the technique of interconnecting the choirs; but, consistent with the contemporary Roman approach to such music, he independently scrutinized the constituent individual choir groupings, each of which was apparently for four voices. Citing Vicentino as authority for such an approach, Ninius observed that the individual choirs of a polychoral work had to observe perfect internal counterpoint. Since the four-voice disposition was considered to be the most ‘perfect’, it was therefore subject to the most rigid contrapuntal standards.110

Ninius began his critique by establishing criteria of value integral to the first practice and influenced by the aesthetic of the Roman ecclesiastical style.111 He emphasized the qualities of sonority coupled with structural balance that by then had become identified with Roman prima pratica music. These entailed not only the use of sound counterpoint but broader considerations of audibility, function, performance site, sociological context and the sense of decorum. Ninius then went on to repeat advice for polychoral writing found in several earlier Italian treatises:112 that a second choir should enter on the same harmony as that on which a first choir finishes a phrase or section, that the bass of the consequent choirs should begin on the same note as that on which the preceding ends. But he also added that the individual choirs should properly have relatively distinctive profiles for the sake of their being better and more particularly heard.113

Ninius’s guidelines contained precepts for dealing with the creation of a generally coherent, integral design consistent with the polychoral medium. An added stress on this requirement reflects the strictures of his own generation, more than those that preceded him.114 One admonition involved concerto. This could have meant either the use of instruments per se or writing for a small

110 Vicentino, Ancient Music, 268-269.
111 Ninius, Examen breve, sig. A2v.
112 Notably in Vicentino and Zadlino; also in Silverio Piceti, Specchio secondo di musica...(Naples: Matteo Nucci, 1631).
113 Ninius, Examen breve, sig. A2v.
114 Ibid., sig.B.
number of voices contrasted with a larger ensemble, but in the present context it probably referred to the latter. Ninius objected to Siefert’s exploiting the technique, summarily forbidding the use of *conerto* in the polyphonic genre because occasional singing by a very few voices “leaves the ears of the listeners quite empty”. The resultant arid patches disrupted the overall sense of structural proportion and sonority. In the critique, he cited as poor several examples in which two solo voices appear in passages only a few breves long. 115 Here at first he appeared even stricter than Scacchi, who (albeit with qualifications) admitted *conerto* more freely. But Angelo Berardi, who apparently knew Ninius’s treatise, later reconciled the apparent discrepancy between master’s and disciple’s opinion. Berardi explained that the use of individual voices was forbidden for very large ensembles—four choirs or more—due to problems of spatial-formal balance; whereas for works of two or three choirs it was acceptable, provided the admonitions about the relationship of individual sections were heeded. 116 With language reminiscent of *Criticius musicus*, Ninius extended his commentary on the polyphonic technique, objecting to Siefert’s general formal presentation as one which consisted of a heterogenous series of small movements inconsistent in their technique and affective tone.

Siefert’s practice was a miscalculated and incidental feature in a design where such a gesture was not only lost but trivialized. Ninius’s concern in this case was not only conceptual but practical: not only was structural decorum at stake, but real potential for disaster in performance lay inherent in the inept coordination of a number of ensembles in a very large space.

Having offered his criteria for judgment, Ninius then proceeded to explain point by point how Siefert had failed to observe the rules in the work under scrutiny. Contrary to the requirement of responding to a proposed subject, Siefert began the composition with a capital error, namely a prolixity of incoherent subjects each of which was inadequately realized.

Example 2. Hieronymus Ninius: from Ecomen breve ac modestum, sig. A.2v-B.

Subject proposed by Siefert in his work, choir I, according to Ninius:

But instead of a proper 'modal' answer, Siefert used this response:

Which was followed in the baritone voice in the second choir by this:

116 Angelo Berardi, Armoni musicali insegna (Bologna: Monti, 1690), 23.
To be acceptable in the strict style, a 'modal' answer was expected to respond to a single subject, demonstrating the proper intervallic relationships of fifth and fourth. Because of the awkward design of the responses, Ninius argued that the beginning had not conveyed a clear or consistent affective quality in its presentation of mode. Having made this poor beginning, the composer was unable to salvage its structure due to a lack of technical skill in counterpoint. In its development, the critic called the work “arid” (presumably thin in part-writing) and judged it without a consistent organization of the choruses, “which to be sure is the most powerful difficulty in constructing compositions for many choruses of this kind.” For page after page Ninius cited Siefert for breaking generic prohibitions: he used parallel movement of the bass parts in different choirs simultaneously; he had the bass of a second choir answer a previous one not by using the same pitches, but by creating the intervals of a third, a fifth or even a fourth. Indeed, Ninius categorically forbade what Zarlino had occasionally allowed—a third between bass parts.117 [See Example 3, page 166.] The most necessary rules of polychoral composition—that there be an orderly correspondence of parts and choirs—had been repeatedly violated, and therefore Siefert had created confusion in the total design.

Thus Ninius described a work which to his eye and ear seemed not only to lapse continuously from good counterpoint, but also one in which tempo, texture, musical relationships and affective nature inadequately addressed the place and purpose of the composition. While Siefert, said Ninius, claimed he was thus accommodating the harmony to the words, he was in fact writing like an ignoramus.

117 Ninius, Examen breve, sig. Bv. “...nulla tamen ratione respondet, aut coniungitur antecedenti, aut succedenti texture, (quam Italico vocabulo dicimus, tessitura), quae sane dificultas potissima est in huiusmodi plurimum Chororum Cantilenis instruendis.”
The critique proper was concluded with a discourse including a summary of Scacchi's contribution to the theory of musical style:

This is precisely the great difficulty which the Scacchian school has solved in more recent music; that is, by what distinction compositions should be considered when they are judged by the composer, what style they should uphold, [by] what rule they should proceed, by what reason the harmony may be subject to the speech; that a difference should be preserved between ecclesiastical compositions, and those for private chambers, [and] again by what difference these can be distinguished from the theatrical.\(^1\)

In an appendix, Ninius included two remarkable compositions by his master which have a distinct place in the design and purpose of *Examen breve*. They were intended as models of good composition.

\(^{118}\) That is, in Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, 268v.

\(^{119}\) Ninius, *Examen breve*, sig. Dv. “Arque haec ea demum difficilas magna est, quam Schola invenit Schachiana in Musica recensioni, id est quo pacto consideranda sint Cantilenae, cum ab Artifice contenturnur, quem tenere stylum debeat, quam regulam intire, qua ratione debetae orationi subjiciere Harmoniam, quod servandum discrimen sit inter Cantilenas Ecclesiasticas, & cubiculi privatæ, has vero rursus qua differentia possit a Theatralibus distinguere &c.”
writing for the student, and provided a kind of vindication of Scacchi’s skill—and his right to act as
Siefert’s critic. Both pieces have unusual features. The first work, not previously known, is labelled
Cantilena III vocum elaborata super cantus firmum in usum studiorum musicorum. It is a lengthy chorale
variation for three textless parts on the melody Wir glauben all’ an Jesum Christ. An annotation on the
first page—“authori Domini Marci Schachii ex improviso composita”—suggests that he was either
a fluent keyboard performer who wrote down an inspiration or otherwise wrote the work on the
spot. It is explicitly designed for “the use of students of music” and carefully points out every event
of musical interest with Latin legends or musical cues above the appropriate system in the score.

Ninius’s choice of this piece suggests that Scacchi, who in Criticum musicum had equated the
choral motet generically with the cantus firmus psalm, could claim to hold competence in a style
indigenous to Lutheran Germany. Thus he was not ‘ignorant of the German idiom’ and could
demonstrate equality and even superiority to Siefert on his own musical terms. As Siefert was an
active contributor to the repertory of the chorale variation (and was remembered as such), this was
a pointed gesture. Ninius thereby insinuated that Scacchi had not only vindicated Italian
competence but had assimilated a variety of musical experiences, implying that his opponent, who
hated the Italian manner, was parochial and narrowminded.

The other composition in Ninius’s appendix was a motet for five voices with a text
beginning Vobis datum est nascere mysterium. This intriguing work alluded to Adrian Willaert’s

120 Ninius, Examens breves, sig.E.
121 See the worklist in Jerrold C. Baab’s article on Siefert in The New Grove 17, 297.
122 Ninius, Examens breves, sig. Gv. Compare the texts of Ninius and Berardi on Vobis datum est.
Ninius, Examens breves, title page (1647):
“Et Motettum quinqu[ae]vocum partum artificiosissime elaboratum quod partem secundi Tenoris. Nam in partitura
a videntur omnes dissonantiae vbi hoc signum NB, Si vero ad considerationem adhibetur cum ratione Musicae &
fundamentis, inueniuntur consonantiae omnes. Totum enim artificium in eo praecepi consistit, vy oculus
decipiat. Quare mirabitur sine dubio quicunque nunc primum videbit novum hoc genus Cantilenae.”
Berardi, Documenti armonici (1687), 70:
“Motetto a 5. Tessuto artificiosissimamente, nel secondo Tenore le note appaiono tutte dissonanze dove si
ritroua questo segno NB, mà se saranno considerate con la ragione de’ buoni fundamenti Musicali sono tutte
consonanze. L’ artificio in tutto consiste d’ ingannar l’occhio.”
renowned so-called chromatic 'duo' *Quid non ebrietatis*, for it appears to end on a dissonance, E against D. But if the singer of the second tenor part applies the rules of solmization correctly, he can perform it so that it concludes aurally on a normal cadence. *Quid non ebrietatis* was studied and cited avidly in theoretical sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries;\(^{123}\) Scacchi probably came upon this work in his reading of Artusi.\(^{124}\) To comment upon it was to elaborate a *topos* for demonstrating one’s advanced musical learning. While in his writings Scacchi spoke out against the futility of self-involved contrapuntal pursuits as ends in themselves, he saw the practical and social value in mastery of counterpoint, considered it important equipment and was probably happy to establish his credentials as an erudite *musicus*. By including this piece in *Examen breve*, Ninias confirmed his master’s authority to judge the compositions of others and demonstrated that he could do things even better.

In part Ninias’s analysis reflected the study of models he might well have known best: works in the Roman polyphonic tradition from the years 1620 to 1630, with specific citations of Scacchi and Giovanni Francesco Anerio for their mastery of the idiom. Roman polyphonic music of this period had many characteristic and clearly recognizable features, and Ninias’s remarks support the idea that its formal shaping had much to do with the huge spaces of the Roman basilicas for which it was originally conceived. Each choir tended to have a similar disposition of voices, SATB, and in each the polyphony was full, sonorous and self-contained. When two voices each from two or more choirs sang simultaneously, they constructed aurally a full polyphonic texture more

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There are qualities in this part of *Documenti armonici* which suggest that Berardi was copying other Scacchi sources. The presence of additional music by Scacchi demonstrating arcane techniques suggest a possibility that both Ninias and Berardi had access to Scacchi’s unpublished material, perhaps shared with them by the composer himself. Possibly it was drawn from items intended for wider circulation but which did not achieve publication.

\(^{123}\) As Edward E. Lowinsky demonstrated in “Echoes of Adrian Willens’s Chromatic ‘Duo’ in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Compositions”, *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold S. Powers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 183-238. The implications of the presence of this motet in a print of 1647, during the time of Scacchi's controversy with Romano Micheli, are most interesting. Scacchi had attacked Micheli in print for his seeming obsession with arcane canons with numerous obligations, but here Scacchi demonstrated to another polemicist that he, too, knew how to deal with arcane techniques.
reminiscent of the smaller-resource sections of older sacred music (such as the Christe eleison and the Benedictus of the mass) than of modern concerti. The relationships of bass lines, mode openings, and so forth was meticulously observed. Many Roman Masses of this period did use the modern concerto style, of course; but their formal structure involved large, clearly defined sections, rather than brief passages.

But the polyphonic models most available to German composers during the 1630s and 40s were of two types. One was derived from Venetian polyphonic music of the preceding generation — that of Giovanni Gabrieli and Giovanni Croce, for example. Such music differed from the Roman; it was more flexible in its use of form, resources, sonority and written-down ornamentation practices. Nonetheless, although concerto is not yet an issue in the writings of theorists before 1630, the texts set down certain basic structural principles to which Venetian pieces, and the German works inspired by them, conform with notable fidelity. The other type of model available to Siefert was one based on older elements of the German polyphonic motet tradition. This music included the alternation of dense and sparse textures, a wide range of part-writing, frequently varied rhythmic patterns and ad libitum practices which might use few or many voices or omit some. Praetorius's Polyhymnia caducatrix et panegyrica (1619), for instance, contains numerous examples of such writing, including passages Ninius would surely have criticised, even though the work is suffused richly with features of the new Italian manner.

The admittedly limited examples quoted by Ninius in the critique as problems do raise the possibility that the compositional matrix of Siefert's wedding ode was an alternative, non-Roman tradition. Ninius cited concerto passages such as Example 4 [page 170] only a few measures long, calling them 'meager' in his judgment. Another instance [Example 5, page 170] demonstrated his


Example 5: Hieronymus Ninius, from *Examen breve ac modestum*, sig. C.

Artusi discussed this piece, which he called *Quidnam eritetas*, at some length.
dislike of Siefert's old-fashioned concerto style: it consisted of a vocal melody of narrow range accompanied by four voices all pitched in a low register. By Roman standards of the 1640s, this scoring would have been unorthodox and antica, but such can be readily found in non-Roman music.

This suggests that Ninius's critique of Siefert might be viewed in a light similar to that of the Scacchi-Siefert polemic itself. Whether or not Siefert was a difficult person, whether or not he was not an especially gifted or open-minded composer, he may yet have understood that some of the arguments in the polemic were at crosspurposes. His claim of belonging to the 'Belgian' school was not put forward very effectively, but it might have been accurate to some extent. To argue the claim effectively, though, he would have needed a historical perspective which in fairness could not possibly be expected of him. For the Scacchi-Siefert polemic, and Ninius's critique by extension, represented in part the collision of two different compositional and theoretical milieux and two unsynchronized phases of cultural, national and musical development for which a large number of contributing factors were responsible. In retrospect, the charges and countercharges of parochialism implicit in the controversy generally were not a contrived, but rather an ironic situation.

Scacchi's ideas disseminated (3):

Angelo Berardi, later style classifications and the deterioration of the seventeenth century paradigm

Angelo Berardi (c.1627/30-c.1693) may well be the most significant among the conservative theorists of later seventeenth-century Italy. Beginning sometime before 1681 and continuing until 1693, he published a series of books which he himself seems to have intended to cover the gamut
of speculative and practical music.\textsuperscript{125} His musical and theoretical formation was associated with study in Bologna in the 1640s and 50s, and also study with Scacchi, which seems to have occurred sometime between 1656 and 1662. He was the major Italian transmitter of Scacchi’s ideas and may have quoted him even more liberally than is presently realized.\textsuperscript{126} In his book \textit{Documenti armonici},\textsuperscript{127} Berardi not only reprinted the clever motet \textit{Vobis datum est}, originally published in Ninius’s treatise of 1647, but copied Ninius’s prefatory remark about it on his title page, translating Ninius’s Latin into Italian. He also largely copied Ninius’s remarks on the polyphonic style as well, suggesting the importance of the Ninius treatise in documenting the transmission of Scacchi’s ideas.\textsuperscript{128} Berardi preserved and advocated Scacchi’s understanding of the relationship of styles even at a time when the theoretical advocacy of integral styles was increasingly compromised by their ‘mixture’ in actual composition.

When discussing the divisions of music, he did not begin with a schematic of seventeenth-century styles but in a distinctly older and more redolently Aristotelian way; with the phylum, \textit{Musica humana}, which was divided into instrumental and vocal music. Vocal music was divided into \textit{cantus firmus} (Gregorian chant) and \textit{cantus figuratus} (figural music); figural music was divided into church, chamber and theatrical styles. He also addressed the question as to whether the music of his time constituted an old and a new school, or a first and second practice. Since by this time ‘ancient’ music either meant specifically the music of the ancient Greeks, or was a simple pejorative denoting

\textsuperscript{125} All of Berardi’s extant works were published in Bologna by Giacomo Monti: \textit{Ragionamenti musicali} (1681) [repr. Bologna: Formi, 1970]; \textit{Documenti armonici} (1687) [repr. Bologna: Formi, 1970]; \textit{Miscellanea musica} (1689) [repr. Bologna: Formi, 1970]; \textit{Ascari musicali seghati} (1690); \textit{Il perbi musicale} (1693). His first known published work, to which Berardi alluded several times in subsequent writing, was \textit{Diario musicali}, now lost. Berardi’s theoretical works have been the subject of dissertations by C.F. Waack (\textit{Angelo Berardi als Musiktheoretiker} [Inauguraldissertation, Kiel 1956]) and Arved W. Larsen III (\textit{Angelo Berardi (1636–1694) as Theorist: A Seventeenth Century View of Counterpoint} [Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1979]).

\textsuperscript{126} See Berardi, \textit{Documenti armonici}, 63. Berardi remembered Scacchi with great affection. The \textit{Documenti armonici} passage is a recollection of his friendship with Scacchi, and the sense of what he owed to Scacchi’s memory inspired some spiritual reflections on friendship and the nature of mortality, as well as the reprinting of Scacchi’s music.

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Ibid.}, 70-78.

\textsuperscript{128} Berardi, \textit{Documenti armonici}, 106. Both Ninius’ and Berardi’s precepts for the polyphonic style are transcribed and translated in the appendix.
unsophisticated old-fashionedness, he meant by ‘old’ the strict contrapuntal style and by ‘new’ the modern affective manner. ‘Old’ and ‘new’ he considered improper terminology, because they enjoyed the continuity of being both in current modern practice. He affirmed a common unified basis for these in the theory of music, to which practice related by showing the various means of disposing consonance and dissonance over the decades. “That science which has a sole foundation cannot admit diversity of schools. All controversy is excluded where opinions are uniform...the substance, never changeable, is taught by the old school; the incidental, that potest adesse & abesse, which are the variations, are all the capital of the new school.”

His thumbnail sketch of the history and ‘substance’ of music is reminiscent of Antimo Liberati’s *Letter to Ovidio Persaegi*, in both material and philosophy, a work which he knew and had recommended for reading. In the 1680s, he continued to insist intransigently on the old or strict school as the universal referent for all practice.

Berardi, clearly more than his teacher Scacchi, had a natural affinity for the generation of composer-theorists who by the 1660s and 1670s had subscribed to the belief that the Roman school of church music in particular was both the technical and spiritual centre of ecclesiastical composition, to which in turn all other kinds were secondary. Those writers on music who increasingly subscribed to this view contributed significantly to the association of the concept of the seventeenth-century strict-style church idiom with the name of Palestrina and his Roman successors. (This topic will be addressed more fully in the next chapter.) On some intellectual and psychological level their views about certain aspects of modern music and aesthetics were a kind of corollary conceptual state of denial. Berardi repeated some of the received understandings about the newer school, but he was a cleric with a particular world-view and loyalties, and the nature and

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129 Berardi, *il perbo musicale*, 51; in appendix, page 266.
130 That is, in *Miscellanea musicale*, 39.
scope of his theoretical works suggest his heart was with tradition. His obesinan to the Roman school (which, of course, included himself and his closer associates) was more than boosterism; it was based on real belief. In elaborating his principles for composition in the ecclesiastical style, Berardi used language which strongly suggests that he had made such an identification. He praised Palestrina for his “serious, devout and yet lively style” and Benevoli for his understanding “how to join seriousness, artfulness with the sweetness of song and with the devotion of the spirit, which was also customary in ages past...”132 His remarks were followed by a short discussion133 describing how the Roman church historically had embraced the best musical qualities of both the Greek and the Milanese rites to create the sweetest and liveliest, yet most majestic and serious style. Followed by a discussion of invertible and double counterpoint, this section from Ragionamenti anticipated strongly what Antimo Liberati would do in his Persapegi letter of three years later.134

Know that the Roman style, as much in composing as in singing and playing, has always been applauded and embraced by all the world, not only in this age, in which virtuosi of harmony live who increase the glory and splendour of our School, but also in times past.135

The Roman school represented an idealized church practice which he evidently did not believe fully existed in the actual ecclesiastical music around him. In Il perbo musicale, he was asked the question as to whether, with modern composers distancing themselves from the ecclesiastical style more than they should, church music would lose its decorum and seriousness or acquire more honour. He did not answer directly, but responded by drawing an allegorical scene of a beauteous Lady Music in tears, “ashamed, sorrowful and afflicted” about to plead at Parnassus, when Berardi suddenly drew the curtain.136 It is obvious that Berardi was distressed about the state of music in

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131 In the next chapter it becomes clearer that Berardi and Antimo Liberati shared these ideas. Mutual respect existed between them, and they consulted one another freely on professional and theoretical matters.
132 Berardi, Ragionamenti, 141.
133 Ibid., 143-145.
134 See below, chapter 4, pages 212-213; 216.
135 Berardi, Ragionamenti, 143.
136 Berardi, Il perbo musicale, 52. Transcription and translation in the appendix.
church, but it is as if he could not find a way actually to argue the case. He was probably in some conflict about it: having argued (from the conservative viewpoint) for the place of modern music, he also sensed that the logic of his reasoning led him to detest the contamination of the modern style in strict church music.

In a letter to Animo Liberati, he suggested that the extrinsic effects created by choice of style and technique dispose the listener intrinsically to a particular response. Berardi adopted a remark of Zarlino's here but, read in a late seventeenth-century context, it had acquired a new layer of meaning. While harmony, such as it might be conceived in the first practice, may be pleasing in itself, it would not necessarily raise a particular affective response; whereas in the second practice, harmony (joined with text and rhythm) worked psychologically to impress itself on and stimulate the affections. While Berardi's view of the nature, origins and 'schools' of music was quite conservative, this suggests the influence of the Cartesian psychological view of perception increasingly prevalent in European thought after the 1650s.

Taking simple harmony, without joining to it anything else, will not have the power to make any extrinsic effect, with all that may prepare and dispose intrinsically to happiness or to sorrow. And so with your learned invention you have chosen excellently, to subject the harmony to the force of the speech, the better to render it perfect, according to the pronouncement of Plato...

By the 1680s he understood clearly that criteria of judgment had been generally compromised by aesthetic considerations, but, at heart unquestionably traditionalist, he distrusted what the senses yield and advised that reason and the senses work together.

The science of music (with everything concerning the hearing as more necessary than the other senses) recognizes its origin; nonetheless it cannot arrogate to itself

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137 That is, from Zarlino's Le istituzioni armoniche (pt.2, ch.7, p.84) and repeated in Monteverdi's 1607 "Explication".
138 See the letter "to his reverence, Benedetto Stella", Il peribbe musicale (1693), esp. 49-50; trans. in appendix, 264-268.
139 Berardi, "Al Sig. Animo Liberati, Musicco nella Cappella Pontificia. Roma," Il peribbe musicale (Bologna: Pier-maria Monti, 1693), 14. ...pigliando la semplice Armonia, senza aggiugnere altra cosa, non haurà portanza di fare alcun effetto estinseco, con tutto che prepari, e disponga intrinsecamente all'allegrezza, omer alla inestittita: E perciò con il suo erudito ingegno ottimamente si è eletto di soggettare l'armonia alla forza dell' orazione, per maggiormente renderla perfetta, conforme al detto di Platone..." Berardi's language is strongly reminiscent of the Monteverdi 1607 "Explication".
absolute judgment in matters pertaining to playing and singing, but should be
united with reason, because one without the other will always be the cause of error.
In order to be able to judge musical compositions scientifically, it is necessary to
investigate and understand the whole in such a manner that reason and the sense
may concur unitedly to form the judgment.

Two conditions are required of him who wishes to judge in the harmonic
profession: first, that he be very well skilled in things pertaining to speculative
science, and then as much versed in those concerned with practice. In other words,
it is impossible that someone can ever judge rightly that science, or art, of which he
does not have an exact understanding.\(^{140}\)

And he concluded:

The falseness and the deception of the senses is so clear and manifest that at every
moment the effects are seen, and a public cry and a public reputation is made, while
more sentient men remain silent and uncertain... I shall say only that it is a very
dangerous thing to want to give judgment in the harmonic profession, considering
the diversity of temperaments which vary inclinations.\(^{141}\)

Berardi adopted the view that older composers cultivated music using one practice and one
style, whereas the composers of his own time availed themselves of two practices and three styles.

In discussing compositions of the sixteenth century, he noted that while *modulazione* may be a little
more spirited [*gioiando*] in some types of music than others, where works were serious in nature he
claimed that there was little or no difference among Masses, motets and madrigals with respect to
style and to the disposition of consonances and dissonances.\(^{142}\) He judged likewise of the by-now-
beatified Palestrina, qualifying his remarks by adding “speaking with respect to variation in style”,\(^{143}\)
presumably to ensure that their quality and finish did not seem disparaged.

He noted how modern music had changed and improved over time in respect of its final
purpose, which was “to delight, and to elevate the human passions.” Having described how ‘our
predecessors’ did not distinguish in manner between disparate genres or avail themselves of the
dissonant intervals used by followers of the second practice (“which render a new harmony and are

\(^{140}\) Berardi, *Il perfetto musicale*, 48-49.
\(^{141}\) Ibid., 50.
\(^{142}\) Berardi, *Miscellanea musicale*, 40.
necessary to express the speech"), he explained how the moderns, however, had a variety of styles. Berardi then recapitulated this style division in *Miscellanea musicale*:

Our ancients had only one practice and one style. The moderns have three styles, church, chamber and theatre. There are two practices; the first, which is the old one, consists Ut armonia sit domina oratoris, as I have said above; the second, Ut oratio sit domina armoniae. All these styles are structured and woven differently by modern composers.145

His schematic of contemporaneous genres was first printed in the *Ragionamenti musicali* in a modestly annotated form. (See Table 9, page 179.) It followed closely the layout of the *Letter to Christoph Werner* with some updating annotations, using Scacchi’s three styles of church, chamber and scenic or theatrical, and the two practices. The first categories of both the church and chamber styles, however, lean more explicitly toward distinctly older music than did Scacchi’s categories, given the authorities cited by Berardi as models for good practice. One of the masters of the old church style, Giovanni Murone, probably Jean de Muris, could only have been known to Berardi as a theorist, not a composer, and this suggests that he was citing received authorities rather than idiosyncratic composer favourites. As in Scacchi, the absence or presence of instruments was sufficient to define a category, even without the fine discrimination of individual styles within that category (cantatas, or “things to be sung [cantate], which are concerted with various instruments”). He recapitulated these style divisions in *Miscellanea musicale*:

"The church style is considered in four ways:

I. Masses, psalms, motets, hymns for several voices, in the old manner.
II. Compositions used with the full organ for several voices, in a more elevated style.
III. Psalms, motets, masses for several voices, concerted with instruments.
IV. Concerti in the modern manner, that is, dialogues, motets, and oratory music.

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143 Berardi, *Miscellanea musicale*, 40.
144 ibid.
145 ibid.
The chamber style is divided and considered according to three styles.

I. Madrigals for the table [da tavolino].
II. Madrigals concerted with basso continuo.
III. Concerted compositions with various kinds of instruments.

The theatre style consists in this alone: that in speaking, it is sung, and in singing, it is spoken. I have discoursed on this a little in my Rationamenti concerning motion, gestures, etc, and on that account I will not repeat anything else.

I am leaving aside music for serenate, canzonette, mixed cantatas, the hybrid reciting style [stile Recitativo imbastardito], ariette in different styles such as sonetti, ottave, lamenti, etc. since these are practiced daily with noble inventions by the elevated spirits of modern composers, who continually labour to bring music to its ultimate end, which is to delight and to elevate the human passions, as all the philosophers say."146

Berardi elaborated on the association of the theatrical style with gesture, alluded to in Monteverdi’s 1638 preface and by Scacchi.

Fel. Theatrical music receives its power from gesture, and this was derived from the ancients while they sang—an opinion of Miletus, who is of the opinion that motion in song is the spirit of the word, because, accompanying the voice with the gesture of the hand, one better expresses its meaning.

Gius. I believe that the hand is a special instrument given to us by nature, the better to express the movements and the passions of the soul.147

There followed a description how certain of the ancients, Egyptians and Greeks, customarily portrayed language, with gestures of the hand and postures and movements of the head. But Berardi also called for moderation in the use of gesture for decorum’s sake: “However, these motions should be carried out in a manner such that the song does not cease to be matched by modesty, but only so much that the listener obtains delight and the sight does not take offense.”148

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146 Berardi, Miscellanea musicale, 40. Italian text in appendix.
147 Berardi, Rationamenti, 137. “Fel. La Musica Teatrale riceve la sua forza dal gesto, e questo è stato pigliato da gli Antichi, mentre cantavano, opinione di Meletio, qual’ è di parere, che il moto nel Canto sia l’ anima della parola, poiche accompagnando la voce col gesto della mano, maggioramente si viene ad esprimere il suo significato. Gius. Io credo, che la mano sia un’ Instrumento particolare, datoci dalla natura, per maggiormente esprimere i moti, e le passioni dell’ animo.”
Table 9: Angelo Berardi: from <i>Ragionamenti musicali</i> (1681), style classifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church style</th>
<th>Chamber style</th>
<th>Theatrical style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masses, psalms and motets in several voices, in the old style</td>
<td>Madrigals &lt;i&gt;da tavolino&lt;/i&gt; without basso continuo</td>
<td>'Consisting in this alone, that one speaks in singing and sings in speaking'; receives its force from gesture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Giovanni Murone, Morales, Giosquino, Adriano, 'the divine' Palestrina]</td>
<td>[Marenzio, Nenna, 'the late most learned theorist' Antonio Maria Abbatini]</td>
<td>“Peri, Monteverde, Cesti have flourished in this style to a marvelous degree, and today Messrs. Bernardo Pasquini, Cavalli, Pietro Simonone Augustini, etc.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compositions varied with the organ, full, for many voices “in a more elevated style”</td>
<td>Concerted madrigals with basso continuo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Bernardo Nanini, Agostini, and 'more modern' Francesco Foggia, Gratiani, Stamigna, de Grandis]</td>
<td>[Claudio Monteverde, Mazzocchi, Savioni]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms, motets and masses for many voices, concerted with instruments</td>
<td>Things to be sung (&lt;i&gt;cantate&lt;/i&gt;)* which are concerted with various instruments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['my lamented' Sarti, Scacchi, Cossoni]</td>
<td>[Carlo Caprioli, Carissimi, Tenaglia, Luigi Rossi, Celani, Pacieri, etc]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;i&gt;Concertini&lt;/i&gt; in the modern style: dialogues, motets, music for the oratorio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Carissimi, Bicilli, Melani, Celano]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In Miscellanea musicale these are called cantilene concertate.

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148 Berardi, <i>Ragionamenti</i>, 141. “Questi moti però devono esser portati in maniera, che il canto non venga scompagnato dalla modestia, mà tanto quanto, che l'uditore ne pigli dileitto, e la vista non resti offesa.”
At the bottom of his scheme Berardi lists a number of secular types which he was ‘leaving aside for the time being’, apparently various kinds of cantata-type works which were recitative-aria alternations, various aria and song types, possibly including those based on ostinati or variation forms (“music for serenata, canzonette, mixed cantatas, the hybrid reciting style [stile Recitativo imbastardio], ariette in different styles such as sonetti, ottave, lamenti, etc.”). He left these current types to practical modern composers, mentioning but not schematizing them. In some cases they might well have crossed among some of the categories listed (the third class of chamber music and the theatrical style, at least), disturbing the neatness of the scheme or adding another layer of complexity.

Berardi also added the names of outstanding practitioners in most categories, significantly expanding on Scacchi’s notes in this respect. It is interesting to find the name of [Carlo Donato] Cossoni given as exemplary in first practice concerted music, for the Ragionamenti was published a few years before the fractious competition for maestro di cappella won by Cossoni in 1684-85. Apart from his probably being known to Berardi through their mutual Bolognese connections, it suggests that Cossoni indeed had an independent reputation as a quality composer of this type of music.

Whether or not Scacchi himself was as vested as Berardi in the special virtues of the Roman school, the kind of thinking associated with Scacchi’s divisions of style pushed the strictest church style into a highly defined idiom. This, however, was not true for the ‘something other’ kinds of music, which in many cases increasingly took on a sectionalized concertato idiom and adapted forms and procedures which had much in common with secular musics. By the early eighteenth century, it is clear that Scacchi’s carefully delineated categories, which were posited from the traditional theory of counterpoint and even in his day rapidly being superseded in modern working

149 Chapter 4 deals with this controversy at length.
practice, had broken down for most practical purposes. The *da capella* manner retained the strongest integrity, but as for the categories of modern practice, attention to such questions had dissipated and become slightly confused. Complex historiographical reasons are responsible: namely, there were conflicting pressures within Catholic musical culture, which insisted that tradition be maintained even as it eagerly assimilated novel secular influences; the issue of an irreconcilable division of technical idioms was long since passé; and a growing internationalization of musical language and discourse meant that conceptual subtleties which were the result of localized historical and social thinking were being eroded to some degree. Eighteenth-century writings on church composition did repeat general injunctions about generic differences, primarily because it had become part of the received lore for inclusion in such texts. But by the 1720s, prescriptions were more likely understood intuitively as groupings of techniques and affective approaches than as rigid layout rules. Real and characteristic distinctions among types of composition obviously existed in fact, but a blanket typology of genres based on a single technical theory was not, and probably could not have been formed.

Near the end of *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725), the influential theorist and composer Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741) practiced what was by now customary in contrapuntal manuals, distinguishing among various styles of music. Because of the variety of texts there were various methods of ecclesiastical style, a certain one for composing masses, another for motets, another for psalms, another for hymns, and so forth. But all of these reduced in technique to two, a *cappella* or full choir style, of a “more ancient dignity”, and *stylum mixtum* or mixed style. *A cappella* was divided into two types. The first, without organ and other instruments, simply for voices, was used primarily in cathedrals and at the imperial court in Lenten season for piety’s sake. Avoidance of mixtures with other genres was its primary consideration. The second kind used organ and other instruments but also implied a full-textured polyphony. Fux noted that for brief texts, such as a *Kyrie* or *Amen*, the *a
cappella style should be undertaken; whereas for longer texts, such as the *Gloria* or *Credo*, another method of composition is required, where a new subject should be adopted with every period.\(^{150}\) With a short or perhaps symmetrical text, a consistent or constant texture may be appropriate, in
which the subject should be apt not only for the music but signifying the text and expression of the
affect.

*Stylus mixtus* involved “a greater freedom in the singing and in the modulation”, since the vocal parts were supported by “the organ and other instruments”:

At some points one, two, three and more voices sound together with intermingled instruments, and at other points are heard in full chorus, which kind of composition is most customary in churches at present [i.e. ca.1725].\(^{151}\) Fux seems here to refer to sectionalized concertato works.

Master Aloysius reminded the student Josephus that the end of church music was to inspire devotion and to serve the divine cult, and that *stylum mixtus* must not be confounded with theatrical or dance [*saltatorio*] styles.\(^{152}\) This mandated that Fux explain the presence of recitative in church music. He described *styo recitativo* as occurring when the text, or the elocution of a speech, is expressed in the movement of music. For texts aspiring to dignity, for music full of seriousness, the bass line rarely changed, which was very suitable to the ecclesiastical style, which was ‘not rarely’ exercised with bringing in instruments. Its dissonant clashes were accepted as a feature of the style if reason attended the expression of the senses, in which grace was introduced.\(^{153}\) For this purpose


\(^{153}\) *Ibid.*, 274. “Stylus recitativus aliud non est, quam sermo Musicae modulis expressus, sive Oratoria elocutio. Quemadmodum enim Declamator pro vario Oratoniis genere, variae quoque vocem flexit, modo incitando, modo remittendo, modo extollendo, modo depressendo, ejus habitum affectus induere studet, quem animo exprimere concepit: idem Compositionis Musices, pro textus varietate faciendum est. In recitativo sermone quotidiano finito, Musica voce aliquantum remissa instruenda est. In contentione voxacris nonnullorum vociferanti similis adhibeatur,
recitative could be used, "where we pour out toward God our feelings with suppliant words". Reason, of course, should restrain the composer from drawing it into the realm of chamber or theatrical music, which have different purposes.154 'Reason' here is less a matter of the intellectual bases of music (although decorum and some science were necessarily involved) than of the composer's exercise of good taste. Significantly, the chapter immediately preceding this discussion dealt with the subject of taste, De Gustu. "Almost no word is more frequently heard, than 'taste', which is described as the facility of defining what ought to be affirmed.155 Any of the composer's choices had to be viewed in this light.

Although Fux was able to characterize recitative in terms of general technical treatment, he had to offer compositional advice in terms of illustrations, not rules. He suggested not only how certain affects may be expressed in recitative but rhetorical and syntactic structures as well; that is, how points of punctuation, interrogation, and parentheses of speech were indicated.156

Although it had been present in church music for the previous century, this passage indicated that acceptance of the reciting style within the rubric of ecclesiastical musical types was virtually complete. It progressed beyond the mention of amateur enthusiasts such as Giustiniani, through Scacchi's admonitions that it can admitted with much discretion and moderation, to Fux's practical instructions.

To indicate the persistence of remnants of the seventeenth-century theoretical paradigm in its somewhat schizophrenic eighteenth-century manifestation, it is useful to look for a moment at the Tractatus musicae compositoria-practicus (1745)157 of Meinrad Spiess (1683-1761). In this book he constantly reiterated that church music was a synthesis of old and new. Spiess still defined music as

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154 Fux, Gradus, 276.
155 Ibid., 239.
156 Ibid., 276-278.
157 Meinradus Spiess, Tractatus musicae compositoria-practicus (Augsburg: Johann Jakob Lotters Erben, 1745).
a science based on number in sound; he inclined toward Gregorian chant and the church modes as the basis of advanced composition, and he devoted much of his text to learned counterpoint. Like Fux, whose work he knew well, Spiess posited two manners, the *Alla Cappella* and *Modo Mixto* styles. While the *a cappella* style consisted either of free counterpoint or involved the use of a *cantus firmus*, the mixed church style

is when the composition is worked out with 1, 2, 3 or even more voices and concerted instruments, such that it is partly arioso, partly with intermingled counterpoint, fugue, etc., so that one may not overstep the boundaries or confines of ecclesiastical gravity and modesty...\(^{158}\)

With the terms *stilus mixtus* and *modo mixtus*, these two authors seem to refer to an updated church style which engaged modernized structural procedures such as *concertante* writing, modified concerto style, the use of ritornello and aria forms and the prevailing harmonic language, but without a great deal of differentiation among compositions based on musical techniques per se. That it was music for the church, calling for the old requisites of “ecclesiastical gravity and modesty”, did not mean that it need lack the appeal associated with current or galant taste. For all the strength of his attachment to traditional method, he admitted to music’s emotionally expressive power and seemed wholeheartedly to accept concessions made for its sake: “if the text particularly requires painting something excited, lively, fresh, one can bring it up in the church.”\(^ {159}\) But this was not the mere allowance of contrapuntal license on occasion. After two hundred pages about chant, church modes and the more arcane contrapuntal skills, Spiess described the appeal of music in language which is jolting in its stylistic schizophrenia.

*Easy means that everything falls clearly on the senses; and that soon can be grasped by the understanding. If a thing is easy, then it is also clear; and when diverse easy or clear things are properly bound together, we call them flowing, and what is flowing and clear is also for the most part lovely... everything unnatural, forced, and*


\(^{159}\) *Ibid*, 161.
done with hair-pulling, as it were, one must let go. What is too artificial loses its true being.\textsuperscript{160}

This was no longer the traditional admonition against overly complex vocal counterpoint. A different aesthetic is at work here; the old admonitions to clarity in text articulation have given way to call for ‘naturalness’ and accessibility which dominated much of the aesthetic language of the eighteenth century.

The loose formulation \textit{stilus mixtus} represented the holdover, but also the effective collapse, of the typological systems for genres of music found in seventeenth-century theoretical writings, where prescriptions became more particular even while practice became more all-embracing. What was expected of \textit{da capella} composition was still fairly specific in the eighteenth century, and even in the late twentieth century a listener can immediately discern it in a context of other music, because its formal qualities and its “sound” are so defined and predictable. Even as a section within a \textit{mixtus} work it retains its integrity. In actual practice \textit{stilus mixtus} might denote stylistic and formal eclecticism within a single composition which might even include an \textit{a cappella} section. This was acceptable provided that if introduced, it was carefully distinguished from the surrounding material and followed the formal and style procedures prescribed for it. This mixture of music was rationalized, however, by the imposition of an affective decorum which moderately attended to the religious sense, deflected overt associations with the straying passions of the opera house and affirmed tradition as a current, living force while appealing to current tastes. \textit{Stilus mixtus}

conceptually embraced both tradition and musical currency by carrying forward tradition yet calling that carriage a part of being modern. It served as a solution to that great conundrum of church

\textsuperscript{160} \textit{Ibid}, 162. “Leicht heiset man alles das so deutlich in die Sinnen fallt; und dahrn vom Verstand bald kan begriffen werden. Wann eine Sach leicht ist, so ist sie auch deutlich; und wann verschiedene leichte oder deutliche Ding gehörig verbunden werden, so heissen wir sie fliessend, und was fliessend und deutlich ist, das ist auch mehrenthalts laßlich ...”[202] “Alles Unnatürliches, Gezwungenes, und gleichsam mit Haaren-herzogenes muss man hinweg lassen. Was zu sehr ausgürstelt wird, verleihet sein wahres Wesen.” In Fiderl, “Tractus”, 44.
music since the late sixteenth century, how to make acts of devotion at once current and timeless, at
once overpoweringly impressive, flatteringly persuasive and spiritually uplifting.
Chapter 4

Canonizing an Observant Style: The Development of the stile alla Palestrina, Antimo Liberati and the Milan Competition of 1684

By circa 1650 church music was considered under three broad types: a cappella vocal polyphony without the addition of instruments, concerted music involving either contrasted voice groupings or voices to which instruments were added, and soloistic or monodic music. Much church music, especially a cappella and many concerted works, derived its sense of belonging to that class from the text which it set, which was associated with liturgical function and performance context. Added to these qualities, however, was the presence of a musical style texture, which was both the fundamental generic signifier for a distinctive sub-class of the "modern" observant style and a kind of super-style class of church music. This style texture consisted of an aggregate of materials—"strict" contrapuntal technique, particular rhythmic values, audibility of text, melodic lines suitable for vocal performance, and so forth. Its use carried highly charged cultural messages about the genre, nature, tradition and intent of the work in which it was imbedded.

Well before the middle of the seventeenth century this manner of writing was referred to as the stile alla Palestrina. As the century advanced, however, the description stile alla Palestrina came to be applied to works using a structural and formal compositional technique which was rooted in the art of the sixteenth century, but increasingly different in some important ways from Palestrina's own. The composer himself was regarded as the founder or renovator of a pure, sanctioned generic school, but this does not mean that seventeenth-century composers consciously and literally imitated his personal manner. In emulating the style, they did not think of themselves as either copying the older master in the manner of mindless epitomes or even of writing 'old' music. While they were bound to observe certain fundamental generic parameters
and restraints, and while they considered Palestrina as peerless in his own ability to do so in his own time, composers of the seventeenth century nonetheless had considerable room to display personal ingenuity and skill within the generic conditions imposed on them. "Modernity" in part consisted in keeping abreast of the manner in which the parameters of the strict style had shifted and had to be followed in their own day. Seventeenth-century musicians held modernity, that is, currency within tradition, as a primary value, even while they looked to authority, that is, emulated predecessors such as Palestrina, as another value. This made it possible to seek identification with an older master while being susceptible to the musical currents of their own time.

To identify the stile alla Palestrina with the term stile antico, therefore, which has often happened in twentieth-century secondary literature, is not strictly correct, particularly from the seventeenth-century Italian point of view.¹ Severo Bonini, for example, suggested that the term antico conveyed a slightly derogatory attitude of obsolescence, uselessness and a lack of current awareness, as well as denoting the use of turgid and arcane contrapuntal devices in the manner of pre-Tridentine musicians. Palestrina's style, on the other hand, was to be considered very much a part of "modern" or contemporaneous practice. Bonini in fact was upset specifically by the application of the epithet antico to Palestrina.² Composers who were accomplished in the style were respected for their skill and their musical insight, and they were proud to have themselves perceived as having mastered it, freely advertising its presence in compositions on their title pages and prefaces. Even practical composers who spent their entire lives in the opera house usually acknowledged the authority and importance of the style, by lip service at least. In particular contexts, the style was a fact of musical life.

¹ Stilus antiquus (the term used by Christoph Bernhard c.1650) was more closely associated with professional coteries outside of Italy, particularly those which maintained serious interest in learned and advanced contrapuntal devices.
² Severo Bonini, Dissorsi e regole, 65.
As the preceding chapters have already indicated, there was a reciprocal relationship between critical responses to particular musical works, and polemical and critical writings which helped more clearly to formulate descriptions of the technical and generic requirements for correctly composed works. This chapter will centre on examining a constitution of the *stile alla Palestrina* provided by the seventeenth-century composer and theorist Antimo Liberati when he, too, was called upon to provide a critical judgment of a group of church compositions. It examines how the *stile alla Palestrina* came to be considered as an authoritative standard by which compositional skill was to be judged. It details how Liberati codified the generic parameters of the style and his actual technique for judging the works assigned to him—a group of test pieces presented during a competition for a major professional post.

**What the stile alla Palestrina was not: Distinctions between church music style and other genres involving strict-style counterpoint**

In mid-seventeenth century schematics of composition, both the modern-style motet and panconsonant polyphony found a place in church practice (if not always in theory), provided the ethical and aesthetic programme of sacred music was believed to be served. There were certain other genres, however, which featured strict-style counterpoint, but were not associated directly with the so-called *stile alla Palestrina*. Two in particular—the ricercar, which was intended for instrumental performance, and the art canon—were sidelined precisely because of their contrapuntal intricacies.

The imitative ricercar originated in emulation of the later Netherlandish motet style. In the later sixteenth century, the two genres diverged when the use of elaborate contrapuntal

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1 It is worth noting here that instrumental music still laboured to some extent under a conceptual handicap long present in the Western art tradition: for various technical, ethical and aesthetic reasons instrumental music was deemed *inherently* inferior to vocal music. Its procedures were considered derivative or merely imitative of it. It had
devices became more and more specifically the province of instrumental music, since here the
issues around audible text projection did not exist. (Vincenzo Galilei had mentioned intricate
fugues as confusing the substance of vocal music.) As Agazzari related the legend, one of
Palestrina’s great contributions to church music was renewed generic purification through his
removal of the Netherlandish intricacies which properly belonged to instruments. Early
ricercari, though grounded in techniques similar to those of the motet, were supposed to use
subjects and treatments different from the motet. The contrapuntal intricacies of the ricercar,
ingenioulsy used, helped to create structural extension and coherence, and they sustained the
interest of performer and listener. In the absence of a text, ingenuity in treatment of a subject
could become a compositional rationale in itself. While the genre acquired greater independence
as an instrumental type, however, it also dropped out of the formal lists and prescriptions for
composition found in tradition-oriented Italian writings.

By around 1600 the ricercar had become a rather cerebral medium, a kind of musica
artificiosa, as stylistic analysis of music by practitioners such as Padovano, Luzzaschi and Macque
has indicated. As time passed, its strict and often ingenious counterpoint came to be associated
with sight-singing and sight-playing and compositional exercises. Training in the strict practice
became identified in this way with recommended methods for forming a skilled and well-
educated musician and composer. Indeed, in perusing the compilation of seventeenth-century

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4 Vincenzo Galilei, *Della musica antica e moderna* (Venice, 1581); trans. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*
5 Agazzari, *Del somaro sopra il basso*, 11. His thinking here was probably influenced by Galilei.
6 See Anthony Newcomb, "When the stile antico was young", *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di
Musicologia. Trasmissione e riezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, vol. 3: free papers (Turin: E.D.T. Edizioni, 1990), 175-
181. Newcomb describes *ricercari* of this period as pieces “almost all of whose material could be derived...from the
opening premise in some logical way...[which] involved variation of a few constant melodic shapes by rhythmic
variation, by combination with other distinctive and consistently used countersubjects, by various
rigorous...contrapuntal operations such as inversion and *inganno*, and by the combination of the resulting melodic
shapes in endlessly changing vertical arrangements” (179).
music publication prefaces in Gaetano Gaspari's monumental catalogue,7 one is struck by the frequency with which ricercari and instrumental contrapunti were promoted as providing sound instruction in music theory. As late as 1667, Luigi Battiferri wrote that instrumental performers distinguished themselves especially by cultivating the "Ricercari, this being in the genre of instrumental playing the most learned, just as that of à Cappella is in the genre of composing..."8

The intersection of motet, ricercar and musical 'science' had remained at the back of the collective consciousness.

There is another type of music in which strict-style counterpoint was a central feature, but which stood distinct from observant church music: that peculiar exhibition of musical 'science' which might be called the art canon. Agazzari's La musica ecclesiastica provides some context for understanding the environment in which this kind of music flourished. In his text, one discerns a shift in the seventeenth-century image of music as science. While in the Zarlinoian view, music was a science of ordered numerical relationships, for Agazzari church music was a medium of access to knowledge of the divine—an inspiration and revelation of ideas reflecting a Christianization of humanist concepts of music's divine powers.9 Both streams of thinking converged obliquely in the cultivation of an esoteric variety of canon writing by a coterie of musicians centered in Rome in the 1620s through the 1640s. These works could be considered

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8 Luigi Battiferri d’ Urbino, Ricercar a quattro, a cinque, e a sei, con 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 Soggetti Senzabili... (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1669); preface reprinted in Gaspari, Catalogo IV, 187. "...& in particolare attendevano al suonare di Ricercar, essendo nel genere di suonare il più dotto, sicome nel genere di comporre è tal quello à Cappella; nè mi replicare, dicendo, oggidì un so lui, essendo risposta da ingegno débole, mentre vediamo che nell’ ordine delle cose, la scienza hà preceduto..." All of the items in this publication are presented in score.
an extension of the *canus firmus* tradition, and they featured *obbligati* or preestablished restrictions, sometimes bewildering in their number, length and complexity.\(^\text{10}\)

From the vantage point of the 1680s, Giovanni Battista Vitali reported that Rome was where the canon school flourished.\(^\text{11}\) Between about 1619 and 1650, a large number of publications devoted to this genre, often elaborately engraved and crowded with emblematic allusions, appeared in Rome.\(^\text{12}\) These works represented practical applications of musical ‘science’ in the older sense of mastering intricate and even arcane problems of polyphony. While in such publications—Romano Micheli’s especially—there was an unquestionable element of professional pride,\(^\text{13}\) such works were by no means approved by all musicians in all ways. In *Canoni musicali composti sopra le vocali di più parole*, Micheli claimed that a method of devising canon subjects by basing them on vowels drawn from a text ‘served the words’. But Marco Scacchi, for one, who also had the more arcane techniques well within his grasp,\(^\text{14}\) responded to Micheli that such pursuits were a species of musical decadence which misapprehended the Platonic

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\(^{10}\) Howard E. Smither has discussed some of this activity in “Romano Micheli’s *Dialogus ammonitis* (1625): a twenty-voice canon with thirty *obbligati*”, *Analecta Musicaeologica* 5 (1968): 34-91, including a transcription of Micheli’s work.

\(^{11}\) Giovanni Battista Vitali, *Artisini musici* (1689), preface. In his article “Kanon” in *MGG* 7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958, cols. 514-550), Walter Blankenburg described at length the post-Renaissance cultivation of such kinds of counterpoint in German sources, but had less to say about the Roman Baroque school. The Vitali preface also indicates that in Italian circles this kind of activity was not confined to vocal music, which is consistent with the generic movement of intricate counterpoint into *nuovari* and other instrumental genres. Giovanni Maria Bononcini’s publications are notable for this trait. The frontispiece of the first violin part of his *Vari fari*, Op.3 (1669) begins with a canon which can be realized for 2,592 parts in 648 choirs.

\(^{12}\) Most prolific in this area were Romano Micheli (c.1575-after 1659) and Pier Francesco Valentini (c.1570-1654), the latter a composer known for his large-scale choral polyphony and as a theorist of far-ranging interests. [See Margaret Murta, “Pier Francesco Valentini on Tactus and Proportion”, * Frescobaldi Studies* (Durham, 1987).] He was cited with approbation by Athanasius Kircher in *Musurgia universalis* (1650). In a section entitled *De Musicis Labyrinthes* [pp.402-414] Kircher was not content merely to refer to Valentini’s *Nodem solomonic* which had been presented in versions for 96 and 512 voices (1631a, a canon for 96 voices, RISM V123; 1631b for 512 voices in 128 choirs, RISM V124 respectively). Kircher experimented further, and worked out out resolutions for 144,000 voices (suggesting the Elect of the Apocalypse) and even up to the mind-numbing figure of 12,200,000 voices, which he estimated would take 232 days of non-stop singing to perform! (Kircher, op.cit., 414). Surely this work was a conceptual piece.

\(^{13}\) Snobbery might be a better word. See Smither, “Romano Micheli’s *Dialogus*”, 36-37 and passim. He points out that Micheli divided composers into two kinds, the ‘capable but ordinary’ who wrote merely pleasing works, and the ‘most excellent’ who could understand ‘the most intimate studies of music’, of which they gave evidence by composing canons. Micheli’s personal quirks apart, many musicians did in fact attach considerable prestige to ability in this area.
injunction ut oratoria sit domina musicae. He commented scornfully that "the study of canons and similar pieces which aim only at invention, without regard for harmony, yields, at best, confusion in students of music." These works were vocal music, in the sense that they had underlaid texts. Reflecting the religious ambience in which so many of these composers worked, the texts were usually devotional or biblical in nature and often possessed some metaphorical relationship to the number or nature of voices to be realized. But given their numerous and sometimes bizarre complexities, neither affective representation of the text nor the 'Palestinian' aesthetic of directness and simplification could be located in them. Although they were in a sense 'devotional' music, such art canons were clearly beyond the pale of mainstream modern church practice. Thus, effectively sidelined into a class of their own, they could be understood as constituting a special genre independent of the formal schematics of music developed by theorists, especially those oriented to Rome.

Having examined the strict genres which do not belong to 'church' composition, the discussion now turns to the association of music which was said to embody the 'true' ecclesiastical style and the style's great epitome, Palestrina.

**Palestrina as authority on counterpoint and church music composition**

Palestrina is the earliest polyphonic composer to remain in Western musical consciousness continuously from his own lifetime, which was rounded off more than four centuries ago, up through the present day. His posthumous reputation is a phenomenon virtually

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14 See above, pages 167-168, regarding Scacchi's motet *Vobis datum est.*
15 Micheli became embroiled in the Scacchi-Sieffert polemic in 1645. Micheli, himself eager to defend Italian musicians against German allegations of their loss of skill, sent both Sieffert and Scacchi copies of his publication *Canoni musicali composti sopra le voci* as a gesture of support for his fellow musicians. Sieffert, in fact, responded to Micheli positively (February 1647), but Scacchi was seriously annoyed and answered Micheli in a pamphlet which no longer survives. His response in sum is stated in the *Breve discorso sopra la musica moderna.*
16 Scacchi, in Palisca, "Marco Scacchi's Defense", 115. The word *harmonia* here has Platonic implications.
unique in the history of Western art music; few others have inspired a reception history as complex, and none has one of comparable duration. While even during his lifetime his reputation was great and prospering, it had entered a perceptible new phase by the middle of the seventeenth century. In addition to the high regard in which he was held for his mastery of technique, he seemed to have acquired a kind of superhuman status. He had become a 'saviour', a renovator, a princeps musicae who possessed something even greater than advanced insight into the technique and aesthetic of a 'true' ecclesiastical style: his name had become a metaphor for an ideal of pious expression in church music, and his practice its epicentre.

How did this peculiar transformation in his image take place? The factors involved in this development were very complex. They should be investigated not only on their own terms, but because Antimo Liberati, whose text will be examined later in this chapter, worked from them as a point of authority, and knowledge of the background from which he argued adds significantly to a reader's understanding of the nuances of his argument.

Well before his death in 1594 Palestrina indisputably enjoyed a great reputation which extended far beyond his home, Rome, and his situation at the epicentre of musical Catholicism. As master of the Cappella Giulia, he held one of the most prestigious musical posts in Europe. He had also received flattering employment offers from elsewhere, though the negotiations in each case came to nothing, most likely because he was sufficiently established and comfortable where he was.18 His excellence was publicly acknowledged as early as 1568. In Fronimo, Vincenzo Galilei provided an intabulation of Palestrina's madrigal Io son ferito, citing the work for its skillful text expression through musical means.19 Some of his compositions were advocated for use

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17 Athanasius Kircher, who is a special case in music theory of this period, lists the stythus amonius as a separate genre.
18 In 1575 he was described in diplomatic correspondence as “now considered the very first musician in the world”. In 1568 Palestrina was invited to become maestro di cappella to Emperor Maximilian II but refused the post. As is well known, he also corresponded for many years with Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua, who tried to acquire Palestrina's full-time services in 1583, but the two failed to reach agreement on the conditions.
19 Vincenzo Galilei, Fronino, dialogo di Vincenzo Galilei fiorentino... (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568).
specifically as models for study and emulation by those who themselves sought to acquire advanced contrapuntal and structural skills. In Pratica di musica (1592 and 1622), Lodovico Zacconi cited passages from the masses Virtute magna, Ad coenam agni providi and, best known, L'homme armé as valuable studies in problems of proportion and rhythm. (The notational challenges of Missa L'homme armé were, and remain, some of the most analysed in the literature, and have been at times a source of serious dispute.) James Haar has argued that in the L'homme armé masses, Palestrina himself displayed a historicist sense through his choice of cantus firmus and virtuoso emulation of mensuration practices dating from fifty years before his time. Haar inferred that such gestures indicated Palestrina's wish to connect himself with the professional tradition of the Cappella Sistina. Haar argued that through practices and attitudes revealed in these masses, Palestrina became the composer through whom all art tradition associated with the papal authority and prestige became reified. Through his practice of the older techniques in this way, even those elaborate devices of musical skill on which composers had always prided

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21 Both from Palestrina’s Missarum liber primus (1554).
22 From Missarum liber tertius (Rome, 1572).
23 Pietro Cerone, El melopeo y el maestro (Naples: Gargano & Nucci, 1613; reprint, Bologna: Forni, 1969), book 20, 1028-1036, offered an extensive analysis of the intricacies of the L'homme armé mass. Zacconi also discussed it at length in Pratica di musica II, ff.115r-122r. Zacconi’s text is dated 1622 but may very well have been written in the 1590s and anticipated and influenced Cerone’s discussion. Agostino Pisa also addressed the issue in Breve dichiarazione della battuta musicale (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1611), 124. Pisa questioned whether some of the problematic notation in the mass is to be read ‘alla breve’ or ‘alla semibreve’.

themselves, but which had now fallen into a certain disfavour, could be resurrected, but in a
‘pure’, post-Tridentine use.\(^{25}\)

In the Rationamento di musica, and even more specifically in his Dialogo, Pietro Pontio cited
Palestrina for his mastery of the materials of music and used him as an authority through which
to offer instruction.\(^{26}\) The composer’s name was also found among a group “who are and have
been excellent” and whose works were cited for containing “good and excellent artistry” in
Giovanni Maria Artusi’s Imperfezioni della moderna musica.\(^{27}\) Study of Palestrina’s works for
purposes of teaching and for the proper formation of young composers continued to be
advocated well into the seventeenth century.

Let whoever wishes to perfect himself in this art take paper in hand and make
scores of the Missa ad fugam,\(^{28}\) of the hymns, and in short of all his works in the same
way that young people desirous of perfecting themselves in painting go to
the pictures of famous painters and draw pencil sketches of them.\(^{29}\)

He continued to be cited as an authority in association with specific genres: “[N]o one can equal
Palestrina] in the art and excellence with which he composed a cappella Masses, hymns, Vespers,
and motets.”\(^{30}\) He was also praised for the artfulness of his secular vocal compositions and as

\(^{25}\)Haar may be projecting too great a degree of historical self-consciousness and sense of ‘mission’ on to Palestrina
personally in this respect, but it is possible that his later contemporaries and the next generation of composers, who
showed obvious interest in the L’homme armé masses, may have held such an attitude about Palestrina and these
works.

\(^{26}\) See especially Pontio, Dialogo, 60.

\(^{27}\)Giovanni Maria Artusi, L’Artusi overo delle Imperfezioni della moderna musica (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1600), 3.

\(^{28}\) In the Missarum liber secundus (Rome: Donico, 1567), RISM P660. It is interesting to note that in dedicating these
works to Philip II of Spain, Palestrina stressed their “new method of composition” in the preface.

\(^{29}\) Severo Bonini, Discorsi e regole (trans. Bonino), 160.

In “Palestrina als Vorbild und Autorität im 17. Jahrhundert” (Congresso internazionale sul tema Claudio Monteverdi e il
suo tempo, ed. Raffaello Monterosso (Valdenea di Verona, 1966), 253–261), Helmut Huck noted that in the early
seventeenth century two divergent views of Palestrina as master composer had already developed, although the
implication that one view was particular to Italy and the other to the German-speaking countries requires
modification. On the one hand, Palestrina’s music embodied an ideal of audible expression of the text (Italy); on the
other, he was a model of technical perfection in the practice of advanced contrapuntal devices (Germany). In
Germany Palestrina’s music did enjoy some limited circulation in florilegia and other collections. The composer’s
name developed strong pedagogical and authority associations early, for Agazzari’s remarks about Palestrina (1607)
were disseminated by way of Michael Praetorius’s Syntagma musicum (III, 149) as early as 1619. By mid-century the
idea was explicit that a truly accomplished composer had to have mastered the older polyphonic style before going
on to genres founded on the basso continuo.

\(^{30}\) Bonini, Discorsi e regole, 159.
one who should be imitated in his manner of writing non-concerted madrigals. 31 Nearly a century after its composition, King John IV of Portugal defended the Panis quem ego dabo mass against those who questioned the composer’s treatment of mode, lauding not only its mastery of technique but its devotional qualities. 32

Although it is not clear how many pupils Palestrina may have instructed personally, numerous contemporaries freely indicated their admiration and his direct influence on their own compositions. A case in point is the Missa Cantantibus organis, based on a Palestrina motet (pub. 1575), a collaborative work by six musicians within the composer’s orbit 34 as well as Palestrina himself, who composed part of the Gloria. Each participant adapted material from the motet into the section of the mass he undertook, thus uniting Palestrina’s practices with their individual compositional solutions to create ‘a compendium of possibilities’ which were progressive for the 1590s. In Peter Ackermann’s view, its existence may indicate not only a kind of collegial homage to Palestrina, but a growing self-consciousness by the next generation as belonging to a school or tradition associated with him. 35 Further evidence of esteem dates from 1592, when a group of his contemporaries published a Vespers anthology in Palestrina’s honour—a kind of early musical Festschrift. 36 His music also already circulated in manuscript as far as Bavaria and Spain. 37

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31 Bonini, Dissonia e regole, 177.
32 El-Rei Dom João Quarto, Respuesta a las dudas que se pusieron a la Missa Panis quem ego dabo de Palestrina / Risposta alli dubbi posti sopra la Missa Panis quem ego dabo del Palestrina stampata nel Quinto Libro delle sue Missa. Tradotta dis spagnuolo in italiano (Rome: Maurizio Balmoni, 1655; facs. repr. ed. Mario de Sampayo Ribiero. Rei Musicae Portugaliae Monumenta 1. Lisbon, 1958). At this very late date, the volume explored the Tridentine discussions of church music. It was written in Lisbon but immediately published in Rome in Italian translation.
33 That is, as distinguished from a younger generation of composers who claimed themselves as Palestrina’s ‘pupils’ as a metaphoncal way of expressing their admiration and their emulation of his work.
34 That is, Annibale Stabile, Giovanni Andrea Dragoni, Francesco Sotiano, Ruggero Giovanelli, Curzio Mancini and Prospero Santini.
A significant percentage of his oeuvre was represented in publications during his lifetime and in the decades following his death. His music had a lively reprint history which continued well into the second decade of the seventeenth century, in part due to the need to carry out the day-to-day celebrations of the liturgical year using quality musical material performable with limited resources. Some of this music was perpetuated in collections and anthologies put together by publishers. A particular group of this type consisting of three masses—Pape Marcelli, Ecce sacerdos magnus and Sine nomine—was reprinted as late as 1689.

Some of Palestrina's music was adapted to changing tastes and conditions, indicating that it was sufficiently valued by successive generations to make worthwhile the effort to rework or update it. The six-part Missa Pape Marcelli, for instance, was arranged for cori spezzati by Francesco Soriano, while a reduction for four voices and continuo was made by Giovanni Francesco Anerio. In 1610 Stefano Nascimbeni edited a 12-part version of the same mass. Large cori spezzati pieces with the addition of a continuo were techniques with currency in the first decade of the seventeenth century, although they were in fact a well-established type in Rome and northern Italy. They also suggest a willing adaptation to particular performance conditions: cori spezzati were suitable for a large, festive space, while four-part prima pratica music

37 See José López-Caló, “Palestrina e la Contronforma musicale in Spagna”, Atti del II conveggo internazionale di studi palestriniani, 241-250. Palestrina was virtually the only Italian composer whose music was continuously found in important Spanish churches; it was sung from the late sixteenth century until the mid-eighteenth.
38 Well over a third of his output was published during his lifetime, some in highly reliable editions supervised by the composer (see Suzanne Cusick, Valerio Dorico, passim). More was published by his son Iginio in the decade following Palestrina’s death.
40 RISM 1619, with the three masses by Palestrina and one by Giovanni Francesco Anerio, was reprinted as 1626, 1635 and 1639; the same group, with a mass by Heredia substituted for Anerio’s, was brought out by a different publisher as RISM 1646 and reprinted as 1662, and another reprint appeared as 1689 without the Heredia mass.
was suited to daily liturgical use. Much of this activity was traceable to Palestrina’s Roman orbit. But remarks about the composer from farther afield also begin to appear in the early decades of the seventeenth century: Cerone,43 Lelio Guidicchioni,44 and, a little later, Athanasius Kircher45 represent only a few of the more significant references.

Use of Palestrina’s music in Cappella Sistina liturgies for the period c. 1590-1665 is documented. It is known from the Sistine diaries for 1594 that barely a week after Palestrina’s death, the then-reigning pope Clement VIII indicated his interest in having some of the composer’s unpublished music printed for use in churches.46 In the subsequent decades, how often Palestrina’s music was actually used depended in part on the personal wishes and tastes of the reigning pope and how seriously the Tridentine mandates were being implemented at the given moment. Jean Lionnet has asserted that while Palestrina’s music was respected throughout this period, direct evidence of its being cited as an ideal model for emulation is not readily available from Sistine sources until the 1660s.47 However, Lionnet must be referring to direct written testimonials naming Palestrina; actual evidence of his continuing presence—imitative modelling based on his music, and citations in critical texts—can readily be found.

Beyond Rome itself, how available Palestrina’s music was, and how frequently it was sung, is a complex matter depending on manuscript circulation, print-buying and copying practices, and the liturgical practices of a specific community or diocese at a given time.

43 Pietro Cerone, El melopeo y el maestro, esp. 1028-1036.
44 Guidicchioni referred to the Missa Papae Marcelli in a letter of 16 January 1637, which was quoted in Joseph Maria Suárez, Præmistes antiquae (Rome, 1655), 285.
45 Athanasius Kircher, Mssarum universalis (Rome, 1650), VII, 547.
47 See Jean Lionnet, “Palestrina e la cappella pontificia”, Atti del II convegno internazionale di studi palestriniani, 311-324; also Graham Dixon, “Tradition and progress in Roman mass settings after Palestrina”, ibid., 125-137. Having studied the archival evidence, both writers however concluded that during the first half of the seventeenth century
Palestrina, and style and texture in church music

Palestrina's style was analysed in a well-known passage which was framed as the report of a conversation led by Gioseffo Zarlino. Zarlino asserted that Palestrina was distinguished for "arte, contrapunto, ottima dispositione, and a flowing modulazione." Haar's interpretation of the passage suggests that Palestrina was indeed recognized for qualities that particularly suited the requirements of a decorous church music, many of which were generally understood to belong to the style even before the conceptual split of prima and seconda pratica was in effect.

The references to Palestrina in Adriano Banchieri's writings are interesting because of an evident evolution in Banchieri's responses over a period of time beginning around 1600. In congratulating Artusi on the publication of the Imperfettioni della musica moderna, Banchieri exempted from "destroyers of the good rules" the "modern imitators of the good Roman School" and in particular,

The church style of Mr. Gio. Pietro Pallestina, and in the chamber style Mr. Luca Marenzio, the one most devout, the other most lovely, and both celebrated composers as exemplars of perfect harmony; choosers of beautiful words, scholars of double counterpoints, pleasing in modulations, copious in subjects...  

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49 Ibid., 194. Haar amplified these characterizations. He suggests that Zarlino was saying that Palestrina (1) had "the skill of planning and using schemes requiring contrapuntal artifice" (202); that (2) he had skill in "the writing of counterpoint over a canzona firmus" (205); that he (3) presented "a graceful arrangement of pitches and rhythmic values; counterpoint [was achieved with] the best and most correct harmonic values" (207); that he (4) possessed the facility of making "measured, or mensurally organized, melody...a melodic line, whether considered alone or within a polyphonic context, could be an aesthetic object to be judged and admired"(203).

50 These have already been dealt with in previous chapters, but to review briefly here: A subject or invention had to be carefully conceived so as to suit the text and allow for its own imitative extension; a mode or tone had to be maintained; and the rules of counterpoint had to be correctly and carefully followed. Consistency in the use of note values (particularly breves and semibreves) had to be observed, together with a relatively slow tempo. All of these qualities contributed to an impression of seriousness.


"...nello stile da Chiesa il Sig. Gio. Pietro Pallestina, e nello stile da Camera il Sig. Luca Marenzio, l' uno devotissimo, e l' altro soavissimo, ed ambiduo celebri compositori, si come esemplari di perfetta Armonia; elettori di vaghe parole; Studiosi ne' contrapunti doppj; grati nelle modulazioni; copiosi nelle inventioni, e quello, che sempre gli renderà riguardarli, l' essere egli uno zelanti delle buone regole."
However, even in 1600 the use of “double counterpoints” and “copious subjects” had slightly ambivalent connotations in the church style, and Banchieri’s Conclusions suggest that in the course of the decade his thinking had undergone a subtle shift, probably influenced by reading Agazzari. By 1609 Banchieri was mentioning Palestrina in association with “music in consonance”, a finished and largely panconsonant style which promoted verbal audibility. The Bolognese theorist also reiterated that practice of the more intricate kinds of counterpoint should be directed into ricerari and contrapunti, already considered to be closer to older forms of polyphony than that associated with the panconsonant ideal. Even Praetorius, following Agazzari, made a point of saying that the correct art of expressing the words was the practice “very much in use at Rome in the present time”.

Agostino Agazzari’s writings in this period provide a good indication not only of the views of a church musician per se, but also of the intellectual and educational mindset which informed those views. Agazzari’s ideas were grounded in a blend of humanist and churchly attitudes common by the later sixteenth century, which had been formed in his case by extensive philosophical and religious reading. Although La musica ecclesiastica (1638) was coloured by the generic conventions which had already evolved up to his time, the treatise speaks not so much in terms of specific technical means as of the moral and emotive aims of both ancient philosophers and Christian theologians. He argued that a ‘true’ church style held before it the goal of advancing comprehension of sacred and liturgical texts. As the most important liturgical genre, the mass in particular had to be sung “devoutly, distinctly and without confusion, far from

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32 Banchieri, Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo, 18.
33 Hucke, “Palestrina als Vorbild”, 253-261.
34 Praetorius, Syntagma musicum III, 150. “...jetziger zeit zu Rom sehr viel in gebrauch hat.”
worldly air and the clamour and retort of numerous figures which confound and remove their
sense and obscure the mysteries."56 The texts themselves implicitly created generic distinctions,
although the composer, who applied the harmony to the speech, underscored differences in the
nature of the texts by the selective use of musical materials. Thus there were differences in
treatment between hymns, motets and psalms on the one hand, and the mass on the other.

Around 1650, Severo Bonini affirmed the correct aesthetic effect and affective qualities
even as he described Palestrina’s contrapuntal skill:

Who has ever composed works so abundant in fugues and imitations as this great
master? Devices such as these are not merely showered on his works, they flood
them. For nature has reposed in him all the beauty of art… This glory of
musicians made proper use of the intervals of the sixth and the seventh, and of
some appropriately placed melismas; and he understood well and observed the
modes so that his harmonies both sacred and secular might convey solemnity,
majesty, and incredible devotion—particularly in the sacred works, which must
maintain the decorum of the place they serve.57

By about 1630 a reassessment of technical requirements and priorities had taken place in
Italian music. What listeners assimilated and considered desirable values in contemporary
composition, both sacred and secular, was a general and deliberate simplification of textures, a
pleasing sonority, “good air”, and a decorous attention to the words, rather than contrapuntal
complexity. Around 1628, Giustiniani noted that Palestrina and certain of his contemporaries
had “composed works suitable to be sung with ease in church, of good and solid counterpoint
with good melody and decent ornamentation, so excellent that even today their compositions are
preferred to those of the moderns…”58 The union of an uncomplicated, beautiful flow of ideas
with sound compositional principles had become powerful criteria of value in church music.
Embedded in Giustiniani’s aesthetic ideal was also a remnant of the Renaissance excellence of

56 Agazzari, La musica sacrestica (trans. and ed. Dixon), 40.
57 Bonini, Discorsi e regole, 159-160.
sprezzatura—art which may be the product of great hidden labour but is expressed with seemingly effortless ease and effect. Here the concept was eased into an embrace of gracious immediacy and comprehensibility.

In the general opinion of musicians, in order for a composition of any style or manner to be of worth and pleasing to the hearer, as I have indicated above, it must first of all be written in good counterpoint founded on the correct rules, with novel and difficult passages to weave together in all the parts without burdening it with superfluous notes, sometimes writing it by the rules in the ordinary way, sometimes in inversion.

Secondly, that the entire composition, and the points of imitation particularly, be easy and flowing in such a fashion that artifices do not make them harsh, else they may not be understood except by persons expert in the profession and who give special attention to such things.

And in the third place, that they be pleasant to hear and have unusual grace...\(^5^9\)

This passage rounds out an aspect of the continuing appeal of Palestrina’s music for seventeenth-century listeners. While there was much comment on its technical excellence, the music itself also offered great aesthetic satisfaction for its audience and performers and continued to do its expected affective work. All of this, however, does not explain the shift in attitude toward Palestrina’s reputation from the technical master and worthy model to object of virtual hagiography.

In 1607, in the context of a treatise on monodic style and thoroughbass, Agostino Agazzari made the peripheral remarks which constituted the earliest known version of the Palestrina-as-rescuer story. It is thoroughly familiar: polyphony would have been banished from church had not Palestrina demonstrated that the problems lay with the skill and insight of composers, not music itself, and by composing the Missa Papae Marcelli he saved the day for

future generations of polyphonists. This story would be repeated with banal literalness for three centuries to come.

By about 1650 a distinct school of thought which claimed exclusive merit for the Palestrina style was active. Beneath such thinking lay a subtle shift in the nature of Palestrina’s reputation. This was reflected in exactly contemporary comments by Bonini and Scacchi, both of whom, while appreciating the composer’s great qualities, seem to have resisted the claims for his stylistic hegemony. Severo Bonini, a cleric, though Florentine and not Roman, sought to balance the appeal of the monodic style with fervent advocacy of Palestrina. He knew and repeated the Marcellus story, very likely derived from Agazzari:

And so when Pope Marcellus, of happy memory, observed both that the sense of the text, or the words, was being lost...he had Giovanni Aloisio Palestrina (that great musicians and master of masters) reform sacred music, which otherwise he would have banned. And the Mass which that great man wrote especially for this Pontiff is called the *Pope Marcellus Mass.*

His adulatory tone was intense:

Who has ever attained such heights, or the heights of [his] works? Quite boldly one answers: No one, for since they have already been captured by this sublime genius, none will ever reach them.

He ensured a place for the composer as a musical reformer alongside others, mentioning Willaert’s role in removing numberless errors from music and restoring it to the honour it once possessed, like a “new Pythagoras—considerably before Palestrina, however.” But Bonini’s admiration for his teacher Caccini and the monodic school also persuaded him that composers of his day need not necessarily confine themselves to the Palestrina style. Having described the various

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60 Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso con tutti gli strumenti* (Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607; repr. Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969; trans. Oliver Strunk in *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1950), 430. Agazzari’s context—a treatise on *basso continuo*—is significant and suggests his belief in the reconcilability of “modern” polyphony and the small-scale sacred vocal style under the rubric of proper attention to text-setting and decorous accompaniment.

61 Bonini, *Discorsi e regole,* 159.


63 *Ibid.,* 161. Italics by the present author.
qualities of each of the *ordini* of composition, he clearly instructed his student as to who the most excellent composers of each category were and directed that they be imitated in composition.\(^{64}\)

Marco Scacchi thought likewise: he believed that all composers, regardless of their specialty, benefitted from a grounding in strict composition, but that not everyone should be confined to practicing one style exclusively. In the *Breve discorso* Scacchi had pleaded for pluralism which he considered not only a fact of musical life but beneficial in general for the advance of the art. He insisted that composition need not be reduced “to a single style of Palestrina, however full of qualities and esteem he is as a composer…”

Moreover, it is necessary to consider that there are many bright spirits among the scholars of harmonic art who attend to the ancient studies,\(^{65}\) and others who follow the very learned Palestrina, and still others who follow other styles. If everyone were compelled to pursue the same style and one school, music would be reduced to poverty and left without variety of styles.\(^{66}\)

However much Scacchi’s spacious perspective might have reflected the actual musical environment of the 1640s, his would have been a minority view among church musicians formed in the traditionalist Roman ambience. However, the increasing veneration in which Palestrina was held does not seem sufficiently accounted for by his compositional prowess. By 1650 his name had become eponymous for church style, and a new phase in his reputation began to flourish alongside the heritage of high competence.

*But why stile ‘alla Palestrina’?*

It is beyond the scope of the present text to trace the evolution of Palestrina’s reputation beyond 1700, but when growth of the ‘myth’ is traced back to its origins, the sources revert to Rome or writers associated with the church or Roman institutions. Andrea Adami da Bolsena

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\(^{64}\) Bonini, *Discorsi e regole*, 180-181.

\(^{65}\) i.e. who study the theory of music in classical writings.

\(^{66}\) Palisca, “Marco Scacchi’s Defense”, 113.
Johann Josephus. Various Palestrina as the basis of the Roman school of music, which he proclaimed the great epicentre from which Italian musical excellence extended throughout the world, saying:

our [Roman] school, which, as it has been said, deriving from Palestina, it cannot be doubted (if I am not deceived) that it is the best in Italy, where in our times practical music flourishes more than in all other regions of the world; and it is seen clearly that Italian musicians are called and well paid by great foreign princes to make their choirs and musical ensembles resplendent with all the greatest refinement.\footnote{Liberati, \textit{Lettera}, 51-52. "...e si conforma più degli altri ne' precetti, ne' dogmi, e nell' opinione della nostra Schola, la quale come s' è detto, derivando dal Palestina, non si può dubitare, s' io non m' inganno, che non sia la migliore d' Italia, oue ne' nostri tempi fiorisce più che in ogni' altra Regione del Mondo la Musica pratica; e si vede chiaramente, che da' gran Principi Ultimontani sono chiamati, e bene stipendiati i Musici Italiani per fare risplendere con ogni maggior' esquissitezza i loro Chori, e Concerti Musici..."}

Various manuscript traditions also indicated that significant associations existed between mid- and late-seventeenth century Italian advocates of the \textit{stile alla Palestrina}, notably Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710), who was for a time connected with the Viennese imperial court, and Johann Joseph Fux and members of his school.\footnote{Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, "Johann Joseph Fux und die römische Palestrina-Tradition." \textit{Die Musikforschung} 14 (1961): 14-22.} In Fux's \textit{Gradus ad Parnassum}, Palestrina retained the image of the great, even semi-divine teacher of counterpoint, Aloysius to Fux's Josephus.

Pitoni, whose entire musical life was spent in Roman churches, became \textit{maestro di cappella} of the Cappella Giulia (St. Peter's) in 1719. His understanding of the Palestrina style as related to other styles of music was embodied in a beautiful little compilation of canons and \textit{obblighi}. These

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\footnote{67 In Andrea Adami da Bolsena, \textit{Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro dei cantori della Cappella Pontificia}. Roma: A. De' Rossi, 1711. rep. with intro. Giancarlo Rostirolla. Musurgiana I. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana [1988]. This was a guide to papal ceremonial throughout the liturgical year ostensibly for the use of the maestro and other officials. It frequently mentions music traditionally performed on a given occasion. Palestina figures prominently. \footnote{68 In Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, \textit{Notizie de contrapuntisti e de compostori di musica dall'Anno 1000 in sino all'Anno 1700 [MS, I-Rust CG. I/1-2, c. 1725]. pub. as \textit{Notizie dei contrapuntisti e compostori di Musica dall'anno 1000 in sino ...} ed. C. Ruini. Studi e Testi per la Storia della Musica. Firenze: L.S. Olachki, 1988. These texts were manuscript biographies of musicians by this indefatigably productive member of the Cappella Giulia.} \footnote{69 Liberati, \textit{Lettera}, 51-52. "...e si conforma più degli altri ne' precetti, ne' dogmi, e nell' opinione della nostra Schola, la quale come s' è detto, derivando dal Palestina, non si può dubitare, s' io non m' inganno, che non sia la migliore d' Italia, oue ne' nostri tempi fiorisce più che in ogni' altra Regione del Mondo la Musica pratica; e si vede chiaramente, che da' gran Principi Ultimontani sono chiamati, e bene stipendiati i Musici Italiani per fare risplendere con ogni maggior' esquissitezza i loro Chori, e Concerti Musici..."}
pieces were composed by Palestrina, Aron, Josquin, Willaert, and Mazzocchi, and for the most part they represent the more learned and arcane aspects of the older contrapuntal style. They were collected by his student, the collector Girolamo Chiti, in 1713, and prefaced with a 
"Divisione del Contraponto secondo l' Opinione del Pitoni".  

Table 10: G.O. Pitoni, “Division of counterpoint according to the opinion of Pitoni”

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This schematic addressed church music particularly: it is hard to imagine that the zealously industrious Pitoni had the time, let alone the inclination, for much else. It bore some implicit resemblance to material written in Fux’s Gradus a few years later (1725): music for the church was in two styles: an ‘observant’ style which could be a cappella or concerto, and a ‘mixed’ modern style which presumably involved modern, seconda prattica or sectional works. Only the Sistine masters Palestrina and Benevoli represented a “perfect” style. All other lines were either imperfect (perhaps aiming for ‘perfection’, but not practicing a Roman-like style adequately or

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19 MS Girolamo Chiti, in I-Bc. This little compilation was dated June 29, 1713 by “Hieronymus Chiti Cadeci. Presbyter Senensis / Studiebat Rome, et ex Musurgia Vigilis hec / Pretiosa Collecti Petri Aloysii Prenest.” aliquorum[ue] Principium Musice, Scientiae, in hoc Libello Propria manu exaravit.” Neat and elegant as this MS is, it is probably a cartella of some kind: near the end, there is, seemingly inconsistently, a table for realization of French-style ornaments which are labelled with French names.
with technical problems), 'variably corrupt' (indecorous, generically hybrid or contrapuntally questionable) or the 'arbitrarily defective' (blindly ignorant, generically confused, or perhaps overtly associated with theatrical music or with other previously condemned problems). The bias in such a scheme was radical, but it did indicate the mixture of intellectual provincialism, single-minded tenacity and proud vehemence with which such views were advocated.

How had Palestrina obtained this peculiar form of prestige? The combination of factors was complex, touching upon several features within the general cultural tradition: sociological, theological, historical and aesthetic.

First of all, within the traditional stream, with its neoscholastic undertones, there was a predisposition to cite 'authorities', whether they were ancient philosophers, classical literature, the Bible, the Church Fathers, medieval scholars, doctors of universities, learned academies or ecclesiatical legislators, let alone established music theorists or composers. Tradition in the West involved the ongoing installation of canonic authorities from which an aspiring younger generation learned, whom they sought to emulate, and from whom they eventually transmitted learning to their descendants in turn. Overt in the language arts, it was also true in the tradition of modelling and authority in music.²² Now Palestrina's reputation as an authority on counterpoint and composition was well-established by 1600 and remained high for the following generation. But the claims inherent in the growing Palestrina 'legend' also suggest the increasing need to focus upon an authoritative figurehead for the music created by an entire institution, one which purported to represent eternal continuities of spiritual tradition and power.

A second tangent emerged in discussions about the composer in the first decades of the seventeenth century. A work such as Agazzari's *La musica eclesiastica* did not simply expound a

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correct “grammar” of strict-style composition or propose models to follow. Agazzari posited an entire series of interrelations among technique or the materials of music, genre, and aesthetic considerations, meant to advance not only contrapuntal skill but also personal judgment and piety. This was also associated with an implicit shift in perspective, found even in conservative Rome in the works of Kircher, to an increasingly Cartesian psychological concept of ‘moving’ human passions. Humanist ideas of the power of music upon human ethos worked in an evolutionary blend with the Cartesian ideas of “properly formed” music to imprint and persuade the soul to Christian piety. If the church could point to Palestrina as pre-eminent in this respect, then Palestrina had a powerful position in the imagination of composers indeed.

These attitudes combined with the efforts of the Roman church to assert a continued primacy of place in western Europe after 1650, when its spiritual and political position had been diminished and depleted. The Thirty Years’ War (1619-1648) would be the last conflict in which the papacy functioned as a major diplomatic force and temporal power in international affairs. Papal prestige itself was at issue by the 1640s. With its political and economic decline after 1648 came a greater intransigence in asserting itself as a center of spiritual authority and intellectual tradition. This was manifested at many levels in Rome. Galliano Ciliberti, noting the changing professional role of the Roman maestro di cappella in the first half of the seventeenth century, has suggested that the mythologizing of Palestrina which grew during that period served in part to orient musical style and practice toward papal Rome as a Catholic cultural epicenter. Palestrina, of course, had historical links with the Sistine, the pope’s own chapel, where his professional descendants still worked. Papal legislation on sacred music in this period reflected to some

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extent the vagaries of the Roman chapels, but such pronouncements must be read in terms of privileges and sociological conditions, as much as theological reflection. (While Hayburn recognized the attempt to introduce a spiritual patina into the makeup of such organizations as the Roman Confraternity of Music, it is also apparent from documents that the papacy was in fact introducing serious regulatory and monopolistic practices into the governance of church music in Rome.) Concomitantly, as the century proceeded, the closer the source was to Rome itself, the more insistent was its language in favour not only of the Palestrina style but the "Roman school" purportedly founded on him, and the more disavowing but resigned were allusions to the lively existence of other musical styles.

Corollary to these points was the distinctly hagiographic quality of references to the composer himself after about 1650. But to understand how his reputation evolved in this respect, it should be remembered that, theologically speaking, the place of music in the Roman church has always been somewhat unstable, and with the input of the humanist educators and ethicists of early sixteenth century Italy it became distinctly shaky. Historically the Roman church demonstrated relatively negative attitudes (or at best a benevolent ambivalence in practice) toward polyphony in official pronouncements. The post-Tridentine church remained theologically unresolved regarding the relative importance of an elaborate music to the liturgy and rite. If it was argued that the rite was justified in its texts—proclamation of the Word—and

75 See Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1979), 69-81. *Piae sollicitudinem*, promulgated by Alexander VII on 23 April 1657, forbade on pain of excommunication the singing of any compositions upon texts not found in the breviary or missal. Music imitating dances and "profane rather than ecclesiastical melody" was banished from the churches. Choirmasters were required on oath to adhere to these prescriptions; failure to do so could result in loss of office without hope of reinstatement. This was reaffirmed in a second edict on 30 July 1665, where it was added that music should express only "serious sentiments of piety." Innocent XI reconfirmed these bulls on 3 September 1678.

77 For a comparison of the two traditions, Roman Catholic and Lutheran, on this issue, see Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Über Bachs geschichtlicher Ort", *Deutsche Vierteljahreschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 31 (1957): 527-556. repr. in Johann Sebastian Bach, ed. Walter Blankenburg (Wege der Forschung 170. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), 247-289. Unlike the post-Tridentine view, the Lutheran outlook offered a specific and positive theology of music as a *crux humana* of God which could bring humans closer to the Word.
ritual action—the eucharistic re-enactment, one in effect raised the issue of whether music was necessarily a part of the church rite at all. But even if it was not absolutely justified by theology, a proper church music could be hallowed by tradition.

It is well known that the Tridentine minutes said relatively little about the materials of liturgical music per se, except to assert that at that time they were not properly used and did not yield a proper result. By way of correction, liturgical music was to be sung so that “the words are more intelligible than the modulations of the music”, not to give empty pleasure to the ear “but in such a way that the words may be clearly understood by all, and thus the hearts of the listeners be drawn to the desires of heavenly harmonies.”

Some composers took these mandates to heart and presented special musical solutions: Kerle, Ruffo, perhaps even Vicentino. It is odd, though telling, that Palestrina’s posthumous renown as church musician was powerfully reinforced by the ‘legend’ and a ‘style’ but had little to do with his most direct participation in an actual liturgical reform. This was the plainchant revision undertaken by him and his younger colleague Annibale Zoiio (c.1540-1592) at the behest of Pope Gregory XIII in 1577. According to his own testimony Palestrina laboured over this work for several years. Unfinished at his death, its fruits eventually appeared in the

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78 Hayburn, Papal Legislation, 27.
79 Ibid.
80 See Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reform and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo (Venice, 1967). On the other hand, Ruffo’s masses were apparently the object of Pontio’s decision as “dead music” in Regiminento di Musici. Cardinal Borromeo was know to have suggested that Vicentino “who composes chromatic music” be asked to experiment with the composition of a mass which emphasized audibility of language.
"Edition Medicea in 1614." Zweifel has already noted, though, that the audience which might have appreciated such an accomplishment was extremely restricted.

A hagiographic mechanism helped to elevate Palestrina to this high place in the seventeenth-century musical pantheon. It worked something like this: Music, being founded on number, was a mirror of divinely-created order and participated in the universal scheme under God. But some composers had acted as though music could be created and executed, not on a truly ‘rational’ basis, but rather according to the intricacies of human vanity and (later) the fallible evidence of the senses and “taste”. Thus they had ceased to treat music as a vehicle for communicating the liturgy, stripping it of true decorum and propriety. This led not only into conceptual error, but potentially into moral and ethical error as well. The Palestrina image had a role which the heirs of the Tridentine reform sought to harness. Palestrina “reasserted” the place of polyphonic music in the divine rite: therefore, he had to have been an agent of the divine, endowed with special gifts by an act of divine grace. In 1600 Palestrina was already considered as a master contrapuntist. By around 1650 a second Palestrina had emerged—the Palestrina who was confirmed to have been formed in the heroic spiritual mould of the militant counter-reformation saint, a very ‘saviour’ of polyphonic music and a heaven-sent guide for those who laboured for music in the church, complete with hagiography and miracle (the Marcellus legend). While the more extreme versions of this attitude pertained more to the nineteenth century, the seventeenth century already saw his image and body of work emerge as a virtual metaphor for religious devotion in music, and he himself as a paragon of spiritual and moral rectitude on the musical plane.

The counter-reformation ethos also overtly used the aesthetic appeal of music, the better to captivate the senses of the faithful and thereby hold their souls. This could not be an end in itself; the disjunction between appeal and theoretical rationalizations did not sit easily with musical thinkers, who found that they had to justify themselves by arguing 'this is good, therefore it pleases'. When theory was involved, all the intransigence in the intellectual tradition of number-based music entered, and logically only strict-style music was acceptable. But if Palestrina combined the qualities of contrapuntal excellence, authority, decorum and aesthetic sanction, he was peculiarly placed to be made the eponym of church style.

To summarize: the myth of Palestrina, as authority and as 'rescuer' of a true church music, was enforced by the later seventeenth-century Roman sociocultural situation and by persons closely associated with the Sistine chapel. There were two images of Palestrina which eventually worked side by side: the master of counterpoint, associated not only with Rome but with places far afield (where the notion of *stile alla Palestrina* was blended with other local ideas regarding an older strict style). The other image, the master of the consonant and audible church aesthetic, is particularly associated with the Roman school. Originally basing their stance on the older humanist and Tridentine ideas, the Roman school later retreated into a single-minded historical view founded in conservative theory, general learning, and an implicit but well-defined need to assert the primacy of its own cultural and religious institutions.

This latter position is demonstrated with exceptional richness in the case of Liberati's *Letter to Ovidio Persapegi* of 1685.
One of the most detailed, and most carefully contextualized, statements about the Palestrina style as it was conceived in late seventeenth-century Rome was written by a member of the Sistine Chapel choir, the composer and musical essayist Antimo Liberati (1617-1692). A lawyer in his youth, Liberati soon abandoned both the law and belles lettres, as he expressed it, for the study of music, and was admitted to the ranks of the more intellectual Italian clergy when he took minor orders in 1644. His early legal training, however, had a demonstrable influence upon him as a theoretical musician. In his later years he produced a series of remarkably well-organized, logically argued and informed writings which are a credit to the humanistically-oriented education he must have received.

Admitted to the Sistine Chapel in 1661, he soon became concerned with the current state of Roman church music. He had an ideological devotion to a ‘true’ church music style and was disquieted by how the conflicting interests of the chapel musicians themselves complicated the problem of reform. In 1662-1663 he produced the *Ragguaglio dello stato del coro de’ cantori nella cappella pontificia antico e moderno e avvisi per la sua conservazione* [Report on the state of the chorus of singers in the ancient and modern papal chapel and advice for its preservation], which is primarily a discussion of the deleterious effects of the presence of castrati in the chapel. Liberati argued not only that the behaviour and activities of the castrati were indecorous, but that their long tenures meant that church music was unable to renew itself properly, as motivation for the ongoing training of skilled children and falsoettists was largely eliminated.

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84 After the early decades of the century, ultramontane writers more readily understood him in this way, although there continued to be theorists who published analyses of Palestrina’s more intricate writing.
85 For full biographical and archival information, see Paul Kast, “Antimo Liberati: eine biographische Skizze”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 42 (1959): 49-72.
87 The MS of the *Ragguaglio* is located in I-Rva, CS683. Transcribed in Galliano Ciliberti and Fiorella Rambotti, “La produzione musicale e gli scritti teorici di Antimo Liberati, cantore della Cappella Pontificia (Foligno 1617-Roma
second tract, *Epitome della musica* (c.1666) was probably written at the request of Pope Alexander VII and seems to have been intended to provide the pontiff with some background apropos of mooted chapel reforms. It indicates that in the later seventeenth century conservative writers on music were still re-thinking the mid-sixteenth century connection between humanist learning and the spiritual directives for Roman church music, and asserting that the goals of a ‘true’ church style and those of ancient Greek music were fundamentally similar. Liberati postulated the creation of a musical poetic in which the soul would be roused to the spirit of the text setting through the composer’s attention to articulation of the words, mode, rhythm and ethos. He criticized some of the music then used in Roman churches, saying that Latin texts other than the ‘maternal idiom’ (presumably approved liturgical or devotional texts) were being sung, and that they were full of intricacies, and interrupted by artifices (probably florid ornamentation) which seldom moved the listener. At the same time, however, he did praise the skill and learning of some of the Sistine singers. Though at times exasperated by life in the chapel, Liberati was thoroughly devoted to its interests in his dry and sometimes pedantic way, referring to the

88 Antimo Liberati, *Epitome della musica raccolta da Antimo Liberati dal Palazzo Musica della Cappella Pontificia alla Santità di N[ostro] S[ignore] Alessandro VII*. MS in I-Rv, Chigi F.IV.72. Liberati’s *Epitome* and the papal decretales of 1657 and 1665 have some context in the fact that a great deal of squabbling over privileges was taking place all over Rome at the time, and that the Sistine singers often had engagements outside the chapel. See Jean Lionnet, “Una svolta nella storia del collegio dei cantori pontifici: il decreto del 22 giugno 1665 contro Orazio Benevoli; origine e conseguenza”, *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 17 (1983): 72-103.
89 Liberati, *Epitome della musica*, 46. “Poichè cantandosi solamente parole latine, diverse dall'idioma materna, da pochi sono intese, e cantandosi quelle intrecciate, e interrotte da diversi artifici musicali, tanto meno si rendono habili à movere.” Liberati might also mean simply that the Latin texts, not being Italian (“the maternal idiom”) were understood by relatively few; but in the papal edicts of the 1660s reference was made to the presence and use of unapproved texts in the liturgy.
90 *Ibid*, 69. Praising their abilities at improvising counterpoint to a cantus firmus, Liberati wrote: “Oltre che il sentire di ciascuno di Quegli eruditi cantori sovra il canto piano, ò Chorale componer all’improviso, e come si dice, far contrapunto alla mente, con nobile harmonia, come se fusse scritta, e composta per l’avant, rende meraviglia, e dolcezza insieme.”
Sistine as "the unique model and wonder of the whole world"\textsuperscript{91} and serving in several of its internal positions.\textsuperscript{92}

Paul Kast characterized Liberati as a reactionary with an unshakable preference for traditions and laws, and suggested that eventually his righteous zeal in this respect isolated him somewhat.\textsuperscript{93} His conservatism, however, is better appreciated in the full context of the ideological religious environment in which he was situated. Given these terms, his positions appear logical, lucid and informed. That he was repeatedly consulted on musical matters (twice within the year 1684-1685 alone\textsuperscript{94}) to arbitrate controversies over questions of compositional expertise indicates that, rather than being isolated, he was acknowledged and honoured far beyond Rome and his immediate sphere. Angelo Berardi addressed him in terms of great respect and friendship, and in \textit{Miscellanea musicale} he referred the reader to Liberati's letter to Persapegi when he himself discussed the relationship of styles and practices.\textsuperscript{95} In the matter of the so-called Corelli fifths, some of the most distinguished members of the Bolognese \textit{Accademia filarmonica} did not hesitate to write to him for his views, which it was thought would decide the issue once for all.\textsuperscript{96} Because his writings about the Roman school of church music were used as a

\textsuperscript{91} Liberati, \textit{Epitome della musica}, 45v. "...unico esempio, e stupore al mondo tutto..."

\textsuperscript{92} Kast, "Antimo Liberati", \textit{passim}. He was inducted into the Sistine on November 25, 1661. In 1670 he was named \textit{punctator}, responsible for the diary of chapel activities for that year. He was named \textit{maestro di cappella} for the years 1674 and 1675 (at that time, \textit{maestri} were elected for a period of one year, a practice which continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century). Eventually he held two other significant posts in Rome, \textit{maestro di cappella} of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, and \textit{maestro di cappella and organista} at S. Maria dell' Anima. He continued as a member of the Sistine Chapel until his death in 1692.

\textsuperscript{93} Kast, "Antimo Liberati", 54.

\textsuperscript{94} That is, regarding the 1684 Milan competition and again in 1685 in the matter of the so-called "Corelli fifths".

\textsuperscript{95} Berardi, \textit{Miscellanea musicale}, 38-42.

\textsuperscript{96} In fall 1685 some respected Bolognese academicians found what they took to be passages of parallel perfect fifths in a Corelli sonata and, puzzled over this apparent lapse on the part of the great composer, wrote to him for an explanation. Corelli replied, testily, that they were a chain of suspensions by supposition, that the interpolation of smaller note values dispelled the sense of parallelisms, and that, frankly, he put them in because it suited his taste and the effect he sought. When consulted for his view, Liberati found the passage acceptable and supported Corelli. The exchange of letters exists in an MS copy in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, D.1-D.2: it was reprinted (with some transcription errors) in Francesco Vatielli, "Il Corelli e i maestri bolognesi del suo tempo," \textit{Rivista musicale italiana} 23 (1916): 408-409, and in Mario Rinaldi, \textit{Aram gegh Correli} (Milan: Curci, 1953), 429-430.
primary historical source by several important eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers,\textsuperscript{97} Liberati is perhaps the single person most immediately responsible for transmitting the idealized image of Palestrina beyond his own time, although this has not been fully realized. He himself epitomized the historical moment where the mythology of Palestrina as ‘founder’ of the authoritative Roman church style found its full strength. Arnaldo Morelli, for one, has pointed out that Liberati, as well as practitioners like Matteo Simonelli, both of whom worked in the wake of a series of papal decrees, were perfect models of reversion to the ‘good old authors’ advocated in this period. Liberati represented the ideological theorizing of the Roman school, while Simonelli was the practical composer who had a large number of observant-style compositions performed in contemporary pontifical ceremonial and thereby fostered the tradition.\textsuperscript{98}

Liberati’s most significant essay on music, and the source from which so much biographical material was later to be drawn, was published in 1685 as the \textit{Lettera scritta dal Sig. Antimo Liberati in risposta ad una dal sig. Ovidio Persapegi}.\textsuperscript{99} Curiously, the information about musical life in seventeenth-century Rome constituted less than a quarter of the letter, and was somewhat

\textsuperscript{97} Liberati’s \textit{Lettera} was used as a major source for Adami da Bolsena’s \textit{Osservazioni} on the papal chapel, the biographical \textit{Notizia} of Pitoni, and for Johann Walther, who had asked Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel to report the contents of the letter to him. In his \textit{General History of the Science and Practice of Music} (1776) John Hawkins noted casually that he had a copy of Liberati’s text in front of him as he wrote relevant passages of his own work. He noted [in the edition of London: Novello, 1853, 658] that it “abounds with very many curious particulars of musical history, which it would have been scarcely possible to supply from any other materials; and of this opinion it seems was Andrea Adami, who, in his Osservazioni…has followed Liberati very closely, and even adopted some of his mistakes.”

\textsuperscript{98} Arnaldo Morelli, “Antimo Liberati, Matteo Simonelli, e la tradizione palestriniana a Roma nella seconda metà del Seicento”, \textit{Atti del II convegno internazionale di studi palestriniani}, 297-307.

\textsuperscript{99} …che gli sia istanza di voler vedere, ed esaminare i Componimenti di Musica fatta delle cinque Concorrenti nel Concorso per il posto di Maestro di Cappella della Metropolitana di Milano fatto sopra di 18. Agosto 1684 alla presenza dell’illustri… e Reverendiss. Signori Rettore, e Deputati di detta Veneranda Fabbrica; e voler dare il suo parere, quale de’ cinque Concorrenti sia il migliore [Letter written by Mr. Antimo Liberati in response to one of Mr. Ovidio Persapegi which made a request to him to please see and examine the compositions of music made by the five contestants in the competition for the post of chapel master of the Metropolitan church of Milan, made on the eighteenth of August, 1684, in the presence of the most illustrious and reverend rector and deputes of the said venerable building; and wishing to give his opinion as to which of the five contestants is the best one] (Rome: G. Mascardi, 1685).
tangential to his main purpose in writing—a critical analysis based on an exposition of the Palestrina style. Much of the letter's content has hardly been studied at all.

He began by describing the receipt of a request to render an opinion as to which composer in a group of five had produced the best test pieces during a competition held some weeks previously for the post of maestro di cappella at the cathedral of Milan. In his response, Liberati sought to perform a dedicated critical analysis and comparison of this group of compositions in church style. He introduced each set of submissions with brief, general and polite remarks, leaving aside for the time being those of the third candidate. He then shifted focus in order to comment on what he considered to be the necessary qualifications for a maestro in terms of musical learning and practical skills. At this point he interpolated into the discussion the well-known discourse on the history of music, together with its practitioners in his own time. His historiography is peculiarly single-minded. All his materials were mustered to support the argument that music history consisted first, of the discovery and application of universal and natural laws of consonance and counterpoint by a series of great personalities, and then, of the chronicle of those composers whose church music best maximized liturgical impact. These developments all converged on the one practice which he believed to shelter the true musical tradition, namely that of the Roman church school extending from Palestrina to Liberati's own contemporaries. All this discussion was necessary to establish fully the several bases from which his authority derived. Because his judgment was based on criteria descended inexorably from history and sanctioned tradition, he argued it could not be anything other than logical, impartial and objective. Finally, having arrived at this point, he set out the salient generic features or 'teachings' of a style based on Palestrina's—'our school'. He then demonstrated that since in his view the the third contestant exhibited the authentic features of that school in his

100 Liberati, Letters, 2.
work to the greatest degree, that composer was the richest in musical science and thus the best choice among the five.

Several reasons explain the neglect of the core of Liberati's letter: his long-unfashionable historical method, his tone of argument, his digressions. But probably the most awkward impediment to its appreciation was that his discussion was not supported by any printed examples and was otherwise unconnected with any known music. Furthermore, he identified the contestants by number only: "their names and ranks are entirely unknown to me." But the relevant musical manuscripts, together with documentary records of the competition of 1684, are in fact preserved in the Milan cathedral archives, where the present writer located them. In Claudio Sartori's 1957 catalogue of the Duomo holdings, there is a citation referring to materials relating to the events of 1684 listed under the collocation Busta 11, no.1. The material itself is bound together with this cover inscription:

1684. Esperienze fatte nel concorso di maestro di cappella del Duomo di Milano con elezione del Reverendo Signor Carlo Consonio et seguito in essa. [1684. Test pieces made during the competition for chapel master of the Cathedral of Milan with the selection of the Reverend Mr. Carlo Consonio and the series itself.]

This book contains fifteen signed autograph works, that is, the complete practical examinations by all five contestants (each being represented by three compositions). Inserted after the title page of Busta 11, no. 1 are two sheets in the hand of the rector, on which the required soggetti for the a cappella pieces are written out, together with brief instructions how to treat them. Because Liberati also described in some detail the compositions he examined, his reader can match his text with the Milanese manuscripts and their specific authors without difficulty.

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101 That is, from a twentieth-century point of view; such a method was fairly common in the seventeenth.
102 Liberati, Lettere, 2.
103 I would like to thank Dottore Ernesto Brivio, archivist at the Milan Cathedral, who in 1983 very kindly supplied me with microfilm copies of this material and that under the citation Archivio storico, n.405.
Another group of documents from the Duomo archives, under the collocation Archivio storico, n.405, is relevant here. This includes a diary of the competition written in a mixture of Latin and Italian which is supplemented by correspondence and printed bills. They testify on a daily basis to the procedures by which the new maestro was to be selected—nomination of the finalists, the administration of examinations and the balloting. Furthermore, evidence of proctoring and evaluation is present on the musical manuscripts themselves: the rector and four deputies put their signatures on the first page of each score, and sometimes added a few markings ad libitum. This assembled material, together with Liberati’s letter, constitutes a rare and very detailed glimpse into the actual mechanics of a competition of this kind as it would have been conducted in the later seventeenth century. As the background circumstances themselves are reconstructed, these also provide an interesting sideline on how the caprices of the powerful could affect the livelihood and working conditions of a professional musician.

Liberati’s letter, it turns out, was prompted by a series of irregular events sufficiently interesting to relate here.\(^{104}\) The post of maestro di cappella at the Duomo of Milan fell vacant in April 1684. Not long after, five finalists for the new appointment had been selected: Andrea Pizzalla,\(^{105}\) Giulio d' Alessandri,\(^{106}\) Carlo Donato Cossoni,\(^{107}\) Giovanni Maria Appiani\(^{108}\) and Carlo

\(^{104}\) Federico Mompellio summarized the external history of this protracted and bitter episode in “La musica a Milano nell’ età moderna: I: La Cappella del Duomo dal 1573 a 1714”, Storia di Milano XIV: Princípio del Secolo (1901-1914) (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1962), 529-530. Mompellio’s account provides understanding of the sequence of events, although he does not allude to the musical compositions themselves or associate them with the Liberati publication of 1685.

\(^{105}\) A former maestro at San Stefano Maggiore in Milan, Pizzalla had occupied numerous other posts in the same diocese. Pizzalla had also competed for the Milan post previously, in 1669. See Mompellio, “La musica a Milano”, 529; 527.

\(^{106}\) Possibly a former maestro at the cathedral in Ferrara, he was vice-maestro in 1684 at the Milan Duomo, where he sang tenor as well. He was also in charge of the chapel after the death of the previous maestro, so he was competing for a promotion and may well have believed he had the inside track. See Archivio storico, n.405, f.3v; also Julia Ann Griffin, “Alessandro, Giulio d’ “, New Grove 1: 245.

\(^{107}\) Also spelled Consonio. He was a priest who had been first organist at San Petronio, Bologna, from 1662 to 1671 (thus Giulio Cesare Arresti’s successor in that post, and witness to the controversial Cazzati tenure). He became a founding member of the Accademia dei Filarmonici in 1667 (see Anne Schnoebelen, The Consecrated Mass at San Petronio in Bologna, diss. University of Illinois at Urbana, 1966, 69). In 1671 Cossoni relocated to Milan, where he had previously performed and where his compositions were admired (see the preface to his Litanie, e quattro antifonie dell’
Francesco Cane. Each was asked to submit to an examination of his theoretical knowledge, and to write three pieces as a demonstration of practical skill. These test works consisted of a piece for eight voices obbligato on an assigned six-note subject to the words *Benedicite Deum celii* (drawn from an antiphon); a piece for five obbligato voices on another assigned nine-note antiphon subject, *In virtute tua Domine,* and a psalm in the concertato manner ad *libitum* on the seventh tone, based on text drawn in part from Psalm 139. The examinations were completed by mid-August, but then problems seem to have developed. On December 5, apparently after months of deliberation, the post was offered to Cossoni, who was well-known, prolific, professionally respected and, it would seem, a good and plausible choice. But when Cossoni tried to assume the post, barely a week after he was named, his appointment was furiously contested by the Archbishop of Milan, Federico Visconti. In a memorandum written by one of the contest also-rans, d’ Alessandri, it was alleged that ‘expert and learned persons’ claimed that Cossoni’s style was ‘theatrical’ and ‘without any good rule of counterpoint’ but that he had nonetheless been provided with ‘powerful favours’—in short, he had obtained the post more through influence than competence. When this insinuation came to the ears of the archbishop, he advised Cossoni not to accept the post and intimated that he had very good reasons for objecting to the composer’s presence among the cathedral personnel. But Cossoni refused to be dissuaded. So the archbishop had the composer carried off to jail, and then ordered him into exile, to a resident canonicate in the diocese of Como. But due to some bureaucratic problem—

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anno, a otto voci pieno (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1671); by 1675 he was maestro di cappella della camera to the Milanese Prince Trivulzio (Il terzo libro di motetti...Bologna: 1675, titlepage).

108 A former maestro di cappella at the church of San Simpliciano in Milan. His work survives in three published collections (RISM 1671, 1680 and 1681 (an expanded reprint of 1679)). The Milan Duomo preserves a large amount of his manuscript music, for he became maestro di cappella upon Cossoni’s retirement in 1692.

109 A priest and maestro di cappella at the Duomo of Novara (Milan, Archivio storico, n.405, letter of 10 July 1684).

110 The texts used by the participants match Psalm 139:2-6, but beyond this point the texts, lengths and completeness of the five settings vary.

111 For an older assessment of the bulk of Cossoni’s extant music, see Anselm Schubiger, “Carlo Donato Cossoni”, *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 3 (1871): 49 et seq.
apparently he had not received a proper dismission—Cossoni was brought back to Milan, where he lived for the next ten months.\footnote{ Giulio d' Alessandri, \textit{Racconto minuto e sincero di tutto l'accaduto nell' elezione del Maestro di Cappella della Chiesa Metropolitana di Milano sino il 4 aprile 1685}, Archivio di stato, P.A. 1049.}

Meanwhile, the restraint of Cossoni does not seem to have pleased in the slightest the cathedral Chapter, which (as was its prerogative) had elected him. In a stormy session on December 12, they not only reconfirmed the composer's election and salary, but they deactivated the chapel choir altogether and diverted its budget into renovations elsewhere until such time as Cossoni was able to commence work. A standoff lasted for about three months. Then the Chapter caused the music chapel to be reactivated in order to prepare for Holy Week services.\footnote{ D' Alessandri added that Cossoni was "celebrating [mass] without the required license". D' Alessandri presents Cossoni in as bad a light as possible, and the implication that he resented Cossoni for winning a post for which he himself had twice competed and lost is unavoidable.} It was to be directed by the \textit{vice-maestro}, d' Alessandri, but after a few days he himself resigned from the chapel, eventually to pen his lengthy and rather petulant recollection of events.

This disorganized state of affairs seems to have continued until December 1685, when Cardinal Mellini successfully mediated an end to this strange drama.\footnote{ \textit{Ibid.}, f.15v, as in Mompellio, \textit{"La musica a Milano"}, 529.} He confirmed the right of the Chapter to choose the \textit{maestro di cappella}, although in future the cardinal's opinion was to be sought before any new selections for the position were made. Archbishop Visconti then formally approved Cossoni, who seems to have gone through some kind of ritual pardoning before assuming his post.\footnote{ \textit{Ibid.}, ff.101-111.} The new \textit{maestro} continued at the Duomo until his retirement in 1692, ostensibly for reasons of health. He died in 1700, leaving nearly all his manuscript music to the monastery of Einsiedeln—a gesture which may indicate either particular devotion to it, or perhaps a wish to deny a legacy to Milan because of the treatment he had received there.
Now it will be remembered that during August and September 1684, the Milanese chapter must either have been having trouble making up its collective mind, or it was inclined to choose Cossoni but already anticipating problems with his acceptance. So it appears that in order to fortify their position they did what a committee in a quandary has often done: they sought an outside opinion. What immediately occasioned the choice of Liberati is not apparent, but given his reputation, associations and the nature of the task to be performed it is certainly understandable. How much weight his opinion had with the Chapter is not apparent from the documents which have been reviewed, although d’Alessandri’s remarks about Cossoni receiving ‘powerful favours’ is suggestive. A positive vote from such an eminent authority on church music could not have hurt his prospects, and it would have been a strong argument against those who alleged the ‘theatricality’ of his style. As Liberati’s letter was dated 15 October 1684, and Cossoni was announced as winner on 5 December, it is possible that the Roman master’s vote tipped the balance in Cossoni’s favour.

The association of the letter with the works it critiques confers much additional historical value on both. Liberati’s elegant text can now be properly assessed in terms of its original intent, which was to present a lucid document of style criticism. It contains a careful list of the criteria which inform the stile alla Palestrina and a point-by-point examination of music with those criteria as referents. His Lettera was structured so as to attempt to offer sincerely an objective and logically unassailable argument. His sequence of subjects was part of a carefully constructed scaffolding meant to buttress his main intent. He wanted to issue his judgments with the force

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116 This may have been a face-saving gesture for the Archbishop’s benefit. It is difficult to prune away the innuendo to discover whether Cossoni actually required pardon for some real fault.
117 Liberati, Lettera, 30. “This genealogy of music and musicians will appear to some superfluous, and beyond the subject of the present discourse, but for me it is useful, and has the advantage of basing my design well and enabling me to satisfy the second request that was made of me; that is, that I might give my judgment and opinion as to who is the best of the five.” [‘Questa genealogia di Musica, e di Musici parerà ad alcuno superflua, e fuor di proposito per il presente discorso, ma per me serue, e vien’ in accorci per fondar bene la mia intenzione, e per poter]
of true and total authority, founded on the natural law inherent in music theory, historical precedent, and the prestige of the Roman church, which looked to the pope's own musical establishment and its traditions as both a spiritual and musical center. In writing up his judgment for publication, he sought both to affirm the continued importance of the strict church style in contemporaneous musical life, and to try to counter the shift in critical sensibilities away from the subjectivity associated with approval as a matter of 'taste' and specifically aesthetic criteria. Liberati's judgments were, in a sense, not based on what he liked, but what he knew was right. 'Taste' was an important aspect of judgment associated with the licenses of seconda pratica composition, but to suggest that it would have been applied to strict style genres implied the acceptance of a corrupt mixed style and a flawed critical faculty. He drove home his sense of disturbance over the issue by pointing repeatedly to perceived abuses in current music, and then rhetorically throwing up his hands and leaving each instance with a refrain charged with irony: "but music is a mere matter of opinion".118

In Liberati's musical edifice, Palestrina was treated like a keystone, introduced with language which suggested that he was a special gift from God:

Pier Luigi Palestrina [sic] (having been given life by God so that one could piously believe in this result), advancing by great steps not only beyond all his fellow students but his own master; who, pressed by his own taste and by the gift of God, chose a manner of composition so beautiful, so noble, so learned, so effortless, so satisfying both to the educated and to the unlettered musician, that with one of the masses of his composition made for the purpose119 and sung in the presence of Pope Marcello Cervini and the Sacred College of Cardinals, it was sufficient to remove the pontiff's intention.120

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118 "...ma la Musica è una mera opinione."

119 The text here is à bella posta, which conveys both the idea of Palestrina's intention and evoking an image of a kind of successful wager.

120 Liberati, Lettera, 22-23. "Pier Luigi Palestrina, il quale (fatto nascere del gran' Iddio, come piamente si può credere à questi effetto) avanzanda à gravi passi non solo tutti i suoi Condiscepoli, ma il proprio Maestro, s' elesse da sé, spinto del proprio gusto, e dal dono di Dio, vno stil di modulazione harmonica così vago, così nobile, così endito, così facile, così sodisfaceuole al Musico, & all' Idiota, che con vna sua Messa di composizione à bella posta fatta, e
With respect to church music, Liberati’s writings confirm that sensitivities regarding
generic qualities continued to be intense. Indeed, he himself thought that generic confusion was
one of the great problems rending the music of his time:

Those composers of our times are most esteemed, and applauded as the most
worthy, who make the most clamour and noise of voices and instruments; who
intone new unregulated modes in churches, theatres, chambers or other illicit
places without imaginable distinction, and without regard either for honesty,
decorum, art, style, or the custom of the most learned and observant professors
of most praiseworthy harmony. 121

Composers, he lamented, began with a subject and then completely forgot it: “one piece of that
composition will be of one kind, and another piece of another, such that one does not know
how to distinguish either the beginning or the end…” 122

Liberati was not saying anything especially new in this respect, of course. He sought to
promote values that had been associated with a proper ecclesiastical style since at least the 1550s.
But his urgency in arguing thus derived from a clear sense that the technical conventions
identified with ‘true’ church music were associated with a set of messages about tradition and the
forms of musical learning a composer might be acknowledging through particular generic and
stylistic choices. 123 By producing a ‘correct’ work in the Palestrina idiom, the composer linked
himself gesturally to the larger context of the idiom: the Roman school, the Sistine traditions and
the institutions in which Liberati had so deeply invested himself. Composition alla Palestrina had
acquired a deeper layer of meaning, representing to Liberati the mirror and transmitter of a set

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121 Liberati, Latera, 16. “E’ quel Compositori a nostri tempi sono stimati, & applauditi per i più valorosi, che fanno
più strepito, e più rumori di voci, e di strumenti, che fanno sentire nuovi modi sregolati, senza distinzione
imaginabile né di Chiese, né de Teatri, né di Camera, né d’ altri luoghi inlecitì, e senza riguardo, né dell’ honesto, né
del decoroso, né del artificio, stile, ò costume de’ Professori più eruditi, e più osservanti della più laudabili
harmonia.”

122 Ibid., 37. “…vn pezzo di quella Compositione sarà d’ vna sorte, & vn altro pezzo d’ vn altra, di modo che non sa
distinguere né principio, né fine…”

123 This also included attitudes toward a text, the performance context and the resources to be used.
of cultural values which a composer could not rightfully ignore. Given such an attitude, Liberati might well feel righteous indignation over music he judged inept or careless: such music could be construed as inferring an indifference, or even an affront to, or rebellion against, the institutions being signified by the use of the musical style. With a certain logic Liberati might believe that a composer who transgressed the rules of the style was not merely polluting counterpoint, or even demonstrating his own ignorance: he was affronting natural order and divine law.

Having provided his historical review and a foundation for his critical stance, Liberati then laid out the qualities of the idiom ‘founded’ on Palestrina—a list comparable in its technical particulars with other style guides from the later seventeenth century. He centered on the composer’s need to maintain a fitting relationship between the musical structure and the sacred text it was meant to embellish. Summarized, this list of ‘teachings’ was as follows.124

The composer had to master theoretical knowledge and must be ‘lettered’,125 that is, possess a broad humanistic education which would sensitize him to the issues and nuances of competent text setting. Liberati noted in passing with some disdain that many composers of his time discarded or overlooked such material as the older theory, regarding it as irrelevant to actual practice.126

In planning a composition, the composer had to devise a subject which was appropriate to the words and cast in a suitable mode or tone, and with these materials he had to plan the framework of the piece as a whole.127 Lamenting that many of his contemporaries did not really know what mode was,128 Liberati claimed that “confounding the periods and the sense, without understanding their construction, [many composers] were very often heard making blunders and

124 The relevant passages are reproduced and translated in the appendix.
125 Liberati, Lettera, 31.
126 Ibid, 33-34.
127 Ibid, 35-36.
128 Ibid, 35.
heresies too." \(^{129}\) This complaint touched upon a number of interrelated issues of subject, mode, structure and text setting, but was focussed first on the essential need to shape a subject which allowed for the clear and decorous projection of the text. Liberati’s reason for this centered on his belief that audibility and decorum together would achieve expression of the appropriate sentiment, for then the sacred text would have optimum conditions for conveying its intrinsic spiritual power. But for that condition to exist, the subject which carried the text had to be properly formed—it required treatment suitable to a vocal and not an instrumental style. In the spirit of generic propriety, Liberati delivered the by-now-familiar admonition that the composer recall that the more intricate varieties of counterpoint belonged to instrumental, not vocal composition. \(^{130}\) This sensitivity continued to be shared by Liberati’s contemporaries. In Documenti armonici, Berardi emphasized the need for unity of the subject, noting that one well-conceived theme used in masses and motets was better than three or four, and that multiple subjects were more suited to other (instrumental) genres, such as toccate and sinfonie. \(^{131}\)

Concern for the accurate establishment of a mode and for its articulation in the course of a musical structure also derived from the overriding generic relationship between correctness and decorum. A vestigial belief, inherited from the Renaissance, that a clearly-projected and consistent mode could be associated with a particular affect, was presumably also at work. Back in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Diruta advocated correctness in the use of mode ranges and forming the answering voice to a subject, he was seeking to preserve what he

\(^{129}\) Ibid. "...non sono fanno sentire le sillabe longhe per breui, e le breui per longhe, ma confondendo i periodi, & il senso, senza saper fare la construzione di essi, fanno sentire bene spesso è sproposito, & anche herezie."

\(^{130}\) Liberati went on to observe that many composers could produce work in the instrumental style, but that few truly knew how to set sacred vocal texts—he added sarcastically that some composers could hardly spell their own names correctly (Lett. 56). It indicated his difficulties with the work of a composer like Frescobaldi, who was mentioned by name here. Frescobaldi was not a person who recommended himself by the force of a general erudition, and for that matter, his extant masses have traces of aria and variation techniques. The objection that a composer’s work sounded as if it had originated at the keyboard was not new. On page 32 of Cetrom musicum, Marco Scacchi charged Paul Siefert with this error, and reminded him that Amusi had earlier objected to it as well.

\(^{131}\) Berardi, Documenti armonici, 46.
thought were the old associative properties of the modes.\textsuperscript{132} But another reason for insisting on the so-called modal answer was increasingly emphasized: the presentation of the mode in the first point of imitation became a specific signal of the composer's intent as to the 'kind' of composition the listener should recognize. As the seventeenth century progressed, insistence on a modal answer\textsuperscript{133} became so strict that 'real' answers (the fifth answered by a fifth) were treated as positively erroneous. Giovanni Maria Bononcini noted:

> Proceeding by rule through the notes of any mode consists of forming the fugues by the species of fifth and fourth of that mode in which you wish to make the composition, whether in the low or in the high register, and in the regular cadences of that mode.\textsuperscript{134}

He added that "all this cannot be observed in the concertato style, but in the stile a cappella it can and should be observed".\textsuperscript{135} In the first book of Documenti armonici, Berardi in turn criticized a musical example with a real fifth-fifth answer, saying that the fugue did not have the formation of the mode, for the mode could be formed neither by two fifths, nor two fourths.\textsuperscript{136} In practice, however, the rule was still being broken; one of the 1684 competition pieces, by d' Alessandri, did so—an infraction which would not have escaped Liberati's eye.

Again familiar from earlier writings is Liberati's next 'teaching', which is that melodic material should avail itself of the rhythmic values of breve, semibreve and minimis ("three figures") and proceed by suitable and proximate movements. While providing sufficient rhythmic variety and interest, these values were felt to provide a sense of seriousness and dignity

\textsuperscript{132} Dinu, Seconda parte del Transilvano, 37.
\textsuperscript{133} That is, the melodic interval of the fifth being answered by that of the fourth.
\textsuperscript{134} Giovanni Maria Bononcini, Musica pratica, 137. "...che il procedere regolarmente per le corde di qualsuoglia Tuono consiste nel modular le fughe per le specie della quinta, e della quarta di quel Tuono, nel quale si vuol fare la Composizione, tanto nel grave, quanto nell' acuto, e nelle cadenze regolari del medesimo Tuono."
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 124. "...tutto ciò non viene però osservato nello stile concertato...ma nello stile Capella si può, e si deve osservare..." Liberati and Berardi might well have exchanged opinions on such matters at various times.
\textsuperscript{136} Berardi, Documenti armonici, 37.
appropriate to strict-style church music, creating a not too rapid pace and assuring the singability of melodic lines.\textsuperscript{137}

Some basic contrapuntal rules were reiterated. Two perfect consonances were not to be made by similar motion, that is, parallel fifths and octaves had to be avoided. An exception could be made if one of the fifths was perfect and the other diminished, which sufficiently varied the harmony to make it acceptable.\textsuperscript{138} Parallel perfect sonorities were forbidden not because the sound was inherently offensive; in fact, if used deliberately, the effect could sometimes be quite impressive; but it was inappropriate in the strict style because otherwise the sense of independent melodic lines was lost.\textsuperscript{139} Likewise, tritones and false relations were to be avoided. ‘Our school’ decreed a long list of inobservant uses associated with affective representation of the text—\textit{seconda pratica} licenses, essentially.\textsuperscript{140} Finally, he affirmed that compositions should begin on the downbeat, and that the \textit{clausula} (the coincidence of text phrase ending with a melodic cadence) should also occur on the downbeat as well.\textsuperscript{141}

Having listed this set of criteria—which were in effect those he used to deal with the actual competition pieces—Liberati proceeded to discuss the work of the winning contestant, whom we now know to have been Cossoni. He did not present a measure-by-measure analysis as such, although he must have performed something of the sort. He quoted no examples, probably because the circumstances disallowed his doing so, although he did verbally describe a number of details. His analysis contained descriptions similar to those found in journal and circular reports from the later seventeenth century, liberally laced with courtly praise, but also fairly detailed and meticulous.

\textsuperscript{137} Liberati, \textit{Letters}, 38.
\textsuperscript{138} \textit{i.e.}, 45.
\textsuperscript{139} \textit{i.e.}, 40-41.
\textsuperscript{140} \textit{i.e.}, 48-49. Liberati himself did not use the term \textit{seconda pratica}, although given his references to Monteverdi he certainly knew it. In order not to have to fight on a second front, as it were, and to retain the logic and strength of his argument, he most likely preferred not to raise the issue.
In Liberati’s view, Cossoni’s most attractive style traits were the purity, homogeneity and elegance of his subjects, the lucidity of his text setting and his accurate presentation of mode:

He makes heard at the same time both the subject of the composition, and the words to which it is adapted. He touches both with marvelous artfulness in all the voices, in a manner that the ear of the listener can understand and take them into memory perfectly...None of the other four contestants has expounded the theme or principal subject, consistent with the given obbligato, and has begun to weave it as this worthy contestant has done, since he entered into the contest with the purest subject...He makes heard the entire subject, and meanwhile he begins to make learned harmony to it. He enters with the soprano at the upper fifth with the other intervals appropriate to its tone. [See Example 6.]


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141 Liberati, Lettera, 49.
142 That is, condition or requirement to be observed in working out the subject.
143 Liberati, Lettera, 57. "...fa sentire in vn medemo tempo, & il soggetto della modulazione, e le parole à quello adattate. e l’ uno, e l’ altre le fà toccare con meraviglioso artificio à tutte le voci, in maniera che l’ orecchio dell’ Vditore può comprendere, e mandarsi perfettamente alla memoria...Il temo, à soggetto principale, conforme all’ obbligo dato, nessuno degli altri quattro Concorrenti l’ ha spiegato, e l’ ha cominciato à essere conforme hà fatto questo valoroso Concorrente, poiché è entrato nell’ aringo col soggetto purissimo...fa sentire tutto l’ soggetto, e
These qualities gained as much praise when demonstrated in the concertato psalm as when conveyed in the two strict-style works:

This excellent composer has made apparent the variety of style which he possesses by managing two concertato choruses in the modern manner with their responses and imitations within the limits of his tone, and well proportioned to the words, expressing those to a marvelous degree, always presenting both learning and beauty joined together.¹⁴⁴

Apparently Liberati did not find it difficult to deal with the "modern" idiom present in the concertato psalms. As long as the contestants understood how to make clear style distinctions as they passed from one section of the work to the next, and set text clearly and without obscuring it, he found them worthy of careful examination and genuine regard.

In examining the test pieces by the other four composers, Liberati clearly took marks off for an overly complex contrapuntal texture. In the work of Appiani, candidate number four, for example, the subject of the eight-voice piece was developed "with a mixture of other thoughts

---

¹⁴⁴ Liberati, Lettera, 60-61. "... ha fatto vedere questo eccellente Compositore la varietà dello stile che' egli possiede, con maneggiare due Chori concertati alla moderna, con le risposte di essi, & imitazioni dentro i limiti del suo Tono, e ben proportionati alle parole, esprimendo quelle à meraviglia, sempre mandando accoppiate insieme e studio, e vaghezza..."
and words different from the first, leading them in such a manner right to the end of the composition without sparing either labour or industry.” [See Example 7] In other words, for all Appiani's enthusiasm and skill, he overworked everything. In Liberati's eyes there was a proximity of subject material which may have been thought not only to obscure the cantus firmus but an audible mode formation itself. As early as measure 2 Appiani introduced free countersubjects in the second choir entrance with text which overlapped the first choir. The texture remained full and busy throughout, and was regarded as lacking structural variety.


145 Liberati, Letters, 5.
Appiani clearly took some pride in his contrapuntal skill: he labelled various devices as *soggetto roverso* [inverted subject], *diritto* [original subject] and so forth in his manuscripts. [See Example 8]

Example 8. Appiani, *In virtute tua Domine,* in Milan, A.D. Busta 11, no. 1, p. 67

Mode and cadence treatment in the eight-voice and five-voice compositions is indicated in Tables 11a and 11b, pages 234-235. With one exception—d'Alessandri's *Benedictus*—each of the pieces with an *obbligato* used a tonal answer to introduce the first point of imitation and formed its structural cadences on anticipated pitches within the tone to which the piece is ascribed. Such consistency was fairly unremarkable, as these generic requirements were commonly understood.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Mode Assigned</th>
<th>Modal Answer</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Internal Cadences</th>
<th>V-1 in lowest voice?</th>
<th>Coincidence of 6-8 or 3-1w/phrase end?</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pizzalla</td>
<td>V or XI</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.6 S1, B1 G</td>
<td>Yes (B2)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.9 T1, T2 C</td>
<td>Yes (B1, B2)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.14 A1, S2 G</td>
<td>Yes (B1, B2)</td>
<td>Yes (final)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D’ Alessandri</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.8 A2, B2 G</td>
<td>**2</td>
<td>Obscure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.14 B1, B2 C</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>All harmonic materials here; no word alignment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.20 A1, B2 G</td>
<td>Yes (text not aligned)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.32 S1, T1 C</td>
<td>Yes (B1, B2)</td>
<td>Yes (final)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cossoni</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.15 A1, B1 G</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>Yes (harmonically, not contrapuntally)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.24 A1, B2 G</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>No word alignment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.29 A2, T2 C</td>
<td>Yes (B1)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.34 T1, B1 G</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.42 T1, S2 G</td>
<td>Yes (B1, B2)</td>
<td>Yes (final)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Appiani</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.11 C1, B1 G</td>
<td>Yes (B2)</td>
<td>No alignment, defined harmonically</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.16 A1, B1, C</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.20 B1, A2 A</td>
<td>No; in highest voice</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.25 S1, B1 C</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes, but a harmonic construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.29 A1, B2 C</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No (D goes to E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Text-music relation highly ambiguous until</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.27 S1, B1 G</td>
<td>Yes (B2)</td>
<td>No proper word alignment</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>m.36 A1, A2 G</td>
<td>Yes (B1, B2)</td>
<td>V-I alignment</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.39 S2, B2 C</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.52 T1, S2 C</td>
<td>yes (B1, S2)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 That is, the ends of the same segment of text meet at this cadence point, and those two voices create a 3-1 or 6-8 cadence.

2 The symbol ** indicates that the V-I/semitone cadence is the only type present.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Mode Assigned</th>
<th>Modal Answer</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Internal Cadences</th>
<th>V-I in lowest voice?</th>
<th>Coincidence of 6-8 or 3-Iw/phrase end</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pizzila</td>
<td>V or XI</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.6 S1, T</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.13 S1, T</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.17 S1, A</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.20 S2, T</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.9 A, T2</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D' Alessandri</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.8 T1, B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.15 A, B</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.19 C, B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.26 A, B</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td></td>
<td>m.43 C, T</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.47 C, B</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>Cossoni</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.23 A, B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>**</td>
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<td>m.31 A, T2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.36 A, T1</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.41 S, T1</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.53 A, B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.51 C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Leap of F-C (but not V-I)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Appiani</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.15 A, T</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.18 A, B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.31 T, B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.39 A, T</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.52 S,B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>m.15 A, T</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.18 A, B</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.31 T, B</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.39 A, T</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.52 S,B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Liberati added, however, that he thought Cossoni accomplished this task in an especially pristine way. He also said that it was common in his day for composers to muddle the proper relationship between text and cadences. He inferred that some church music demonstrated the constant cadence elision often found in a complex contrapuntal texture, and listeners' faculties were strained because they could not hear a clear coincidence of the end of a cadence with the end of a phrase of text. (This was a critical part of sixteenth-century compositional planning, carefully described by Zarlino and his successors.\footnote{146} These pieces in general often show a lack of correspondence between text endings and cadential structures, cadences which were clearly formed on a harmonic basis rather than according to simple interval movement\footnote{147} and a sometimes notable insensitivity to church Latin accentuation. Functionally directed vertical sonorities were not confined to cadences but asserted throughout musical structures: several of these works were slaves to the downbeat. This also could result in individual voice parts that were neither smooth nor easy to sing, erratic by the standards of traditional counterpoint.

Liberati's remark about melodic lines which proceeded "for the most part by leaps and with a

\footnote{146 Giuseppi Zarlino, \textit{Le istituzioni harmoniche} III, f.221; trans. Marco and Palisca, 141-142. All the composers represented in the 1684 set use cadences which either present semitone movement in one voice, plus the bass leap of a fifth, or which converge on a single pitch (3-1) or expand to an octave (6-8) together with the leap of a fifth in the bass. In 1558 Zarlino described the latter cadences as used 'occasionally' and only in the course of a composition, not at the end (Zarlino, \textit{Art of Counterpoint}, trans. Marco and Palisca, 147-148). But as harmonic tonality became more established, it became common and even normative throughout—of the number of ways in which ostensible sixteenth-century practices were modified during their seventeenth-century evolution.

\footnote{147}In \textit{Historia musica} (Perugia: Costantini, 1695), Giovanni Andrea Angelini-Bontempi described a technique of composition for four voices which in some respects resembled thoroughbass method but which was associated by its author with polyphony and the twelve modes (pages 190-196). He instructed the reader to begin by selecting a suitable bass note and constructing three correct parts over it, after which a second bass note and its harmony were associated with the first, and so forth. Bontempi clearly indicated that the ascending-fourth cadence should terminate a work and was usual for internal cadences also. 3-1 or 6-8 progressions are among 'other species' recommended for use and were not treated with Zarlino's particularity. In the list of cadences suitable for each mode, Bontempi described not the interlocutionary movement of two lines but ascending-fourth bass movements (for example, in Mode 1 the cadences were A-D, E-A, C-F etc.), leaving the reader to work out the other voices. Other cadences, including stepwise movement of the bass, were also described but were of less importance. Cadence practices found in the 1684 works seem to mirror the feeling for mode and cadence structures found in Bontempi here.

This chapter of \textit{Historia musica} developed ideas first suggested by Bontempi in \textit{Novus quattuor vocibus componenti methodus} (Dresden: Seyffert, 1660), although the comments on mode appeared only in the 1695 work.

I should like to acknowledge with thanks the British Library, London, which kindly supplied me with a microfilm copy of its very rare exemplar of \textit{Novus quattuor vocibus}.}
broken style", creating a situation in which the composition necessarily ended up "rough, uneven and difficult to sing and with harsh harmony" seems at times justified:

Example 9: Appiani, In virtute tua Domine, in Milan, A.D. Busta 11, no. 1, p. 64, mm.52-56

One of the more notable qualities of Cossoni's work, which does seem to set him apart from the others, is his treatment of textures. His melodic lines could be quite supple, and his pieces overall were distinctly more limpid and diversified than the other examples in terms of their colouristic groupings and spacings of voices which nonetheless offered a full harmony. A cappella composition, nominally without basso continuo or other instrumental support, was required to sound harmonically complete in itself. An ability to sustain full yet varied and interesting textures was a way in which the individual composer could demonstrate personal skill and excellence within the prescribed generic boundaries. Liberati noted this quality in Cossoni's work and commented on it gratefully ("the distribution of the parts is done with the greatest art").
Examination of the whole group of compositions suggests that they did exhibit most or all of the key features which identified the type of piece for the listener. In general, the composers understood the basic formal requirements and conventions well enough. This was especially true at the beginnings of works, where the need to convey basic generic information was imperative. Yet it is also apparent at once, however, that stylistically these works are not an overt simulation of a late sixteenth-century manner. While the music obviously embodied values for which an image focused on Palestrina served as a model, it is somewhat distant from its ostensible authority and clearly incorporates much of the updated technical practice associated with evolving modal/tonal techniques, contemporaneous suspension treatment, and so forth. Rather than simply copying a style, later seventeenth-century composers began by satisfying a set of conventional expectations near the beginning of a work, and then proceeded with somewhat less constraint once they achieved the first point of imitation, as long as the ending is well crafted. But composers were quite comfortable doing this, and apparently they did not usually wish it otherwise.

In truth, neither Liberati nor anyone else really did think of the composers of the "Palestrina school" as intentionally ahistorical epigones. Liberati himself did not see Palestrina as only to be copied, or as the originator of a school per se, but rather as a great light in a stream of musical tradition that embraced the present as well as the past—part of a 'school' which was not only prestigious and tradition-oriented, but current, active and valid while Liberati penned his essay. Just as great writers of the past were held up as authoritative models in literary genres, even when known by little more than their names, so did writers on music address Palestrina as an ideal practitioner of a compositional idiom who was still to be emulated. Those composers of the present who successfully did so might glean a share in the authority and prestige attached to
the model, and by extension attached to the institutions and values associated with Palestrina's name.

Another issue to note about the test pieces, and those written by the 'also-rans' in particular, is that Liberati may have attempted to superimpose upon them criteria based on style characteristics which were in fact relatively local to Rome, and to which Milan-based composers may not have practically subscribed with any special strictness. The biographies of the four composers other than Cossoni suggest that they were bred in a more northerly Italian musical environment, and that their often denser and more complex musical textures (those sometimes criticized by Liberati) may represent a manner which was, simply, more commonly used and accepted by them. As it happened, Giovanni Maria Appiani, who has suffered somewhat by comparison in these pages, could not have been altogether disdained by the Milanese authorities, for it was he who became maestro at the Duomo of Milan when Cossoni retired in 1692. 148 Professional practices with respect to the relationship between counterpoint and text articulation, Liberati's single most decisive criterion of excellence, may not have been as intensely affected by Roman ideas as Liberati may have wished. The ideal Roman church music with which he identified himself may not have had quite the same sway outside the Roman orbit.

In retrospect, it is interesting to note the possibility that Carlo Donato Cossoni may have been practically affected by Roman-based currents in strict-style music, and for that matter was better acquainted than his Milanese contemporaries with what Romans may have thought about church style. Cossoni's tenure in Bologna coincided with the Cazzati-Arresti controversy, and indeed in 1671 he had been Arresti's successor at the organ of San Petronio. In 1667, he entered the ranks of the nascent Accademia dei Filarmonici, which was founded among other reasons to

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promote composition in the "true ecclesiastical style". He was admitted as a *compositori*, its highest membership stratum, which required submission of a work written to artificially high standards. He would nominally have shared the Accademia's general theoretical outlook.

Liberati, for his part, was in correspondence at various times with well-known musicians associated with the organization, members of whom were also ready to call upon his opinion in a theoretical debate. It is quite possible that there might have been a greater natural *simpatia* between Liberati's and views of members of the Accademia than there was between Liberati and some practical musicians in Milan.

Considering Liberati's other links with members of the Bolognese *accademia*—Giovanni Paolo Colonna, for one—it is possible that Liberati and Cossoni knew, or knew of, each other. This need not call into question Liberati's honesty when he asserted that the competition pieces were anonymous when he received them, but the remark about 'powerful favours' lingers in the imagination, and perhaps it was through some obscure chain of acquaintance or suggestion that Liberati was originally contacted for the job of the critique.

By way of conclusion, in being asked to serve as judge, Liberati was given an ideal opportunity to formulate a cogent *apologia* for the *stile alla Palestrina* in his time, not only in its techniques but in the full context of its intellectual, historical and aesthetic appreciation. His 'objective' judgments, though painstakingly asserted, were clearly swayed by his cultural feelings as well as his understanding. All of the compositions he looked at fit the generic criteria set out by the theorists, more or less. But he seems to have awarded the palm to Cossoni not only as the most successful creator of musical exemplars, but also because Cossoni's manner, for whatever

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149 Documentation of the origins of the Academy, its organization and rules at the time is found in *Regole capitulare* (MS Bologna, Accademia dei Filarmonici, vols. 1-3, n.244). Later *Regole* were drawn up in 1689 and 1721. See also Anne Schnoebeelen, "Cazzati vs. Bologna: 1657-1671", *Musical Quarterly* 57 (1971): 26-39.

reason, came closest to intuitive representation of the ideal of sound and practice which Liberati knew best and held dearest. But it was Liberati's linking of Cossoni to his own special emphasis on text audibility, associated with simplified correct counterpoint, which was the deciding factor in his judgments about generic integrity and purity. Liberati associated such qualities peculiarly with the *stile alla Palestrina* and the thought of the Roman compositional school, and in so doing embodied a point of intersection among generic kind, tradition and authority.
Conclusion

The preceding pages have studied the evolution of typologies of musical composition and how it related to issues underlying critical analyses and polemics conducted in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy. Such a study has been, of course, inseparable from discussions of musical ‘style’. In this context, describing qualities of ‘style’ means that certain writers tried to identify significant characteristics of a composition that distinguished one type from another. In so doing, they might also instruct the reader with prescriptions for the use of selected materials for the creation of other examples of the identified type.

Some writers during this period attempted to deal with ‘kinds’ of music in a more or less systematic way, and a few actually classify kinds of composition in groups based on common salient purposes and material characteristics. A strong interest existed not only in characterising the defining features of a kind, but in offering an overview of how those kinds related to one another and what their respective places in the musical culture in general were. To understand this interest, the writings have been examined not only in terms of their highlighted technical features but also in terms of their underlying conceptual and logical premises and with respect to the intricate perspectives, agendas and cultural contexts in which their authors observed and wrote.

In terms of association with ideas of genre in this period, the polemics described in the preceding pages had a reciprocal effect. In order to establish that their critiques of individual works operated according to rigorous and relatively ‘objective’ criteria, critics such as Scacchi found it necessary to clarify the rules of counterpoint and style for a particular genre. Where a strict polyphonic style was established as a critical touchstone (and for those who make general typologies of musical kinds, this was usually the case), a composition either did, or did not, fit such parameters: it was either a proper exemplar, or, if it had ‘errors’, it was something ‘other’.
Yet with the increasing urge to clarify the rules, there came also a more urgent need to clarify the relationship between rules *per se* and the kinds or types governed by those rules. Observance or non-observance of 'rules' itself came to define a kind. The sense of what a work's genre was helped to define the rules appropriate to it, and application of clarified rules in turn increasingly clearly defined the nature, character and quality of the genre over time.

A writer's musical and cultural context was very important in determining why he might have chosen to group or emphasize some materials or features rather than others, and may even indicate why he might ignore or gloss over entire genres or qualities of musical expression. It does appear that the schematics of musical kinds examined in the preceding pages underwent significant changes between 1550 and 1650 which resonate with major changes and 'dissonances' within Italian musical culture. Over this period, the choices and value systems operating behind these taxonomies worked under changing and varying levels of constraint, to use the language of style theorist Leonard Meyer, and it is useful and necessary to account when possible for why those constraints (and their rates of change) varied.

...[W]hen the constraints governing the parameters of a musical culture are not compatible or congruent with one another, there is a kind of cognition/cultural dissonance whose resolution requires adjustment and change. In this connection it is important to distinguish between the *kinds* of changes that may occur and the *rate* at which changes take place.¹

There were several distinct but interacting strands of musical development in the seventeenth century which are reflected in the kinds of texts and treatises dealt with in the investigation of musical 'kinds'. The uneasy co-existence of these strands of historical style evolution reflected the philosophical contrasts and cultural bifurcations noted by many general historians of the cultural of this period. Striking differences in the subject matter and treatment

of ideas of musical kinds is in great measure accounted for by the often profound cultural differences among the writers themselves.

A significant strand was associated with the kind of writer who was a professional musician, that is, one whose actual livelihood was drawn from the composition and performance of music, or who functioned officially as a presider or administrator within an active musical establishment. Several such musicians are most prominently featured in the present work—Pontio, Monteverdi, Scacchi, Berardi, Liberati—and some historical consistency is evident in the premises and theoretical assumptions on which they based their critical methods and commentary. They tended to be educated in their craft in a manner established for many generations: transmission of practices from a master, and emulation of respected polyphonic models which made for the absorption of correct contrapuntal technique. They were, in general, conservative (almost necessarily so), inculcated with a respect for received authorities—that of the historical tradition of intellectual musical learning; for past masters; for religious authority; and for the patrons whose wishes they were bound to accommodate.

In some respects this type of musician reflected what William J. Bouwsma has referred to as the “revivified scholasticism” of this era. In dealing with music, this kind of writer worked within a tradition of defined subjects to be treated in an established series. His point of departure was the theory of music as it existed in treatises on counterpoint and composition from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His intent was to build upon such a tradition by supplementing its learning. When in a position to add something new to the typical treatise, the writer tended to attach it at, or near, the end of the work if the already-established categories could not quite absorb the material. Many subjects (especially those related to the newer affective genres) could not properly enter his discussions at all; he sometimes lacked an established and recognizable vocabulary with which to express their observations. (Scacchi
himself said that 'no rules' could be made for music in the 'theatrical' style, since it operated according to a musical logic not like that codified in Zarlino.) The treatises of writers such as Berardi and Liberati (even of Scacchi, who very much welcomed 'modern' composition) are as remarkable for what they do not address as for what they deal with and how. It is remarkable, for instance, that given the tremendous interest in the early years of the century in music relative to rhetorical expression, discussions of this subject, apart from a few ritualized comments, virtually disappear from mainstream Italian treatises by mid-century. (It was very much alive in practical performance, in the oral tutorial tradition.)

Among these writers, certain ones were interested in putting into their treatises tolerably comprehensive divisions of musical kinds embracing both ecclesiastical and secular music of a high or middle stylistic level. While they often provided detailed and engaged comments about secular genres such as the madrigal, their discussions tended to be biased, both in weight and secondary observations, toward church music types. Not only could one find clear distinctions of types, but this music was generally regarded as being in the most elevated manner, where the art of composition was held to the highest and strictest standards. These observations reflected not only professional pride in the noblest expressions of the art, but have implicit in them a powerful sense of decorum and the treatment due to works with reverential intent.

A second important group of writers about music in this period touch upon many of the topics which the intellectual constraints—or blinders, perhaps—of conservative professional musicians prevent them from exploring in a unified treatise. These writers were seldom if ever a part of the working musicians' mainstream: they were usually of aristocratic birth, with the excellent education consistent with such a position. They approached music either as observant amateur connoisseurs of the full panoply of current musical expression, or as scholars with an agenda directed by studies of ancient classical sources. Vincenzo Giustiniani gave a clear idea of
changes in style between 1575 and 1630 by observing differences in textures and the use of vocal ornament and other techniques. Pietro della Valle, for one, discussed systematically the functions of instruments per se at a point when the typologies of conservative professionals were directed to vocal music. Doni was a gentleman scholar of classical Greek sources, deeply interested in the revival of ancient music (or invoking its power in modern performance) as well as the construction of instruments, but whose engagement with his musical contemporaries was highly selective. Generally uninterested in polyphony, Doni passionately sought to understand ‘kinds’ of theatrical and reciting musics in terms of declamation, and provided elaborate typologies and descriptions for it at a time when conservatives could say little in the text of a treatise because the reciting style could scarcely be discussed in terms of contrapuntal ‘rules’. These amateurs were among the earliest persons to accept criteria such as the receptiveness or ‘taste’ of the audience, together with the episodic discretion of the composer, as being as valuable to judge compositions as the rule of ‘natural’ harmonic law adhered to by some conservative theorists. (Such persons clearly influenced compositional practice indirectly during this period also; with their receptiveness to progressive musical procedures they encouraged composers to write such things into their works and thus effect some bending of the older generic categories.) Much of posterity’s actual information about ‘modern’ musical categories does not occur in systematic musical sources at all, but in belles-lettres and texts which observe and describe, and which derive from connoisseur-amateurs.

The origins of musical taxonomies lay in a pervasive feature of sixteenth-century Italian culture: intense interest in strategies for the effective presentation of ideas in speech and writing, and in the issues collectively known as “style”. These were matters not only of content but also of patterns of formal presentation, guided above all by a concept of decorum—a sense of appropriateness rich with connotations of ethics, aesthetics and sociology. Interest in describing of
musical works by class and type apparently derived from a revived interest in literary poetical
typologies conflated with the vocabulary of persuasive techniques present in manuals of rhetoric
and style. Beginning by the 1550s with Vicentino, writers on music working under these influences
began to formulate ideas of 'kind' or genre for musical compositions, suggesting prescriptions
(replicable material conventions) for the making of pieces identifiably belonging to a genre.
Supplementing their longstanding interest in the ordering of the parts and materials of
counterpoint generally, writers began to specify that attention be paid not only to the layout and
function of a text but to its expressive and psychological aspects, as well as to the nature of the
audience, place and occasions of performance, and to the general appropriateness of musical
resources used. This was manifest in the division of musical kinds into ecclesiastical and secular
(and for some sixteenth-century writers, instrumental, which usually meant the ricercar), as well
as their respective subdivisions. The criterion for judgment for quality with these divisions of
musical kinds was the production of a 'correct' exemplar where the established material and
formal parameters were observed, allowing for the display of ingenuity and originality in the use
of those conventions by the composer.

When transferred to music, poetical and rhetorical influences stimulated changes in the
content of theoretical texts. Counterpoint texts extended beyond codifying rules of correct
counterpoint to fuller consideration of structural modelling, technical procedure and expression,
based on generic distinctions located in the kind of text or the nature of the audience or
performance site. Function was a matter of audience, what was to be said and those who were to be
persuaded, or for that matter, those who were paying for the composition. By the end of the
sixteenth century, certain technical features were articulated as criteria by which to judge the
appropriateness of a work, and as prescriptions for its correctness in treatises associated with
practical music.
While this process began through contamination or analogy with types and techniques of oratory, by around 1600 it was overtaken by cultural and historical considerations decisively affecting both the shape and the rationale of musical typologies. These centred on humanistic discourse regarding the expressive possibilities of language as it impacted upon aspects of contrapuntal theory cherished by a conservative mainstream of music theorists. By about 1600 the argument had emerged that the integrity of an exemplar of a certain ‘kind’ might be established critically according to the relative strictness or freedom with which it treated contrapuntal rules for declared expressive purposes. This reasoning was closely related to questions of decorum—what ‘kinds’ were properly served by relatively strict or free treatment, and how far a kind of expressive text could bear an appropriately metaphorical musical setting without loss of propriety.

Monteverdi argued in 1605/1607 that while a common theoretical basis for counterpoint could be argued from Zarlino’s codifying of the rules, one could nonetheless divide contemporary music into a first or strict practice, where harmonic rules had to be observed, and a second practice in which affective considerations of the text might supersede the requirement of harmonic ‘correctness’. ‘Theatrical’ music, that is, music associated with the modern reciting manner, also began to affect the schematization of church and chamber pieces, although with neither differentiation of subdivisions or substantial prescriptions for the materials to be used. It as it simply did not fit the contrapuntal and material categories understood by conservative-trained theorists. Marco Scacchi said that no rules could be made for this kind of composition and that the style could only be communicated orally, rather than in a written context.

By 1650, Scacchi’s writings offered a potential conciliation of the seemingly conflicting claims of a conservative background grounded in the authority of received musical texts with a culture which welcomed the techniques associated with the modern affective manner. Building
on the concept of a prima and seconda pratica described by Monteverdi, Scacchi specifically
assigned these qualities as defining features of a particular musical genre. He expanded the
functional divisions of genre—church, chamber and theatrical—by perceiving each of them as
representing a continuum of subgenres. He then grouped those subgenres progressively in terms
of contrapuntal treatment from strictest to most free or most determined by affective expressive
qualities. But he perceived all of these types as under the umbrella of a ‘modern’, that is, current,
style, all of which deserved to be cultivated without inhibition by the artificially narrowed
cultural standard that he perceived in some of his Roman contemporaries. Scacchi’s formulation
provided a means for musicians themselves to reconciled the various and sometimes conflicting
claims and tendencies within their own musical culture, which for practical performers could
move daily between the church and the opera house. Scacchi’s influence persisted into the next
century, due in part to the assiduous dissemination of his ideas by students and friends. His
rubric held these various tensions in stasis and for a time was indeed workable.

Advocates in this period of that remarkable descendant of the strict style, the so-called
stile alla Palestrina, were less successful in the long term in superimposing claims to style
hegemony over seventeenth-century culture. The stile alla Palestrina survived in part as a style
because its materials has become so specifically defined, but it also was associated with a large
number of historiographical and cultural claims—in effect, that all church musical roads led to
Rome. Ultimately this attitude failed overall, although it had numbers of passionately devoted
adherents, as Liberati’s writings indicate. While there was a tight logic in cultural assumptions
such as his, those who held such a view also had to exist in a kind of conceptual state of denial
of the musical plurality about them. The nineteenth-century Palestrina revival suggests, however,
that the style did have a remarkable afterlife, in part perpetuated by the very strength of the long-
term emblematic associations of the style with religious devotion.
After 1650, the subdivisions within Scacchi’s tripartite scheme seem to have moved more closely to their logical outcome. The strict style itself, by this time often identified with the stile alla Palestrina, became extremely conventionalized and easy to isolate not only technically, but also aurally. The other kinds of church music on Scacchi’s continuum tended to be grouped more or less together as a mixed manner containing often widely divergent elements and even including forms of the reciting style.

While during the period under study there were important continuities, there were also some striking departures and changes in thinking. In many quarters the claims of ‘reason’, justification of music in terms of speculative theoretical discourse, were increasingly being superseded by the claims of sensuous appeal and individual value judgments by the composer. Outstanding practice, even if nominally irregular, began to be more highly valued, both in fact and in principle, than conceptual musical learning. Modernity and currency in many cases did turn its back on the ‘ancients’.

Most strikingly, with respect to issues of style and genre, there was a remarkable shift to newer techniques of material organization in the actual music of the period. Vicentino and Pontio had discussed types of composition which were in effect continuous coherent units, in which imitation, subjects and motives, mode, text and structure worked to hold together an musical unit which was in some way analogous to the text it set. In the early years of the seventeenth century, however, the beginnings of a new manner of large-scale compositional organization appear. These are sectionalized or discrete structures, almost modular at times, the coherence of which is based on the recognition of emblematically-used material and technical conventions.

This newer manner of organization seems to have been intuited early in the century by practical musicians. But Monteverdi was remarkable among composers working within the
professional tradition for his extraordinary rethinking of the relationship between musical materials, style and the issues of message conveyance associated with genre. The preface to the *Eighth Book of Madrigals* (1638) does contain a taxonomy of musical kinds, but these are significantly different from those in associated with mainstream writers. They examine chamber and theatrical types of music and are based specifically on affective classifications which are signaled through the use of conventionalized musical material. (This is explicit in the case of the *conciato* genus but implied for the others.) Here a shift can be perceived in the relationship between the use of style techniques and textures and the establishment of the presence of a genre. Besides considerations of place, audience, it presents the beginning of an explicit, rather than implicit, encoding of materials through use of conventionalized procedures. Monteverdi derived some parts of this late formulation, premissed on fundamental affections of the soul, from certain ancient Greek texts, possibly having consulted Doni about them. But with respect to genre, part of the greater significance of the 1638 text reverts to stylistic experiments taking place in Monteverdi’s compositions since the early years of the century. Discrete movements whose selection of musical materials and techniques was more or less unified began to be superseded by an extended structure based on a series of modules, each differentiated by their use of materials consisting of a group of style conventions conveying certain affective and representational messages. Monteverdi’s 1638 preface can be related to this practical use in its inference that the conventional use of certain materials could become an established procedure for conveying messages emblematically, rather than specifically by the episodic metaphors characteristic of text treatment of sixteenth-century polyphony.

Through all the vagaries and crosscurrents of musical culture in this period, however, there were constants and continuities. Perhaps the most sustained consideration was the notion of decorum—that a work of music must be appropriately conceived and executed according to
the specified purposes, place and audience it served. Indeed, many of the generic conventions
and signals which continue to evolve in this period originated in the wish to convey an
unambiguous and judiciously pitched message. While rules varied from one kind to another, and
while serious compositions became increasingly hemmed in by constraints in their use of musical
materials, the musical culture strongly believed that each kind of music demanded a choice of
materials consistent with the level and tone of its message.

Particularly among traditionalists, genres were defined with the strict style as a point of
reference and in terms of hierarchies of observance. The stricter the ‘kind’ and the idiom, the
clearer and more severe the rules became; departures from the strict idiom rendered the
composition an ‘other’ where rules and practices became less specific. Many conservative
musicians were fiercely attached to historical musical traditions a matter of principle, believing it
a powerful reinforcement of other valued aspects of the culture, and a basis for establishing the
ultimate dignity of musical enterprise within an intellectual mainstream.

Though perceived and reworked in various ways during the seventeenth century,
composers and writers on music remained convinced of the humanist view that music was an art
of expressive power able to persuade human beings to great and noble thought and feeling. That
this was a constant in the modern affective styles, especially in solo music has been taken for
granted. But it was also true of the most conservative among the Roman school. Writers like
Agazzari and Liberati reinterpreted humanist ideas of music’s power in a Roman churchly
context, describing music as a kind of divine science mediating human access to heavenly things.
Even while discussions of affective rhetoric in music, so much a concern of Caccini, Banchieri
and others at the beginning of the century, almost disappeared from later seventeenth-century
conservative mainstream treatises, the notion that material choices bore profound persuasive
musical messages remained a pervasive feature of all branches of the musical culture.
Appendix (f): Pontio's musical kinds

On the various styles of composition.

[154] Il Modo, o stile, che dir vogliamo, volendo far vn Motetto, è graue, & quieto; dove si vede le parti mouersi con grauità, & in particular la parte Bassa; & il compositore deve servare tal ordine con le parti dal principio fin' all ultimo; & partimente le inuentioni debbono esser graui; ancora c' hoggì di in alcuni compositori frà suoi Motetti, & cose ecclesiastiche non seruano tal ordine; ma talmente pongone le parti insieme con moto veloce, & velocissimo, che paiono Madrigali, & Canzoni; & valersi in luogo della Semibreue sincopata, della Minima sincopata, qual non conuiene alla grauità del Motetto; & ancora si sernuiu della pausa di Semimimina, & ancora della Chroma; & questo non dirò vna sol volta (che sarebbe nulla) ma vanno continuando in questo modo sin' al fine, talché per mio judicio è stile da Madrigale, & non da Motetto; perchè non serue in se grauità alcuna, quali si può vedere esser stato osservato dal Iachetto, da Morales, da Adriano, da Gomberto, dal Palestina, & da Finoto, & da molti altri Eccel. Compositori...

Lo stile, ouer modo, come vogliamo dire, di Messe è conforme à quello del Motetto, intenndendo però il far movimento con le parti; ma quanto al l' ordine, esso è diuerso; perchè nel Motetto il principio della seconda parte potrete voi fare, come vi piace; mentre sia propriato al Tuono; ma nel far vna Messa la inuentione del suo primo Kyrie, cioè il principio, & quello della Gloria, & del Credo, & del Sanctus, & del primo Agnus,che siano simili, auertendo nondimeno, che si bene dico, che vogliono esser simili, non intenno però siano simili di consonantie, come sarebbe...ma che si faccia la medesima inuentione per diversi

When you wish to make a motet, the manner, or style, as we say, is serious and quiet, where it is seen that the parts move with seriousness, especially the bass part; and the composer should preserve such an arrangement of the parts from beginning to end. Likewise, the inuentioni should be serious. But today, among their motets and ecclesiastical works some composers do not preserve such an arrangement, but sometimes they lay down the parts together with faster and faster motion, which pertains to madrigals and canzonas. In place of syncopated semibreves they apply syncopated minimis, which is not suitable to the seriousness of the motet; and they also make use of the semiminim rest, and the chroma too; and this not just once, I tell you (that would be nothing), but they continue in this manner to the end, such that in my judgment it is madrigal style and not motet style, because it does not preserve any seriousness in itself, which one can see was observed by Iachetto, Morales, Adriano [Willaert], Gomberto, Palestina, Finoto and many other excellent composers...

The style, or manner, as we say, of masses is adapted to that of the motet, meaning however making the movement of the parts. But with respect to arrangement it is different, because in the motet you can make the beginning of the second part as you please, as long as it is appropriate to the tone; but in making a mass the inuentione of its first Kyrie, that is, the beginning, and that of the Gloria, the Credo, the Sanctus and the first Agnus concur in that they are similar. However, in advising that I say that they should be similar, I do not mean however they should be similar in consonances, as it were...but that the same inuentione is used in different ways, now beginning the tenor,
modi, hora facendo principiare il Tenore, 
hora il Soprano, hora il Basso; affine che vi 
sia varietà nelle parti; ma non già del 
soggetto...

Hora fatto che sarà il primo Kyrie sopra la 
inventione del principio del Motetto, è 
Madrigale, è altra cosa, che sia, il Christe si 
farà poi sopra qualche altra inventione di 
esso canto; doue sarà fatta la Messa. Si potrà 
pigliare ancora vna sua inventione, mette sia 
appropriata al detto Tuono, che così 
conviene. Dell' ultimo Kyrie il principio sarà 
secondo il vostro volere; ma conviene, che 
faccia nel finire la inventione del fine di essa 
cantilena, doue sarà fatta la Messa...Così il 
fine della Gloria, & parimente il fine del 
Credo, & Sanctus, & Agnus ultimo, 
debbono esser conformi d' inventione, & 
seruar quell' istesso ordine, come v' ho 
detto hor' hora ragionando del primo Kyrie; 
& questo è l' ordine, che si deve osservare.

Volendo dico far Salmi (lasciando fuori il 
cantico di Maria Vergine, cioè il Magnificat; 
& il Benedictus, & il Nunc dimittis) non farà 
caso, se ben lasciate la imitazione del Salmo 
di tutte le parti, per esser il versetto breue; 
perché imitando il canto fermo con tutte le 
parti sarebbe il verso longo; il che non 
conviene nell Salmi; ma bene di potrà la 
imitazione con due parti, è almeno con vna; 
accì si veda esser stato osservato la 
imitazione del Tuono. E quando anco 
principiassero tutte le parti insieme; questo 
non sarebbe biasmatto. Conviene ancora 
osservare di far la mediatà del versetto con 
la cadenza propria della mediatà dal Tuono, 
accì sia conosciuta detta mediatà del verso. 
Etiando si deue osservare, che siano 
esplicative, & intese le parole di modo, che 
vadano quasi insieme pronunciate, come se 
fosse vn canto dalli pratici chiamato falso 
Bordon...

now the soprano, now the bass, so that 
there is variety in the parts but not in the 
subject...

Now, granted that the first Kyrie will be 
made on the inventione of the beginning of 
the motet or madrigal or other work that it 
may be, the Christe will be made on some 
other inventione sung from it; thus the mass 
will be made. One of its inventioni can also be 
engaged as long as it is appropriate to the 
given tone, if worthwhile thus. Of the last 
Kyrie the beginning will be according to your 
wish, but it is advisable that at the end it use 
the inventione from the end of the work from 
which the mass is made...Thus the end of 
the Gloria, and likewise the end of the Credo, 
and Sanctus, and the last Agnus should 
conform to the inventione and preserve that 
same order as I spoke of a moment ago 
discussing the first Kyrie, and this is the 
arrangement which should be observed.

I say that when you wish to compose 
psalms (leaving aside the canticle of the 
Virgin Mary, that is, the Magnificat, and the 
Benedictus and Nunc dimittis), it will not be 
heedless to depart from the imitation of the 
psalm in all the parts, so that the verse is 
short; because in imitating the cantus firmus 
in all the parts the verse would be long, 
which is not suitable in psalms. But it is 
good if the imitation can be made with two 
parts, or at least with one, so that the 
imitation of the tone appears to have been 
observed. And yet if all the parts are begun 
together, it should not be censured. It is also 
advisable to observe making the median of 
the verset with the cadence appropriate to 
the median of the tone, so that the said 
median of the verse may be recognized. 
And one should observe that the words are 
expressed and understood in such a way 
that they are pronounced almost together, 
as if it were a song called by practical 
musicians falsobordone...
L'ultimo versetto del Salmo, se vi piacerà, potresti fare con più dotto stile de gli altri a cinque voci con un canone. Hora hauete inteso il modo, a stile, che vogliamo dire, di far Salmi; & se pur farete qualche intuentione per entro quelli versetti, vuole esser breue; & questa brevità si può intendere in due modi; prima, che sia breue in effetto fatta con poche figure; secondo che le parti cominciano l'una dopo l'altra per pausa di Semibreue, ouer di Breue, e non di più; & questo per far il versetto breue, & ancora per non cadere nel stile del Motetto, & anco, per così ricerca il Salmo.

Hora diroui il Modo di fare il cantico di Maria vergine, cioè il Magnificat. Volendo far un Magnificat; ancora che sia veramente vn Salmo; nondimeno è vno dell' osseruati, quale sempre si fà solenne, & perciò conviene esser fatto con più dotto stile' & osseruare, che tutte le parti facciano la imitatione del canto Plano, ouer altro soggetto, nè importa, se bene vna parte comincia doppo l'altra per vno, due, tre & quatro tempi di Breue, pur che li principij siano fatti per imitatione; dipoi conviene fargli la mediatá del verso con la sua cadenza propria, che fà la mediatá del Tuono. Sogliono ancora gli compositori con tutte le parti imitare la intonatione del Salmo, ouer che due parti facciano la intonatione, & l' altre parti facciano altre intuentioni; come si può veder nel Magnificat del primo Tuono di Morales, cioè. Anima mea dominum. Don Pietro Pontio parimente servò tal ordine nel Magnificat, Anima mea dominum, del terzo, & quarto Tuono. & altri autori il simile hanno fatto. Si suole ancora osseruare, che le parti facciano qualche intuentioni, lasciando la intonatione del Salmo; pur che sia propria del Tuono; ma nelle fine poi si senta la imitatione del Tuono con vna, ouer con due parti. Si deue parimente serrare alle volte, ch' vna parte faccia tutto il canto Plano; il qual modo è molte laudabile; & si vede esser stato osseruato da molti Eccellentis. Compositori,

If you wish, you can make the last verse of the psalm in a more learned style than the others, for five voices with a canon. Now you have heard the manner or style, as we say, of making psalms; and if you make some inuentiones on the beginning of those versets, you want to be brief. This brevity can be understood in two ways: first, brief in effect, made with few notes; second, that the parts begin one after the other with the rest of a semibreve or breve and no more, in order to make the verset short, and also in order not to fall into the motet style, and thus to find the psalm [style].

Now I shall tell you the manner of making the canticle of the Virgin Mary, the Magnificat. If you wish to make a Magnificat, which in truth is still a psalm but nonetheless one of the major ones, this is always made solemn, and thus done suitably with a more learned style. And observe that all the parts imitate the plainchant of another subject, and it is important that the parts begin one after another at the internal of two, three or four breves, provided that the beginnings be made by imitation. Then the mediant of the verset is customarily made with its appropriate cadence, which establishes the mediant of the tone. Composers are also accustomed to imitate the intonation of the psalm in all the parts, or that two parts do the intonation and the other parts another invention, as can be seen in the Magnificat on the first tone by Morales, that is, Anima mea Dominum. Likewise, Don Pietro Pontio preserved such an arrangement in the Magnificat Anima mea Dominum on the third and fourth tone, and other authors have done similar things. It is also customarily observed that the parts made some inventions, departing from the intonation of the psalm; provided that it is suitable to the tone. But then at the end one hears the imitation of the tone with one or two parts. Likewise, one should at all times maintain that one part perform the entire plainchant. This manner is very
come furono Morales, Carpentras, Io. Contino, Iachetto, & altri simili. Si vede parimente seruare, (& è laudato tal ordine) che vna parte faccia la metà del canto Plano, & poi vn' altra finisca il resto. Ancora si può fare, che faccia la mediatà del verso senza punto hauer imitato il canto Plano; vna, ò due parti facciano il fine del canto Plano. Si può anco fare, ch' vna parte faccia il canto Plano, sin' alla medià del verso; indi poi le parti facciano qualche nuova inuentione senza punto imitare il fine del canto Plano. Si deue etando seruare, che facendo vna parte tutto il canto Plano, l' altre poi facciano sopra di esso canto Plano, qualche inuentione; il qual modo sopra tutti è da osservare per esser dotto, & ingensoso. Siche tutte queste varietà si sogliono seruar facendo Magnificat, Benedictus & Nunc dimittis.

Lo stile, che si tiene nel comporre le lezioni del settimana Santa è tale, che comunemente vanno insieme, come và il Gloria del Magnificat; e come và l' Incarnatus est; & in simili occasioni il compositore deve seruirsi delle dissonantie; accio facciano lacrimosa la compositione, che così ricercano le parole...& il compositore de[ule hauere] considarazione di trouare vn Tuono, che naturalmente sia mesto, come il Secondo, il Quarto, & il Sesto. Vero è, ch' il pratico compositore sarà mesta, & allegra la sua compositione per ogni Tuono, che gli piacerà; & questo auvertà per gli moti veloci, & tardi, che faranno le parti; però hauendo questo risguardo il compositore di far tal sorte di compositione mesta (acciò possa esprimere quelle passione delle parole) sarà tenuto di sano giudizio; che s' altramente facesse sarebbe reputato huomo di poco giudizio, & hauer mal capito il senso delle parole.

The style that is used to compose the lections for Holy Saturday is such that they commonly run together, as does the Gloria of the Magnificat, and the Incarnatus est; and in like circumstances the composer should aul himself of dissonances, so that they make the composition tearful, which searches out [the meaning of] the words...and the composer should consider finding a tone which is naturally mournful, such as the second, fourth and sixth. It is true that the practical composer will make his composition mournful or happy in any tone, as will please him, and this he will indicate by the rapid or slow motion that the parts make. However, the composer taking this into consideration in making such a manner of mournful composition (so that he can express those passions of the words) will be guided by sound judgment; doing otherwise he would be reputed a man of little judgment, and having poorly understood the sense of the words.
Il modo per far vn Ricercar’ è tale, che l’inuentione vogliono esser longhe, & le parti alquanto lontane; accìo nel sonare siano da gli ascoltanti meglio intese le inuentioni, & deue sempre hou’ vna parte, hor’ vn altra far continuo moto, se ben fossero solo due parti; & non sia lecito fermarsi le parti insieme con figure di semibreui, come si fà nelle lettioni della settimana Santa. Ne sia lecito cominciare due parti insieme: eccetto se ciò non si facesse per inuentioni diverse, in tal caso può fare;… Parimente sia lecito replicare due, tre, quattro, & più volte la istessa inuentione, si come vi piacerà per variati modi, come si può vedere nelli Recercari di Iaches Bus, e d’ Annibale Padovano, di Claudio da Correggio, & del Luzzasco. Ancora sia lecito far il suggetto per canto Plano di Semibreui, di Breui, di Longhe, & di Massime. Anco sia lecito seguire dal principio sin’ al fine con vn’ istesso soggetto, & quando non vi piasesse così seguire, potresti retrouare nuovo soggetto, & replicarlo quante volte à voi piacerà in quel modo, ch’ io v’ ho detto hor’ hora; & questo è il modo, che conuiene tenere volendo fare un Recercario.

Le inuentioni del Madrigale debbono esser breui, non più di due tempi di Semibreue, ouer di tre…La cagione è, che s’altramente fossero, non sarebbono proprie del Madrigale; ma più presto da Motetto, ouer da Messa, ò d’ altra cosa, che di Madrigale… Vi fo anco sapere, che il suo proprio è di fargli delle Seminime assai, & anco delle Minime fatte in sincopa. Sappiate ancora, che spesse volte le parti debbono andare vulgarmente insieme, con moto però veloce di Minime, ouer di Seminime. Si deue hauere osservanza grandissima di seguire le parole, come se trattano di cose dure, & aspre; trovare di quelli passaggi duri, & aspri. Se anco le parole tratteranno di correre, ouer di combattere; conuiene fare le composizione sia veloce rispetto à quella di prima. Se le parole ragioneranno di cadere,

The manner of making a ricercar is such that the invention should be long and the parts rather distant, so that in playing the inventioni are better heard by the listeners, and first one part, then another, should always make constant movement, as though there were only two parts. And it is not allowed to sustain the parts together with the values of semibreves, as is done in the lections for Holy Week. Nor is it allowed to begin two parts together, unless this is done by means of diverse inventioni, in which case it can be done…it is allowed to replicate the same inventioni two, three, four and more times in various ways as will please you, as one can see in the ricercars of Iaches Bus, Annibale Padovano, Claudio da Correggio and Luzzasco. It is also allowed to fashion the subject of semibreves, breves, longs and maxims from the plainchant. It is also allowed to follow with one subject from beginning to end, and when it does not please you to follow it thus, you can devise a new subject and repeat it as many times as pleases you in this manner, as I have already said. And this is the manner which is customarily adhered to when you wish to make a ricercar.

The inventioni of the madrigal should be short, not more than a beat of two or three semibreves…The reason [for this] is that if they were otherwise, they would not be proper to the madrigal, but faster than motets or the mass, or a thing other than the madrigal…I want you to know also that its property is to be made of a great many seminimens, and also of minims made in syncopation. You know also that oftentimes the parts should move equally together, however, with a rapid movement of minims or seminimens. One should pay the greatest attention to following the words: when they treat of hard and harsh things, to invent hard and harsh [things] for those passages. If also the words deal with running or fighting, it is appropriate to make the composition fast with respect to what
ouero inalzarsi, sarete auertito di far le parti della vostra compositione, che vadono per grado congiunto, ouer disgiunto abbassandosi, ouer’ alzandosi…Hora hauete inteso in parte le qualità del Madrigale, & s’ appeino (il che è impossibile) io non hauesse ragionato di queste variate compositioni, m’ hauerete per iscusato; almeno v’hò accennato in parte il modo, ch’ ogni variata compositione due hauere; acciò poi con il vostro studio veniate alla perfettione del componere ogni sorte di compositioni, & questo in ch’ io haurò mancato; il vostro giudicio poi supplierà, pigliando da me il pronto desiderio, ch’ io haueua di sodisfarui. came before. If the words discuss falling or getting up, you will be advised to make the parts of your composition move by conjunct or disjunct steps, moving down or rising up…Now you have heard in part the qualities of the madrigal, and if I have not discussed these various kinds of compositions fully (which is impossible) you will excuse me; at least I have indicated in part the manner which all varied composition should have, since in that way with your study you may come to the perfection of composing all kinds of compositions. Your judgment, grasping from me the ready desire I had to comply with you, will then supply whatever I will have missed.
Appendix (2): Marco Scacchi, *Ad Excellentiss.: Dn. CS. Wernerum (1646)*

To the most excellent master, Christoph Werner:

For the singular courtesy shown to me, I render the greatest thanks I can to Your Lordship; and I certainly promise also to preserve a mutual friendship, always with a sincere spirit.

I have diligently unfolded and considered the "Musical First-Fruits" which you published in Königsberg in the year of salvation 1646.¹ What I think about them I shall not hesitate to explain later on, so that anyone perchance less expert may not wrongly grasp the occasion to assume them condemned or disgraced. For there are some persons who are ready to mount unfair criticisms of the works of others. When in fact they have to distinguish themselves in something similar, or avoid [the errors] which they seize upon in others, they experience insuperable difficulties.

First, therefore, I assert that style in the art of music is found to be altogether threefold: the first, ecclesiastical; the next, chamber; the last, scenic or theatrical.² These must be considered singly and in various ways by the experts.

1. The ecclesiastical style is divided anew into four [categories]. The first includes masses, motets and similar compositions for four, five, six or eight voices, without organ. The second [includes] those [same] compositions with organ added, such that they may consist of several full choruses. The third [includes] similar music in concerto. The fourth [consists] only of motets according to the modern style.

¹ *Proemissa musicoia in quibus motetae singular vel una vel duabus vocibus, & duabus vel tribus instrumentis musicis mediusae uno cum basso ad organum.* Königsberg: Author ("Typis Paschalis Menseii"), 1646. RISM W803. The work contains fifteen small sacred concertos in Latin and German, to scriptural or devotional texts.

² Scacchi, like most Italian theorists of the period, was describing the art of writing for voices (or for voices with the addition of instruments). Specifically instrumental forms were not considered.
II. The chamber style contains three parts: the first one [consists] of madrigals without instruments, which are commonly called: *da Tarolini*. The second consists of compositions with general bass. The third admits all musical instruments: violins, violoni⁴, theorboes, lutes, recorders and so forth.

III. Theatrical or scenic music is of one nature, and, content with a single style, it consists in this: that song is perfected in being spoken and speech in being sung.

Now let us undertake a more accurate consideration of the ecclesiastical style. Masses without organ require a serious style, suitable for inspiring devotion, and at the same time joyful [in spirit]; of this kind are masses by Josquin, Lasso and Palestrina (princes of musicians), and those composed by others, of whom I do not speak for brevity's sake. Now in compositions of this kind, the norms of which are to be derived mainly from the composers cited, these things are to be observed particularly. (1) The note values and measures should be constituted in binary time (which is commonly called *alla breve*). (2) Syllables sung on note values less than semiminims should be avoided. (3) Not more than two *fusa* should be grouped together in this way:

Example 1

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\[ \text{or others like it, and that only rarely. A passage of } fusa \text{ of this kind and similar ones are wholly prohibited:} \]
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⁴ "Madrigals of the table".
(4) The answer following a fugue [subject] should begin on a natural note, and on a consonance.

(5) The parts of the composition should proceed among themselves as much as possible in movement by step. (6) The alto should never be below the bass, and the tenor very seldom indeed. (7) A fugue subject should not be more than six or seven measures long. (8) The composition should be made as full as possible, observing the style of Palestrina and of other excellent composers. And finally, in this category of composition, care should be taken with all assiduity that the parts agree among themselves as much as possible and hold to their consonances. For example, in a mass on any tone, the first Kyrie ought to end on the principal degree of that same tone; but the Christe on the mediant key. However, if it was based on some cantus firmus subject, it should end on that degree in which the organist’s response is to be begun; and the organist should end back on that key on which the composition began. The greatest difficulty in this matter customarily is that the tone also must be accommodated to the plainchant. Many other observations which could be brought in I leave to the attentions of prudent composers, so that I [am not] too lengthy.

I shall touch on some very common rules concerning compositions for several choirs. Many of the rest are in common practice, where the connections among them may be properly determined. (1) First, in compositions for several choirs, it is wholly to be observed that from the same chord on which one ends, the other begins, unless a rest intervenes, as this example shows.

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4 Violas majors, a problematic term which may refer to the violone, violoncello or to the alto or tenor viola.
But in passing from one chord to another when all are singing together, or when, after one chord has sung, all begin together, the composer must take great care to begin with the chord nearest to the one preceding, and [that it be] very sonorous. (2) The responses between choirs should be mutually related with due proportion. (3) A prolixity of subjects is very greatly to be avoided, so that the responses do not cause boredom. (4) Excessive speed in the composition should be avoided, especially when the choirs are separated and distant from one another. (5) Finally, the entire perfection of this way of composing lies especially in a noble, generous, pious melody [nobili, generosa, pia...modulatione], according to the meaning of the words; and certainly in the full ensemble too much emptiness should be avoided. If it is designed with a concerto, it is to be so construed that the full ensemble is not overcome by the concerto; but a kind of middle road is taken, so that there is an excess neither in the concerto nor in the full ensemble.

I omit other particulars, with which pages could be filled, especially since the entire matter depends on mature and prudent judgment. All these compositions are regulated by the same precepts which we set forth for the preceding [that is, the first] practice; certainly as in masses for four, five, six and eight voices the precepts of harmony are observed strictly, nor should it even be right for a composer to take certain licenses in these things, unless in case of strong necessity it plainly cannot be avoided. The same is absolutely true also for psalms and motets for four, five and six voices. Although compositions for several choirs, either with a concerto or in full ensemble, also belong to the first practice, because of the multitude of voices or
because of the concerto the composer should not be as much constrained by the rules as in masses, psalms and motets for four or five voices. For the greater the number of voices, the greater will be the liberty; especially in concerto, some degree of license may be taken, which nevertheless should not exceed the limits and reason of the art of music. These are the principal differences which are encountered in composing works of this kind.

Let us now proceed to motets or concerto according to the modern style, which is a part of the second practice. This modern practice derives its origin from the school of Plato: for he traces that the text should be the mistress of the harmony. I demonstrated this by a certain short discourse in my Cribrum musicum, pages 132 and 133, and also in the consideration of the canons of the Reverend Romano Micheli, a Roman. This category of composition ought to be constructed assiduously so that it is distinct from the scenic and chamber styles, and takes a middle course. Although it plainly consists in this, that the harmony follows the text, this is nevertheless to be granted with much discretion, as I suggested a little earlier. This second practice requires also that consonances and dissonances be disposed otherwise than in the older practice. And it was invented by the Italians for executing compositions in their own vernacular tongue for the highest advancement of the art of music and also, as I remember saying elsewhere, for the music used customarily in oratories. And so in order that music composed in the vernacular idiom may conform to practice, [works by] Jacopo Peri, Luca Marenzio, Luzzasco Luzzaschi are to be consulted, and, among the foremost, Claudio Monteverdi, who brought it perhaps to the highest form of perfection.

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1 This work is lost, but its contents can be surmised from Micheli’s reply. Romano Micheli (c.1575-after 1659), a Roman cleric, had an enthusiastic interest in canon and esoteric counterpoint. He meddled in the Scacchi-Siefert polemic, and Scacchi felt it necessary to lecture him on the true meaning of the Platonic doctrine asserted by the moderns, that is, that the music must follow the text.

4 A reference to a remark made on the last page of Cribrum musicum.
Furthermore, this second practice requires a melody [modulationem] very different from the old; and the natural expression of the words should be observed as much as possible.

Now since according to these rules I considered Your Lordship’s motets carefully, I pronounce that the highest praise is due [to them] from the wise and judicious; and I present myself as always highly prepared to refute the calumnies of [their] detractors. Indeed, if they are examined according to the norms of the second practice, by which they must be considered, it appears clearly that Your Lordship has followed the precepts of Plato—that the text is mistress of the harmony. I can only marvel at Your Lordship’s outstanding ability; for such noble work will have proven to these northerners that a new rule of composing was followed to the greater glory of the art of music. Nor can I withhold special praise celebrating Master Sagittarius, who first brought this new style from Italy; and, for the rest, a man highly skilled in the art of music, and who by his merit is held in the highest esteem by all followers of that art. But, returning to Your Lordship’s motets, that same middle path which I revealed above appears to have entered in enough so that it is thus without a doubt that the entire melody is subject to the text. They are, certainly, full of flourishes, accents, trills, pleasant passages; but, having no reference to the affection and liveliness anything to be desired is permitted in them. This is why Your Lordship should not fear the evil tongues of detractors, but rather should strive to confound [them] with your art and skill.

For my part, I used this remedy against Siefert, the most inept of men, who in his Anticribratio manifestly showed the greatest ill-feeling and natural stupidity when he asserted that consecutive octaves occur in my compositions when the lower part coincides with the bassus ad organum, contrary to harmonic precepts.
This indeed is claimed as ineptly as it is rashly. Two octaves are to be considered between two different parts, that is, between two sopranos, or two altos, or two tenors, or between soprano and alto, or tenor and bass, and so forth. But truly that bass of mine is so incidental a part that it is not to be numbered among the others; these *bassi pro organo*, which in compositions uphold [the function] of a fundamental part on which all the others rest (or else take the place of one part, such that they are treated sometimes as a very incidental part, sometimes as a principal part), ought to conform wholly to the rule which forbids two consecutive perfect consonances, as I showed in my *Cribrum*, in a composition for three voices, and in a motet for four voices, *Excavati*. From these things Your Lordship understands the ineptitude of this Siefert, when he tries to defend some places in his psalms by the organ part, which is so incidental, or even by the words, when the consideration of his psalms nonetheless should pertain to the first practice (according to which the harmony is mistress of the text). Not so are the motets of Your Lordship, in which (as I have said) the text is the mistress of the harmony.

Truly, I do not intend to linger further over demonstrating the ignorance of Siefert, which my *Cribrum* sufficiently laid open to the entire world when I noted 151 errors in sixteen

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Heinrich Schütz. In the preface to *Geistliche Chornusik* (1648), Schütz in turn referred to Scacchi as being "highly
[of his] compositions. So that the author himself is not corrupted [by error], he said to the reader: to err is human; and thus it holds from the first page of his Anticribatio. But when necessity has demanded that it be done, I shall correct those [things] of mine which should be corrected. Then in fact he falsifies things, since in my psalms I changed those things which were to be corrected. For the rest, Your Lordship observes astutely that nothing can be drawn from the reasoning in the Anticribatio which purges his own errors, but it consists wholly in denying my book and setting forth certain false citations from it. When Your Lordship is pleased to compose certain things according to the old manner, you may profit by [studying those] of the masters—Palestrina, Orlando [di Lasso], Josquin and other similar skilled authors; or you may examine also the compositions of Stobaeus, now deceased. If indeed you wish to see certain very excellent theoretical precepts, you may compare wholly the manuscripts of Caspar Förster, chapelmaster of Danzig; and, finding in them the most sublime and noble precepts of the art of harmony, you will certainly be persuaded.

In order to bring my letter to an end, I shall affirm only this, that no one is prepared for composing music unless he knows how to distinguish the rules of harmony. For example, a rule forbids passing from a sixth to an octave; and yet it is sometimes permitted in similar motion. By a common rule, it is allowed to pass from the third to the fifth, from the fifth to the octave, and from the third to the unison; however, frequent movement of this kind is little tolerated. So that they are more easily understood, I shall add some very short examples of them.

accomplished in both theory and practice”.

* Johannes Stobaeus (1580-1646), a longtime resident of Königsberg. In honour of his memory Scacchi published a volume of music, Cantilenae et tacrimos sopulcralus J. Stobaei (Venice 1647) for five voices and continuo, based on Valentin Thilo’s Memoria Stobaeana of 1646.
Example 5

All these movements are found in Siefert's psalms. It is superfluous for me to show the movements permitted from a third to a fifth, a fifth to an octave, and from the third to the unison, but I shall write below one or another such example for the sake of brevity.

Example 6

\footnote{Research has not uncovered any extant theoretical writings by Förster, but given the interests of his circle, it would not be surprising if he had written on theoretical subjects. Scacchi may also mean that Förster's compositions exemplified such precepts to a high degree.}
From these Your Lordship will understand all the remaining ones, and at the same time the ignorance of Siefert, who spoke errors in his own defense, as you found. “See your folly”, etc., not considering my opinions to be in fact the best, but indeed the worst of them.

I ask Your Lordship to examine that music by Siefert placed in the motet for four voices, *Exsudi Domine*.

Example 7

Thus Your Lordship may observe that he corrected certain of his errors, which he then denied having committed; in particular, in that place where there is a sustained part, he said, “I do not concede”. Moreover, noting that in his psalms he himself intends that one *fusa* equals two *quinti*—of course in that motet *Exsudi me Domine* for four voices, in which the organ takes the place of two parts alternately,—nonetheless in my madrigal with *concerto* (*Abi dolente*) he does not concede that the middle tactus equals two *quinti* with organ.

He acknowledges neither that reserve which never expresses the text he quotes, nor the required distinction among compositions, which certainly must be interposed between masses, motets and madrigals.
In fact, I have a prepared response to this Anticribratio; I shall reply to the calumnies and errors. But because of the counsel of wise friends, I am not publishing it; and indeed I judge it best, since among others it is unnecessary to preserve any authority [when] he makes his ignorance known publicly and never knows how to respond to the issue. Everyone knows that Siefert is one who, when he recognizes his own errors, even correcting a few, responds to my pages only by citing certain authors without explaining his own compositions. But nonetheless, authority alone should not constitute reason; but it should be based on reason sanctioned by authority. Finally, Siefert’s ill-will is also shown forth in this, that he draws from my compositions, which are for four and five voices, only the two middle parts, leaving out the bass; in two places he notes as an error bare fourths in the middle parts. Furthermore, assigning no reason, having picked out certain examples from a psalm for five voices, he said: the canto, tenor, alto, bass sing harshly and weakly; finally, innumerable other, similar improprieties as appear there, which in that book are seen to contain either petty things, or some notable falsity, or calumny. Nor in this matter do I need to demonstrate any further, nor anything that cannot be manifested to anyone of average intelligence from the actual reading of my Critrium and his Anticribratio.

May Your Lordship continue with vigor in your chosen work hereafter, even in this modern style, which is contained in the second practice; may you venture to nourish and adorn with every study that which will attain for you the secure reward of immortal glory. But, nonetheless, the studies of the older art of music, which we acknowledge rightly as the first basis of our art, ought not to be forsaken. With this I make an end to writing, and I pray to the supreme Giver of all good for all [your] good fortune. Farewell.

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10 Apparently lost.
Your most obliging servant and friend,

Marco Scacchi

P.S. I shall send the discourse on the general bass at another time.

[Following on pages 271-274 is the Latin text as printed in Erich Katz, *Die musikalischen Stilbegriffe des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Inauguraldissertation, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926), 83-89. The original manuscript of the Werner letter, formerly in the possession of the Hamburg Staatsbibliothek (MS ND.VI.5573) was presumably lost during World War II. Katz's prewar printing preserved the text.]
Ad Excellentiss.: Dn. CS. Wernerum.

Pro singulari mibi exhibita humanitate gratias quam possum maximas ago D. V., certoque polliceor me mutuam quoque benevolentiam sincero semper animo conservaturum.

Praemissa musicallia, quae Regiomonti Anno Salutis 1646. D. V. in lucem edidit, diligentius et expendi; quid porro de illis sentiam exponere non gravabor, ne quis forte minus peritus, ea, quae percipere nequit conmemnendi ac traducendi occasionem arripiat: cum reperiantur nonnulli, qui faciles quidem sunt ad ferendas de aliorum operibus iniquas censuras; cum vero similie quipiam praestare debent, vel quae in allis car- punt evitare, insuperabiles difficultates experientur.

Primum igitur assero triplicem omnino styli in Arte Musicas reperiri. Primum, Ecclesiasticum; Alterum Cubicularum; Postremum, Scenicum seu Theatralem: quorum singulos diversis etiam modis a peritis considerari oportet.


II. Cubicularis tria etiam membra complectitur. Primum est Madrigalium exclusis instrumentis, quae vocantur vulgo: da Ta-volini. Secundum est Cantilenarum cum Basso Generali. Ter- tum admissit omnia instrumenta musica: Violinos, Violas Ma- jores, Torbas, Testudines, Flautoes etc.

III. Theatralis seu Scenica Musica simplex est, et unico contenta stylo, in eoque consistit, ut canus colloquendo, et colloquia canendo perficiantur.

Jam vero magis accuratam Ecclesiasticorum styli conside- rationem instituamur. Missa sine Organo requirit styrum gra- vem, ad devotionem excitandam accommodatum, et simul hi- larem, ciusmodi sunt Missae a Josquino, Lasso, Palestino; (Mus- corum Principibus) allisque compluribus, quos brevitatis causa reticco, compositaes. In huiusmodi ergo compositionibus, qua- rum norma ex praecitatis maxime Authoribusque desumenda, ista praecipue sunt observanda. (1) Primo ut Figurae et Tactus sub Tempore Binario (quod vulgo dicitur alla breve) consti
Secundo. Responsiones inter choros mutuum habeant relationem, debita cum Proportione. (3) Tertio. Cavenda est nimia in propositionibus proximatis, ne responsiones tardius parent. (4) Quarto. Nimia modulatio celeritas fugienda praestant, quando chori ab invicem sunt separati ac distantes. (5) Quinto debique tota perfecto in ipso componendis modo et praeclari in nobilibus, gentiora, saepe juxta verborum sensorum modulatione consistit, et quidem in Cantilena plena vitari debet nimia vacuas. Si vero sit cum Concerto ista in contexto, ut non superetur plenum a Concerto, sed potius modus quaedam via tenenda est, ut neque sit nimia excessus in concerto, neque in plano. Atque ut alta documenta, quibusque folia impleri possent, omnino, cum praeclaram a maturit et prudenter judicio et tota dependant, omnes istae Cantilenae, idem regulamentum praecipit, quo pro antecedente praxi attulimus, et nimium in Missis 4. 5. 6. 8. vocum accurata observantur Harmoniae praecipitione, neque enim Compositiori fas esse debet, aliquam sibi licentiam contra istas usurpare, nisi id forte in casu quodam necessitas viteri plane non possit. Idem provas statuo de Psalms et Motetis 4. 5. 6. vocum. In cantilenicis vero ad plures choros, sive cum concerto sint, sive plenas, quamvis ad primam praxin pertinent, propria tamen multitudinem, vel etiam ob Concertum, non tanto cum rigore Compositori ad Regulas asstringi debet, ut sit in Missis, Psalms, Motetis 4. 5. vocum: Nam quo major sit vocum numero, eo major etiam erit libriarum, praestant in Concerto, aliquid usus pandi licentiam, quae tamen terminos et rationem artis Musicæ non excedat. Qua in re summae indices occurrant, difficultates in Cantilenis aequammodi componendis.

Praeterea exigit ista secunda praxis modulationem, prorsus diversam ab antiqua, debetque observari quam maxime potest, naturalis expressio verborum.

Atque juxta has regulas, cum D. V. Motetta accurate expenderim, et summam prudentiae judicium laudem deberi pronuncio; neque parissimum semper exhibeo ad refellendas obiectatorum Calumnias: si enim juxta secundae praxis normam, juxta quam consideranda sunt, examinavit, liquido appareat, Dominonem Vestram secutam esse Platonis praeceptum, ut Oratio sit Domina Harmoniae; neque possum non mirari praestans Ingnimum Dominonis V: quod in hisce Ultramontanis, tam nobili opus tentavit, ut novam hanc componendi regulam sequeretur, ad majorem Musicae Artis gloriarm. Neque inicilari possum, singulari Exeodo celebrandum D. Sagittarium, qui primusque ex Italia novum hunc stylo asportavit, vit ceteroquin Artis Musicae perissimus, et qui merito ab omnibus ejusdem Artis sectatoribus summa in existimatione habeatur; atque ut redem ad Moteta D: V: satis appareat ipsa media incessisse via, quam superius indicavi, in nimirum, ut tota modulatio Orationis inserviat, plena etiam flosculis, accentibus, trillis, amoenis passibus; neque cum affectus et vivacitatis habenda ratio, quia quam in iis desiderari permisit. Quare non est, quod D. V. maledicas obiectatorum linguas timent, sed potius arte sua ingenioque confundere nitatur. Quo equidem remedio usum sum contra Syfertum imperissimum honorem, qui in sua Anticribratione summa affectus malignitatem, atque ingenii tarditatem satis manifeste prodit, dub asservit, in meo Cantilenis, quando in Basso ad Organum pulsatur inferior Pars, cumplures occurrere octavas, contra praecipa Harmonica.

Pars Inferior:

Organum:

Quod equidem non inepte magis, quam temere asseritur. Duae enim Octavae inter duas diversas Partes consideranda sunt, vide licet inter duos Sopranos, vel duos Altos, duosque Tenores, aut certe inter Sopranum et Altum, vel Tenorem et Bassum etc.: At vero Bassus ille meus accidentalis tamen pars est, non connumeranda inter alias, illo vero Bassi pro Organ, quia fundamentalis partis vicem in Cantilenis sustinet, et alia omnes instances; ut vel unum Partis locum habebit per vices, ut modo pro parte tamen accidentalis modo pro principali adhibiantur, conformari omnino illi debent regulas, quae duas vetat consonantias perfectas sibi immediatas, ut ostendi in meo Cribro, in una Cantilen 3 vocum, et in Motetto 4 vocum: Exaudi. Ex quibus intelligit D. V. imperiam istius Syferti, dum alios suorum Psalmorum locos, defendere conatur, per Organum partem, quae tamen accidentalis est, aut certe per verba, cum tamen ejus Psalmi ad prae- prime praxis (juxta quam Harmonia est Domina Orationis) considerationem pertinaneat. Secus ac Motetta D. Vestra in quibus (ut dixi) Oratio est Domina Harmoniae.

Verum non amplius immoram esse mihi censo, in demonstranda Syferti insitum, quam Cribrum meum universo orbile satis patefacti, cum in 16 Cantilenas 151. cores notavi, quod nec ipsum Auctor indicavit: ait enim ad Lectorem: Errari humanum est; et folio primo suae Anticribrationis sic habet: Ut pries necessitas postulaverit, quae mihi sunt corrigenda, corrigi, ac demum subdil; cum, quae corrigenda sunt, in meo Psalmis, mutaverim. Caeterum in illa Anticribratione probe adverto D. V.nullam ub ipso rationem adduci, quas suis purget errores, sed totum esse in negando, et in falsa quibusdam mei libri citationibus afferendis.

Quando Dominioni vestrae libuerint Cantilenam aliquam more veterum componere utatur Magistri, Palestino, Orlando, Josquino aliasque similium peritis Auctori, vel etiam inspicill Cantilenas Stobaei iam mortui: Si vero Theoria quaedam praecipit, ut alius exempla immundia videntur, omnino sibi comparat manucripta. Gaspari Forsteri M. Cap. Gedanesis, certoque sibi persuasit, se multa in ipsis subtilum et nobilissima Harmoniae Artis praecipa repertuentem. Atque ut finem imponam Epitola meae, illud solum affirmaverim Neminem fore aptum ad componendas Cantilenas, quin probe norit Harmonicae Artis Regulae distinguishere. Nam v. g. vetat Regula transitum a 6, ad 8; attamen simulando quonque motus permittitur. Per communem Regulam a 3 ad 5. a 5 ad 8. a 3 ad Unisonum transire licet, saepse tamen ejusmodi motus minimo tolerantur; quae ut facilius intelligantur brevissima quaedam eorum exempla adponam.
Omnès isti motus reperiuntur in Psalmis Syferti. Superest ut ostendam motus permittos a 3 ad 5, a 5 ad 8, et a 3 ad Unisonum, sed brevitatis causa unum tantum vel alterum pro-singulis exemplum subscribam.

Ex his modis D. V, reliquis modos omnes intelliget, ac simul ignorantiam Syferti, qui ad suorum defensionem errorem ait; ita tu fecisti. Vide folium tuum etc.; non advertens meum quidem motum optimum esse, ipius vero pessimum. Inspiciat quueso D. V, istam Cantilenam a Syferto postam in Motetto a 4. Exaudi Domine.

Animadvertat etiam D. V, corrëxisse illum suos quosdam errores, quos deinde se admississe negavit; eo praeritum loco, quo parte tenente, inquit, non concedo, notandum insuper velle ipsum in suis Psalmis unam Fusam duabus aequivalere Quintis, nimirum in illo Motetto: Exaudi me Domine 4, vocum in quo Organum duarum partium locum per vices obtinet; in meo tamen Madrigali cum Concerto (Ahi dolente) non concedit medium Tactum duabus aequivalere Quintis cum Organo.

Neque illud tacendum, quod nunquam exprimit Textum, quem citat, neque debitum inter Cantilenas discrimen agnoscit, quod nimirum inter Missas, Motetta et Madrigalia intercedere necesse est.

Paratam quidem habeo responsonem ad ipsius Anticribrationem, calumnii et erroribus refertam. Sed de sapientiam atque amicorum consilio in lucem non emito, et juro quidem optimo, cum nihil apud alias auctorisibus obnire poscit, quia et suam publice fataetur inscitiam, et nunquam ad rem respondere novit. Qualem esse Syfertii omnes intelligenti, quando et suas ipsa agnoscit errores, nonnullus etiam corrigens, et meis folliis non nisi quorundam Auctorum citationibus respondet, abaque eo, quod suae compositionis rationem reddat; cum tamen sola auctoris rationem non constitut; sed rationi per Auctoritatem comprobatae sit innitendum. Denum in eo se prodit etiam Syferti malignitas, quod ex meis Cantilenis, quae sunt 4, aut 5. Vocum duas tantum medias partes addicit, relinquendo. fere Bassum, duobus locis pro errore note Quartas nudas in Partes medias, ac praesertim ad quaedam exempla desumpta, ex Psalm V. Vocum, nullam assignans rationem, ait: Cantus, Tenor, Altus, Bassus canit duriter et molliter; denique innumeris alias similes ineptias, ut ibidem videre est; ut omnes illius libri sua apices seu notae falsitatem aliquam, vel calumniam continere videantur. Neque est quod in hac re demonstranda longius sim, cum ea culibus, vel mediocrer intelligenti ex ipsa lectione mei Cribri et ipsius Anticribrationis manifesta esse possit. Per-gat porro D. Vestra strenue in capto opere, atque modernum hunc stylum, qui in secunda Praxi continetur; omni studio colere atque exornare conetur, certus, se immortalis gloriae praemium consecuturum. Neque tamen antiquiora Musice studia sunt deserenda, quam sane primum nostrae Aris fundamentum agnoscimus. Hic demum scribendi finem facio, faustaque omnia a supremo Bonorum omnium Largitore precor. Vale.

officiosissimus
amicissimus

Marcus Scacchius

P. S.
Alia vice mittam Discursum, de Bassis Generalibus.

*Techniques to be observed in composing for several choruses.*

[A2] Primum. Si quis velit ut Choros aliquid respondat subiecto, quod propositum in principio suo, necesse habet ex vi Regulæ communis, ut responsio ipsa cum propositione conveniat, quod si non faciat Artifex, parum se artis Musicae peritum ostendet.

First, if it is desired that some chorus respond to the subject that was proposed at the beginning [of the work], it is necessary, based on common rule, that the response correspond to its subject, because if the composer does not do this, he will show little skill in the art of music.

[A2v] 2. Debet ipsa Chororum textura vivax esse, talemque stylum habere, qui neque lentus nimium, neque nimium praeceps sit, sed orationi locoque, vbi modulatio est, accommodata.

2. The structure of the choruses should be lively and have a style such that it is neither too slow nor too headlong, but accommodated to the speech and to the location where the composition is.

3. Curandum insuper Authori Cantilenarum est, ut responsiones apte inter se ordinate procedant studio quodam artificioso.

3. Moreover, care should be taken by the author of the composition that the responses, suitably ordered among themselves, may proceed with a certain accomplished study.

4. Principium medio, finique respondat quoad stylum. Male enim illi faciunt, qui in una, & eadem Cantilena, si longior illa sit, miscent cantionculam aliquam seu Arietam, tum ad stylum recitativum deflectunt, deinde Cantum etiam leviorum adducen, quam Barzellettam dicunt Itali, postmodum vero redeunt ad gravitatem. neque melius instituunt illi, qui attestunt aliquid quasi furiosum, quod post modicas deinde pausas omissunt, & ad stylum se lentissimum vertunt. Inter alias considerationes opus est considerare, integrum Musicae corpus e sex Choris compactum, non posse tam facile moveri ad demonstrationem tactus, et fieri tamen posset, si quattuor, vel quinque vocum tantum esset.

4. Let the beginning correspond to the middle and end according to the style. For they do badly who, in one and the same composition, if it is fairly long, mix a certain little song or *arietta*, then shift to the reciting style, next bring in a lighter song which the Italians call a *barzelletta*, after which they revert to seriousness. Nor are they better grounded who construct something almost frantic, which after a few rests they then dismiss and turn to a very slow style. Among other considerations, the work should be considered an integral body of music joined together out of the six choruses, such that it can still be done as if it were for four or five voices.

5. Necesse præterea est, ut unius absoluta Chori emodulatione statim alius incipiat modulationem suam… Quod si quis aliter faciat, Cantilenam habebit omnino aridam.

5. Besides, it is necessary that when the harmony of one chorus has finished, another should straightaway begin its own harmony… For if it is done otherwise, the
Excipio tamen si quando interponenda esset aliqui pausa communis, aut omnes simul Chori debereant emodulationem in puncto aliquo firme cadentiae generalis finire. …

6. Oportet etiam illud advertere, ut in ea chorda, vel clave, in qua definit pars inferior unius Chori, alius incipiant; Sic docemur a Vincentino, nisi tamen vel nunc fit, Chori omnes modulationem suam inciperent in eadem prorsus chorda inexpectans, inde enim emodulatio prorsus absoluta existit…

[B] 7. Audiantur Chori omnes quotquot sunt respondentes sibi modo plane reali, hoc est unius post alium ordinate a primo incipiendo, tum ad 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. saltem semel in principio, ut discernere facile, ac distinguere Auditores possint Chorum dispositionem, & quem in ijs concinnandis modum tenuerit operis Author. In medio vero licebit etiam, ut eruditus, ac Prudens Compositor iudicaverit, identidem variare…

8. In Cantilenis huiusmodi sex Chorum ea servanda regula traditur, ut nunquam una, aut dueae voces in Concerto canant, relinquit enim auditium aures fere vacua: praepterquum quod nulla esse potest ibi proportio, ubi post viginti quatuor vocis emodulationem una tantum aut duas voces ad summum audientur in media Cantilena; nam perinde hoc esset, ac si quis in altissime turris fastigio muscam collocaret, vt ipsam turrim redderet ornatiorem, magisque proportionaram.

9. Debet etiam diligenter observari textura, quae in praxi quadam optimas consistit, & hominis est Artis Harmonicae periti: Et hoc est operis absolutissimi fundamentum, quo cum destitutur composition will be wholly dry. I make an exception, however, when some general rest is interposed, or if all the choruses should finish the harmony at the same time on some strong general cadence.

6. It is also necessary to advise that on that note or clef on which the lower part of one chorus ends, another should begin. Thus we are taught by Vicentino, except however it is now done that all the choruses may begin their harmony on the same wholly unanticipated note, since the harmony emerges altogether complete.

Let all the responding choruses, however many of them, be heard in a clearly real manner; that is, one after the other in order beginning from the first, then leaping to the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and again to the beginning, so that the listeners can easily discern and distinguish the disposition of the choruses, and which manner the author should maintain in his harmony. In the middle, however, it will be allowed to vary the same, should the learned and prudent composer should so judge…

8. In compositions of any sort for six choruses the observant rule is taught that at no time do one or two voices sing in concerto, for it leaves the ears of the listeners quite empty. Besides, there can be no proportion there, where after twenty-four voices in harmony only one or two voices at most are heard in the middle of the composition…

9. For this structure, in which that best practice consists, should be preserved diligently, and it is in those men skilled in the art of harmony. And whether this is
Syfertius, iudicet peritus Lector, an potuenit sex Chororum Cantilenam cum laude fabricare.

the most absolute foundation of the work, which Siefert is lacking, let the skilled reader judge, or whether he could fashion a praiseworthy composition for six choruses.
Appendix (4): Angelo Berardi: “To his reverence, Benedetto Stella”, *II perché musicale* (1693), 49-52

...per vedersi, benché sia per essere con mio discapito, brevemente risponderò alle bizzarrie de' suoi quesiti.

Al Primo, se nella Musica si deue approvare quella propositione, ò entitemrema, che sogliono formare alcuni: *Questa composizione piace, dunque è buona.*

Per esaminare, se veramente da quest' antecedente si possa dedurre simile conseguenza, non devo passare per la porta de' sensi oscura, tenebrosa, e fallace, mà è necessario, che pigli altra strada, per trovare la porta della ragione luminosa, chiara, e veridica. Le Bestie per inclinazione naturale conoscono benissimo quelle cose, che loro sono d' vtile, e fuggono quelle, che sono dannose; Ciò, che la natura non dimostra, lo palesa il senso, per mezzo del quale si conosce il fuoco esser caldo, per l' udito il suono esser graue, & acuto. Mà la cognizione, che deriva dalla ragione è propria dell' Uomo per virtù dell' intelletto creato da Dio con lume particolare, che col discorso distingue il bene dal male, e del buono qual sia il migliore. La scienza della Musica, con tutto, che dall' udito, come più necessario degli altri sensi, riconosca la sua origine, nondimeno non può arrogarsi il giudizio assoluto nelle cose de' suoni, e delle voci, mà deue vnirsi con la ragione, perche l' vno senza l' altra sempre sarà causa d' errore. Per poter giudicare scientificamente le Composizioni Musicali è necessario d' investigare, e conoscere il tutto in maniera, che la ragione, & il senso concorranno unitamente a formare il giudizio. Due condizioni si richiedono à chi vuol far da giudice nella professione armonica: Prima, che sia molto ben perito nelle cose spettanti alla scienza specolativa, e di poi altrettanto versato in quelle, che sono concernenti alla prattica; in altra forma non è possibile, che alcuno... To obey you, however it may be with my lack of capacity, I shall respond briefly to the fancies of your questions.

To the first [question], if in music one should approve that proposition or entiirmeme which some frame customarily: *This composition pleases; therefore, it is good.*

In order to examine if from this antecedent such a consequent can truly be deduced, I ought not to pass through the obscure, dark and false portal of the senses; but it is necessary that I take another path in order to find the lucid, brilliant and truthful gate of reason. By natural inclination, beasts know very well those things that are of use to them and flee those that are injurious. That which nature does not demonstrate, the sense reveals; by means of which it is known that fire is hot, through the hearing that sound is low and high. But the knowledge that derives from reason is proper to man by virtue of the intellect created with a particular light by God; that with decisionmaking he distinguishes good from bad, and from the good what is better. The science of music (with everything concerning the hearing as more necessary than the other senses) recognizes its origin; nonetheless it cannot arrogate to itself absolute judgment in matters pertaining to playing and singing, but should be united with reason, because one without the other will always be the cause of error. In order to be able to judge musical compositions scientifically, it is necessary to investigate and understand the whole in such a manner that reason and the sense may concur unitedly to form the judgment. Two conditions are required of him who wishes to judge in the harmonic profession: first, that he be very well skilled in things pertaining to
possa già mai giudicare rettamente quella scienza, o arte, della quale non nè ha vn’ esatta cognizione. Sogliono correre questa carriera alcuni, che gentilmente stando sopra i tapeti alle finestre, fanno professione di giudicare [p.50] colpi, ma non già d’ impugnare la lancia. Altri per farsi conoscere intendenti, cred’ io, non per militia, lodano, e biasimano a capriccio. Molti discorrono poi con ogni facilità sopra l’ opere altrui, e perché forsi temono di trovare ad ogni passo tribuli, sassi, e spine, non si curano di venire all’ imprese. Raccordo a questi tali l’ historia di Galeazzo Sanseverino, che con la fuga d’ Alessandria fece conoscere al Mondo, quanto sia differente arrestar bene vn’ lancia contro vn legno, che non si muoue, di che non era egli esattissimo Maestro, e pigliare sopra di se a guernare vn’ Esercito. Altri finalmente formano il concetto della Patria, dal nome, e dalla seruitù, come se la seruitù, il nome, e la Patria fosse bastante a render l’ Vomo celebre nelle Scienze, & eccellente nell’ Arti. La fallacia, & inganno de’ sensi è così chiaro, e manifesto, che ad ogni momento se ne vedono gli affetti, e pure un publico grido, & una fama publica fa, che gli huomini più scientati restino ammutiti, e sospesi. L’ esperienza è tanto chiara nell’ Istorie, che non starò a replicarne altro. Direò solo, ch’ è cosa molto pericolose à voler dar il giudicio alla professione armonica, in riguardo alla diversità de’ temperamenti, che varia i genij, mentre ad alcuni diletta l’ armonia allegra, e spiritosa, e altri mesta, e languida. E perciò nissuno sia così facile o precipitarsi nel dire: Questa compositione piace, dunque è buona.

Passarò al secondo quesito: Se la scienza della Musica forni due scuole, vecchia, e nuova, omer si dividà in due pratiche, prima, e seconda. speculative science, and then otherwise versed in those things concerning practice; otherwise it is impossible that someone can rightly judge that science or art of which he does not have an exact understanding. Some customarily run this course, who, politely standing on the carpet at the windows, make a profession of judging faults, but they do not really get the point. Others, to get themselves known as connoisseurs (not through malice, I believe), praise and censure at whim. Many discourse with all facility on the works of others; and because they shrink from finding trials, stones and thorns at every turn, they do not care to commit themselves. Apropos I remember the story of Galeazzo Sanseverino, who with the flight from Alessandria made known to the world how different it is to stop a lance against an immobile block of wood, of which he was the most exact master, from undertaking to govern an army. Finally, others form a concept of country, name and station, as if station, name and country were sufficient to render a man famous in the sciences, and excellent in the arts. The falseness and deception of the senses is so clear and manifest that at every moment the effects are seen, and a public cry and a public reputation is made, while more sentient men remain silent and uncertain. The experience is so clear in history that I shall not repeat another. I shall say only that it is a very dangerous thing to want to give judgment in the harmonic profession, with respect to the diversity of temperaments which vary inclinations, while for some, happy and spirited harmony delights, and others sad and languid. And therefore, no one can be so easy about throwing himself into saying: This composition pleases, therefore it is good.

I shall pass to the second enquiry: If the science of music forms two schools, old and new; or is divided into two practices, first and second.
That science which has a sole foundation cannot admit diversity of schools. All controversy is excluded where opinions are uniform. Disputes serve to investigate with human reason that which God has done; and for that reason the Sage says: Canest fecit bona in tempore suo, quod operatus est Deus ab initio, usque ad finem. The professors of harmony are exempt from racking their brains in disputes, since the musical fundamentals are those same on which music was established from the beginning by our first masters. The figures are those which were invented by Johannes de Muris the Parisian; the keys are the same; the accidentals, flat, natural, sharp etc. are not different, for all that they may be used differently in the modern style; and dotting, and tempi have been used since the ancients, perhaps with more observance than today, both in equal and unequal; the syllables ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la are of Guido Aretino, the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G are of S. Gregorio Papa; the Consonances, and Dissonances are those that Pythagoras extracted from the measures of the hammers of Pan the smith; the tones with their formations are the same, although the moderns transpose them differently. Finally I shall say that the substance, never changeable, is taught by the old school; the incidental, the potent adesse & abesse, which are the variations, are all the capital of the new school. Music contains two practices: the first, ut armonia sit domina orationis, an opinion of Plato. With this our ancients regulated themselves, who employed and used consonances and dissonances almost always in the same style. The second, recovered by the moderns without destroying the first, is this, ut oratio sit domina armonia, and it carries with it the greatest variations, novelty and inventions. Consonances and dissonances are disposed differently from the first
nome di seconda pratica, à differenza
della prima, riconoscendo anch' Ella il suo
fondamento dalla dottrina di Pla. Nonn est
Musica, quaies circa perfectionem melodiae
versatur? Stante questi ragioni, stimo, che
sia più proprio, e consueneole dividere la
Musica in due pratiche: Prima, e Seconda,
che confonderla con termini impropri di
scuola Vecchia, e Nuova.

Circa al terzo quesito. Allentandosi i
Compositori moderni tali, quali dello stile
Ecclesiastico assai piu di quello richiede l'
honesto, se la Musica ne’ Saggi Tempi venga a
perdere il suo decoro; e gravità, è pure
labdarmonosa, e trionfante, acquistò maggior honore,
e reputazione.

[p.52] A questo servirà di risposta vn’
huioso diParnaso, che riceuì l’ ordinario
passato, inuitomi da vna Penina erudita,
& è questo. Hieri 16. corrente, giorno di
publica vdienza comparue in Parnaso
auanti la Maesta’ d’ Appollo vna Dama,
che sembrauau d’ hauer sortito ne’ suoi
natali gran nobilità, & eccessiuà bellezza, c’
altro non è, che vn raggio del lume divino;
questa haueuà il volto tutto bagnato di
lagrime, caminauà vergognosa, mesta, &
afflitta, il che non poco compassion, e
curiosità destò ne’ petti di quei letterati,
bramando ogni vn d’ intendere, chi fosse
stato tanto ardito di oltraggiare vna
Donna, che vien stimata l’ erario di tutti I
tesori, che può, e sà compartire la Natura,
e giudicata vn Cielo amoroso, che non sà
influire, se non gratie, e fauori. Genuflessa
a’ piedi di S.M. alla voce, che snodò nel
formare I primi accenti, fu riconosciuta, c’
era la Musica, à tal nautà si sconuolsero
tutti quei Virtuosi della Corte. Mà,
essendo chiamato in questo punto da gran
Personaggio, al quale non posso, ne deuo
mancare di servire, si contenti
V.P.Reuerendiss. di leggere il residuo nell’
accluso foglio, che la trasmetto; vi
aggiungo solo, che stiano auertiti di non
practice, being all applied to the perfection
of the melody. For this reason it bears the
name of the second practice, to
distinguish it from the first—your also
recognizing its foundation in the doctrine
of Plato: Nonn est Musica, quaies circa
perfectionem melodiae versatur? These reasons
being [the case], I think it may be more
correct and convenient to divide music
into two practices, first and second, than
to confound it with the improper terms,
old and new schools.

Concerning the third enquiry. With
modern composers distancing themselves all alike
from the ecclesiastical style much more than the
virtuous man [should], if the music in sacred
temples may come to lose its decorum and
seriousness, or else, confidently and triumphantly,
may acquire more honore and reputation.

To this, a notice from Parnassus will
serve as an answer, which I received from
the previous bishop, forwarded to me
from an erudite pen, and it is this.

Yesterday, the 16th running, a day of
public audience, there appeared in
Parnassus before the majesty of Apollo a
lady, who seemed to have great nobility
and exceeding beauty endowed by her
birth; it was like nothing other than a ray
of divine light. This lady had a face bathed
in tears, was walking ashamed, sorrowful
and afflicted; she aroused not a little
compassion and curiosity in the breasts of
those lettered men all longing to
understand who had so dared to outrage a
lady who was esteemed the treasure of all
treasures which can and knows how to
impart, and a loving heaven judged that
she did not know how to influence but
[for] grace and favours. Genuflecting at
the feet of his majesty, at the voice which
unloosened to form the first accents, she
was recognized; she was Music, at which
news all the virtuosi of the court were
thrown into confusion. But, being called
at this point by a great personage, toward
whom I cannot, nor ought to lack in
serving, Your Reverence will be contented
operare in modo, che si habbino da
rinouare le Constitutioni d' Anastasio
Papa, come hebbe à succedere pochi Anni
solo…

to read the rest in the enclosed folio that I
am sending to you. I add only that they be
advised not to perform it in [such] a way
that the constitutions of Pope Anastasius
may have to be renewed, as almost
succeeded a few years ago…
Appendix (5): Angelo Berardi: from Arcani musicali svegliati (1693), 22-24

(Prescriptions for a cappella Masses and for polyphonic music)

Interlocutors: Flavio and Martino

Flavio. Per comporre Messe a Cappella.
Regola Prima, Che le figure, e le pause per il più siano osservate sotto il tempo binario.
Seconda, Che sotte le tirate di minime non si cantino le parole.
Terza, Non si debbono usare le tirate di crome.
Quarta, Che quella parte che segue la fuga, comincia sopra di una corda naturale, e uicina de consonanza.
Quinta, Che le parti della cantilena modulino uadino tra di loro più di grado sia possibile.
Sesta, Che le parti della cantilena modulino nelle corde naturali.
Settima, Che il Contr' Alto non uada di sotto al Basso, & il Tenore di rado.
Ottava, Che la proposizione della fuga non passa sei, o sette pause al più.

Nona, Tenere la compositione più piena, sia possibile.
Decima, Osservare l'unione delle parti.
Undecima, Osservare, che le parti habbiano tutte le loro consonanze con quella maggior vicinanza, & unione dia possibile.
Duodecima, Che di quel tuono, o modo che regolara la Messa, il primo Kyrie deue terminare su la corda principale, & il Christe su la corda media, per osservare la formatione di detto tuono.
Decimterza. Finalmente quando la compositione sarà fondata sopra qualche soggetto di Canto Fermo, si deue auentar di concludere con la cadenza finale su quella corda due l' organista deue dar principio, acciò possa rispondere, e ripigliare il soggetto sopra del Tuono. Il prudente Compositore deue

Flavio. For composing masses a cappella, the first rule is that the figures and rests for the most part should be considered under binary tempo.
Second, that the words not be sung under strings of minims.
Third, that strings of crome should not be used.
Fourth, that that part which follows the fugue [the consequent] begins on a proper note, and close to a consonance.
Fifth, that the parts of the composition proceed among themselves as much as possible by step.
Sixth, that the parts of the composition move melodically in their proper notes.
Seventh, that the alto not move below the bass, and [below] the tenor rarely.
Eighth, that the subject of the fugue be not more than six or seven beats long at most.
Ninth, to keep the composition as full as possible.
Tenth, to observe the union of the parts.
Eleventh, to observe that the parts maintain all their consonances with the greatest proximity and union possible.

Twelfth, that of that tone or mode which regulates the mass, the first Kyrie should end on the principal note, and the Christe on the mediant note, in order to observe the formation of the said tone.
Thirteenth. Finally, when the composition is founded on some subject from a cantus firmus, one is advised to conclude with the final cadence on that note on which the organist should begin, so that he can respond and take up again the subject on the tone. The prudent composer should accommodate the cantus firmus to his
accommodare il Canto Fermo alla sua cantilena, e guidarla in modo con la maestria, e giudizio, che non ci sia discrepanza tra il tuono, & il soggetto preso dal Canto Fermo, ma tutti dunque venghino a formare la sua reale formatione del tuono.

Regole per le cantilenae più Chori.

Prima, Che su quella corda dove termina un Choro, l’altre cominci, leutare però qualche punto fermo dell’ oratione deue poi tutti li Chori repigliano con la modulatione sopra vna corda inaspettata, la quale vsata con giudicio fa vn ottimo effetto.

Seconda, Che le risposte di Chori habbiano relatione, e corrispondenza uno con l’altro.

Terza, Non sia il Compositore troppo lungo nelle propositione delle Chori, acciò non sia tediata la risposta.

Quarta, Che la modulatione, non sia troppo veloce, particolarmente se i Chori sono assai distante l’uno dall’altro.

Quinta, Che ogni Choro habbia la sua parte fundamentale.

Sesta, Intender bene come devono cominare i Bassi.

Settima, Che se la cantilena è composata dall’ Artefice per Musica piena deve sfuggire d’ essere troppo voto.

Ottava, Che se la Cantilena è concertata, si deue tessere in tal maniera, e maestria, che il pieno non supere il piano del concerto, ma caminare per la strada in mezzo.

Nona, Quando la cantilena è a 4. 5. 6. 7. e più Chori, guardarsi di non far modular vna voce sola, eccetto nella propositione del soggetto perché lascia l’ udito troppo voto, doppo di hauere sentito vn corpo, e pieno cosi grande di Musica.

composition, and to guide it within the mode with mastery and judgment, so that there is no discrepancy between the tone and the subject taken from the cantus firmus, but both united may go to make the real formation of the tone.

Rules for compositions for several choirs.

First, that on that chord where one choir ends, another begins, except however for some period in the speech, where all the choirs then resume the composition on an unexpected note, which when used judiciously makes an excellent effect.

Second, that the responses of the choirs have a relation and correspondence to one another.

Third, that the composer not be too lengthy in the first statement of the choirs, so that the response is not tedious.

Fourth, that the melodic movement not be too fast, especially if the choirs are very distant from one another.

Fifth, that every choir should have its own lowest part.

Sixth, to understand well how the basses should move.

Seventh, that if the composition is written by the author for a full [ensemble of] music, it should avoid being too empty.

Eighth, that if it is a concerted composition, it should be designed in such a manner and mastery that the full ensemble does not overwhelm the softness of the concert, but goes by a middle path.

Ninth, when the composition is for 4, 5, 6, 7 and more choirs, to guard against melodic movement with one voice alone, except in the proposal of a subject, because it leaves the hearing too empty after having heard such a full and grand body of music.
Decima, Far sentire tutte le risposte de' Chori realmente, il che si deve osservare particolarmente la prima volta, che cominciano modulare, a queste devono caminare per ordine cominciando dal primo fino all'ultimo, acciò gli' editori sentino distintamente come l' Artefice ha ordinato li detti Chori, nel mezzo poi si può variare à beneplacito.

Vndecima, Nelle compositioni à più Chori, si deve osservare che il principio corrisponda al mezzo, & al fine in quanto allo stile, & ogn' altra cosa. Volendo alterare la battuta, per ragione de buona regola, si deve far modulare vna cadenze generale, con dar prima il segno con la mano à tutti i Chori, quali si devono mantenere spiritosi, e reale nella risposte nelle fughe bastarà, che le parti acute a l' inferiori modulino realmente la medema fuga, e le parti de mezzo l' accennino, ouero l' vna con l' altra si rispondino per contrapunto doppio.

Duodecima, Le Parti devono stare nelle loro corde, li Bassi, non devono cantare da Tenore, & e contra, vero è che qualche volta è lecito al compositore di rubbare il luogo, ouero cavaliare di sopra il Tenore per non incontrare con l' altri Bassi.

Mart. Con mia grandissima sodisfazione, hò inteso il tutto; Credo ancora, che sia necessario hauere la cognizione del sito, lontananza e vicinanza de Chori. 
Flav. Quest' osserratione è bonissima, riflettendo al Vaso delle Chiese, poiché circa a questo, si deve adoprar la velocità à la tardanza delle risposte, ouero la lentezza delle figure. Auerta sempre che i Chori siano uuii, e che habbino tutte le loro consonanze più che sia possibile. Le cantilene a Cappella all' vso del Palestrina devono esser candide, & osserrate nell' precetti della prima practica, ch' Armonia sit domina orationis.

Tenth, to make all the responses of the choirs heard in a real way, which should be particularly observed the first time that they begin to sound, and these should move by order beginning from the first to the last, so that the listeners may hear distinctly how the composer has ordered the said choirs, though in the middle he can vary them at pleasure.

Eleventh, in compositions for several choirs, one should observe that the beginning corresponds to the middle and to the end respecting style and all other things. If one wishes to alter the beat for the sake of the good rule, one should compose a general cadence, first giving a sign with the hand to all the choirs, which should be kept lively and real in response. In fugues it will suffice that the high and low parts treat the fugue in a real way, and the middle parts assent to it, or respond one to the other by double counterpoint.

Twelfth, the parts should stay in their ranges; the basses should not sing in the tenor [range] and vice versa. It is true that sometimes it is allowed to the composer to intrude on the tenor [range] or cross above it in order for it not to cross with the other basses.

Mart. With the greatest satisfaction I have understood everything. I believe also that it is necessary to have knowledge of the site, distance and proximity of the choruses.

Flav. This observation, reflecting on the volume of churches, is a very good one, because it is according to this that one should adapt the speed or lateness of the responses, or the slowness of note values. Be advised always that the choruses are lively, and that they have all their consonances as full as possible.

Compositions a cappella in the manner of Palestrina should be pure, and observant of the precepts of the first practice, that the harmony is mistress of the speech.

On modern music, and the modern style. Chapter 12.

Aristotle, in his Polit., demonstrates that music was necessary to comfort the passions, and to sweeten the affections, since after a dreadful winter of tedious cares a spring of happier thoughts should likewise follow. For that reason the ancient Greeks so practiced music that the schools of Peripatetics and Platonists were masters of it, theoretically speaking.

In the Timaeus, and in the second book of the Laws, Plato demonstrates that music, as mistress of the soul, has tones corresponding to the passions. It has been given to us not for allurement, as with the ancients, and lovely tellers of tales. Rather, as they related, Orpheus made the wild beasts follow him with the sweetness of his song, Amphion built the Theban walls with his harmony. One and the other infused the spirit of humanity (which by the roughness of its behaviour was not different from beasts and rabble) with the vigour of music in such a manner.

Since our first masters knew that music by its poverty could bring but little comfort in labour, and less sweetness to the affections, they strove with invention to enrich it and to bring it to a highest perfection, in which it is found at present. In this area subjects were entered upon, that from hand to hand with their labour and sweat glories have accrued to music, and with their schools they have eased the manner of enjoying its possession in short, but because this genealogy has been diligently described by the learned pen of Mr. Antimo Liberati, musician of the Pontifical Chapel in a letter of his to Mr. Ovidio Persapegi, printed in Rome in the year 1684, I refer myself to that entirely about this particular.
Due sono le prattiche Musicali la prima e fondata nella doctrina di Platone doue dice, che l' armonia è Signora, e padrona dell' oratione. La seconda, che s' aspetta allo stile, e Musica moderna, è che l' oratione sia padrona, s'Signora dell' armonia. Si chiama seconda prattica, essendo necessario di adoptare in questa le consonanze, e dissonanze differentemente di quello che l' hanno vsata gl' antichi nella prima. I nostri antecessori nelle loro modulationi non si sono mai serutii d' alcuni interuali dissonanti, come la quinta diminuta, tritone, & altri hoggi nouamente vsati dalla seconda prattica, che rendono noua armonia, e sono necessarij per esprimere l' oratione, essendo vsati detti interuali à tempo debito, si viene à produrre vna terza modulatione, totalmente lontana dalla volgare, e ciò si proua con l' autorità di diversi eccellentissimi Autori.

Il Monteverde nel principio del lamento d' Arianna: lasciati morire si serui della quinta diminuta in vna forma che moue à pietà. Il Nenna vsò il medemo interhal in primo de suoi Madrigali à 4. Sotto la parola Humilità. Cipriano vsò il tritone il quel suo Madrigale: Poichè m' invia amore, nella parola Dolce mia vita. Giaches nel Madrigale Misera non credea nell' ottauo libro sotto la parola essagne. Oltre Luca Marentio, e tanti altri insigni professori, come si può vedere nelle loro stampe. Vsano i moderni la settima ignuda come per inganno, & accento, ouero come dissonanza si, mà radolita dall' accompagnamento dell' altre parti, come cosa noua, rende nuovo effetto all' udito, e che sia il ero vedasi il nono libro de Madrigali di Luca Marentio in quello comincia E sò come in un punto nella parola

Two are the practices of music: the first is founded in the doctrine of Plato, where he says that harmony is the mistress and the patroness of the speech. The second, which pertains to modern music and style, is that the speech is patroness and mistress of the harmony. It is called second practice, it being necessary in this to adapt consonances and dissonances differently from that which the ancients used in the first practice.

In their compositions our predecessors never availed themselves of any dissonant intervals, such as the diminished fifth, the tritone and others newly used today by the second practice, which render a new harmony and are necessary to express the speech. The said intervals being used at the required time produce a terse modulatione, completely apart from the commonplace, and which is proved with the authority of various most excellent authors.

Monteverdi, at the beginning of the lament of Arianna, Lasciati morire, used the diminished fifth in a manner which moves to pity. Nenna used the same interval in the first of his madrigals for four voices, at the word Humilità.

Cipriano used the tritone in his madrigal Poichè m' invia amore, at the words Dolce mia vita; Giaches, in the madrigal Misera non credea in his eighth book under the word essange, or Luca Marenzio, and so many other learned professors, as can be seen in their publications.

The moderns use the bare seventh as a false relation and accent, or as a dissonance, but sweetened by the accompaniment of the other parts; as a novelty, it has a new effect on the hearing, and that it is true may be seen in the ninth book of madrigals of Luca Marenzio, where it begins E sò come in un punto, at the
assoso langue, & in quell’ altro E così nel mio parlare sotto la parola maggior durezza, e nella seconda parte da i colpi. Tralascio per brevità, dinominare molti altri, che hanno vsata la settima differentemente dalla prima pratica.

I Musici moderni vanno cercando, d’ alontanarsi in certo modo dallo stile antico, non per altro, solo per ritroare vna singolare espressione dell’animo, il che non hanno fatto li nostri antecessori, ne quali non si scorge solo, che vn medemo stile, & vna scola commune nell’ adoprar le consonanze, e dissonanze, e ciòsi prowa dall’ opere che sono alla luce.

Se pigliamo il Palestrina Prencipe, e Padre della Musica, come autore non molto antico, trovaremo, che trà i suoi Madrigali, e motetti vi è poco differenza, parlo in quanto alla variatione dello stile.

Se vederemo l’ opere volgari in lingua Francese, & Olandese, come le Vingt, & Six Chansons Musicales &c. & anco le Trizieme liure contenant Vingt, & Deux Chansons nouvelles à Six, & Hagit partes, stampate nell' anno 1545. 46. e 49. E nell’ anno 1550. e 52. di diversi autori, come sono Crequillon, Ianluy, Petit, Iandelater, Iaques Vaet, Vulnerant, Baston, Clemenz Morel, Clemens non Papa, Iusquino, Ian Gerard, Simon Cardon, Ricourt, Adriano, Noel Balduuin, Ian Ochenheim, Verdelot, e tanti altri che si tralascian di diversi nationi, considerando i loro componimenti, non vi è differenza alcuna fra le cantilene ecclesiastiche, e le volgari, leuatene alcune, che hanno la modulazione vn poco più gioconda, come la bella Margarita, la Girometta, la Battaglia di Clem. Ian, e quella del Verdelot; E questo prouiene, che le parole sono ridicole, e giocose, mà doue sono serie, poca, ò niuna differenza si troua trà li motetti, Messe, e Madrigali circa lo stile, & il mettere delle consonanze, e dissonanze. Talche words assoso langue, and elsewhere at E così mio parlare at the words maggior durezza, and in the second part at da i colpi. For brevity’s sake I will pass over naming many others who have used the seventh differently from the first practice.

Modern musicians seek to distance themselves in a certain way from the old style for no other reason than to discover a singular expression of the soul which our predecessors did not have, for they perceived only one same style and a common school for adapting the consonances and dissonances, and which is proved by the works which they published.

If we consider Palestrina, prince and father of music, as a not very ancient composer, we will find that there is little difference between his madrigals and motets. I speak with regard to variation of style.

If we consider popular works in the French and Dutch language, such as the Twenty-Six Musical Songs, etc., and also the third book containing Twenty-Two New Chansons in six and eight parts, printed in the years 1545, 46 and 49. And in the years 1550 and 1552 from various authors, such as Crequillon, Ianluy, Petit, Iandelater, Iaques Vaet, Vulnerant, Baston, Clement Morel, Clemens non Papa, Iusquino, Ian Gerard, Simon Cardon, Ricourt, Adriano, Noel Balduuin, Ian Ochenheim, Verdelot and many others from different nations who are passed over, considering their compositions, there is no difference between the church compositions and the vernacular, excluding some who have the composition a little more merry, such as the Bella Margarita, the Girometta, the Battaglia by Clement Jannequin and that of Verdelot. And this follows when the words are ridiculous or jocose, but where they are serious, little or no difference is found between motets, Masses, and
Lo intomo lascio &c.

III. LA differente, recitativo cantando, pramcate modemo stile da

La differe in questo solamente, che parlano, si canti, e cantando, si pari: Qualche poco nè hò disco\r\r\n
I. Messe, Salmi, Motetti, Hinni à più voci, more veteri.

II. Cantilene vaste con l' Organo piene à più voci, d' un stile più sollevato.

III. Salmi, Motetti, Messe à più voci concertate con li Strumenti.

IV. Concertini alla moderna, cioè Dialoghi, Motetti, e Musiche da Oratorio.

Lo stile da Camera si divide, e si considera sotto tre stili.

I. Madrigali da tavolino.

II. Madrigali concertati con il basso continuo.

III. Cantilene concertate con varie sorte di Strumenti.

I. Madrigali da tavolino ["for the table"].

II. Madrigals concerted with basso continuo.

III. Concerted compositions with various kinds of instruments.

The theatre style consists in this alone: that in speaking, it is sung, and in singing, it is spoken. I have discoursed on this a little in my Rago\n\n
Lo stile da Teatro, le pratiche sono due, la prima, che è la vecchia, consiste, _Ut armonia sit domina orationis_: come hò detto di sopra; la seconda: _Ut oratio sit domina armoniae_. Tutti questi stili vanno fabricati, e tessuti dal compositore moderno differentemente. Lo stile da Chiesa si considera in quattro modi.

I. Masses, psalms, motets, hymns for several voices, in the old manner.

II. Compositions used with the fill organ for several voices, in a more elevated style.

III. Psalms, motets, masses for several voices,concerted with instruments.

IV. Concerti in the modern manner, that is, dialogues, motets and oratory music.

The chamber style is divided and considered according to three styles.

La prima, che è la vecchia, consiste in questo stile da Chiesa, da Camera, e da Teatro; le pratiche sono due, la prima, che è la vecchia, consiste, _Ut armonia sit domina orationis_: come hò detto di sopra; la seconda: _Ut oratio sit domina armoniae_. Tutti questi stili vanno fabricati, e tessuti dal compositore moderno differentemente. Lo stile da Chiesa si considera in quattro modi.

I. Madrigals with respect to the way they deal with consonances and dissonances.

So that it is clearly seen that our ancients had only one practice and one style. The moderns have three styles, church, chamber and theatre. There are two practices; the first, which is the old one, consists _Ut armonia sit domina orationis [that the harmony is mistress of the oration]_, as I have said above; the second, _Ut oratio sit domina armoniae [that the oration is mistress of the harmony]_. All these styles are structured and woven differently by modern composers. The church style is considered in four ways.

II. Madrigals with respect to the way they deal with consonances and dissonances.

So that it is clearly seen that our ancients had only one practice and one style. The moderns have three styles, church, chamber and theatre. There are two practices; the first, which is the old one, consists _Ut armonia sit domina orationis [that the harmony is mistress of the oration]_, as I have said above; the second, _Ut oratio sit domina armoniae [that the oration is mistress of the harmony]_. All these styles are structured and woven differently by modern composers. The church style is considered in four ways.

II. Madrigals with respect to the way they deal with consonances and dissonances.

So that it is clearly seen that our ancients had only one practice and one style. The moderns have three styles, church, chamber and theatre. There are two practices; the first, which is the old one, consists _Ut armonia sit domina orationis [that the harmony is mistress of the oration]_, as I have said above; the second, _Ut oratio sit domina armoniae [that the oration is mistress of the harmony]_. All these styles are structured and woven differently by modern composers. The church style is considered in four ways.

II. Madrigals with respect to the way they deal with consonances and dissonances.

So that it is clearly seen that our ancients had only one practice and one style. The moderns have three styles, church, chamber and theatre. There are two practices; the first, which is the old one, consists _Ut armonia sit domina orationis [that the harmony is mistress of the oration]_, as I have said above; the second, _Ut oratio sit domina armoniae [that the oration is mistress of the harmony]_. All these styles are structured and woven differently by modern composers. The church style is considered in four ways.

spirits of modern composers, who continually labour to bring music to its ultimate end, which is to delight, and to elevate the human passions, as all the philosophers say. I shall conclude with Giovanni Spangenberch, who says in his musical questions in the manner of interrogation: *Why was music invented? For delight in its arts, and its marvelous effect. Music may be pleasing to God Himself, caress the spirits of men with wondrous sweetness, take away care and, as the poet said, it mixes the useful with the sweet.*
Appendix (7): Antimo Librerati: from Letters...ad sig. Ovidio Persapegi (1685): precepts for the Palestrina style

Antimo Librerati's precepts for the formation of the perfect maestro di cappella and the practitioner of the stile alla Palestrina:

[Lettera, 31] [1] La nostra Schola, che deriva, come s'è detto dal Palestrina, ci dà per primo preetto, che niuna ardisca, nè presuma di prendere la carica di Maestro di Cappella, se prima non sia possedere di tutto quello che deue sapere vn perfetto Scholare...

[35-36] [2] La nostra Schola ci dà per preetto, che quando il Compositor di Musica voglia far vn Componimento perfetto bisogna primieramente col proprio intelletto inuestigare il soggetto proportionato à quello che s' hà da spiegare con le parole; poscia fare la sua ossatura, ed' economia delle parti...Che il componimento che s' hà da fare sia di modo, ò Tono proportionato delle parole; che il Tema ò soggetto che si propone (à guisa di perfetto Oratore) si senta sempre, benché intrecciato nella diversità de' pensieri, e d'Episodij harmonici; e che la Musica sia servile alle parole, e non le parole alla Musica, come molti s'ingannano; poichè la modulatione harmonica instrumentale, e priua di Voci articolate non est apta ad movendum animi pathemata...

[38] [3] La nostra Schola n' insega, che ad esprimere qualsiuoglia modulatione harmonica, non ci dobbiamo servire, che di tre figure cantabili, cominciando da qualsiuoglia li esse ad libitum secondo il tempo, ò proportione segnata antecedentemente, e che segua alla principal figura ò di grado, ò di salto la sua propinqua; e la remota quasi non mai di salto, ma bensi di grado; essendo tre figure solamente atte, e bastanti à condurre ordinatamente la

[1] Our school which derives, as said, from Palestrina, gives us as its first precept that no one can desire or presume to take the position of maestro di cappella if he is not first possessor of all that a perfect scholar should know... [there follows a series of traditional theoretical topics]

[2] Our school gives us as a precept, that when the composer wants to make a perfect composition he needs first of all to examine with his own intellect the subject proportionate to what he must explain with the words, then to make his framework and organization of the parts...that the composition which must be made be of a mode or tone appropriate to the words; that the theme or subject which is proposed (in the manner of a perfect orator) is always heard, although interwoven among a diversity of thoughts and harmonic episodes; and that the music be subordinate to the words and not the words to the music, as many do wrongly, since composition which is instrumental harmony and deprived of articulate voices is not apt for moving the passions of the spirit.

[3] Our school teaches that for the expression of any sort of harmonic composition we should avail ourselves of three note values, beginning from any of them ad libitum according to the tempo or proportion previously designated, and a note next to the first note follows either by step or by leap; and a distant one almost never by a leap but rather by step. Three note values alone are active and ordinarily suffice to direct the composition, since availing itself of more than
modulazione harmónica; poiché seruendosi di più di tre figure, e con quelle procedendo per lo più di salto, e con lo stile spezzato, la modulazione necessariamente riesce rotto, ineguale, difficile a cantarsi, ed' aspra harmonia...

[39] [4]. La nostra Schola n' insegna, che non si deue mai far due consonanze perfette simili per moto simile; e la ragione, che molti credono che sia, perché due consonanze perfette seguite siano defettose, e facciano cattive suono (straugante ignoranza di chiama defettuosa vna cosa perfetta) M' aspra di ciò si dea sapere, che la modulazione harmónica non é altro che vn' ordine di consonanze, e dissonanze anteposte, e postposte, cambiate, intrecciate, & incaualcate dal graue all' acuto, e dal' acuto al graue, conforme allo stile, & opinione di quel Maestro, e di quella Scholare, da cui deriuia, e che l' insegna allo Scholare...

[48] [5] La nostra Schola n' insegna che si deuano bandire affatto dalle modulazioni harmóniche i tritoni o nel suo posto, o riulolti, e tutte le relazioni cattue, tanto ascendentino, quanto descendendo, facendo quelli pessima harmónia; Che nelle Cantiene non si deue mai fare l' ottava in battuta, nè di grado, nè di salto, cioè l' incontro dell' ottava, che percuota sopra al suo fondamento, ó parte de mezzo. Che le legature di qual siuogia sorte deuano essere sciolte essentially descendentino, M' perché alcuni diuersamente, & hanno le loro modulaciones pie de tritoni, di relazioni cattue, di ottava in battuta, di legature sciolte alla rouersa, e questi sono stimati huomini celebri, e come superiori à molti ne' posti conspicui, che occupano, per mera fortuna, così anche stimati superiori di virtù, & atti, ed'accreditati da poter censurate quaisiuogia Musico, e quaisiuogia Composizione harmónica; dunque la Musica è vna mera opinione.

three values and with those proceeding for the most part by leaps and with a broken style, the composition necessarily ends up rough, uneven and difficult to sing and with harsh harmony.

[4] Our school teaches us that two similar perfect consonances should not be made by similar motion; and the reason many believe this is because two successive perfect consonances are defective and make a bad sound (outrageous ignorance to call defective a perfect thing!). But beyond that one should know that composition is none other than an ordering of consonance and dissonance placed before and after, exchanged, interwoven and spanning from low to high and from high to low, conforming to the style and the opinion of that maestro and that school from which it derives and which teaches it to the student.

[5] Our school teaches us that tritones, and all false relations, whether in original position or inverted, both ascending and descending, should be completely banished from compositions, as these make the worst harmony; that in compositions the octave should never be made on the best, whether by step or by leap; that is, the encounter of the octave that strikes above its fundamental or middle part; that suspensions of any sort should be resolved essentially by descending. But then some do differently, and have their compositions full of tritones, false relations, octaves on the best, suspensions resolved upwards. And these are celebrated men considered as superior by many, in conspicuous posts which they occupy by mere fortune, so they are also considered superior in virtue and deeds and accredited with the power to censure whatever musician and whatever composition; therefore music is a mere matter of opinion.
[49]. [6] La nostra Schola [sic] n’ insegna, che la Clausola, ò Cadenza finale, ò media, sempre deua finire nella posizioné della battuta, e non nell’elevazione; come anche il principio d’ogni modulatione harmonica deua cominciare nel battere; ...

Molti altri precetti potrei addurre, che ne dà, e prefiseg la nostra Schola, e particolarmente nell’ inuire lo Scholare nel Contrapunto, che per breuitá si traslaciono; E pure sono praticati dagli altri diuersamente, dunque la Musica è vn’ opinione.

On the distinction between instrumental and vocal music:

[54] E primieramente s’ hà da auuertire, che il buon Maestro di Cappella deue possedere (trà le molte altre) due scienze; una cioè che riguarda la Compositione di modulatione harmonica instrumentale, e l’ altra che riguarda la vocale, ò articolata, e loquace. Nelle modulatione instrumentale il Compositore deue far sentire il suo tema, ò soggetto per lo più tutto solo, ò nella maggior parte; poscia deducendo l’ istesso all’ altre parti per le sue vere, e proprie choride di Diapente, Diatesseron, e Diapason, che forma quel Tono, che’ l Compositore s’ è figurato, come determinano tutte le bone Schole, e tutti i boni Schriitori di Musica, & in specie il Vanneo nel cap.38 del suo Recaneto:...

E poscia quel soggetto andarlo vestendo di rouveri reali, & obligati, ò con imitations di Intervalli, ò di Contrapunti sciolti, ò doppij, à guisa d’vn Padrone, che sia accompagnato da vno, ò più Seruitori, mà in maniera, cge sempre si riconosca, e si distingua il Padrone del Seruo, e non come alcuni, i quali confondono, e l’ vno, e gl’ altri, senza distintione imaginabile; & in tal maniera & auuertenza deue tessere, e condurre la sua tela

[6] Our school teaches us that the clausula, whether final or mediant cadence, should always end on the position of the [down]beat, and not the up[beat]; likewise the beginning of all compositions should begin on the beat.

I could add many other precepts which prefix our school, and particularly for instructing the student in counterpoint, which for brevity’s sake are passed over. And yet they are practiced by others differently—so music is a matter of opinion.

And in the first place one should be advised that the good maestro di cappella should possess (among many other things) two sciences: that is, one that considers the composition of instrumental works, and the other that considers vocal, or articulate and spoken [music]. In instrumental composition, the composer should should make his theme or subject heard solo, for the most or better part; then, leading it through the other parts by way of its true and proper notes of the fifth, fourth and octave that form that mode which the composer has presented, as all the good schools and writers on music determine, especially Vanneo in chapter 38 of his Ricameto...

and then that subject, moving along clothed with real inversion and conditions, or with imitations of intervals, or free and double counterpoints in the manner of lord who is accompanied by one or more servants, but in a manner in which the lord is always recognized and distinguished from the servant, and not as some who confound one with the others without [any] conceivable distinction, and with such a manner and care
sin al fine. E questa scienza la sanno insegnare infiniti Maestri.

L'altra scienza, cioè della modulazione harmonica vocale è fondata in gran parte su l'istessa instrumental, ma vu' è di più, che oltre à far sentire il pensiero, o soggetto principale, sorda quello poi bisogna saperi accoppiare, ed innestare bene le parole, che s' hanno da preferire; e quelle farle sentire puramente sole, & in modo che l' orecchio dell' ascoltante ne resti appagato, & habbia tempo di portare alla memoria, e non confusamente, & inuolute nel bel principio con altre parole, & in [55] modo che confondendosi trà di loro à guisa de' due elementi, acqua, e foco, vno distrugga l' altro...E perciò di questa scienza harmonica vocale pochi Musici ne sono capaci, nè si sà chi l' insegni, maggiormente che gran parte de' Maestri di Cappella, e Compositori sono così ignorantì di lettere, che à pena sanno scriver l' loro nome con Ortografia; e tanto meno sanno questo harmonia vocale quei che hanno imparato di comporre per sonare di tasto, ò di altri strumenti hauendo fatta l' loro pratica, & assuefattione nel comporre i Ricercari, [56] in quell' istesso modo ancora compongono per lo stile vocale, il che è molto diverso dall' altro...la modulacione harmonica instrumental, e priua di Voci articolate non est apta ad mouendum animi pathemata, ne mai farà piangere, ne ridere.

Liberati's description of Cassoni's concerto psalm.

[60-61] ...nel Salmo: Qui cognitaverunt &c. compostò ad libitum, hà fatto vedere questo eccellente Compositore la varietà dello stile ch' egli possiede, con maneggiare due Chori concertati alla moderna, con le risposte di essi, & imitazioni dentro i limiti del suo Tono,

he should weave and guide his fabric to the end. An an infinite number of maestri know how to teach this science.

The other science, that of vocal composition, is founded in great part on the same as instrumental, but there is more. Beyond making the thought or principal subject heard, above that, then, one needs to know how to unite and engrat the words that have to be expressed, and to make them be heard purely, alone, and in a manner that the ear of the listener may settle on them satisfied and have time to take them into memory, and not confusedly and involved in the beautiful beginning with other words, and not in a manner in which, confounding them among themselves like the two elements, water and fire, one destroys the other...And therefore few musicians are able in this vocal harmonic science or know how one teaches it, to a great extent that the larger part of maestri di cappella and composers are so ignorant of letters that they hardly know how to spell their own names correctly, and how much less they know this vocal harmony who have learned to compose by playing the keyboard or other instruments. Having formed their practice and accustomed manner by composing ricercars, they compose again in the same way for the vocal style, which is very different from the other...Composition which is instrumental and deprived of articulate voices is not fit for moving the passions of the soul, nor will it ever make one weep or laugh.
e ben proportionati alle parole, esprimendo quelle à meraviglia, sempre mandando accoppiati insieme e studio, e vaghezza, come specialmente nel terzetto à Voci pari, con l’imitazione delle parole vivamente esprese, e ripigliano poi à otto Voci con diversi obblighi, mà dolci, & ameni, e non secchi, è aspri, come suole accadere à molti altri Compositori. Il Concertino poi à due Bassi è vezzosissimo, ed’io per mé lo tacciarei d’improprio, e malageuole ne’ Bassi, se non l’ hauesse fatto à bella posta per esprimere il sentimento delle parole; mà dirò solo ch’è diffetuoso per esser troppo breue...

Mà l’ occhio, e l’ orecchio poi s’appaga nel vedere, e sentire il pieno proportionato di tutte le otto Voci, che gli succede. Che dirò popi del Versetto del Salmo, che li segue col Canto fermo nel Soprano del primo Tono, e tutte le altre parti facendovi contrapunto di sotto, e sempre con spiritosissime, quanto sode imitateone?... Così a punto questo artificioso Compositore hà saputo connettere insieme il Canto e Mascolino, e feminino per attrahere, ed’ allettare con mirabile, e soaissimo Concerto gli animi di tutti gli Vditorr, specialmente con l’adattamento delle parole: Auribus percepice Domine vocem deprecationis meae, à punto fatto nel modo à Tono Dorio degli antichi Greci proportionato al sesso di quelle. E non contento di ciò questo peritissimo Musicò, hà voluto finire la sua proua nella Cantilena à otto Voci con le parole: Domine virtus salutis meae; obumbrasti super caput meum in a. belli; appropriate molto bene e Parole, e Musica con vn harmonia eguale a sè stesso, ch’è sempre mirabile, per giungere, e peruenire al suo bramato, quanto meriteuole desiderio, poiche: Omne datum optimum, & omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens à Patre luminum, & iuxta illud: Non datur pax sine bello.

his tone, and well proportioned to the words, expressing those to a marvelous degree, always presenting both learning and beauty joined together, especially in the trio for voci pari, with the imitation of the words expressed in a lively way, and then reverting to eight voices with various obblighi, but sweet and pleasant and not dry or harsh, as customarily befalls many other composers. Then the concertino for two basses is very graceful; and I for my part might have charged it with being unsuitable and difficult for the basses if it had not been done intentionally to express the sentiment of the words. But I shall say only that it is defective only by being too short...But then the eye and the ear satisfy themselves in seeing and hearing the full [group] made up of all eight voices, which succeeds it. What, then, shall I say of the verset of the psalm, which follows them with the cantus firmus on the first tone in the soprano and all the other parts making counterpoint below it, and always with imitations as spirited as they are substantial?...Likewise this artful composer knows how to connect the cantus to attract both masculine and feminine and allure the spirits of all the listeners with a marvelous and most lovely concerto, especially in the adaptation of the words Auribus percepice Domine vocem deprecationis meae, in fact made in the Dorian mode or tone of the ancient Greeks proportioned to their sense. And, not content with that, this most skilful musician wished to finish his examination in the composition for eight voices with the words: Domine virtus salutis meae; obumbrasti super caput meum in a. belli, both words and music fitted together very well, with a harmony equal to itself, which is always miraculous, to attain and arrive at his desire, both longed-for and worthy, since Omne datum optimum, & omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens à Patre luminum, & iuxta illud: Non datur pax sine bello.
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