

JAMES HAAR
PAUL CORNEILSON

The Science and Art of Renaissance Music



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The Science and Art of Renaissance Music

JAMES HAAR

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• *EDITED BY PAUL CORNEILSON* •

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• *FOR ALL MY STUDENTS* •

• C O N T E N T S •

<i>PREFACE</i>	ix
<i>EDITOR'S PREFACE</i>	xiii
<i>BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS</i>	xv
 MUSIC IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY	
CHAPTER ONE	
A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism	3
CHAPTER TWO	
The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music	20
CHAPTER THREE	
Cosimo Bartoli on Music	38
 ASPECTS OF RENAISSANCE MUSIC THEORY	
CHAPTER FOUR	
The Frontispiece of Gafori's <i>Practica Musicae</i> (1496)	79
CHAPTER FIVE	
False Relations and Chromaticism in Sixteenth-Century Music	93
CHAPTER SIX	
Zarlino's Definition of Fugue and Imitation	121
CHAPTER SEVEN	
Lessons in Theory from a Sixteenth-Century Composer	149
CHAPTER EIGHT	
Josquin as Interpreted by a Mid-Sixteenth-Century German Musician	176
 ON THE ITALIAN MADRIGAL	
CHAPTER NINE	
The <i>Note Nere</i> Madrigal	201
CHAPTER TEN	
The "Madrigale Arioso": A Mid-Century Development in the Cinquecento Madrigal	222
CHAPTER ELEVEN	
Giovanthomaso Cimello as Madrigalist	239

ANTONFRANCESCO DONI: WRITER, ACADEMICIAN,
AND MUSICIAN

CHAPTER TWELVE

Notes on the *Dialogo della Musica* of Antonfrancesco Doni 271

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

A Gift of Madrigals to Cosimo I: The Ms. Florence,
Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Magl. XIX, 130 300

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The *Libreria* of Antonfrancesco Doni 323

RENAISSANCE MUSIC IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EYES

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Berlioz and the “First Opera” 353

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Music of the Renaissance as Viewed by the Romantics 366

INDEX OF NAMES 383

SOME YEARS AGO I received a letter from a graduate student who had been “assigned” me in a bibliography class. She enclosed a list of my publications, wrote in a disappointed tone that this was all she could find, and ended by asking me if I could add any titles to the list. At the time I was embarrassed to reply that there was nothing more. Now I am perhaps equally embarrassed to say that there is quite a lot more, enough so that I had to make a choice as to what should be included in this volume. The basic selection was made by my friend and former student, Paul Corneilson, the guiding spirit behind this enterprise. Criteria for exclusion were relatively easy to come by: articles on the origins and character of the early cinquecento madrigal and on traces in the written literature of the activities of *improvvisatori* would be omitted since they had already led to publication in book form, in one case with an energetic and gifted collaborator, Iain Fenlon. Articles reprinted, alone or in anthologies (in English and Italian) were excluded; guests who reappear too often may wear out their welcome.¹

What to include was a little harder to decide upon. Since the volume should have some coherence, articles on subjects belonging more or less to identifiable themes could be included. After a bit of juggling on the part of both Paul and myself, an appropriate total of subjects and articles was reached. The five categories under which the articles are grouped are among the subjects that have preoccupied me for some years. They are interrelated in a number of ways; my interest in theory, in the madrigal, and in individual figures such as Antonfrancesco Doni and Giovanthomaso Cimello are part of a general concern for music in the cultural life of the Renaissance. A long interest in the multifarious but strangely unified character of Romantic musical thought led me to the last of the topics, Romantic views of early music; this is a subject on which I still hope to write at some length.

A collection of essays originally published over a period of some years, favorably viewed, offers convenience of access and provides the reader opportunity to engage an author in extended mental conversation. Less optimistically looked at, such a collection may resemble an album of fading photographs, what my grandmother used to dismiss as “those old chromos” (i.e., chromolithographs; she was actually referring, in a kind of metonymy, to old people trying to mask the disappearance of youthful charms). I hope of course for a favorable reception to these essays. It is not my intention to apologize for the contents of the book; I have added a few notes at the ends of the articles to correct errors, suggest further reading, or modify details of the argument, but on the whole I stand by what I have written and have not changed the content or style of anything here.

I trust that what the articles say about their subjects is clear enough. I have always tried for clarity of expression and can only hope that the result will not be mistaken for jejuneness of thought. What they say about their author is up to the reader to conclude. A certain preciousness of style in the earlier articles, which caused me to wince a bit as I encountered it, is I hope pruned out of later work; I

think there are no other autobiographical hints. Self-revelation has never been my aim, and deliberate suppression of personality has never seemed to me anything but false modesty.

People writing about the past shape it to accord with their own proclivities as well as with the interests and preferences of their own generation. But that we write essentially about ourselves under the guise of writing history I find not so much untrue as uninteresting. Of course we find ourselves interesting; that others should find us so is not a matter of course. In the same way that I find much reductional musical analysis boring, I am wearied by obtrusive self-revelation, by excessive personalizing of the scholarly act. There are not many St. Augustines, past or present, around, and for me even a little Augustine goes a long way.

Cultural history has been a lifelong interest of mine. I smile a bit wanly as I recall that in my graduate-student days I championed it against fellow students “only interested in the notes.” The rush toward “contextualizing” music of recent years has nonetheless seemed to me a bit headlong; sometimes brilliant, sometimes flamboyant, occasionally wildly off the mark, it has all too often betrayed a kind of cultural envy of the fabled richness and breadth of thought and method available in other disciplines, but considered lamentably lacking in our own. I remain committed to thinking about music as cultural expression. However, I am more than ever convinced that the act of creating music is one of sublimation of extramusical life and one profoundly *sui generis*. What has been created can, and perhaps should, be continually interpreted and reinterpreted, but it is the musical work itself that interests and moves me. This is only the surface, some would say, but I am an unrepentant admirer of surfaces, steadily suspicious of too drastic a probing for concealed and inadvertent meaning. If the cultural context gets too thick it becomes difficult to find the work at all.

In my student years I held myself a bit aloof from my fellow students. I learned something from their company but I could and should have profited a good deal more from it. Independence of thought and approach was my goal. Fortunately I did pay a lot of attention to my teachers, among whom two made an especially lasting impact: John Ward for his impeccable control and thoroughness, always to be admired if never equalled; and Nino Pirrotta for an inimitable fineness of perception and an unfailing humaneness which gives life and warmth to everything he writes. So I had some good models. Gradually I realized that independence, while never complete, is learned, not proclaimed, and I developed an approach of my own. Roughly described, this consists of finding a subject, often a rather small one, that has something about it that I think intriguingly in need of explanation; doing the best I can by way of explaining it; showing the ramifications into wider areas that I think it has; and suggesting that investigations of the kind I have just made might be useful for others to do. A fairly simple formula but it has worked for me. I do not think I am a miniaturist, but I would rather try to get much from little than gamble with the reverse.

Through the course of my academic career I have learned much from colleagues and students—at Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, New York University, the University of North Carolina, and in brief stints at the University of Washing-

ton, Seattle, Berkeley, and Princeton—as well as from scholars elsewhere who have been active in the fields in which I work. I am grateful to many people and proud to stand in their company as a member of a profession for which I continue to have the greatest respect and affection.

*Chapel Hill, North Carolina
January 1996*

NOTE

1. A list (complete to 1994) of my published writings, compiled by Stephanie Schlagel, may be found in *The Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 398–404.

JAMES HAAR is a true Renaissance man, one of the few scholars who probes the depths as well as the entire breadth of Renaissance music, literature, and culture. Perhaps more than any other, he is a successor to the European tradition of Gustave Reese and Alfred Einstein. His essays are models of detailed but concise writing, often exploring the nooks and crannies of the period, forgotten figures, and lesser known treatises that illuminate more fully the celebrated music of the great composers—such as Josquin and Lasso—who dominate music history textbooks. Jim reminds us that we should leave no stone unturned in practicing musicology; and in article after article, he demonstrates that a seemingly insignificant fact or tidbit has implications not only for the way Renaissance musicians and writers thought about the art and craft of music, but also for how we think about Renaissance music today and what significance that has for humanistic study and understanding.

My role has been to deal with cosmetic differences in style, especially bibliographical, between the various articles reprinted here. Typographical errors have been tacitly emended and differences in spelling have been standardized. All of the musical examples have been redone handsomely by Mr. Ward Hammond. Only one of the chapters required substantive alteration: the original version of “Josquin as Interpreted by a Mid-Sixteenth-Century German Musician” suffered some mutilation during the period between the reading of proofs and publication. Half (nos. 1–8) of the contents of Regensburg, Proske-Bibl. Ms C 100 were omitted, and five lines of text and one sizeable footnote were printed twice. As we all know, publishing is not a perfect craft, but in reprinting these essays it is hoped that we have come a little closer to the author’s ideal.

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Chapter 1 (“A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism”), originally published in *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983): 191–209.

Chapter 2 (“The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione’s View of the Science and Art of Music”), first published in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, eds. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 165–89.

Chapter 3 (“Cosimo Bartoli on Music”), originally published in *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* 8 (1988): 37–79.

Chapter 4 (“The Frontispiece of Gafori’s *Practica Musicae* (1496)”), originally published in *Renaissance Quarterly* 27 (1974): 7–22.

Chapter 5 (“False Relations and Chromaticism in Sixteenth-Century Music”), originally published in *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977): 391–418.

Chapter 6 (“Zarlino’s Definition of Fugue and Imitation”), originally published in *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971): 226–54.

- Chapter 7 (“Lessons in Theory from a Sixteenth-Century Composer”), first published in *Altro Polo: Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, ed. Richard Charteris (Sydney, Australia: Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies, 1990), 51–81.
- Chapter 8 (“Josquin as Interpreted by a Mid-Sixteenth-Century German Musician”), first published in *Festschrift für Horst Leuchtmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Stephan Horner and Bernhold Schmid (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), 179–205.
- Chapter 9 (“The *Note Nere* Madrigal”), originally published in *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 22–41.
- Chapter 10 (“The ‘Madrigale Arioso’: A Mid-Century Development in the Cinquecento Madrigal”), originally published in *Studi Musicali* 12 (1983): 203–19.
- Chapter 11 (“Giovanthomaso Cimello as Madrigalist”), originally published in *Studi Musicali* 22 (1993): 23–59.
- Chapter 12 (“Notes on the *Dialogo dell Musica* of Antonfrancesco Doni”), originally published in *Music and Letters* 47 (1966): 198–224.
- Chapter 13 (“A Gift of Madrigals to Cosimo I: The Ms Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Magl. XIX, 130”), originally published in *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966): 168–89.
- Chapter 14 (“The *Libreria* of Antonfrancesco Doni”), originally published in *Musica Disciplina* 24 (1970): 101–23.
- Chapter 15 (“Berlioz and the ‘First Opera’”), originally published in *19th Century Music* 3 (1979): 32–41.
- Chapter 16 (“Music of the Renaissance as Viewed by the Romantics”), originally published in *Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 108–25.

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- CMM Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
- Einstein, *Italian Madrigal* Alfred Einstein. *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols. (Princeton, 1949)
- Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon* Robert Eitner. *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1898–1904); 2d ed., 11 vols. (Graz, 1959–60)
- EMH *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*
- Fenlon & Haar Iain Fenlon and James Haar. *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1988)
- JAMS *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*
- MD *Musica Disciplina* [formerly *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*]
- MGG *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 17 vols. Ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel and Basel, 1949–68; suppl. 1973–79)
- ML *Music and Letters*
- MQ *The Musical Quarterly*
- MRM *Monuments of Renaissance Music*
- New Grove* *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols. Ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980)
- RIM *Rivista italiana di musicologia*
- RISM Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
- RRMBE Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era
- RRMR Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance
- SM *Studi musicali*
- Vogel Emil Vogel. *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens, aus den Jahren 1500 bis 1700* (Berlin, 1892); rev., with additions by Alfred Einstein (Hildesheim, 1962)

**MUSIC IN
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY
SOCIETY**

A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism

A COMPLAINT SOMETIMES MADE about theorists, at least about those active before the middle of the nineteenth century, is that their concerns are too exclusively prescriptive, that they rarely describe music, much less evaluate it. As musicians we can enjoy what we take to be timeless aspects of the music of the past, and we feel to a certain extent confident in our ability to distinguish level of quality and degree of attractiveness in it—in short to make it live as part of our own musical culture. As scholars we can learn a good deal about the musical life of a period such as the Renaissance. As analysts we can take almost any music apart and reassemble it, using theoretical writings of the appropriate period as manuals wherever they are helpful. But as historians concerned not only with cultural artifacts but also with the intellectual and artistic outlook of the past we want to know not just how music was made but why it took the shapes it did, and especially how it was heard and criticized by those who first performed and listened to it. Not how everyone heard it, of course; if we look at the general reception of art music in our own time we can see that random sampling of opinion would not get us far, and there is no reason to sentimentalize about a past when everyone understood and loved contemporary culture. We do want to know what those critics have to say who are equipped by training and temperament to give sympathetic judgment on modern music; and it is a group of this sort, comparatively large in some periods and very small in others, that we would like to have speak to us from the past.

Very few of them do so. For the Renaissance we have, besides a large number of theorists, various descriptions of music and musicians, seen and heard on state occasions and even in social gatherings. But, as we know, we hear the praise of musicians—usually in vague terms—much more than that of the music itself, and we usually count ourselves lucky to find a piece so much as mentioned by name. In the whole of Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica*, in which the music sung by the assembled company is printed along with their conversation, we get little more than a passing remark that the piece just sung was beautiful or was the work of a dependably good composer.¹ A more informative source is Vincenzo Giustiniani's *Discorso sopra la musica*, with its references to the compositional novelties of Marenzio and Giovannelli in Rome, of Gesualdo and Fontanelli in Ferrara, of a group of Neapolitans, and finally of Monteverdi.² But Giustiniani was clearly more interested in singers and instrumentalists, about whom he speaks in some detail, than in the music itself; and indeed his remarks, such as that on the contrapuntal rigor of Gesualdo's music, would indicate that he was not much of a connoisseur of compositional technique.³

If we turn to the theorists, we find that from Tinctoris through Zarlino and his disciples we get fairly frequent mention of composers and even of individual

works, but pieces are usually named because of a single feature such as choice of mode or canonic artifice, and composers are cited only to receive general praise for their skill or, on occasion, blame for what the theorist defines as a *Satzfehler*. Coclico praises Josquin but does not go into detail about his music; Glareanus is concerned largely with mode; Zarlino finds that everything the complete musician should possess in the way of art is contained in the work of Willaert, but he does not really show us how to study that work. We know that theorists were aware of stylistic change, which they praised or damned by turns, and sometimes they give us specific information about it; an example is Finck's contrasting of the dense counterpoint of Gombert to the more open polyphony of Josquin.⁴ Instances of this kind of direct dealing with music itself are unfortunately all too rare.

It is clear that music was a favorite topic of conversation in sixteenth-century Europe. And when people spoke of the subject it could not always have been in such superficial terms as those of Doni. On the other hand dialogues such as Bottrigari's *Desiderio*, concerned largely with the tuning of instruments,⁵ or Zarlino's *Dimostrazioni harmoniche*, in which the assembled interlocutors, including Willaert and Francesco Viola, listen to long, abstruse, and lamentably dull arguments in support of Zarlino's *senario*, could not be thought to resemble the real conversation of real people. Such conversations, it would seem, were never recorded.

There are a few exceptions, and I want to concentrate here on one passage that I find of special interest. It occurs, apropos of nothing in particular, in the second part of Lodovico Zacconi's *Prattica di musica*, a volume written and published in the theorist's last years but reflecting the concerns, tastes, and views expressed thirty years earlier in the first part of his treatise:

It is both clear and certain that the gifts of the Lord, however manifold (not to say infinite), are divided and distributed by His Divine Majesty in such a way that very often one who possesses one gift does not have another. And work at it as he may, if [the Lord] has not granted it to him by way of nature, or through special grace, he fails in it and ends, as the saying has it, by pounding water in his mortar. We see examples of this in every faculty, every profession, and in music we see and touch upon it as well.

And since I wish to treat of the various styles, modes, and manners of different compositions I say that *musica armoniale* is distinguished by seven particular aspects: that is, by *arte*, *modulatione*, *diletto*, *tessitura*, *contraponto*, *inventione*, and *buona dispositione*. Each of these things is necessary to the composer; and to however small or great degree one finds them in one composer, a single quality will stand out more than another, and from this a composer will make his name and become famous. In this regard, and without offense to anyone, I remember that in the year 1584 there was a conversation on music one day held in the presence of many musicians gathered before Don Gioseffo Zarlino; and as the talk turned to the style of this and that composer, he made the above distinctions and then came down to particulars, saying, "What would you have me say? He who has one of these lacks another, and even he who is distinguished in two or three cannot have them all. My own genius (he said, speaking of himself) is given over to regular *tessitura* and *arte*, as is that of Costanzo Porta, who is here present. Striggio had a talent and gift for charming *modulatione*; Messer Adriano

was distinguished by great *arte* and judicious *dispositione*. Morales had *arte*, *contraponto*, and *buona modulatione*. Orlando Lasso possessed *modulatione*, *arte*, and *bonissima inventione*; and Palestrina had *arte*, *contraponto*, *ottima dispositione*, and a flowing *modulatione*. From this it follows that once one has heard the works of these composers, when their music is sung on another occasion one can immediately say, 'This is the work of such-and-such'; and indeed so it turns out to be, for when one has heard the works of one author several times, one can distinguish them at once when hearing them with other works and say that it is the work of such-and-such an author."⁶

This passage, along with a number of, but by no means all, the other anecdotes that are sprinkled through Zacconi's work, and especially the *seconda parte*—making a reading of it full of pleasant surprise and relief—was cited by Friedrich Chrysander some ninety years ago. Chrysander called Zarlino's little speech as reported by Zacconi extremely valuable, and praised it as a "sure guide to the aesthetic currents of his century"; but he did not attempt to explicate it.⁷ Zacconi's anecdote has been familiar to students of Renaissance music ever since, but I am not aware of any effort to define his seven categories, which appear on the surface to be vague and overlapping to the point of repetitiveness. Although I cannot claim that I know precisely what Zacconi meant or even that he intended each category to have precise and separate meaning, I think the passage deserves a closer look and will presently proceed with an attempt at clarifying it.

Zacconi's second treatise is chiefly concerned with rules, copiously illustrated, for counterpoint on a cantus firmus "in cartella & alla mente" ("written [on barred staves] or improvised"), as its title page says. His pace is leisurely and there are many asides, including references to musicians he had known in Mantua, Venice, Munich, and the Habsburg court at Graz. There are familiar admonitions to students about proper attitudes, proper study habits, proper modes of performance. It is tempting to follow Chrysander's lead by giving examples of all this, and I shall in the spirit of Zacconi's work succumb briefly to this temptation before getting to the passage that is our central concern.

There are many references to older music in both of Zacconi's treatises—more, for instance, than one finds in the writings of Zarlino. Zacconi admired the craft of both the *antichi*, by which term he meant Josquin and his contemporaries, and the *vecchi*, who included not only Willaert and Rore but also Zarlino and Palestrina.⁸ He cites older compositions by name, and even says he leafed through a copy of the *Odhecaton* with pleasure and profit.⁹ Although he was too young to have known Willaert, Zacconi got information about him from Zarlino, including an account of Willaert improvising a third voice to a written duo, then doing it again in order to improve it.¹⁰ This is of more than anecdotal interest since it gives evidence that performing *contraponto alla mente* was a real feature of musical life, even that of great composers, in the sixteenth century.¹¹

Palestrina was probably known to Zacconi only by reputation; he was admired for the appropriate style of his sacred music, in Zacconi's view as fitting as the style of Marenzio and Monte was for the madrigal.¹² Zacconi also says of Palestrina that his music and that of Victoria can be studied in error-free copies since they, unlike

many of their contemporaries, carefully supervised the publication of their work.¹³ One word of criticism is ventured; had Palestrina sought his advice Zacconi would have cautioned him about setting the *Cantica* as he did, for “Dio sà con qual animo & intentione” these works are performed by singers.¹⁴

A number of composers, including Rore, Ippolito Baccusi, Francesco Rovigo, Monte, Porta, Striggio, and one among the moderns, Monteverdi, are mentioned admiringly but only in passing.¹⁵ Zacconi says that he was a student of Andrea Gabrieli, but unfortunately he has nothing to say about his master’s personality or teaching method.¹⁶ Lasso was, to judge from the tone of Zacconi’s remarks about him, not only his senior colleague at Munich (in the years 1591–94) but also a friend. One reference to Lasso deserves mention here although it is well known. This passage, in which the aging Lasso speaks humbly of his daily compositional exercise, of his holding himself in readiness in case a new commission from his master should come, is instructive about a composer’s attitude toward his craft; and it is touching when one remembers that it must originate from Lasso’s final period of activity, the time when the magnificent *Lagrime di San Pietro* was written.¹⁷

Among the many bits of advice to young musicians given by Zacconi several are worth mentioning here. A person wishing to succeed in music, or indeed any worthwhile pursuit, must have certain qualities, namely, *voglia*, *studio*, *perseveranza*, *deliberatione*, and *emulatione* (desire, study, perseverance, resolve, and a sense of rivalry).¹⁸ For composers a healthy spirit of *emulatione* is particularly important, and we are told that Costanzo Porta set out to rival his great master Willaert; that Baccusi during his years at Mantua did all he could to perfect himself in emulation of his colleague Wert; and that Tiburtio Massaino, having met Baccusi in Venice, modeled his compositional activities on the latter’s work.¹⁹

Musicians need to study music if they wish to excel in its practice; in his first book Zacconi warns that a person could study Boethius and Augustine for ten years and “never learn to compose.”²⁰ What aspiring musicians should do, first of all, is acquire and study thoroughly all the good music they can get hold of; next they should score it, a tiresome but necessary task if the secrets of the music are to be thoroughly revealed.²¹ In doing this students not only learn a lot, but they also acquire a stock of passages useful in their own work, just as “giovani innamorati” copy poems into notebooks for ready use in their own impromptu verse-making. No less a composer than Francesco Rovigo solemnly assured Zacconi that he copied and scored passages of other composers’ work so as to have a ready stock of ideas and techniques.²² The young composer should arrange his commonplace book so that under each scored passage there are empty staves; thus he can add thoughts of his own, or can vary those of the compositions before him by exchanging entries, lengthening or shortening rests, adding another point of imitation.²³ In this passage the technique of parody composition, so dear to sixteenth-century musicians but so little referred to by theorists, is described in a thoroughly believable way.

Zacconi, whose instructions on the art of vocal improvisation in the *Primo libro* are well known,²⁴ has many hints for singers in his second book. Among them are

instructions to set the pitch of any piece at a comfortable level for all voices; to change the pitch level when a piece in another mode than the one just sung is chosen; to choose a tempo neither too slow nor too fast, being especially careful about the latter since performers tend to fall behind the beat if it is too fast (elsewhere Zacconi says, however, that one can place the beat slightly late in an artistic manner to give special emphasis); to accommodate one's voice to those of the other singers; and to ornament only where appropriate.²⁵

The composers whom Zacconi admired presumably did all the things he thought necessary to achieve proficiency; their inborn talent, nurtured by careful study and practice and sharpened by emulation of their peers, gave them excellence. Yet their music is not identical in nature, perhaps not even equal in value. If we examine the passage with which we are centrally concerned we see first the sententious observation that nature's gifts are not evenly distributed, and that some musicians when compared with others show greater talent in one aspect of composition, less in another. There are in *musica armoniale*, Zacconi's general term for polyphonic mensural music, seven aspects in which excellence can be sought: *arte*, *modulatione*, *diletto*, *tessitura*, *contraponto*, *inventione*, and *buona dispositione*. Zacconi apparently thought that the meaning of these terms was self-evident and that they were distinct one from another; otherwise he would have been breaking his own rule, stated only a few pages before the passage here under consideration, that one should never propose terms to students without defining them thoroughly.²⁶ To a modern reader the meaning and, especially, the distinctive nature of each of the seven qualities are not so clear. Close reading of both of Zacconi's treatises brings partial enlightenment, as we shall see; but the theorist could have helped us more than he did here.

Except for *contraponto*, the words Zacconi chose are not exclusively musical terms, so he may have thought definition unnecessary; this was the kind of language any educated person could use, perhaps about any of the arts. Still, Zacconi employs all these words, if not always in their substantive form, throughout his treatise, and they acquire a musical meaning—in a few instances several allied ones—through use. What is their origin?

The little speech is put into the mouth of Zarlino, and it is clear from the whole of Zacconi's work that he was an admirer of Zarlino. But the language of this passage is not taken from Zarlino, or at least not from any of his published treatises. Of course words such as *arte* and *inventione*, not to mention *contraponto*, were used by Zarlino as by everybody else; *modulatione* was also a word in general currency, as was *diletto*. Zarlino did not use, so far as I know, either *tessitura* or *buona dispositione*; nor did he apply any of these terms as measurements for the quality of music. I have not yet seen these seven terms used by another theorist in any way close to that of the passage under consideration.

This is not to say that Zacconi was entirely original. *Inventione* and *dispositione* are rhetorical terms in common use in the sixteenth century and with the authority of Quintilian behind them. The *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian was well known and easily available in print throughout the century; Zacconi must have had at least

a superficial acquaintance with it.²⁷ One passage that may have caught his attention is Quintilian's exposition of the standard classical division of oratory: "The art of oratory, as taught by most authorities and those the best, consists of five parts: invention, arrangement, expression, memory, and delivery or action."²⁸ The five aspects of the orator's art are indeed so suggestive of Zacconi's classification that we may assume Quintilian as at least an indirect source of inspiration. As we shall see, the terms *arte*, *diletto*, and *modulatione* are also to be found in Quintilian's work. On the other hand, Zacconi, while he gives passing attention to text declamation in other places in his treatise,²⁹ is not here concerned with it at all (except possibly as a part of *modulatione*). Although he occasionally compares poets and musicians, he goes out of his way to stress the separateness of the two arts, at least in modern times.³⁰ If he knew the work of Burmeister he does not mention it or appear in any way to have been influenced by it. Zacconi was not, in other words, writing on music as a branch of rhetoric. Nonetheless the debt to Quintilian would appear to be great.

At this point we might examine Zacconi's terms one by one, taking them in the order he gives them.

(1) *Arte* would appear to be so general a word as to make useless any attempt at definition; and since six of the seven composers mentioned by Zacconi are said to possess it we get little help from him here. For Zarlino, following Quintilian and, doubtless, many other classical sources, art is the skillful manipulation of the materials of music.³¹ Art is dependent upon nature but can surpass it, and can even correct its flaws: as painters correct flaws in the human form, so musicians can correct the natural sound of the voice through use of instruments designed with artifice.³² Zarlino in distinguishing art from nature says that art is the "true reasoning behind the task one sets upon, and is as well the necessary skill in working at the task."³³ Elsewhere he defines the art of counterpoint as "a faculty which teaches us to invent [*ritrovare*] various parts of a piece of music and to order [*disporre*] its sounds by means of rational proportion and measured tempo into melodies [*modulationi*]."³⁴ Here we have not too few but too many terms for comfort.

Zacconi also contrasts nature and art; in one passage he describes the singing of the ancient Greeks as the "operation of nature, not of art," implying that the term *arte* is to be reserved for mensural polyphony.³⁵ For him, as for Zarlino, art includes both rational study of problems and skill in carrying out planned work.³⁶ He often combines *artificio* with *arte* as synonymous terms; thus *artificio* consists of the use of imitations, fugues, and canonic requirements (*obligationi*), sometimes used at close intervals, as in the motets of Gombert; at other times the use of contrary motion or other refinements.³⁷ Through command of art one can display *grand'arte* by using two fugues or imitations at once;³⁸ here we might note that among the composers singled out by Zacconi, only Willaert is said to possess *grand'arte*. In sum, Zacconi would appear to consider *arte* as the skill of planning and using schemes requiring contrapuntal artifice. Here he resembles all other theorists of his time and indeed of many others in admiring ingenuity of contrapuntal design; but while he praises older composers back to the time of Ockeghem and

Josquin for possession of *arte*, he thinks it still valuable in the music of his own time, lamenting its absence in the work of lesser, unnamed contemporaries.

(2) *Modulatione*. In the sixteenth century *modulatio* was one of the polite Latin words for a musical composition, particularly a motet.³⁹ This would appear to derive from its definition as melody in a broad sense, or melodic writing within which individual melodic phrases are contained. This broad meaning, applied to ancient music, is at one point given the term by Zarlino.⁴⁰ Elsewhere Zarlino simply equates *modulatione* with *aria* or even with the act of singing,⁴¹ and Zacconi also uses the term to mean melody pure and simple.⁴²

There was of course plenty of classical precedent for this. Vitruvius calls the three genera of the Greeks *modulationes*; Quintilian gives *modulatio* as the equivalent of the Aristoxenian *ῥυθμός*, one of the two divisions of music (the other being *μέλος*).⁴³ These passages, not to mention Augustine's definition of music as *bene modulandi scientia*,⁴⁴ include the notion of measured sound—measured pitch for Vitruvius, measured rhythm for Quintilian and Augustine. It is not then surprising to find that Zarlino refers to the “misura di tempi nelle modulationi” and even defines *modulatione* as *movimento* through various intervals, with slow and fast motion “secondo il tempo mostrato nelle sue figure cantabili.”⁴⁵ Thus *modulatio* to sixteenth-century theorists means measured, or mensurally organized, melody. And it would seem that a melodic line, whether considered alone or within a polyphonic complex, could be an aesthetic object to be judged and admired; see Zacconi's praise of Alessandro Striggio for his “gift of charming *modulatione*” in the passage above. This is hardly surprising in itself, but it somehow seems more “modern” than anything in Glareanus or Zarlino, more akin to our modes of appreciation.

(3) *Diletto*. For rhetoricians oratory was supposed to give pleasure (*delectatio*) as well as to persuade; again Vitruvius and Quintilian will serve here as classical references.⁴⁶ A standard sixteenth-century view among musicians is that of Glareanus, who holds that “musica est delectationis mater,” a sentiment echoed by Zarlino.⁴⁷ In general music that is well constructed gives pleasure, and for Zacconi it is important that *diletto* be there; composers, he says, should take care to cultivate “una certa maniera facile & dilettevole” so that they can give pleasure both to singers and to listeners. Those who make their music “faticoso & difficile” may find to their chagrin that singers ignore it.⁴⁸ That none of the composers cited in the passage above is singled out for this quality must simply mean to Zacconi that they all possessed it.

To Zarlino, conscious of the correct classical position, *diletto* was of secondary importance. Melody alone can give pleasure, but only when there is a text does the music amount to anything.⁴⁹ Mindful of sixteenth-century academic strictures about literary genre, Zarlino also says that the “canzonette, dette Madrigali” of the present time can give pleasure but do not truly have power to move the soul.⁵⁰ Zacconi characteristically takes a much less lofty position; for him any careful union of words and music gives maximum delight to singers, and in addition ravishes the hearts of listeners.⁵¹

The simple materials of music give pleasure; in discussing modes Zacconi says that successions of whole tones give delight, placement of semitones distinguishes and defines music.⁵² But a principal ingredient in musical pleasure for him is variety of usage, preferably coupled with an element of surprise. Thus a delayed entrance of an imitative voice delights a listener all the more for having foiled his original expectation.⁵³ Ornament when properly used gives much pleasure; hence it is only fitting that the soprano, to which voice ornament is most readily and fittingly applied, gives more delight than the other voices.⁵⁴ Music that lacks proper rhythmic impetus is languid and deficient in *diletto*.⁵⁵ The word would then seem to indicate both the natural pleasure in attractive sounds and a connoisseur's reaction to finely executed detail, with the element of surprise adding relish.

(4) *Tessitura*. This word is not in common use among sixteenth-century theorists; Zacconi uses it rarely and Zarlino not at all. Various forms of the verb *tessere* do occur in Zacconi and are nearly always expressive of some kind of interweaving of materials, either of melodic and rhythmic elements within a single voice or of the contrapuntal relationships of melodic lines. Thus syncopations are "contessitura" of figures in a line, or between lines;⁵⁶ imitations and fugues are things that "si contessino" alone or over a cantus firmus;⁵⁷ at cadences the voices should be well interwoven;⁵⁸ rests can be part of the interwoven design of a fugue;⁵⁹ in four-voice counterpoint the soprano and tenor have the same "contessuta modulatione."⁶⁰ Occasionally the use of proportions is given the participle *contessuta* or the noun *tessitura*.⁶¹ Even the artful mix of consonance and dissonance is achieved by interweaving.⁶² On a more general level modern compositions are said to be "con alcuni stili piu vaghi hora tessute."⁶³ Only once does Zacconi hint at the meaning we would expect for *tessitura*, that of vocal range; and even then he seems to think of it as referring to the ordering of pitches within a mode rather than to range in general.⁶⁴

If *arte* is for Zacconi the planning of contrapuntal designs, *tessitura* is their execution, or what we would call the practical art of counterpoint. That this is an important aspect of sixteenth-century music we can certainly accept; but what meaning is then left for the next term in Zacconi's list?

(5) *Contraponto* has for Zacconi a quite specific meaning, namely, the writing of counterpoint over a cantus firmus. His teaching method is based on use of cantus firmus to a degree unusual even for theorists of his time; he goes so far as to recommend that one learn to write madrigals with the help of a cantus firmus, and as an example gives a quodlibet of incipits of some of the most famous madrigals of the sixteenth century, all *tessute* over a "Salve regina."⁶⁵ Zacconi is careful to distinguish *contraponto* from what he calls *mera compositione* or free composition in the various sacred and secular genres of the day.⁶⁶ There would seem to be here an implication that *contraponto* as such is not to be found in actual music, but this is not so; a varied if not strictly "true" counterpoint is one of the things Zacconi admires most whenever he sees it, as in the Magnificats of Morales, where the *vero contraponto* of an even-note cantus firmus is mixed with freer treatment of the chant melody without sacrificing the principle of writing against a given part.⁶⁷

Earlier composers wrote sets of *contraponti*, says Zacconi, and he speaks in particular of Costanzo Festa, who over his own melody called "Bascia" was said to have created 120 separate counterpoints.⁶⁸ Among the good composers of the next generation all presumably had command of the contrapuntal technique Zacconi called *tessitura*; but only a few right-thinking ones continued to distinguish themselves in the use of *contraponto*.

(6) *Inventione*. A concept to which rhetoricians devoted a great deal of attention,⁶⁹ invention was of course important to Zacconi, Zarlino, and other theorists. Zacconi does not, however, use the term very often; when he does, it means either the product of imaginative creation in general or some single idea—a *fuga*, for example.⁷⁰ Since a single idea could at the very least dominate the opening section of a piece and determine its mode, its invention was a matter of importance; and if one could not always come up with a completely new melody or point of imitation—Zarlino after all had said that all the easily thought-of ones had been used hundreds of times—one could by some artful arrangement give it an appearance of novelty. This manipulation of material belongs partly to *inventione* and partly to Zacconi's last category, that of *dispositione*.

(7) *Buona dispositione*. Invention and disposition are closely linked in classical rhetoric, and it is surely no accident that Zacconi has them follow one another. But if *inventione* is to him simple and self-explanatory as the act of creation, *dispositione* (which he nearly always prefaces with the adjective *buona* or the combination *ottima & buona*) has a number of related meanings touching on rhythm, mode, singing style, cadential formation, contrapuntal details, and texture. Thus one should strive for well-ordered proportions, mensurations, and rhythmic values.⁷¹ A composer should order (*disporre*) his melodic materials according to the "andamenti e consonanze" of the mode;⁷² if like some modern composers he ignores the modes, his works will be "composti à capriccio, e senza veruna buona dispositione,"⁷³ but composers who know the modes and work within them will be "dominatori di tutte le buone dispositioni harmoniche."⁷⁴ Not every voice produces genuine music, but only those "ordinate con debito ordine, e buona dispositione."⁷⁵ One may use a variety of cadences, provided they are "fatte con buona & ottima dispositione."⁷⁶ Melodic leaps are permitted if used with "debita dispositione"; dissonances should be hidden in the musical texture "con ottima e buona dispositione"; melodies using B^b should not be introduced into a piece basically using Bⁿ if not with "ottime dispositioni."⁷⁷ A piece may show "buona & perfetta dispositione" in its use of consonances, or "vera & reale dispositione" in its well-ordered succession of note values and rests.⁷⁸ Indeed the best "effetti musicali" proceed from excellent voices singing according to "ottima & buona dispositione" in intervals ordered by "distanze sonore" and "gradi consonanti" in accordance with harmonic rule.⁷⁹

At first it would seem that this last category is a grab bag, simply referring to harmonious disposition of all the elements of music. To some extent this is true, but the most telling and most often referred to aspects of *buona dispositione* would seem to be twofold: melodies should be constructed within the modes and should

display a graceful arrangement of pitches and rhythmic values; and counterpoint should be ordered so as to achieve the best and most correct harmonic values—for Zacconi surely the order of Zarlino's *senario*, with full triads spaced in narrowing order from bass to soprano.

In brief review, Zacconi held that good music should be artfully planned; it should have fine melodies and give pleasure to singers and listeners; it ought to have well-meshed counterpoint and where appropriate base itself on a cantus firmus; its materials should be fresh and imaginative and these materials should be melodically and contrapuntally ordered so as to achieve the most satisfying sonorities. This is a sound if somewhat conservative set of criteria. All good music in Zacconi's view displayed these qualities to some degree, but not every composer had equal distinction in all seven categories. If we turn to the composers whom Zacconi says Zarlino was speaking of, we see that the great theorist describes his own music as having "regular tessitura & arte"; in other words, it is conventional in plan and contrapuntal execution. This is an accurate if not flattering estimate of Zarlino's music as we know it, and it speaks well for his self-knowledge if Zarlino really said it; at any rate Zacconi must have concurred in this opinion if he did not invent it and what follows (Zarlino was safely dead when the treatise was written). It seems a bit hard on Costanzo Porta to have his music labeled with tags identical to those given Zarlino; Porta's Masses and motets are rigorous in their use of imitative polyphony, but he used cantus-firmus technique quite a lot and so might have been credited here at least with mastery of *contraponto*.⁸⁰ Striggio is said to have had a "talent and gift for charming melody." This sounds like rather faint praise, but it need not mean that Striggio was lacking in everything else, only that he excelled as a melodist.⁸¹ Whether close study of Striggio's madrigals in comparison with those of his contemporaries would bear out this judgment I do not know; my own rather limited knowledge of his music suggests that there is a current of freshness of melodic idea in it, but I cannot claim to know the basis for what is said of him here.

That Willaert's music was thought to show *grand'arte* is no surprise, for both the motets and madrigals from Willaert's mature years are full of contrapuntal artifice—canons, double points of imitation, inversions, double counterpoint. "Giu-ditiosa dispositione" I would take to mean careful ordering of melodic and contrapuntal materials; Willaert's music, admirable in design and effective if somewhat thick in sound, the whole to be respected if not loved, is to me rather well described here. Morales combines *arte* with *contraponto* in his layout of chant cantus firmi; in the opinion of Zarlino/Zacconi he also writes good tunes. The great popularity of Morales's Magnificats, of which a dozen editions appeared between 1542 and 1614, is sufficient evidence of their attractiveness and perhaps of the effectiveness with which the composer handled the chant as *cantus prius factus*.⁸²

Finally come Lasso and Palestrina, saved for last as if a comparison between the two greatest masters of the age was intended.⁸³ Lasso has art, the gift of melody, and "bonissima inventione," this last superlative evidently referring to what was and is most striking to the educated singer or listener, namely, Lasso's inexhaustible fund of musical ideas. Palestrina also has art, but stands out for *contraponto*—

he does use chant and cantus-firmus technique more than Lasso; for “ottima dispositione,” which I take to mean Palestrina’s preference for brightly voiced full triads wherever possible;⁸⁴ and for “una sequente modulatione,” the famous smoothly sculpted melodic lines that have been studied for centuries as if they were characteristic of all sixteenth-century music but which Zacconi tells us were a clearly audible trademark of Palestrina’s personal style. In these last two characterizations Zacconi offers us, I think, something really perceptive about the music of the two figures we recognize as the greatest exponents of late Renaissance style.

Zacconi ends by saying that musicians of his time could tell from experience one composer’s work from that of another. It would not be fair to say that his categories taken by themselves could hardly afford the basis for such judgments; he and his contemporaries must have had a real “feel” for this music, something we have trouble recapturing—especially if we cling to notions of an angelically faceless “golden age of polyphony.” I submit that Zacconi’s criteria were meant to be real if not comprehensive, and that they represent a genuine effort at combining technical analysis with aesthetic judgment, the visible remains of what must have been a more mature and thoughtful critical sense than we have hitherto thought to have been in the grasp of Renaissance musicians.

POSTSCRIPT

In this article I should have pointed out that descriptive terms distinguishing the character of the work of visual artists and writers were employed by a number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century theorists and critics. For a survey of these see Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, rev. ed. (Princeton, 1987), chapter 6: “Taste.” Burke mentions music but does not cite Zacconi’s work.

The *basse* of Costanzo Festa, long considered to be lost, are convincingly identified and discussed in Richard Agee, “Costanzo Festa’s ‘Gradus ad Parnassum,’” *EMH* 15 (1996): 1–58; see also Agee’s edition, Costanzo Festa, *Counterpoints on a Cantus Firmus*, RRM, 107 (Madison, Wisc., 1997).

A new general study of compositional practice in the Renaissance is Jessie Ann Owens, *The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York, 1997).

NOTES

1. See chapter 12, esp. 283–93.
2. Giustiniani’s treatise, dated 1628, is printed in Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma* (Turin, 1903; reprint, Hildesheim, 1969), 98–128. An English translation, by Carol MacClintock, has been published (in a volume containing Ercole Bottrigari’s *Il desiderio* as well) in *Musico logical Studies and Documents* 9 (American Institute of Musicology, 1962).

3. Among works of more or less the same genre as that of Giustiniani is Luigi Dentice's *Duo dialoghi* (Naples, 1552). What the normal educated person in the sixteenth century might be expected to know about music is summarized in those passages referring to the art in Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (Venice, 1528); see especially 1.28, 1.37, 1.47, 2.13. For comment on these passages see chapter 2.

A mid-century view of music and musicians, with an occasional attempt at characterization of musical style, may be seen in Cosimo Bartoli, *Ragionamenti Accademici* (Venice, 1567), fols. 34v–39r. Verdelot's compositions, for example, are characterized thus: “hanno del facile, del grave, del gentile, del compassionevole, del presto, del tardo, del benigno, dello adirato, del fugato, secondo la proprieta delle parole sopra delle quali egli si metteva a comporre.” Bartoli also says that the music of Willaert, somewhat vaguely described as having “molto del leggiadro & del gentile,” and that of Giachetto da Mantova resemble each other.

4. See George Nugent, “Gombert,” *New Grove*, 7:512, for a citation of this passage from Finck's *Practica musicae* of 1556.

5. Bottrigari apparently had a low opinion of the critical abilities of performers, who he says laugh and chatter while the music is going on and “whether the music is sung or played . . . have only one kind of expression, so to speak, whether it's a good Madrigal or a Motet; and they are not interested in anything else.” See Bottrigari, *Il desiderio*, ed. MacClintock, 61–62.

6. Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di Musica Seconda Parte. Divisa, e distinta in Quattro Libri. Ne quali primieramente si tratta de gl'Elementi Musicali; cioè de primi principij come necessarij alla tessitura e formatione delle Compositioni armoniali . . .* (Venice, 1622; reprint, Bologna, 1967; henceforth *Prattica*, 1622), 49–50 (“De i riti e maniere c'hanno havuto molti Musici, in haver composto le loro Musiche armoniale”):

“E cosa piu che chiara e certa, che li doni del Signore essendo molti (per non dir infiniti,) dalla maesta sua divina sono distribuiti e compartiti in modo, che bene spesso chi ha l'uno, non ha l'altro; e faticarsi pur uno quanto si voglia, che quando per via di natura, ò per particolar gratia, non gli lo concede, non fa nulla, e fa come si dice per proverbio, pista l'acqua nel mortale. Di questo noi n'habbiamo gl'esempij in ogni facultà, e professione; e nella Musica ancora ne lo vediamo e tocchiamo con mano. E però volendo io ragionar de i varij stile, modi, e maniere di diverse compositioni dico; che la Musica armoniale si distingue in sette particolar distintioni: cioè, in arte, modulatione, diletto, tessitura, contraponto, inventione, e buona dispositione. Ciascuna di queste cose è necessaria al compositore; e quantumque ò poco ò assai si trovino in ogn'uno, una però ritrovandosi piu singolarmente che un'altra, da quella quel tale ne piglia nome e vien celebrato. Onde in proposito tale senza offensione di niuno io mi ricordo, che l'anno 1584, scorrendosi un giorno di Musica alla presenza de molti di detta professione, innanzi al Signor Don Ioseffo Zerlino, e dicendosi dello stilo di questo, e di quello, e di quello, diede la sudetta distintione, e poi venne à questo particolar dicendo. Che volete mò voi dire? chi hà uno non hà l'altro, e chi n'hà dua o tre non gli può haver tutti. Eccò (dicendo lui di se stesso) che il genio mio, è dedito alla regular tessitura & arte, come anco è quella del presente Costanzo Porta. Lo Strigio hebbe talento e dono di vaga modulatione, M. Adriano di grand'arte e giuditiosa dispositione. Morales hebbe arte, contraponto e buona modulatione. Orlando lasso, modulatione, arte, e bonissima inventione, & il Palestina, arte, contraponto, ottima dispositione, & una sequente modulatione, dal che ne nasce, che chi ha sentito le cose di detti autori una volta, cantandosi altre volte altre loro compositioni, subito si sà dire, quest' opera è del tale: e veramente così è, poi che; quando l'huomo d'un autore piu volte hà sentito le sue cose, subito frà l'altre sentendole, le

sà discernere, e dice è opera del tal autore." Zacconi's use of the past tense for all the composers he mentions reflects the time his treatise was written; at the time he says the conversation took place most of these men were still alive.

7. Friedrich Chrysander, "Ludovico Zacconi als Lehrer des Kunstgesanges," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891): 337–96; 9 (1893): 249–310; 10 (1894): 531–67. The passage is cited in 10:542–43.

8. *Prattica di Musica [Prima parte]* (Venice, 1592; reprint, Bologna, 1970; henceforth *Prattica*, 1592), fol. 7r.

9. *Ibid.*, fol. 84r.

10. *Prattica*, 1622, 127. Later (on 153–54) Zacconi acknowledges Zarlino as the source of this anecdote.

11. Zacconi says that he learned how to sing *contraponto alla mente* from Ippolito Bacusi in Mantua (*ibid.*, 84).

12. *Ibid.*, 278.

13. *Prattica*, 1592, fol. 168v.

14. *Prattica*, 1622, 53–54. The *Cantica* referred to by Zacconi are presumably Palestrina's *Motettorum liber quartus ex Canticis canticorum* (Rome, 1584).

15. The reference to Monteverdi, who is coupled by Zacconi with Rore for using dissonance "per trasportarsi à più grate melodie" (*Prattica*, 1622, 63), is perhaps surprising to find in a theorist of conservative bent; Zacconi cites Artusi from time to time, and he certainly did not get this view of Monteverdi from his fellow theorist. But Zacconi seems to have been a fair-minded man who could see in the work of modern composers extension rather than transgression of established practice.

16. *Ibid.*, 83. For accounts of Zacconi's life, derived from his manuscript autobiography, see Francesco Vatielli, "Un musicista pesarese del secolo XVI," *Cronaca musicale* 8 (1904): 65–74; *idem*, "Di Ludovico Zacconi: Ulteriori notizie su la vita e le opere," *Cronaca musicale* 16 (1912): 51–60, 83–92, 103–11 (both reprinted, Bologna, 1968); Hermann Kretzschmar, "Ludovico Zacconis Leben auf Grund seiner Autobiographie," *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 17 (Leipzig, 1911): 45–59; Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564–1619)* (Mainz, 1967), 140–41.

17. *Prattica*, 1622, 161: "Raconterò questo fatto dicendo; che il Sig. Orlando Lasso Maestro di Capella del Serenissimo Duca di Baviera mio Patrone, mi dicea, che per questo nella Musica egli era riuscito tale; perche, ogni dì infallibilmente egli componea qualche cosa; e quando non sapea che si far altro, si mettea à componere una fantasia; e dicendoli io ch'essendo vecchio hormai potea lasciar stare, mi disse. Nò; perche quando il Padrone mi desse da far qualche cosa, havendo io lasciato l'uso di comporre; ò che vi durarei gran fatica, ò ch'io non vi farei cosa degna del mio buon acquistato nome."

18. *Ibid.*, 129–30.

19. *Ibid.*, 49–50.

20. *Prattica*, 1592, fol. 13r.

21. *Prattica*, 1622, 161–62.

22. *Ibid.*, 162: "Ho detto nel Capitolo precedente che lo Scolare provistosì de libre atti à simil professione, partischì quegl'esempij, e gl'essamini ben bene. E perche partitoli in cartella non facesse come fanno alcuni, che vedutone gl'andamenti e le maniere, li cancellano, e non ne fanno più conto; questo tale che bramarà d'imparare, fattone in cartella tutte le sudette prove poco fa accennate, e dimostrate di sopra, ne li noterà tutti in un libro appartato, e lasciandovi spatij sufficienti, d'aggiungervi qualch'altra cosa. . . . E per questo

dico, & essorto à lasciarvi sempre qualche spatio sufficiente à potervi rimettervi altro quando bisognasse; perche, dopò quello ch'uno hà fatto sopra un soggetto, rivedendolo dopò qualche tempo, l'ingegno li suministra sempre di rifarlo meglio.

"Li servirà anco detto appartato libro in notarvi dentro essempij d'altri Auttori che non sono in stampa, non quei treviali, e comuni; ma quelli che sono fatti con qualche particular secreto & arte. . . ."

23. Ibid., 162: "Inoltre, molte volte i Compositori componendo un canto con un disegno, ed à un fine, quell'istesso anco si può lo studio del buon Scolare, sarà anco in questo altro tanto più che sottile e diligente, esaminando, se quella tale compositione col cambio delle parti, isminuitione, ed accrescimento delle pause, si può variare: lasciando da parte di dire, che si provi di cavarne un'altra parte dalle parti originali che li sia somigliante e conforme più che sia possibile."

This passage seems to me more clearly descriptive of sixteenth-century parody technique than any of those (in the work of Frosch, Vicentino, Zarlino, Ponzio, and Cerone) cited by Lewis Lockwood, "On 'Parody' as Term and Concept in Sixteenth-Century Music," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue et al. (New York, 1966), 569–71.

For a new summary of Renaissance attitudes toward various compositional uses of preexistent musical material, see Howard Mayer Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," *JAMS* 35 (1982): 1–48.

24. The first part of Chrysander's study of Zacconi (see above, n. 7) is concerned with the art of *gorgia* as taught and illustrated by Zacconi in his first treatise.

25. On these various topics see *Prattica*, 1622, 49 and 55–56; and *Prattica*, 1592, fol. 21v.

26. *Prattica*, 1622, 42: "L'ordine delle scienze richiede, che mai si proponga à Scolari termine senza la sua esposizione, declaratione, e significatione."

27. Zarlino, who certainly knew Quintilian, draws heavily on the *Institutio oratoria* and may even have chosen the title of his own major work in imitation of it. See Warren Kirkendale, "Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the *Ricercar* as Exordium from Bembo to Bach," *JAMS* 32 (1979): 30, n. 153.

28. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler (Cambridge, Mass., 1922), 1:382–83 (3.3.1): "Omnis autem orandi ratio, ut plurimi maximique auctores tradiderunt, quinque partibus constat, inventione, dispositione, elocutione, memoria, pronuntiatione sive actione."

29. In one passage the quality of *diletto* is said to be achieved through good texting (*Prattica*, 1592, fol. 197r).

30. In ancient times, says Zacconi, "i Poeti . . . eran tenuti per [Musica] per la buona, & optima dispositione delle lor Rime" (ibid., fol. 7r); the ancients even derived melody from verse: "Et è da credere che da gl'aeri Poetici, ne sieno venuti gl'aeri Musicali, non estendendosi anticamente la Musica in altro che in dolce maniere di cantar versi & Rime" (ibid., fol. 199r). But in modern times things are different: "Ma io non intendo che Musico sia Poeta, ne che Poeta Musico sia; se non fossero l'uno & l'altro insieme: cioè che à caso si ritrovasse (come facilmente si potria trovare,) che un Poeta fosse Musico; ò che un Musico foss'anco Poeta: perche gli atti & l'operationi loro sono tutte diverse & contrarie dalle operationi & attioni Poetiche & Musicali" (ibid., fol. 12v).

31. *Institutio oratoria*, 1:344–45 (2.17.41): "Ars est potestas via, id est ordine, efficiens, esse certe viam atque ordinem in bene dicendo nemo dubitaverit." Zarlino paraphrases this sentiment in many places.

32. Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice, 1588; reprint, Ridgewood, N.J., 1966), 23.

33. Ibid., 19: Art is the “principio dell’operare in un’altra cosa, overo è habito certo di fare una cosa con ragione” and is “la vera ragione della cosa, che si hà da fare, & anco l’habito dell’operare.”

34. *Istitutioni harmoniche*, 3d ed. (Venice, 1573; reprint, Ridgewood, N.J., 1966), 171.

35. *Prattica*, 1592, fol. 13r.

36. Ibid., fol. 8v. The passage deals with the intrinsic qualities of music, which must be in the minds of composers, and the extrinsic qualities revealed in the music as actually written.

37. Ibid., fol. 7v; *Prattica*, 1622, 154 and 260.

38. *Prattica*, 1622, 259.

39. See RISM 1538⁷, *Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum selectissimae, quas vulgo modetas vocant* . . . , one of the earliest of many examples of this use of the term.

40. *Sopplimenti*, 75: “i Colori ò Arie di esse Cantilene . . . contenuti nelle Modulationi delle loro parti.”

41. *Istitutione harmoniche*, 14: “la Modulatione, overo il Cantare”; cf. *Sopplimenti*, 9, 14 (“una Modulatione, over’ Aria”), and 279.

42. *Prattica*, 1622, 57: counterpoint is based on “un soggetto di qualche modulatione.”

43. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, ed. and trans. Frank Granger (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 1:270–71 (5.4.3); Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 1:170–71 (2.10.22).

44. *De musica*, 1.2.

45. *Istitutioni harmoniche*, 171, 96.

46. Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 1:280–81 (5.5.6); Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 4:92–93 (10.2.27), in which there is mention of those portions of a speech “quae delectationi videantur data.”

47. Heinrich Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547; reprint, Hildesheim, 1969), 175; Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, 13: “essendo l’ufficio proprio della Musica il diletare.”

48. *Prattica*, 1592, fols. 81v–82r.

49. *Sopplimenti*, 81: “Essendoche se bene il Canto da se stesso porge diletto; tuttavia congiunto all’Armonia delle parole, non solamente diletta; ma giova anco, secondo la qualità del Soggetto, che si tratta in esse.”

50. *Istitutioni harmoniche*, 89.

51. *Prattica*, 1622, 199.

52. Ibid., 45: “i Tuoni . . . danno l’aere, & il diletto melodiale [alle Cantilene], & i semitoni la specificata differenza, e vera distinstione [*sic*].”

53. Ibid., 73. On *diletto* as the consequence of variety in general see also 46–47 and 77.

54. Ibid., 54–55. Here Zacconi describes the qualities of various combinations from two to twelve voices. Four-voice texture is, in the traditional manner, thought to be ideal, but there is a special delight felt “quando ch’una bella voce, e bel cantante sonandosi l’altre parti canta solo; perche in essa si hanno tutte le cose, che si possino bramare; cioè melodia, diletto, compiacimento, & intera soddisfazione.” On *diletto* resulting from elegance of ornament cf. Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, 239.

55. *Prattica*, 1622, 81–82. Here Zacconi points out that in counterpoint against a semi-breve one should not use another semibreve or a dotted minim-plus-semiminim; the result is lacking in motion and hence is not sufficiently *dilettevole*. He adds somewhat complacently that Lasso, Monte, “& altri singolari di questa professione, caddero tutti nel mio pensiero.”

56. Ibid., 78.

57. *Prattica*, 1622, 260.

58. Ibid., 88: “ben contessuta parte.”

59. Ibid., 134: “quando una fuga di seguito è contessuta di molte pause.”

60. *Ibid.*, 267.

61. *Ibid.*, 54: the “Gloria Patri” of a Morales Magnificat is said to be “contessuto di buona e singular Proportione”; *Prattica*, 1592, fol. 181v: “nelle tessiture di Proportione.”

62. *Prattica*, 1592, fol. 175r: “si vede quanto i Musici vanno con le consonanze cattive temperando le buone, & quante durezza tessano dentro alle loro Musiche.”

63. *Ibid.*, fol. 8r.

64. *Prattica*, 1622, 47: Willaert in disposing his materials “secondo l’ordine, e tessitura dell’ottavo aere da salmeggiare, ne li rende ottavi per via de loro andamenti e finali.”

65. *Ibid.*, 113: the example includes incipits of “Vestiva i colli,” “Ancor che col partire,” “Io son ferito,” “Nasce la pena mia,” “Il bianco e dolce cigno,” and “Liquidi perl’ Amor”—a history of the madrigal from Arcadelt to Marenzio.

66. *Ibid.*, 58.

67. *Ibid.*, 60.

68. *Ibid.*, 198. Among the categories of composition for which Festa, in 1538, received a Venetian privilege allowing him to print all his works was one termed “contraponti.” See James Haar, “The *Libro Primo* of Costanzo Festa,” *Acta musicologica* 52 (1980): 153, n. 2.

69. It was one of the traditional *partes artis rhetoricae*. An early treatise of Cicero, *De inventione*, is devoted entirely to this subject.

70. *Prattica*, 1622, 79, 154, 260.

71. “Dispositione” appears in the titles of chapters 23 and 24, both of which are concerned with mensurations and proportions, in book 1 of *Prattica*, 1622.

72. *Prattica*, 1622, 47.

73. *Ibid.*, 37.

74. *Prattica*, 1592, fol. 212r.

75. *Prattica*, 1622, 60.

76. *Ibid.*, 74.

77. *Ibid.*, 87, 76, 255.

78. *Prattica*, 1592, fol. 87r.

79. *Ibid.*, fol. 8r.

80. See Lilian P. Pruett, “Porta, Costanzo,” *New Grove*, 15:131.

81. Vincenzo Galilei praised Striggio as a “gran contrapuntista, et facile,” and described his compositions as “ben tessute.” See Frieder Rempp, ed., *Die Kontrapunkttraktate Vincenzo Galileis* (Cologne, 1980), 145. I am grateful to Claude Palisca for calling this passage to my attention.

82. For a highly favorable estimate of Morales’s Magnificats by a theorist whom Zacconi admired and respected see Adriano Banchieri, *L’organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605; reprint, Bologna, n.d.), 88: “Tra l’infinita schiera di Musici, c’hanno tessuto ghirlanda di soavissimi concetti al Cantico di Maria Vergine Santissima, sopra gli otto Tuoni di Canto fermo, gratissimi sono quelli di Morales a quattro, et di Vincenzo Ruffo a cinque, gl’uni alla Capella per l’osservanza del Canto fermo, gl’altri all’organo per la vaghezza del concerto, che realmente (vaglia la verità) sono degni di perpetua memoria.”

On the use of chant as cantus firmus in Morales’s Magnificats see Samuel Rubio, *Cristobal de Morales: Estudio critico de su polifonia* (Madrid, 1969), 260–65.

83. Zacconi does not say that the two are being compared, but the sense of the passage is that such a comparison is implied. For a striking and perhaps influential classical comparison, using the categories of invention and disposition as well as notions of general style, see the contrasting of Demosthenes and Cicero in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 4:60–61 (10.1.106).

84. The texture of Palestrina's music speaks for itself; but there is some evidence that the composer viewed this aspect of music as something deserving conscious calculation. In a letter to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga (1570), in which he criticizes some compositions sent him by the Duke, Palestrina says that he has scored the ducal music in order to study it more closely, and that he has found too many unisons in the texture. See Knud Jeppesen, "Ueber einen Brief Palestrinas," in *Festschrift Peter Wagner zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Weinmann (Leipzig, 1926), 100–107.

The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music

FOR "SCIENCE AND ART" in the title of this paper one could almost substitute the words "theory and practice." Almost, but not quite. Baldassare Castiglione gives no evidence that he knew more than the rudiments of musical theory—either the classical science of harmonics or the subjects of *musica theorica* and *musica practica*, its twofold Renaissance descendants—and his remarks on the actual musical practice of his time are concerned as much with the performer's attitude as with the act of singing or playing.

Passages in the *Cortegiano* dealing with classical anecdote about the power of music will here be grouped with what little Castiglione has to say about the theoretical foundations of sixteenth-century music, the two topics combining to give us an idea of his grasp of music as received knowledge. In this field, loosely defined as musical science, Castiglione has nothing new to say and is not concerned to make his presentation in any way complete or systematic. Nonetheless, it seems important that in the *Cortegiano*, as rarely or perhaps never before in the educational treatises of the Renaissance, there is a genuine mixture of ancient and modern ideas on the nature of music.

Musical performance, as Castiglione understood it from his own experience and his observation of contemporary Italy, had no body of descriptive literature—ancient or modern—on which he could draw.¹ It is not then surprising that he should be more original here, and one wishes he had said much more, so illuminating are his remarks on the music and musicians of his time. Just as ancient and modern doctrine about music are found in mingled bits and pieces in the *Cortegiano*, so theory and practice mix easily in its pages. The result is a sparsely drawn but convincingly real picture of how music, and talk about music, figured in the lives of Castiglione's peers. There are other sixteenth-century accounts of music in social context, such as Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* or even Luis Milán's *El Cortesano*, a work written in emulation of Castiglione's; and there are plenty of humanistic treatises that repeat classical injunctions about the ideal cultivation of music.² In modernizing this ideal and making it comprehensible in terms of contemporary musical sound, Castiglione performed a notable service, helping to bring into modern life the dead language of ancient musical thought. That this was no mean feat may be seen if one compares his work to the lumbering classicistic jargon on the subject of music in the work of his older contemporary Paolo Cortese.³

In the first book of the *Cortegiano* Count Ludovico da Canossa, here Castiglione's spokesman, turns from literature to music, saying that his courtier should be

able to read music (and thus to sing) and to play various instruments since there is nothing better than music for filling moments of leisure and for pleasing women—who in both ancient and modern times have been strongly inclined toward this art. Stung by Gaspare's rejoinder that music is an art suitable only to women and to effeminate men,⁴ Ludovico turns from the present to the past and launches into a *gran pelago* of praises of music (1.47; see the appendix, no. 1). This is a sea the waters of which were much traveled in antiquity and in humanistic writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *laus musicae* is found, among classical writings, with particular frequency in treatises on rhetoric, a prime example being Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*; it also occurs in works dealing with education in a general sense, an example being the closing section of Aristotle's *Politics*.

No subjects were dearer to, or more closely related for, humanistic writers than rhetoric and education, and they repeated whatever they could find in classical literature on these subjects. Greek anecdotes on the power of music had been retold in the Middle Ages in encyclopedic treatises and in the writings of musical theorists. Musical pedagogues of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries continued to cite them, sometimes as in the case of Gafori profiting from humanistic scholarship to increase their stock of such references.⁵ The encyclopedic tradition was carried on by scholars such as Giorgio Valla, who compiled an enormous jumble of examples.⁶ Humanistic rhetoricians used the topic of *laus musicae* as had Quintilian, in service of their subject, and writers on education did the same.

It is not clear whether Castiglione drew the material for the passage in question directly from classical sources or from fifteenth-century writings on education and rhetoric. He had doubtless read Quintilian;⁷ but although more than half the material in his musical encomium may be found in the *Institutio*,⁸ by no means all of it comes from Quintilian. For example, the closing section, on music in divine worship and as a solace to all classes and all ages of man, is drawn, directly or from some intermediary source, from St. John Chrysostom's commentary on Psalm 41.⁹ Single anecdotes might have stuck in Castiglione's mind from passages in Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch. Or he may have remembered these things through their citation elsewhere. One possibility is the *laus musicae* in Beroaldo's *Oratio . . . in enarrationem Quaestionum Tusculanarum et Horatio flacii*, which has half a dozen of the instances cited by Castiglione.¹⁰ Other possible sources are fifteenth-century treatises on education. The relationship of the *Cortegiano* to these treatises is a subject I do not feel competent to discuss; I do not even know if Castiglione read any of them.¹¹ If he had looked at Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *De liberorum educatione* he would have seen some of the same anecdotes he used.¹² Others are given in Pietro Paolo Vergerio's *De ingenuis moribus* in a passage that would have struck Castiglione if he had read it because it appears to cite, uncharacteristically for the humanists, examples (admittedly so vague that one cannot be sure of their meaning) from modern music.¹³

Castiglione's *laus musicae* may be his own compilation but all its contents are very well known and had been widely cited. His list of these anecdotes is one of the duller pages of the *Cortegiano* (though it is more interesting than such listings are in most other writers). Why is it included? Count Ludovico did not mean to show

off his erudition, surely; that would have been graceless affectation on his part. I suggest that the *laus musicae*, a topic emphasizing the extraordinary power of music over human emotions, is included because it represents, in the aggregate, idealized music, an archetypal force that stands behind the practical art. Thus the courtier should be a musician not merely in order to entertain ladies but also to help him reach toward the balance and harmony of spirit that is his highest aim. Renaissance musicians could not find classical models for their art, but they could try, helped by Platonic and Pythagorean doctrine, for audible representation of ideal form, less tangible than as depicted in the visual arts but with a mysterious power all its own. Castiglione is not, as far as music is concerned, an ardent Neoplatonist, but in this passage he alludes, in his own way, to the ideal in music. What sets him apart from doctrinaire humanists on the subject is that he does not stop here as they did.

Castiglione's one reference to the practical musical theory current in his own time is his citation of the rule forbidding successive perfect consonances (1.28; see appendix, no. 2). Anyone trained in the rudiments of composition knew this prohibition by heart, and no one theorist need be cited as Castiglione's source. He might indeed have done well to read up on this negative rule in a theorist such as Gafori before writing the passage. Here are rules 2 and 3 of Gafori's celebrated eight rules of counterpoint, from the *Practica musicae* of 1496:

The second rule states that two perfect consonances of the same size cannot immediately follow each other in parallel motion, as two unisons, octaves, fifteenths, or also two fifths and two twelfths. . . .

The third rule states that between two perfect consonances of the same size, ascending or descending in parallel or contrary motion, at least one imperfect consonance, as a third, sixth, or the like, should intervene. . . .

A counterpoint containing a single dissonance, as a second, fourth, or seventh, between two perfect consonances of the same size in ascending or descending parallel motion is not allowed . . . for if a clearly heard dissonance is unsuitable in counterpoint, it cannot take the place of and substitute for an imperfect consonance.¹⁴

The layman's version of these rules, as given in the *Cortegiano* by Giuliano de' Medici, omits two important points: the forbidden perfect consonances are only those in parallel motion, and they must be punctuated by imperfect consonances rather than solely by dissonances.

There is of course no reason to tax Castiglione for imprecise language; he was after all using this detail of music theory merely as illustration of a larger point, the achievement of grace through avoidance of affectation in every courtly activity. Nonetheless the passage is, as Cian has remarked, not very clear,¹⁵ or rather, the illustration seems not a very apt one. Correctly used, imperfect consonances and dissonances are an integral part of the musical fabric; a piece made up entirely of perfect consonances is not so much "affected" as it is unthinkable. The easy grace that is opposed to affected pedantry in music is much better illustrated by Count Ludovico's remark, in the discussion following the passage in question, that a mu-

sician who ends a phrase with an easily tossed-off vocal ornament shows that he knows the art and could do more if he chose.¹⁶

If Giuliano's little excursus into music theory refers less to rules of composition—musical science—than to a manner of performance—musical art—in which dissonance is freely introduced and resolution artfully delayed, the passage makes better sense. More than that, it is historically important. Music making of this kind would then be an example, given along with others in speaking, dancing, riding, and bearing arms, of the courtier's important and, alas, untranslatable quality of *sprezzatura*.¹⁷ This word is familiar to historians of music in its use by Giulio Caccini at the turn of the seventeenth century. Caccini mentions the word in his preface to *L'Euridice* (1600), in his *Nuove musiche* of 1602, and most tellingly in the preface to *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (1614), where he defines it thus:

Sprezzatura is that charm lent to a song by a few dissonant short notes over various bass notes that they are paired with; these relieve the song of a certain restricted narrowness and dryness and make it pleasant, free, and tuneful [*arioso*], just as in everyday speech eloquence and facility make pleasant and sweet the matters being spoken of. And to the figures of speech and the rhetorical flourishes in such eloquence correspond the *passaggi*, tremolos, and other such [musical] ornaments, which may occasionally be introduced with discretion in music of any mood.¹⁸

One can see that Caccini took more than the word *sprezzatura* from Castiglione; different as was the music the two men had in mind, Caccini borrowed two specifically musical meanings of the term, one implied and one clearly stated, from the *Cortegiano* to justify his own practice—a practice aimed, as he says, at achieving an effect of “total grace” (*intera grazia*) in music.¹⁹

Turning in the second book to the practice of music, Castiglione has his spokesman Federico Fregoso begin by emphasizing that the courtier must perform only when urged; if he is too quick to sing or play he will seem like a professional musician instead of one who makes music *per passar tempo*. Because professional musicians were pretty low in the social order of Castiglione's world, this warning was to be taken seriously. But we must not blame Castiglione for the lowly stature of musicians; also we should not think of the *Cortegiano* as a work unfriendly to the practice of music. On the contrary its influence could only have been in the direction of elevating the place of music in the life of the educated classes all over Europe. For example, we tend to think of the English upper classes in the past as having been traditionally philistine about music, made so by their education if not their temperament. This generalization is least applicable, however, for the couple of generations of Englishmen who first read Castiglione in Sir Thomas Hoby's translation, published in 1561. We should also consider that whereas humanistic treatises on education tended to appropriate Plato's distaste for the music of his own time—thus Sassuolo da Prato, a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre, dismissed the (secular) music of the mid-fifteenth century as “*inquinata, impudens, corrupta atque corruptrix*”²⁰—Castiglione on the contrary implies in his work that music

such as that performed in Urbino in the early sixteenth century or Rome fifteen years later was worth an educated person's notice, and we know from his letters that he was fond of performing it himself.

The insistence that professionalism in music be avoided was as old as Aristotle's *Politics*, if not older.²¹ Aeneas Silvius, among other fifteenth-century humanists, echoed this sentiment;²² Maffeo Vegio said of an educated young woman that she should not "sing and dance more elegantly than necessary";²³ and it may be recalled that Leon Battista Alberti excelled in music without any training and, it appears, without much practice.²⁴ Here of course Castiglione's courtier would apply sprezzatura; feigning a slight acquaintance with the art, he would nonetheless take care to give a pretty good account of himself whenever he did perform.

On being asked what kinds of music were best suited to cultivated tastes, Federico gives an interesting and surprisingly systematic list (2.13; appendix, no. 3). First comes the ability to sing well from notated music (*cantar bene a libro*), securely and *con bella maniera*, in other words, to read well and with a good sense of style at sight.²⁵ The music that Castiglione refers to could include motets and other sacred polyphony and French chansons, but above all he was thinking of the North Italian *frottola*, in vogue when he began his book, and the Florentine-Roman madrigal coming into fashion when he completed it. Much of this music was still circulating in manuscript copies, collections, or single pieces; an example of the latter is the *barzelletta Essi Diva Diana*, which Castiglione asked to have sent to him, *el canto e le parole*, in a letter of 1504.²⁶ But during the first decade of the sixteenth century the bulk of the repertory of the *frottola* as we know it was coming out in the beautifully printed volumes published by Ottaviano de' Petrucci in Venice. Petrucci was a native of Fossombrone, a town in the duchy of Urbino and at times a retreat for the ducal family, and there is reason to think that his early career was supported by the duke and even that he may have been educated at Urbino.²⁷ In 1511 he returned from Venice to Fossombrone, and in the years 1518–20 he visited Rome to intercede for his city at the papal court; whether at any of these times he came in contact with Castiglione is not known.²⁸ At any rate we can be sure that Petrucci's elegant little books of *frottole* and other part music were well known to Castiglione and his friends.

In saying that the courtier should be able to sing at sight not only securely but "con bella maniera" Castiglione introduces his favorite notion of stylish grace as part of musical performance. How much he meant to imply here by use of the word *maniera* I do not know, although in other contexts he meant a good deal by it.²⁹ But it is worth noting that recognizably individual style in musical performance was a sought-after and talked-about thing in late fifteenth-century Italy (only in the mid-sixteenth century did the concept of individual *maniera* begin to be spoken of with regard to music itself). *Improvvisatori* such as Chariteo and, above all, Serafino Aquilano were famous not only for their facility but also for their stylish manner of performance.³⁰ In the circle of the *Cortegiano* one would expect that l'Unico Aretino, Cristoforo Romano, Giacomo di San Secundo, and especially Terpendro might have been possessed of such skill, although it would have been demon-