Abstract

Renaissance Formalisms in the Cultural Archive of Tonality

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This dissertation examines the history of certain pitch processes in the musico-poetic praxis of Italian vernacular song during the first century of music printing. It focuses on two such processes: one involved generating simple three- and four-voice homophonic textures from a single line; the other involved generating cadential patterns that alternated between two pitches maximally distant within the diatonic collection. Both processes have previously been linked to the "unwritten tradition" of improvised or extemporized song that was widespread throughout the Italian peninsula in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but for which scant documentation has survived. Here, however, I argue for situating that tradition within a broader culture of declamatory song that comprehended written and "unwritten" forms of transmission alike. Each chapter of this dissertation traces the making and remaking of that culture by attending to *replications* of pitch processes in connection with the formal, generic, and stylistic concerns of different repertories. I show that in fact the surviving repertories of the period constituted a rich *cultural archive*, and I explore some general implications of this approach for the historiography of tonality.

The focus of Chapter 1 is the frottola, an otherwise heterogeneous group of song genres that shared what I call the "song principle," adapting this term from Alfred Einstein. Einstein coined the term to describe the close relationship between musical form and poetic form that the madrigal seemingly abandoned after the 1520s; my investigation of frottole explores its centrality to that repertory in connection with *arie*, simple formulas for declaiming poetry in song. In Chapter 2, *pace* Einstein, I argue that the song principle did not completely disappear from written Italian song with the rise of the madrigal, and indeed that it was not necessarily antithetical to madrigalian priorities. Here I reconsider those priorities by foregrounding

the madrigal's intersections with *arie* in settings of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516). Chapter 3 investigates the use of *arie* in Neapolitan circles throughout the sixteenth century and the unusual three-voice style of song cultivated there in such genres as the *villanesca* and *villanella*. Finally, Chapter 4 reconsiders how a particular *aria*, the *romanesca*, emerged from the cultural archive described in the preceding chapters. I link the changing conception of that *aria* in the decades around 1600 with new paradigms of musical works and their authors, which brought to the surface the issue of common musical ground, a history that offers us new ways to approach the matter of tonality.

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kind, Mal has given so much to me and to this dissertation. Her influence is everywhere to be found in the pages that follow.

Introduction

The Cultural Archive of Tonality

I begin with two object lessons in the sociality of language. The first involves the case of Alexander Selkirk, a Scottish navigator and pirate marooned at the turn of the eighteenth century on the remote island off the coast of Chile that now bears his name. Completely isolated from human contact, Selkirk survived until his rescue in 1704, by which point he had lost nearly all of his ability to communicate in his native language. His story is well known among students of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, for which he seems to have served as a real-life model, and it will also be familiar to readers of Paul Auster's *New York Trilogy*. In the midst of a lengthy excursus about the history of language deprivation, one of Auster's character quotes from the contemporary account of Woodes Rogers, Selkirk's rescuer: "at his first coming aboard with us, he had so much forgot his Language for want of Use, that we could scarce understand him, for he seem'd to speak his words by Halves."[1]

The damage was not permanent, and Selkirk soon recovered the ability to communicate with ease. But the entire episode, from atrophy to recovery, implies that languages are not wholly stored in or reducible to the memories and actions of a single individual. All the more poignant in this light is the story of Amadeo García García, my second case, who is the last surviving speaker of the Taushiro language of the Peruvian Amazon and the subject of a profile in the *New York Times* published just as I was putting the finishing touches on this project.[2] A friend of Amadeo's who speaks a different threatened language of the region, Mario Tapuy, summarized the tragedy of the situation: "You need somebody to talk to." Yet Amadeo has

[1] Woodes Rogers, "Providence Display'd, Or a very surprising account of one Mr. Alexander Selkirk," London: J. Read, 1712, 8.

[2] Nicholas Casey, "Thousands Once Spoke His Language in the Amazon."

no community of fellow speakers of Taushiro. Efforts are underway to document it, but the archive of 1,500 words, 27 stories, and three songs that Amadeo has recorded for researchers give at best a fragmentary picture of a once-thriving Taushiro language and culture: a picture of isolation.

What do these stories about language teach us about music? Put simply, they suggest the great urgency of writing its history as a history of culture in the deepest sense of that word, that is, as a history of *shared systems or archives of behaviors*. This is the sense of culture at stake in Gary Tomlinson's account of the emergence of musicking as a species-wide capacity and distinctive marker of human modernity, in which he tracks such a history unfolding on an evolutionary scale.[3] Even on smaller and more local scales, however, the systems and archives that culture comprises undergo processes of stasis and change. Or, putting it the other way around with the art historian Whitney Davis, culture can also be defined as the emergent sum of many "socially coordinated replicatory histories."[4]

This is a dissertation about such histories. It is a dissertation about the history of culture, and therefore it is also about *replication*. And, more specifically, it is a dissertation about the history of a particular system or archive of pitch processes, a *tonal system* or *tonality*, comprised in Italian vernacular song at the end of the Renaissance.

Alongside the stories of Alexander Selkirk and Amadeo García García, then, let us add a foundational moment of modern music historiography, which treated of a supposedly epoch-making musical act at the turn of the *seicento*. In his *Esquisse de l'histoire de l'harmonie* (1840), the first history of harmony, François-Joseph Fétis singled out a stridently dissonant passage in Claudio Monteverdi's "Stracciami pur il core," from his *Terzo libro de madrigali* of

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[3] See Gary Tomlinson, *A Million Years of Music*; and Tomlinson, "Evolutionary Studies and the Humanities," 651.

[4] Whitney Davis, *Replications*, 4.

1592, for an innovation that "must be considered as the origin of modern tonality."[5] In the penultimate measure of that passage, amidst a string of double and triple suspensions, appears what we would describe today as a dominant seventh chord (see Example I.1). With both the leading tone and the fourth scale degree sounding above the dominant, this chord contains what Fétis regarded as tonality-defining information.[6] The dominant seventh chord, he wrote, gives "an appellation of a cadence, which forms precisely the character of our tonality."[7] And, freed at last from appearing only as the byproduct of suspensions, this chord would offer an alternative to the directionless wanderings of the old "tonality of plainchant" by regimenting phrases into regular, indeed periodic structures. It was a notable omission indeed that Fétis chose not to reproduce the sung text with this example.

This dissertation contains numerous examples, most of them drawn from the century of Italian song preceding Monteverdi's "Stracciami pur il core," that can be described just as well as this passage as manifesting such regular, periodic structures. It finds the persistence of such structures to have been driven at least in part by their relations with their texts. Surveying the whole of this period in *The Italian Madrigal* and writing a century or so after Fétis, Alfred Einstein noticed that Monteverdi's style seems often indebted to much older antecedents. In retrospect, he wrote of the period, "one cannot help observing how closely the extremes approach one another—the beginning, about 1500, and the end, about 1620."[8] Einstein had in mind principally other types of similarities than those I will highlight throughout this dissertation, but his observation hints at continuities that must belie the heroic, revolutionary image

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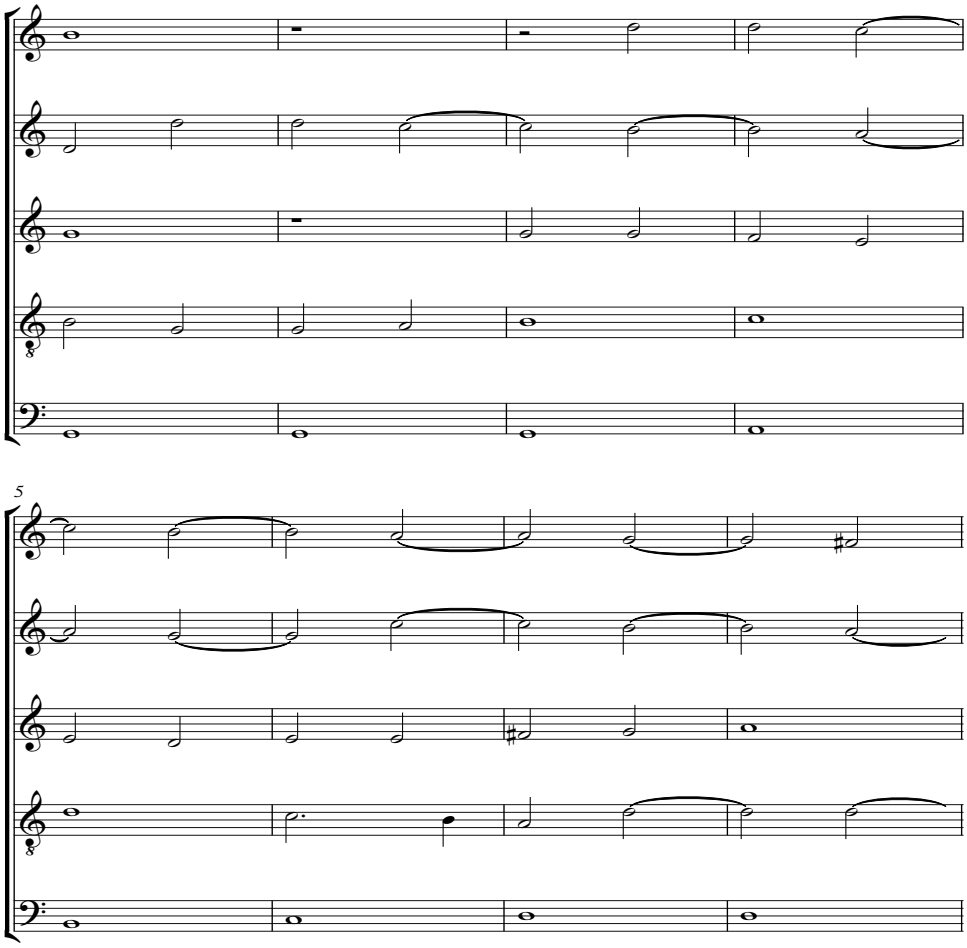
[5] François-Joseph Fétis, *Esquisse de l'histoire de l'harmonie*, ed. and trans. by Mary I. Arlin, 31.

[6] To describe certain pitches as the "leading tone" and the "fourth scale degree" is, of course, already to assume a tonal context and thus to engage in the form of circular reasoning to which histories of musical systems are so often prone. See my comments below in the section "Tonality."

[7] Fétis, *Esquisse*, 31.

[8] Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, Vol. II, 865.

Example I.1: Claudio Monteverdi, "Stracciami pur il core," as reproduced in Fetis's *Esquisse*



of Monteverdi single-handedly (or nearly so) ushering in a new musical era—the kind of view that led Leo Schrade to title one of the earliest stand-alone monographs on the composer *Monteverdi, Creator of Modern Music*.[9] Few today would admit to harboring such a view. But that image, or one like it, persists, nonetheless, in some widely read music histories of recent years, such as Richard Taruskin's *Oxford History of Western Music*.[10] The emergence of modern tonality is one of Taruskin's chief metanarratives, and his account of it rarely looks beyond the

[9] Leo Schrade, *Monteverdi, Creator of Modern Music*.

[10] See, for example, Richard Taruskin's discussion in *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. II, Chapter 5, "The Italian Concerto Style and the Rise of Tonality-driven Form."

creative acts of individuals.[11]

Motivating my project, then, is a historiographic imperative that we identify the meta-subjective and intersubjective forces within which acts like Monteverdi's took shape. In this regard, by virtue of the absences they reveal, the stories of Alexander Selkirk and Amadeo García García illustrate some axiomatic principles that are as true of music as of language. Musical utterances, like linguistic ones, nearly always find their places in vast networks of related utterances. Such networks comprise *cultural archives* wherein are preserved models for how to form sentences, say, or musical phrases, placing constraints upon what it is possible to say or sing or play at any given moment.[12] We need to think of cultural archives both as broad formations and as very narrow ones. Selkirk's loss after years alone on an island was not that of his capacity for language but rather of his personal archive, which had become smaller than the archive of the English language he possessed before his marooning. Amadeo's situation exemplifies both the sociality and the contingency of the archive in this broader sense, in that a dark history of colonialism, slavery, and extractive capitalism has conspired to reduce the Taushiro language today to no more than a single speaker can recall.

The cultural archives of language and music, then, necessarily have social and historical dimensions. So too do the *formalisms* to which they give rise—the knowledge that guides users as they form linguistic and musical utterances. Cultural archives not only give rise to such formalisms, but also preserve them by way of *storage media*, as for example in various audio

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[11] As Tomlinson has written of tonality in his critical review of Taruskin's project: "It is consolidated through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in individual creative acts, to be sure, but at the same time it moves on a plane beyond the control of individuals, growing and spreading as a network of largely unspoken and partially inarticulable preferences, a social force-field of semi-conscious priorities, an aural habitus. What tools will allow us to understand this other evolution? None of these huge developments will be richly described if we restrict our view to the actions of knowing subjects, and those actions themselves will be misdescribed so long as we continue to consider them to be so largely self-generated." See Tomlinson, "Monumental Musicology," 374.

[12] The term *cultural archive* is closely associated with Michel Foucault, and it forms an important part of the "archaeological" method he pursued in *The Order of Things* and *The Archeology of Knowledge*.

recordings Amadeo has made with anthropologists and linguists.[13] Storage media provide material substrates, but the archives and formalisms cannot be reduced to them.

The three concepts here introduced—*cultural archive*, *formalism*, and *storage medium*—form a conceptual apparatus that I develop in the course of this dissertation in order to model the complexity of the situation we will encounter across several repertories of sixteenth-century Italian song. They form the essential components of the theory of replication that follows below, and in this way they provide the means to counter Fétis's enduring but misleading image of tonality as having been defined, if not yet fully realized, in a single moment from Monteverdi's "Stracciami pur il core." In place of this image of tonality as a fixed system, and the newer histories that have followed from it, they offer a dynamic alternative. At stake, as I see it, is our understanding of the relation between music and culture.

Musicologists have long concerned themselves with the place of musicking in culture. It is an axiom of the post-new-musicological consensus that to be understood fully, indeed to be understood at all, music must be situated within some cultural context, or within a plethora of contexts. The coinage of the word "musicking" enlisted this insight into how we talk about music, as one of numerous proposals in decades past that we take into consideration the co-construction of music's meanings in particular situations of performance and listening.[14] But in the wake of the new musicology followed also dissatisfaction with hermeneutic decodings of music's meanings, even social or cultural ones, which Carolyn Abbate disparaged in "Music—Drastic or Gnostic?" for their unacknowledged engagement in "clandestine mysticism."[15] As Abbate recognized, accompanying musical hermeneutics is the implicit claim that "musical configurations … carry messages or express cultural facts or associations or construct

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[13] See the records for "Taushiro" in the California Language Archive, recorded by Zachary O'Hagan.

[14] Christopher Small, *Musicking*: *the Meanings and Performings of Listening*.

[15] Carolyn Abbate, "Music—Drastic or Gnostic?," 517.

a particular subjectivity," disclosing information about their contexts such that "the ordinary becomes a revelation."[16] Yet for all the hermeneutic energy thus expended, there are few convincing attempts to explain how music encodes the social and the cultural—hence Abbate's charge of mysticism.

This need not be, as it seemed at times in Abbate's essay, a call to silence.[17] One response to this situation, led by Abbate herself, has been to turn away from decoding music's meanings toward enumerating its efficacies.[18] In place of a theory of how music encodes meaning, she offers a theory of potency.[19] Meanwhile, Tomlinson's account of the emergence of the evolutionary capacity for musicking outlines another response, locating the conundrums of music's meanings and the richness of its efficacies in its development apart from, if in relation to, language.[20] These efforts push past truisms about the place of music *in* culture by thinking musicking instead *as* culture. They eschew explanations of how music represents, carries, discloses, or expresses the broader cultures that comprehend it in favor of explorations of the world-constitutive powers that have long seemed evident to many ethnomusicologists. To take the full measure of those powers, we will need also to analyze the systems or archives that mu-

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[16] Ibid., pp. 517-18.

[17] See, for an alternative, James Hepokoski, "Dahlhaus's Beethoven-Rossini *Stildualismus*: Lingering Legacies of the Text-Event Dichotomy," 36-7.

[18] See, for example, Abbate, "Sound Object Lessons." My colleague Andrew Chung's forthcoming doctoral dissertation, "Music as Performative Utterance: Towards a Unified Theory of Musical Meaning in 21st-Century Works and Social Life," will offer a timely meditation on the efficacy of music and musicking in various situations.

[19] Abbate writes: "One proposal inherent in the collisions staged here, very broadly speaking, is that it is not always necessary to worry about music's about-ness, even though that is valuable academic tender. What musical sound has is efficacy." See Abbate, ibid., 823.

[20] He writes: "It is not that ancient humans anticipated modern musical formalism, but that all the formalist conceptions of musical effect generated in Western discourse over the last two centuries—and in many other times and places as well—have been groping their way toward basic, ancient truths about musicking and its difference from language. The full measure of musical formalism too needs to be taken from the perspective of a very deep history indeed." See Tomlinson, *A Million Years of Music*, 288-89.

sicking, because it is irreducibly social, comprises.

Tonality

In its broadest ambition, this dissertation aims to contribute to that project by re-thinking tonality, a concept virtually as old as modern music historiography itself, as a form of culture. To invoke tonality is to summon at once two senses of the word: any organization of pitch into a system of hierarchical relations, and a system of hierarchical pitch relations salient to a particular musical repertory or tradition. The confusion or conflation of these two senses manifests a tendency that can be traced as far back as Alexandre Choron's dual-purpose use of the term, in his *Sommaire de l'Histoire de la Musique* (1810), to describe pitch-organizational systems in general and to set apart the system of his own situation, which he called *tonalité moderne*, as different from other tonalities on the basis of its "advanced" state of perfection.[21] In the exceptionalism that Choron accorded to *tonalité moderne*, he inaugurated a tendency, still apparent in everyday usage, to conflate the tonality of European modernity with tonality writ large. A thorough examination of the history of the term's implication in ideologies of colonization and ethnic difference lurking there lies beyond the scope of my project.[22] Guarding against the influence of that tendency in what follows will be my own coinage, the *cultural archive of tonality* of my title, which assumes from the outset that all tonal systems are given both to processes of stasis and of change.

In taking this perspective on a body of music that sits at the brink of European modernity, or even at its origin (as in Fétis's *Esquisse*), I hope to lay the ground of a new model for conceptualizing the emergence of the modern tonal system. I am aware that this path is well

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[21] Alexandre Choron, "Sommaire de l'Histoire de la Musique," xxxvii-xl. Regarding Choron's coinage and its reception, see Brian Hyer, "Tonality."

[22] Thomas Christensen's *Fétis and the Tonal Imagination: French Discourses of Musical Tonality in the Nineteenth Century*, at the time of writing still forthcoming from the University of Chicago press, essays such a history.

trodden; the names of Edward Lowinsky, Carl Dahlhaus, and Harold Powers are only the most famous who have pursued it.[23] But even the best existing accounts of the history of tonality are prone to teleology by virtue of the foundational move they make, often implicitly, in assuming a definition of tonality at the outset. Reviewing two of those accounts, in fact, Thomas Christensen has prescribed definition as the starting point for the historian of this subject: "In order to write a history of tonality, the potential historian must as a prerequisite decide upon a definition of tonality. How else is there to write its history?"[24] But this move does not open up the history of tonality; it comes closer to denying tonality of any history at all by conceiving of it as a fixed, therefore timeless, system of relations. A better alternative is to recognize tonality as a deeply cultural phenomenon, albeit one that takes shape within the constraints of certain bio-acoustical affordances, and thus as a type of complex system that is truly fixed only under extraordinary conditions.

There are at least three major problems with the impulse to define tonality at the outset, and they can be illustrated with influential examples drawn from a large secondary literature. First, teleology. Defining his subject, *harmonischen Tonalität* ("harmonic tonality"), in expressly post-Riemannian terms as a closed system of harmonic functions led even so subtle a historian as Dahlhaus into this trap.[25] Dividing tonality into component features, he argued that the mere appearance of these features in isolation was not enough to establish harmonic tonality: "the isolated presence of cofactors of tonal harmony," he wrote, is less important than "the relationship they have with each other."[26] This method results, however, in a form of circular logic. Dahlhaus would gauge the coalescence of the various features or "cofactors" of

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[23] Carl Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*; Edward Lowinsky, *Tonality and Atonality*; and Harold S. Powers, "From Psalmody to Tonality."

[24] See Christensen, [Review], 94.

[25] Dahlhaus, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*.

[26] Ibid., 162-3.

tonality from the chronological endpoint of their coalescence, so that they can then only seem to have led, as if inevitably, to that endpoint.

Second, fixity. The freshest and the most provocative approach to the history of tonality in recent years, though it represents the culmination of work begun decades ago, can be found in Susan McClary's *Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music*.[27] McClary too is critical of the teleology to which histories of tonality are prone, and she likewise faults Dahlhaus especially in this respect.[28] Central to her account, rather, is a conflict she discerns between two different systems, *modality* and *functional* or *diatonic tonality*, respectively. These resemble Kuhnian *paradigms* or Foucauldian *epistemes*, since they refer throughout her work to different conditions for what was musically possible in a given time and place: modality names those conditions which chiefly governed the use of pitch in the sixteenth century, and tonality those which did so in the eighteenth century.[29] In her account, both systems were current throughout the seventeenth century, during which a widespread impulse to expand concise musical gestures gradually "transformed particular modal patterns into tonal configurations."[30]

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[27] See also Susan McClary's "The Transition from Modal to Tonal Organization in the Works of Monteverdi"; *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal*; "What was Tonality?"; and "Towards a History of Harmonic Tonality."

[28] McClary, *Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music*, 4. McClary's explanation of what makes Dahlhaus's account teleological is slightly different from mine. She writes: "For all its obvious erudition, Dahlhaus's project seems to me teleological in its approach; it presupposes eighteenth-century procedures as the goal toward which European music was developing and attempts to find similar configurations in earlier repertories. Such an approach may appear to find evidence of progress in one piece but then must consider those on adjoining pages in the same manuscript as incoherent. I have never found this method satisfactory." Dahlhaus's approach, which is avowedly dialectical in orientation, is subtler than McClary fully credits; indeed he too was critical of the tendency for which she chides him. Her criticism is not wrong, but I believe that the problem is a more basic one of method.

[29] McClary mentions only Foucault as having influenced her thought, and then only in passing. Ibid., 3. On paradigms, see Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*; on epistemes, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*.

[30] McClary, *Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music*, especially Chapter 1, "The Expansion Principle," 21-44.

Yet mode, as it was theorized during the sixteenth century, did not organize pitch in practice as systematically as McClary claims. On the contrary, Powers and others have shown that theorists of the period betray an extraordinary level of disagreement about mode, which militates against using the too-tidy term modality.[31]

There is apparent here the risk that excavating the conditions of science, discourse, or pitch processes will place them on a plane outside of history. Were the conditions of modality or tonality really always and everywhere the same, so long as one or the other system was in use? McClary seems inclined to argue they were not, since hers is a history in which "tonal configurations" came only by way of a gradual process to constitute something like a "common practice." Yet to define certain configurations as tonal in this way is likely to fix them within a set of relationships that transcend particular historical circumstances. McClary's conceptualization of modality and tonality therefore falls short of satisfying her "overriding insistence on the historicity of 'tonality.'"[32] These systems, as she invokes them, are redolent not of historicity but of fixity. Attending to the resources at the disposal of musicians, we can understand them instead as comprising a cultural archive given at turns to processes of stasis and of change.

The third problem is of a different order. Current research in music theory is upending some of the oldest assumptions about tonality. In his entry in the *Oxford Handbook of Critical Concepts in Music Theory*, for example, Ian Quinn models tonal harmony on the basis of two laws of dyadic interaction, the "law of harmony" and the "law of counterpoint."[33] Triads and seventh chords, which have been the principal focus of most theories of tonal harmony to date, feature in this model as emergent from the sum of a chord's dyadic interactions. Quinn's model is compatible with another key music-theoretical development of recent years, namely Robert

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[31] Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony."

[32] McClary, *Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music*, 2-3.

[33] Ian Quinn, "Tonal Harmony."

Gjerdingen's theory that various schemata transmitted via the pedagogical tradition of *partimenti* underpinned the galant style.[34] Gjerdingen's project aims to isolate what might we might call, borrowing a term from linguistics, a "construction grammar." Quinn's dyadic framework suggests a "morphosyntactic infrastructure that generates and constrains the schemata that constitute such a construction grammar."[35] It is as yet unclear where these developments will ultimately lead, but they and other proposals are radical enough that music historians should be cautious about giving too-easy definitions of tonality.

And such caution ought to run in both directions. Gjerdingen's work suggests that music theorists interested in tonality and tonal harmony stand to gain much by thinking in a rigorously historical fashion, and younger theorists such as Megan Kaes Long and Vasili Byros have pursued this course. Some of the historiographic moves these scholars make are, however, troubling. In a recent article, for example, Long has revisited old claims that the English composer Thomas Morley reworked Italian-language songs in such a fashion that they sound to us more tonal than their models. According to Long, this quality derives especially from Morley's use of "regular metrical periodicity in combination with statement-response phrase structure" to "articulate formally significant dominant-tonic relationships."[36] Sustaining the argument, ultimately, is a familiar circularity: Long gauges Morley's tonal sound against later tonal practices. Less defensible, though closely related, is Byros's claim that some schemata are so "general or elementary" as to be "context-*transcendent*," with the consequence that "the question of culture, or culture-specificity, is diminished if not made altogether trivial."[37] Music cognition is now suggesting the conditions for, and the constraints upon, tonality in different

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[34] See Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant style*

[35] Quinn, "Tonal Harmony."

[36] Megan Kaes Long, "Characteristic Tonality in the *Balletti* of Gastoldi, Morley, and Hassler," 240ff.

[37] Vasili Byros, "Foundations of Tonality as Situated Cognition," 211. The emphasis is original.

cultural situations; Byros and Gjerdingen have both contributed to these findings.[38] Such insights reveal the common ground of different tonalities, perhaps, but they need not result in the ignoring of culture.

This dissertation argues instead that carefully situating even the most general or elementary of musical schemata holds instead the promise of grasping their cultural histories. I take Long's dominant-tonic pairs as a case in point, since we will find such structures recurring repeatedly in the chapters to follow, in repertories of Italian song spanning more than a century (indeed the history of such structures, all told, would need to run far deeper than the local history narrated here). Her pairs are extraordinarily common in the repertories I take as my focus, and in these repertories, as in hers, they seem to be linked with the regularity and periodicity of phrase structure that Fétis interpreted as the hallmarks of tonality. Identifying such structures as dominant and tonic, however, obscures their histories not, as some music historians still today protest, because these terms did not yet exist, but rather because they index a place in a system of relationships from different periods and different musical cultures. The point is not that these structures were not organized in systematic ways, but rather that in order to come to terms with the histories manifested by such systems we will need to find new ways of writing and thinking about them.

How do tonalities constitute systems? Alexander Rehding has posed the question in this way: "Is the principle of tonality best located in a corpus of musical works, falling broadly within a delineated historical period, or in a systematic body of abstract rules?"[39] Although this question, according to Rehding, is a false one—tonality, he argues, involves both of these

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[38] See, for example, Isabella Peretz, "The Nature of Music from a Cognitive Perspective." On the relation between schema theory and music cognition, see Byros, "Revisiting the Schema Concept." Tomlinson combines the insights of music cognition with an approach attuned to the history of culture in discussing tonality in *A Million Years of Music*, 202ff.

[39] Alexander Rehding, "Tonality between Rule and Repertory," 110.

things—he has demonstrated the difficulty of mediating between the artifacts of musical practice and the abstract rules held to govern them. This difficulty does not plague music theorists alone, but also those historians who, in searching for the origins of modern tonality, have assumed that it can be represented as a set of rules abstracted from the musical works they govern. This dissertation steps away from "the principle of tonality" to apprehend the mediation between artifacts and abstraction in a different way: as a process of repeating certain gestures and procedures resulting in the production of corpora of musical works. For this process I will borrow from art historian Whitney Davis the term *replication*. By tracking the replication of particular musical resources, we can come to see the dynamic cultural system they form.

Replication

Davis defines replication as "the sequential production of similar material morphologies—made or imagined material forms that are always 'artifacts' and often images—substitutable for one another in specific social contexts of use."[40] To bring the implications of this definition for my project into focus, let us consider how it helps to illuminate a specific example. The example I have chosen is known to me not from Davis but from several recent works on Renaissance visual and literary culture: it is the Shinto shrine at Ise in Mie prefecture, Japan. Well known to scholars of Japanese art and visual culture, the shrine seems to have appealed to scholars of the European Renaissance because, like the ship of Theseus (to cite another example that is relevant here), it reveals a kind of thinking that does not demand "originality" as the *sine non qua* of an artifact's identity.[41] The caretakers of Ise Shrine rebuild its wooden structures every twenty years, as they have for at least thirteen centuries, according to a process

[40] Davis, *Replications*, 1.

[41] See Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 54; and Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins*, 223.

known as *shikinen seng* ("moving the shrines at regular intervals").[42] Taking care that the "style, layout, materials, and so forth are made to conform strictly with the usage of earlier times," the caretakers replicate the shrine on a site adjacent to the current structures, which they raze upon completion of their work.[43] Although over the centuries variations have arisen in the process of rebuilding, it looks today much as it did in the seventh century. Despite the manifest material discontinuities separating each of its iterations from one another, in fact, the shrine's replication at regular intervals has afforded remarkable continuities. The caretakers of Ise Shrine, for example, continue to practice ancient woodworking techniques that are preserved nowhere else. And, for ritual purposes, devotees of the Shinto faith consider the new structure to be a perfect substitute for the old shrine.

Few artifacts possess this shrine's apparently seamless substitutability, such that devotees do not question whether the new structure is the "same" shrine. The sequential nature of replication means that only in extraordinary circumstances does the substitution of new materials cause so little interference. Replication reveals the material discrepancies between artifacts that must be overlooked in order to substitute one for the other. Ise Shrine exemplifies the way in which substitution depends entirely upon one's perspective. A skeptical visitor to the shrine, which was last rebuilt in 2013, might observe the new, un-weathered look of its wood and reject out of hand its antiquity. But to do so, the visitor would need to look past the continuities of form that the shrine's many iterations have maintained, and which its ritual efficacy requires. Such continuities as these arise historically through what Davis calls "replicatory chains," or networks of replications that cannot fully be understood outside of specific in-

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[42] Wada Atsumu, "The Origins of Ise Shrine." Concerning the history of the shrine in modern Japan and its Western reception, see Jonathan M. Reynolds, "Ise Shrine and the Modernist Construction of Japanese Tradition." See also Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 54.

[43] Atsumu, "The Origins of Ise Shrine," 66.

terpretive contexts.[44] The shrine has persisted through the replicatory chain that reproduces it, notwithstanding the material differences that have accrued in the process, and thus it appears as ancient to its devotees because it is continuous with its prior iterations.

In order to undertake the *shikinen seng*, the shrine's caretakers must have a conception of its morphology, implicit or explicit, which is abstracted from the materials from which it has been made in the past and will be made in the future. The shrine thus exemplifies the role that formalism, which we can define here as the accumulation and organization of information about form, plays in replication. In this sense, the formalisms of the builders negotiate between materials and abstract design—between the form of the shrine and the materials that manifest it. Replication introduces variation into the material shrine, since the formalisms that guide its caretakers are variable.[45] No two people see the shrine in quite the same way, and because of this they accumulate and organize information about its appearance differently and thus re-build it differently. By the tacit agreement of the community that cares for and worships at Ise Shrine, however, the variations of form that are introduced during the process of replication generally do not disrupt but rather are folded into the similarity that guarantees its ritual efficacy.

Replication accounts, then, both for the production of similarity, and for the variations of form that interpretive communities overlook, or see as invariant. In music, such "folding in" of variations is apparent in the replication of forms, genres, and styles. Leonard Meyer long ago saw the significance of replication for the histories of such categories when he defined style as "a replication of patterning, whether in human behavior or in the artifacts produced by human

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[44] Davis, *Replications*, 2.

[45] This process operates analogously to the transmission of knowledge through a series of material transformations that Bruno Latour describes as "circulating reference" in *Pandora's Hope*, especially Ch. 2, "Circulating Reference: Sampling the Soil in the Amazon Forest."

behavior, that results from a series of choices made within some set of constraints."[46] It is not only the mediation of human agency (choices) by cultural affordances (constraints) of Meyer's definition that must finally be foundational to any historical account of changes in musical culture, but also the mediation of those cultural affordances by that human agency. The process of replication is not straightforwardly linear. It operates, rather, as a feedback mechanism, wherein human agency alters its own cultural affordances. Again the shrine is instructive: each time it is rebuilt, changes to its material form affect the formalisms that will guide its caretakers when the cycle of rebuilding begins anew. We can model this process by means of the following scheme: *formalisms* organize the information about form that accumulates in *storage media*, which supply the substrate of the *archive* that feeds the *formalisms* that restart the process.[47]

Replication can serve as a corrective to theories that privilege the *nonreplicatory* nature of artifacts as an ontological condition of works. The example of Ise Shrine, indeed, suggests an analogy with musical works whose identities are negotiated, through chains of replication, by specific interpretive communities. Brian Kane's work on the ontology of often-recorded jazz standards illuminates the operation of replication in such scenarios.[48] Kane's breakthrough is that he does not attempt to arbitrate the fidelity, or lack thereof, of different recordings to their standards, trusting instead that they constitute successful replications of those standards. Kane too draws on Whitney Davis in representing such standards as networks comprising their successful replications, where the criterion of success is that the community of musicians and listeners accepts a musical artifact as an instance of a standard. What makes this approach so fruitful is that it recognizes manifold relations across the network's many nodes, as a result of which any two instances may seem to bear little relationship to one another outside the context

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[46] Leonard B. Meyer, *Music and Style*, 3.

[47] I describe this model in greater detail in Chapter 1.

[48] Brian Kane, *Hearing Double: Jazz, Ontology, Auditory Culture*. I am grateful to Professor Kane for having shared his unpublished manuscript with me.

of the network. The network cannot be reduced to a set of essential features or properties that define the standard, or to which replications must be held accountable in adjudicating their success as replications. Understanding the ontology of standards thus becomes the *historical* project of mapping the relations between the network's nodes.

I devote much of this dissertation to constructing similar networks for *arie*, elements of *cinquecento* and *seicento* practice that were like jazz standards in several respects. Like those standards, they served as vehicles for showcasing the virtuosity of singers and instrumentalists. And, because they were so widely dispersed and took many different guises, specific instances of *arie* resist the schemes to which we are accustomed to reducing them. For example, Francesca Caccini's "La pastorella mia," from her *Primo libro delle musiche* (1618), is identified as an "ottava sopra la Romanesca," that is, a setting of an *ottava* stanza composed on the *aria* known as the *romanesca*. Several commentators have puzzled over the identification as an instance of the *romanesca*, because "La pastorella mia" shares with standard "textbook" schemes for that *aria* almost nothing other than its tonal center of G—and even this minimal similarity needs immediately to be qualified by the fact that the *mollis* (B-flat) system of the scheme is here supplanted by *durus* (B-natural).[49] How, then, can we understand Caccini's identification of the song as a *romanesca*? Following Kane, I propose that we can do so only by placing it within a network of replications; we need to understand *arie* not as fixed schemata but rather as the emergent outcomes of such networks.

This argument about the history and ontology of *arie* assumes a specific purpose in the general rethinking of tonality to follow, because some histories of tonality have accorded *arie* a prominent place in the rise of the modern tonal system. Recalling Fétis's comments, we can attribute this habit to the fact that in their schematic forms, most *arie* feature phrases of regular length punctuated by cadences that lend themselves to conceptualization as dominant-tonic

[49] See Gary Tomlinson, ed. *Italian Secular Song, 1606-1636*, Vol. I, xv; and Suzanne G. Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court*, especially 141-153.

pairs. In *Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth-Century Music*, for example, Edward Lowinsky postulated that the cadence was the "cradle of tonality" and then proceeded to narrate its maturation beginning from the "consolidation of a tonic" in the forms of *arie* such as the *romanesca* and the *passamezzo antico*.[50] More recently, Taruskin has described the "tenors" (i.e. *arie*) in Diego Ortiz's *Trattado de glosas* (1553) as the first instances of musical frameworks "defined *a priori* in harmonic and cadential terms, hence the first musical structures to which the modern term 'tonal' can be fairly applied."[51]

To this day, then, *arie* are widely seen as harbingers of a "tonal revolution," a term that we can use, as Taruskin notes, only with the qualifications that the revolution was both gradual and an illusion produced by focusing on written source materials. By emphasizing instead networks of replications, my approach offers a distinct alternative, which promises to pierce that illusion without relying, as Taruskin does, on the elusive "unwritten" as the site and source of a tonal tradition that only gradually entered into written composition.[52] The networks I trace in the chapters to follow, as we will see, comprehended both written and unwritten forms of transmission and thus resist the dichotomous understanding of musicking that underwrites Taruskin's account and so many others like it.

Although my focus in constructing these networks will often be on *arie* rather than tonality writ large, the model that emerges has much broader implications. Applied to Rehding's question, this model suggests that we search for the "principle of tonality" neither in

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[50] Lowinsky, *Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth-Century Music*, 4.

[51] Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. I, 621.

[52] Taruskin writes: "Yet it should not be thought that the 'tonal revolution' was a sudden thing, just because it has swung so suddenly into our historical purview. That is an illusion created by our source material, which is of necessity confined to the literate sphere. What is suddenly made literate and visible can be cooking behind the curtain for centuries, and in this case certainly was. For all that time, literate music-making had been proceeding on a discant basis and a modal one, while much unwritten music had surely been operating on a strophically cadential basis and a tonal one. The watershed that now looks to us like a 'tonal revolution' was in fact the meeting place of two long coexisting traditions." Ibid., 628.

the materials of musical works nor in the abstract rules they manifest but rather, finally, in the regulative power of widely dispersed formalisms arising from a cultural archive preserved and mobilized in musical artifacts across networks of replications. *Arie* supply an important test case for rethinking tonality also because they cut across forms, genres, and styles, revealing the role these concepts played in their replication. In invoking Meyer, I have suggested already that such categories themselves generally undergo replication. Insofar as they too were subject to processes of replication during the late Renaissance, moreover, forms, genres, and styles served as crucial mechanisms by which information about pitch was abstracted from, and cycled back into, musical practice. This dissertation is concerned especially with scenes of musicking where little about musical practice was explicitly codified or formalized in theoretical strictures, and where the imperatives of replicating forms, genres, and styles must therefore have provided the most immediate reasons for organizing pitch in certain ways. One argument I develop across this dissertation, therefore, is that the replication of musical formalisms at another order of abstraction, such as those comprised in Long's dominant-tonic pairs, arose implicitly in the process of sustaining certain forms, genres, and styles.

Form, Genre, Style: Chapter Outline

If tonality constitutes a dynamic nodal network of replications, then a linear model of its history is bound to be inadequate to the task of accounting for the processes of stasis and change affecting the emergent organization of pitch. Although it proceeds in loosely chronological fashion from the beginning of the *cinquecento* through the early *seicento*, this dissertation will frequently return, like the caretakers of the shrine at Ise, to rebuild upon ground already covered. This approach is better suited to modeling a process of replication that was, as we will see, cyclical in nature. The first three chapters are organized in two main ways. First, each chapter takes a single repertory of Italian song as its focus. Second, each chapter considers

in turn the roles that form, genre, and style played in transmitting pitch abstractions through networks of replications. Organized in this order, these concepts can be understood as representing the increasing orders of abstraction each involves. But form, genre, and style are not easily separable from one another, and each of these informational mechanisms will necessarily play a role in every chapter.

I was drawn to writing about the history of tonality because it is a chicken-or-egg kind of problem, and I am firmly committed not to choosing between the two positions. But this commitment compounds the problem of deciding where to begin my account. As I have already suggested, the histories of the formalisms converging in what Long conceptualizes as dominant-tonic pairs must run very deep indeed; they may ultimately be grounded in the asymmetry of the diatonic collection and/or the special bioacoustic affordances of pitch relations by fifth.[53] This story necessarily begins *in medias res*, therefore, but does so also on the brink of a series of transformational developments in Italian vernacular song. Foremost among these was the advent of music printing, beginning with the eleven anthologies of frottole that Ottaviano Petrucci printed in the decade between 1504 and 1514. The repertory preserved in these books is heterogeneous, certainly more so than accounts of the frottola in general histories of music recognize. But much of that repertory also manifests the *song principle*, a term I adapt from Alfred Einstein to account for the regimentation of certain homologies in the relation between poetic and musical forms.[54]

My first chapter, "Archive Traces," explores the Petruccian frottola as a network of replications of this song principle. Like other repertories of so-called fixed-form (or *formes fixes*) songs, the frottola manifests widely shared homologies of musical and poetic forms. Instead of reifying these homologies as fixed *schemata*, I regard them as evidence of shared replicatory tra-

[53] Regarding the evolutionary history of such asymmetries and their widespread cultural dispersion, see Tomlinson's comments in *A Million Years of Music*, 199.

[54] Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 115. See my discussion of his usage in Chapters 1 and 2.

ditions. Petrucci's anthologies give some of the earliest surviving evidence of soloistic, strophic *arie*. Focusing especially on the fourth book in Petrucci's series, which features an unusual concentration of arie, I reinterpret them as archetypal models for putting the song principle to use. I take these *arie* as guides to understanding the replication of a musical formalism, *cadential polarization by fifth*, whereby cadences occur exclusively on pitches a fifth apart, in connection with settings of a single poetic form, the *strambotto*. This connection helps to explain the recurrence throughout the repertory of what can seem like dominant-tonic pairs but which arose, as I show, in response to the local musico-poetic demands of form that I gather under the song principle. Finally, this chapter also offers a schematic model of the process of replication, and meditates on the effect the new medium of print had on that process.

Einstein coined the term "song principle" to describe conventional aspects of Italian vernacular song that the genre of the madrigal, which came to dominate the marketplace already by the middle of the *cinquecento*, abandoned by adopting polyphony and through-composition. In my second chapter, "The Ariostean Madrigal," I draw on recent reconsiderations of the conditions that precipitated the rise of the madrigal to argue instead that the song principle was easily reconciled with this genre. Composers of madrigals, that is, sometimes drew on the song principle's formal resources when they set verse that was otherwise associated with a vibrant and still-thriving tradition of extemporized song. That putatively "unwritten" tradition figures as the madrigal's antithesis in standard historical accounts of the period: but, as I show in this chapter, Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516) and its contemporary reception complicate such a rigidly dichotomized understanding of the situation. Madrigalian settings of Ariosto, indeed, emerge as an important mid-century node in the network of replications that sustained the song principle.

In my third chapter, "A Genealogy of Neapolitan Style," I consider another of Einstein's suggestions: that the song principle had also persisted throughout the *cinquecento* in

what he called the "lighter forms." Throughout this chapter, I demonstrate that the same formalisms, connected to a fixed form (the *strambotto*) and a genre (the madrigal) in the previous chapters, were also linked to particular styles. Here I am concerned especially with Neapolitan style, which was itself subject to constant (re)negotiation. In certain contexts, this chapter reveals, the song principle could help to index a song's (real or imagined) origin at Naples, insofar as the practices it helped to organize there were deeply implicated in the fragmented local nobility's efforts to assert a collective musical identity for itself under Spanish imperial rule. The *romanesca*-like musical structures they employed to do so, in particular those in the extraordinary Neapolitan collection of Rocco Rodio, *Aeri racolti*, points us suggestively in the direction of the new music of the *seicento*.

In doing so it raises again the specter of a "tonal revolution," ca. 1600. My fourth chapter, "Replicating the *Romanesca*," marshals the insights of the first three chapters in order to rethink the history of that *aria*. I argue for conceiving of the *romanesca* not as a scheme of essential properties given material expression, but rather as an emergent and contingent outcome of a process of replication whose archive was comprised in the network this dissertation traces. This is better in keeping with the view of the *aria* taken by writers of the period such as Vincenzo Galilei, whose position I attempt to explain here by recourse to concepts that the art historians Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have developed in their *Anachronic Renaissance* (2010).[55] Nagel and Wood discerned two conflicting models for the origin of artworks in the late Renaissance, *substitutional* and *authorial*, respectively, and I demonstrate their salience for music as well. This chapter proposes that a decided shift in the balance between these models, as they concerned the *romanesca,* occurred around the beginning of the *seicento*, and it suggests the broad implications of that shift for the musical work concept in the modern era. The stronger the hold of that concept, the more a theory of tonality is needed in order to

[55] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*.

provide the shared conditions of works; this is the development that would culminate finally in Fétis's history and its more recent inheritors.

I close with some remarks of a practical nature. First, readers will find that the names of certain forms appear in both roman and italic type; in such cases, with the exception of forms that exist also in English, such as the sonnet or the ode, italic type designates the poetic form and roman type the musical settings of that form. Second, I have sometimes modernized Italian orthography without comment, following conventional practice, but many of my transcriptions of text underlay are diplomatic. Third, although Petrucci and his compositors underlaid their texts with great care for the beginnings and ends of phrases (about which I will have more to say in Chapter 1) there is often ambiguity between the endpoints, and readers should approach the underlay in my examples from that repertory as approximate rather than definitive. Fourth, because much of the music I discuss in this dissertation either has never appeared in modern critical editions, most of my examples are drawn from working editions I have prepared in my research. These editions are works in progress and I present them here without critical apparatus.

Finally, many of my examples feature a homophonic texture that I describe repeatedly as "fauxbourdon-style" counterpoint. Readers should not confuse this style with the related practice of improvising polyphony associated with Guillaume Dufay and others in the fifteenth century. The pervasive homophony to which my use of the term refers has been the subject of a flourishing secondary literature in recent years, and which is surveyed at various points in what follows. In keeping with the way the term is used in that literature, I use "fauxbourdon" in a very general way to refer to any three- or four-voice homophonic texture that features two voices moving in parallel thirds or sixths (depending on the voicing). The remaining two voices are derived in turn by alternating between different intervals above or below the two moving in parallel (with the specific intervals again depending upon the voicing). There is

still much about music in this style that remains to be discovered, and this dissertation aims to contribute to our understanding of the spread and the significance of the formulas, techniques, and principles that stood behind it.

1

Archive Traces

Ottaviano Petrucci's anthologies of polyphonic Italian song were the first books of such works to appear in print. The scale on which they transmitted their repertory, in eleven volumes published in Venice between 1504 and 1514, was also unprecedented among Italian songbooks, anticipating the staggering rates at which vernacular song would issue from presses later in the century.[1] Accordingly Petrucci's series did much to define that repertory. Taken together with two additional books for lute and solo voice Petrucci published in the same period, the ten surviving anthologies in the four-voice format rank among the principal sources of the frottola and its constituent song forms (see Table 1.1).[2] In fact, the word "frottola" has come to stand for the whole range of polyphonic Italian song around 1500 in large part thanks to Petrucci, who chose it as the title of the four-voice anthology series.[3] Though it had another, narrower meaning at the turn of the century, denoting a form known also as the *barzelletta*, the word assumed new significance as a generic designation.

By any measure, the frottola in this new sense was a decidedly heterogeneous category. Petrucci and his immediate followers into the market for vernacular songbooks, such as An-

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[1] This figure does not include subsequent editions. That the series extended to eleven volumes, and that several of them underwent multiple editions, suggests a ready demand for such books; a drop-off in the production of vernacular songbooks thereafter suggests, among other things, that Petrucci may have saturated the market. On the likely success of Petrucci's frottola series, see Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 319. I discuss the period after Petrucci ceased production, through the rise of the early madrigal, in Chapter 2.

[2] For an annotated catalogue of the sources for the *frottola*, see Jeppesen, *La Frottola*.

[3] Petrucci's books are the earliest sources known to have described the whole repertory as *frottole*, and as a catchall name for these forms, *frottola* was probably Petrucci's coinage. See Rubsamen, *Literary Sources*, 4. The word's etymological relationship to the Medieval Latin *frocta*—a collection of miscellaneous items or ideas—suggests why, beyond the sheer prevalence of *barzellette*, *Frottole* made an apt title for Petrucci's miscellanies. Regarding this etymology see Harrán and Chater, "Frottola."

Table 1.1: Frottola anthologies printed by Ottaviano Petrucci

Title	Date	Items	RISM	Second Editions
Frottole libro primo	1504	62	1504[4]	
Frottole libro secondo	1505	53	1505[3]	1508/2
Frottole libro tertio	1504–5	62	1505[4]	1507/1
Strambotti, Ode, Frottole, Sonetti. Et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli. Libro quarto.	1505	91	[1505][5]	1507/2
Frottole Libro quinto	1505	61	1505[6]	
Frottole libro Sexto	1505–06	66	1506[3]	
Frottole Libro Septimo	1506–07	67	1507[3]	
Frottole Libro otavo	1507	57	1507[4]	
Frottole Libro Nono	1508–09	64	1509[2]	
Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantare e sonar col lauto Libro Primo.	1509	70	1509[3]	[1515]
Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantare e sonar col lauto Libro Secundo.	1511	56	1511	
[*Frottole Libro Decimo numero settanta cinque*]	1512	75	N/A (lost)	
Frottole Libro undecimo	1514	70	1514[2]	

drea Antico, collected with the "omnivorous musical and literary taste" Giuseppe Gerbino has observed in the contents of most Italian music books from the turn of the century through the 1530s.[4] These eclectic anthologies paid little heed to the finely tuned generic and stylistic taxonomies that would ultimately structure the production of vernacular songbooks after music printing grew commercially sustainable in the middle decades of the sixteenth century.[5] Insofar as it encompassed a wide range of forms, styles and registers, indeed, the frottola was unlike any genre that would later flourish in the mature marketplace for printed music, which

[4] Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia*, 98.

[5] For a general overview of this later period, and the marketplace role of genre in guiding the content of songbooks, see Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth Century Venice*, especially Ch. 7, "Marketing a Musical Repertory."

typically distinguished each variety of vernacular song from others. In this early period, before the *cinquecento* madrigal had fortified its musical and literary separation from "lighter," more demotic genres through partition into distinct kinds of songbooks, different kinds of Italian song readily coexisted within the same anthologies—print and manuscript alike.

Despite this miscellaneous character, one principle in particular governed most of the frottola repertory: musical form corresponded closely to poetic form by means of strophic and other structural repetitions. Such correspondence was one of the most important features of what Alfred Einstein called the "song principle," a term he coined to denote the circumstances that set apart from the madrigal a much deeper-rooted tradition of Italian vernacular song that preceded and followed it.[6] I will evaluate the afterlife of Einstein's coinage in the historiography of the madrigal in Chapter 2. For now, we may isolate the formal dimension of what Einstein sought to describe by comparing it with a more familiar musicological concept, that of the so-called *formes fixes*. This, indeed, is the concept most scholars of the frottola have employed to describe the formal congruence of poetry and music that characterizes the repertory. Emphasizing the frottola's continuity with other premodern traditions, above all French song of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, William F. Prizer has described it as "a late blossoming of the principle of the *formes fixes.*"[7]

As is well known, the poetic forms of the French *formes fixes* tradition guided patterns of musical repetition with which composers matched the repetitions of their texts. Musical repetition was predicated above all on poetic rhyme so that, for example, a *rondeau* with the typical scheme *ABaAabAB* (where each letter signifies a line's rhyme-ending, uppercase the repetition of a line or group of lines as refrain, and lowercase a new line or group of lines) was often set to music in two parts, the first corresponding to *A* or *a*, the second to *B* or *b*. Settings

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[6] Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 115.

[7] Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 64.

of the poetic forms prevalent in Petrucci's repertory—*barzelletta*, *strambotto*, ode, sonnet, *capitolo*, and *canzone*—by and large conformed to the same principle, thus bestowing a modicum of order and consistency upon an otherwise heterogenous genre.

Marchetto Cara's "Mal un muta per effecto," printed in Petrucci's seventh anthology of 1507, can illustrate what this principle meant in practice (Example 1.1). The text is a *barzelletta* by an unknown poet: a meditation in four stanzas and a refrain on the idea that the true nature of things is immutable:

Ripresa

a	Mal un muta per effecto	It is bad to try to make a change
b	E'l suo proprio naturale;	To one's own true nature;
c	Ben far no, ben sì pò male	It does no good, and it can do evil:
d	Ad ognun al suo dispecto.	To everyone to their own shame.

Stanza

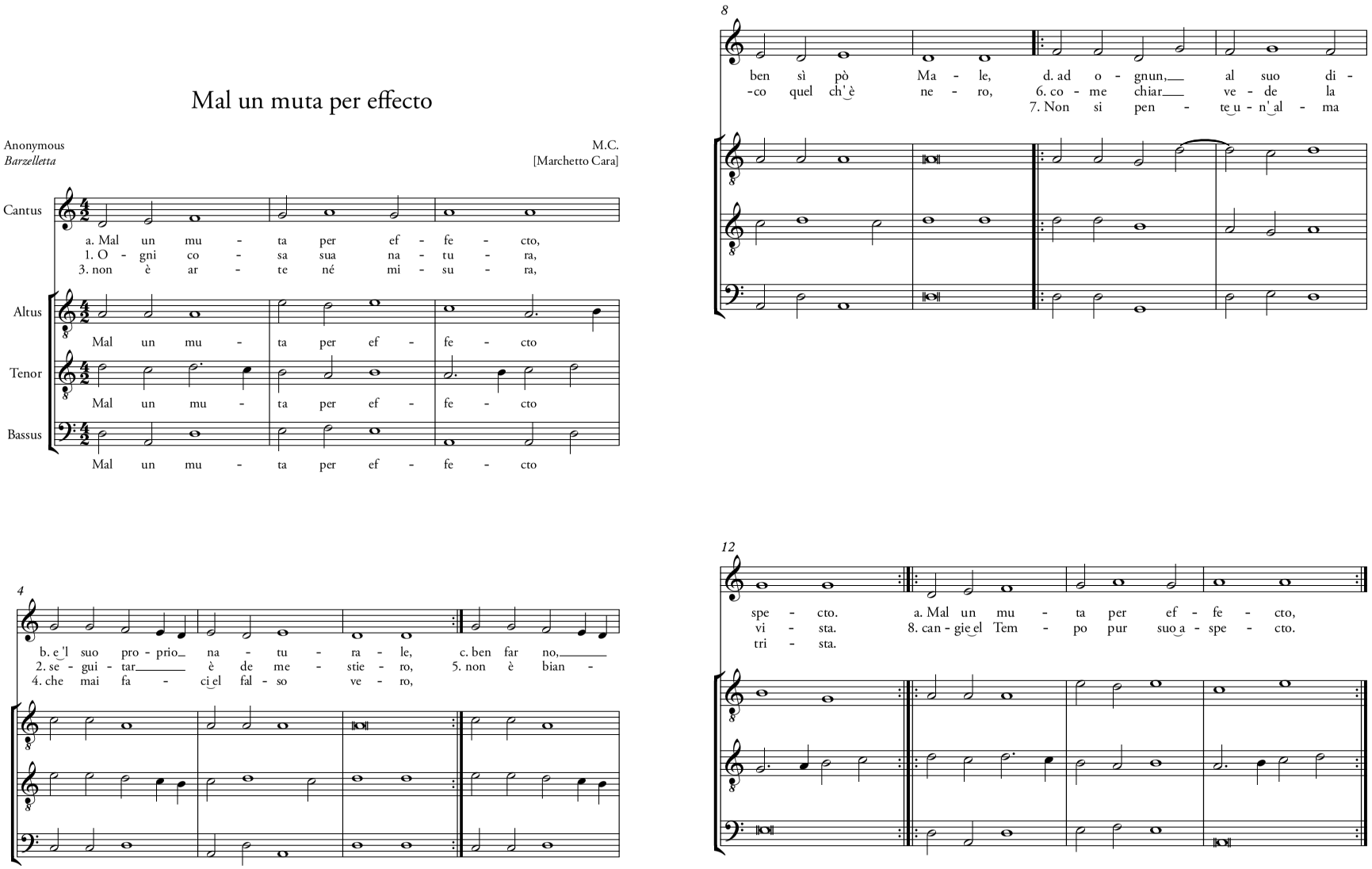
1	Ogni cosa sua natura	It's necessary that everything
2	Seguitar è de mestiero;	follows its own nature;
3	Non è arte nè misura	There is no art or rule
4	Che mai faci el falso vero;	That can make something false true;
5	Non è biancho quel ch'è nero,	That which is black is not white,
6	Come chiar vede la vista;	As sight plainly sees;
7	Non si pente un'alma trista	A sorry soul does not repent
8	Cangie el tempo per suo aspecto.	[Even though] time changes its face.

The *barzelletta* was a refrain form in *ottonari*, or eight-syllable lines, which typically featured two parts (*ripresa* and *stanza*) of variable length and rhyme scheme: in this case the *ripresa* is four lines rhyming *ABBA* and the *stanza* eight lines rhyming *cdcddcca* (for the sake of brevity only the first appears here). The stanza breaks down still further into four pairs of lines, or three *mutazioni* and a *volta*, the latter of which ends with a *concatenazione* ("connection") that links, by way of end-rhyme, back to the refrain. Cara sets the text with an economy of form that is characteristic of the repertory as a whole, according to a plan that suited the form of the *barzelletta* in particular.

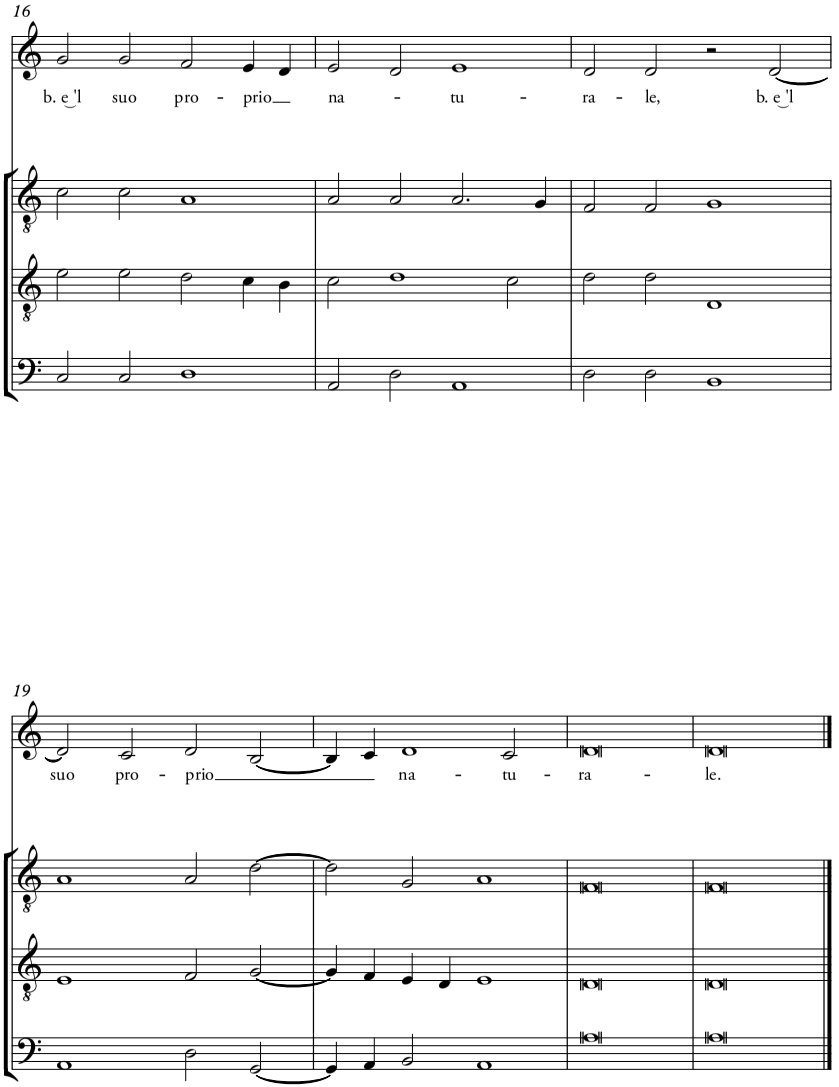
Cara's setting is almost exclusively syllabic, and every line of text is matched to a short phrase of music punctuated by a cadence (or an "evaded" one, as in m. 12), laid out in two sections such that the *ripresa* and the *stanza* share the same music. The first section comprises two phrases (A_1 and A_2) and accommodates two lines of text: the first half of the *ripresa* and the first two *mutatzioni*. The second section consists again of two phrases (a repeat of A_2 and B), which combine for the second half of the *ripresa* and the third *mutazione*. The first line of the *volta* is sung to another repeat of the music of B, but the second line, whose end-rhyme points back to the *ripresa*, is sung instead to the music of A_1. Having reached the end of a *stanza*, the first two lines of the *ripresa* are then sung again to the music of the first section, followed by a brief coda. Thus the order of the musical repetitions closely follows the form of the text, and the "turn" back to the *ripresa* invites a reprise of the first line of music. Note also the disposition of the cadences, which alternate between D, A, and G (the latter of which is undermined in measure 12 by the Bass motion from D to E), producing arrival points that are more or less stable, thus marking in another way the rhyme-based structure of the poem.

The replication of inherited forms like the *barzelletta* was one of the foremost imperatives facing those who produced Italian songs around 1500, and we should regard Petrucci's repertory as a vast repository of such replications, an archive of information about the forms they manifested. But to conceive of those forms as fixed is to place them on a plane untouched by history, when such a conception is clearly belied by the sequential nature of replication. Rather, this chapter rejects the premise implied by the term *formes fixes* and restores to our understanding of the frottola a sense of the dynamic function its forms entailed by virtue of their mobility, iterability, and capacity for variety. As we have already seen in the Introduction with the example of Ise Shrine, replication can unfold a history in which form persists, notwithstanding differences introduced, for many centuries. Like the form of Ise shrine, the forms of the Petruccian frottola had histories—shorter ones, of course—as did the deeper principle

Example 1.1: Marchetto Cara, “Mal un muta per effecto”



Example 1.1: Marchetto Cara, “Mal un muta per effecto” (continued)



that governed them. Those histories are the subject of this chapter.

The chapter begins by laying the groundwork for an approach to the forms of the frottola that will allow us to discern their histories through Petrucci's repertory. To this end we will need to understand the foundational conventions that governed those forms without resorting to the concept of *formes fixes*, in place of which, therefore, adopting Einstein's term, I offer a theory of the song principle. Unlike Einstein, who regarded the song principle as "immortal" or timeless, I emphasize instead the social and cultural pressures to which it attested and the historical contingency of the forms that it engendered.[8]

Perhaps nowhere in Petrucci's repertory is that contingency more evident than in the songs he described with such terms as *aer* and *modo de cantar*. These songs bespoke an extemporized tradition of singing poetry that remained widespread until the rise of opera and monody around the turn of the *seicento*, when the general term for them, *arie*, acquired new significance. Focusing on Petrucci's *arie* in the second part of this chapter, I argue that they taught novice users of his books how to apply the song principle, and that they can reveal to us its role in the process of replicating forms throughout the repertory as a whole. I then demonstrate how examples of a single poetic form, the *strambotto*, comprise traces of such a process and, in the terms set forth in the Introduction, disclose the transmission of a *cultural archive*.

Two closely related historiographic issues motivate my insistence upon the historicity of form and my attention to replication in this chapter, which link it to this dissertation's broader project. The first concerns the work the frottola has performed in histories of the *aria* concept. Loosening the historical meanings of that term from the restrictive definition of "melody" will free us to discover the variegated fashion in which *arie* placed poetry and music into relation with one another in accordance with the song principle. This more capacious conception of *aria* will pay dividends in subsequent chapters, but here it throws new light on some

[8] Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 115.

of the organizing principles that guided musicians' choices when they brought the music and poetry of the frottola into generalizable, replicable patterns. Patterns among their choices may open windows onto a still more general system of usages—the tonality of the frottola, in fact. But by situating those choices within networks of replications, I argue that we should conceive of that tonality as an emergent effect of the network's informal self-regulation.

The second issue, then, concerns the place of the frottola in the emergence of modern tonality. Consider Prizer's matter-of-fact assertion of the intuition, widely held but highly controversial, that "it is in the frottola that tonal-like harmonies emerge."[9] Such thinking runs deep, but its principal source is Edward Lowinsky's *Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth-Century Music*. [10] In Lowinsky's whiggish account, tonality and atonality figured as twin metaphysical forces driving an inexorable, emancipatory march toward musical modernity. Tonality's essential impetus, he argued, was always latent in the cadence, whose expansion into concise repetitive structures, exemplified by ostinato bass patterns developed in the frottola repertory, setting music on its course toward full-fledged tonal harmony.[11] Lowinsky's argument hinged upon what he perceived to be the pervasive presence of such patterns and their variants in the frottola, which he identified with *arie* known to us from later sources such as the *passamezzo* and the *romanesca*. But herein lay one of the clearest shortcomings of such an approach: early-sixteenth-century sources and contemporaneous verbal descriptions of the repertory never

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[9] Ibid., 155.

[10] See Lowinsky, *Tonality and Atonality*, especially Ch. 1 "Frottola and Villancico." The continued influence of Lowinsky's central contention is evident, for example, in the work Giuseppe Fiorentino, who defers to Lowinsky to argue that "tonality emerged already at the end of the fifteenth century in vernacular Spanish and Italian vocal music of popular derivation." The original text reads: "Edward Lowinsky ha demostrado cómo la tonalidad emerge ya a partir de finales del siglo XV en la música vocal profana española e italiana de inspiración popular." See Fiorentino, "Música española del Renacimiento entre tradición oral y transmisíon escrita," 61; the translation is mine. On Lowinsky's whig historiography, see Tomlinson, "Renaissance Humanism and Music."

[11] In an often-quoted line, Lowinsky wrote: "If the cadence may be regarded as the cradle of tonality, the *ostinato* patterns can be considered the playground in which it grew strong and self-confident." Lowinsky, *Tonality and Atonality*,

mention these names. To all appearances, indeed, Lowinsky overzealously read backward from the later sources, giving these *arie*—and, by extension, modern tonality—a specious origin in the frottola.[12]

My approach suggests instead that much of what seems "tonal" about the frottola merely arose when musicians mobilized archetypes of musical form in order to coordinate them with poetic form in contextually specific ways. I focus especially on one procedure, *cadential polarization*, whereby cadences occur principally or sometimes exclusively on pitches separated by fourths and fifths, because the resulting structures, much like the schemes of the *passamezzo* and the *romanesca*, invite interpretation as the tonic-dominant pairs that are so characteristic of the parallel periods of eighteenth-century "tonal" music. This chapter explores some of the uses to which the archetype was put in *arie* and strambotti, the latter chosen for its likeness to the *ottava rima* of epic poetry. As we will see in subsequent chapters, later sources suggest a close association between *ottava rima* and the *romanesca*, indicating the endurance of the analogy, also salient in the Petruccian frottola, between cadential polarization and poetic forms organized into distichs with alternating rhymes. What the present chapter reveals, however, is neither the origin of the *romanesca* or the *passamezzo*, nor that of modern tonality, but a network of replications that comprised a part of their archive.

The Song Principle

Although relatively few in number, the forms in Petrucci's anthologies afforded sufficient latitude to generate many hundreds of unique songs. Literary scholar Caroline Levine

[12] Carl Dahlhaus, also given to teleology in his *Untersuchungen*, nevertheless noted the basic problem here. He wrote: "the connection that Lowinsky discovered with the passamezzo antico is undeniable. Of course the supposition that the bass of *Oimè el cor* was a variant of the passamezzo antico is poorly substantiated. The reverse is more plausible: many phrases that frequently recur in the added basses—phrases determined by the typical parallel thirds and sixths of the upper voices—marked themselves as stock formulas and became 'emancipated' to an independent existence and meaning." See Dahlhaus, *Studies*, 282.

has recently argued that such affordance is a vital feature of the iterability, or what she calls *portability*, of forms.[13] (The Japanese term for rebuilding the structures of Ise shrine, *shikinen seng*, or "moving the shrines at regular intervals," offers a vividly literal image of this concept.) Forms are repeatable, according to Levine, because as abstract organizing principles they afford a variety of material configurations. If they lacked this capacity, forms would be unrepeatable, and we could not speak of two versions of the same song, let alone two different songs, as sharing their form despite other material differences. On the contrary, the makers of the frottola repertory achieved great variety even while repeating the same handful of forms that organized their songs into regular and predictable patterns.[14] In this light, *formes fixes* is a modern misnomer that obscures an important property of form. Indeed it suggests the Platonic conception of forms as immutable metaphysical objects that is still entrenched in musicological discourse.[15] Thinking in terms of affordances challenges such a conception by forcing us instead to recognize the historical contingencies that attend the portability of forms.

The forms of the frottola repertory moved by way of replication: the writer of a *barzelletta* drew upon knowledge of how to form such a poem, a *formalism* that was based upon familiarity with an archive of other *barzellette* stored in memory or in books, and replicated it on this basis. Each new *barzelletta* then became a potential source in this archive, producing a feedback effect. Because every writer could receive and/or perceive the archive differently, vari-

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[13] Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network*, 6-11.

[14] This may have helped to earn the frottola's unflattering reputation among scholars as a musically simplistic, "lightweight affair," as Richard Taruskin characterizes it in *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. I, 694. Specialist writings have helped to set the tone for such assessments. Walter H. Rubsamen, for example, declared that "the music of Petrucci's *frottole* and that of contemporary collections is in general unsophisticated; most of it was written by composers who were unaware or impatient of polyphonic complexity." See Rubsamen, *Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500)*, 3.

[15] Brian Kane offers a relevant critique of what he calls "the metaphysics of structure" in his forthcoming book on the ontology of jazz standards, *Hearing Double*.

ations arose in this process as it was repeated.[16] Informal, self-organizing coordination among the community of those invested in the process such as readers, musicians seeking song texts, and writers of other barzellette, acted as counterweight by adjudicating the acceptability of each replication. Thus the community generated an emergent consensus about what qualified as a *barzelletta* that was generally capacious, since an acceptable *barzelletta* could be formed in a variety of ways, but also had well-defined, self-regulating limits. Certain aspects of the form were probably non-negotiable: readers were unlikely to recognize a poem with *endecasillabi* (eleven-syllable lines) or without a *ripresa* as a *barzelletta*. But such "rules" were ultimately social and culture in nature. The perspective of this socially and culturally situated formalism clarifies, without recourse to the explanation of a metaphysical ideal given material expression, how form affords a range of possibilities through the regulative power of an archive that is always contingent.

Applying this insight to the principle that guided the makers of the frottola repertory yields another degree of complexity, since it stipulated homologies or congruencies between two different formal domains in poetry and music. Such homologies drew upon perceived affinities between features of poetry and music that were unique to each and were therefore governed by separate sets of formalisms. Just as situated formalisms regulated the portability of each poetic form, so too situated musical formalisms regulated the portability of musical forms. Homologies between the two kinds of form therefore required the coordination of a third formalism, the song principle, which placed poetic and musical formalisms into relation

[16] Indeed, the variability of the barzelletta is much in evidence among Petrucci's anthologies. Don Harrán's description of the barzelletta in the *New Grove* gives a good indication of that variability: "The *barzelletta* normally scans in trochaic metre, with eight syllables per line (trochaic *ottonario*), and consists of two sections: *ripresa*, four lines that rhyme as *abba* or *abab*; and stanza, six or eight lines in the order of two *mutazioni* or *piedi* (pairs of lines with identical rhymes) and a *volta* (a couplet or quatrain, whose last line generally rhymes with the first of the *ripresa*). A six-line stanza is likely to rhyme as *cdcdda* and an eight-line one as *cdcddeea*. Anticipated in the connecting rhyme or *concatenazione*, the *ripresa* as a whole or, more often, in part (two lines) recurs before successive stanzas (which number anyway from two to five or more) and after the last one." See Harrán, "Barzelletta."

across their separate domains and determined their affinities. The simplest such relation involved pairing textual repetition with musical repetition, as in refrains. Less simple were those relations involving affinities between elements that were unique to each domain, such as rhyme ending and cadence, upon which, as we have seen, the logic of strophic song often depended. Moreover, at another level of abstraction, the form of the relation between poetry and music was not fixed, but cycled through a process of replication that was renewed whenever musicians marshaled their archives in the service of forming new frottole.

One advantage of this processual perspective is that it accounts for variability in the form of the relation between poetry and music—and thus also variability in the resulting musical forms—as a function of the song principle and not a departure from it. The frottola repertory certainly gives abundant evidence of this kind of variability. The makers of frottole often responded to features that were unique or unusual about the form of a poem at hand, and adjusted the details of the relation between musical and poetic form accordingly. Giuseppina La Face has surveyed the considerable number of letters from the period requesting music specifically suited to certain texts, often named, revealing the likely extent of such a practice.[17] Prizer, meanwhile, staked his appraisal of Marchetto Cara's frottole on that composer's formal ingenuity: "his reaction to a given text form varies widely … the more intricate the poem in terms of rhyme-scheme and structure, the more intricate is Cara's elaboration of it."[18] But the particularity of the relation between poetry and music Prizer praises in Cara's songs merely represents one end of a spectrum of options governed by the same principle of homology. At the other end of the spectrum, that of abstract generality, lay songs whose music was designed to correspond not to a specific text but rather to any poem with a given form. Such songs did not set texts but rather their forms.

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[17] La Face Bianconi, *Gli strambotti*, 138-39.

[18] Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 107.

A number of these "generic" songs appeared in Petrucci's anthologies, where they were tethered to specific poetic forms by marginal designations such as "Modo di cantar sonetti" ("A way of singing sonnets"), "Aer de capituli" ("Air for capitoli"), and "Aer de cantar versi latini" ("Air for singing Latin verses").[19] Such songs offered a simple and economical solution to a problem that must have been widespread, to judge from the many requests for music La Face has documented: lacking music composed expressly for a certain poem, one could instead use these *arie*. The task of matching music and poetry was made relatively easy by the no-nonsense simplicity of the settings, which were mostly syllabic apart from occasional melismatic flourishes at the ends of final phrases, as in Filippo de Lurano's "Aer de Capituli" (see Example 1.2). As this example demonstrates, *arie* matched each line of text with a complete phrase of music that was clearly punctuated by a cadence and often, as is here the case, set apart from the next by a rest in one or more of the voices. Repetitions of a single pitch, such as in the second and third phrases of Lurano's *aria*, might have allowed for some flexibility with respect to setting the pattern of accents in the poem at hand, encouraging singers to experiment with their texts. But it seems clear there was little room for error when it came to using this *aria* to sing a *capitolo* other than the one with which Petrucci underlaid it.

Many modern commentators have observed that these songs participate in the long-standing but sparsely documented tradition of declaiming poetry to formulaic tunes, from which the frottola appears to have emerged as a written genre in the last decades of the *quattrocento*.[20] Lurano's *aria* gives ample evidence of its dependence on formula, for example in its

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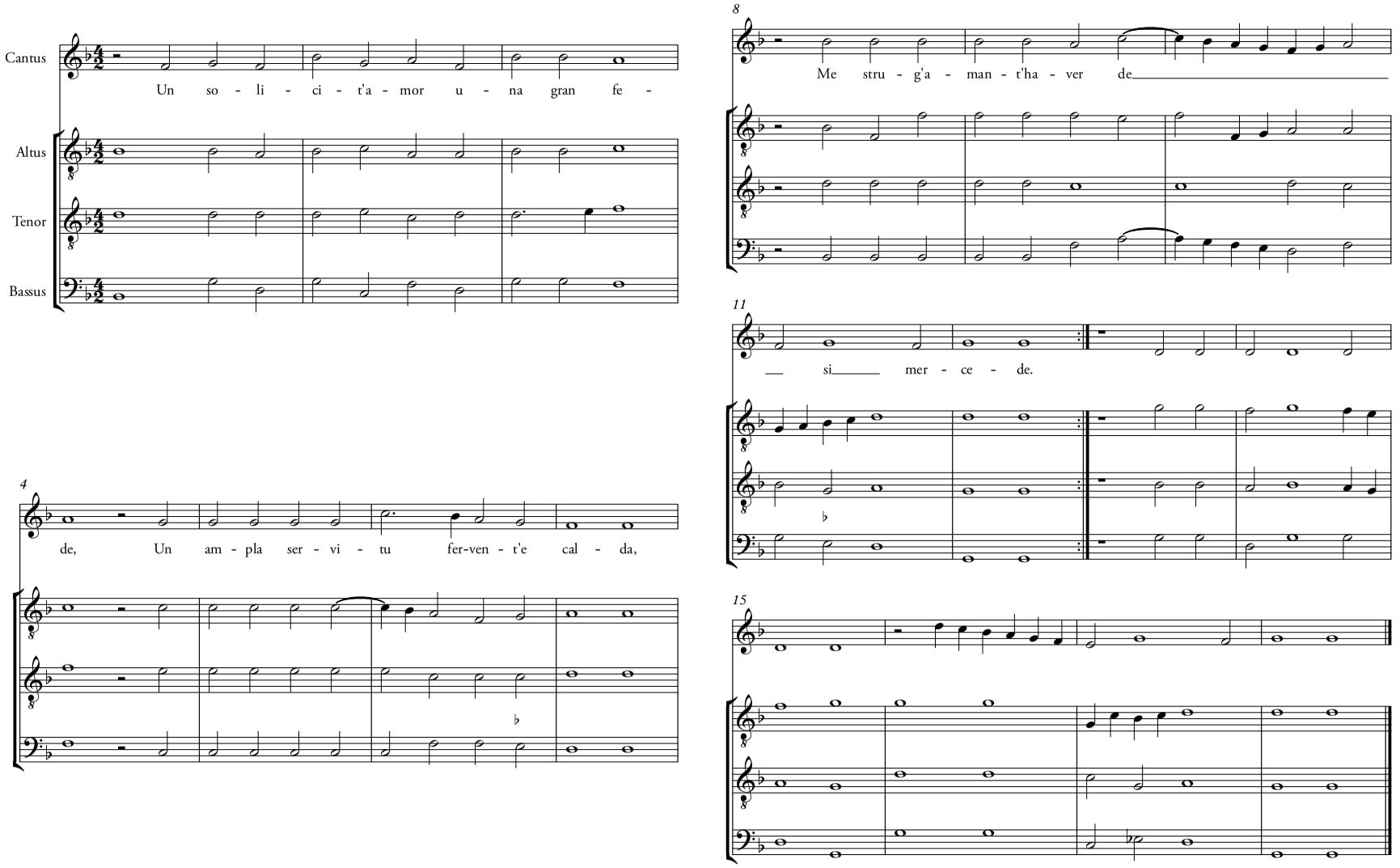
[19] The "Aer de cantar versi latini" stands out from the others because it seems on its surface to specify its design for poems of any form, so long as they are in Latin. Yet its bipartite structure, and its accommodation of the first line of text in seventeen notes (the maximum number of syllables possible in a line of dactylic hexameter) must have invited use with the elegiac distichs of Ovid's *Heroides* and *Ars amatoria*, which had been standard pedagogical texts for Latin grammar since the Middle Ages. See Desmond, "Ovid's Amatory Poetry in the Middle Ages," 163. Nevertheless, as I argue below, the formal ambiguity of this *aria* can still help us discern the application of the song principle.

[20] See, among others, Haar, "*Improvvisatori* and Their Relationship to Sixteenth-Century Music."

Example 1.2: Filippo de Lurano, “Aer de capituli”



use of a melodic unit we will encounter in other frottole: the note-repetitions at the beginnings of phrases. Although this tradition seems mostly to have withdrawn again from the realm of written notation as the frottola waned in popularity during the 1520s, there is reason to believe that it persisted throughout the sixteenth century. In the third book of his *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), for example, Gioseffo Zarlino described the practice of employing a "*modo*, or *aria di cantare*" to perform the verse of Petrarch and Ariosto as a living one.[21] Historians of Italian song have long read such comments as evidence that the declamatory tradition's musical infrastructure may be found in the melodies of the schematic *arie* familiar to us from later notated sources, such as the *passamezzo* and the *romanesca*. As traces of the same tradition from the early part of the *cinquecento*, Petrucci's *arie* have provided crucial evidence—if not of the *passamezzo* and the *romanesca*, then of their forerunners.

James Haar, who ventured furthest toward identifying melodic material associated with that tradition, has averred that "to judge from Petrucci's use of the term, *aria* in the first half of the sixteenth century meant melody."[22] Yet Petrucci's use of the term cannot be so neatly defined. True, his anthologies present most of their contents in an accompanied solo format. It is unlikely that the lower voices were written with singers in mind: only the top voice of each song was usually underlaid with text; the writing in three lower parts is often too awkward and angular for voices, making demands that would have been difficult, if not impossible, for singers to perform; and frequently the lower voices do not even have enough notes to accommodate the whole text. The consensus opinion among modern scholars, rather, is that most of Petrucci's repertory originated in song accompanied by lute or viola da braccio, with a solo Cantus and two instrumental lines (Tenor and Bassus, as in the lute intabulations of frottole that Petrucci printed separately), and that the printer or the suppliers of his repertory added an

[21] Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558). The translation here and elsewhere follows that of Marco and Palisca in *The Art of Counterpoint: Part III of Le istitutioni harmoniche*, 184-5.

[22] Haar, "The 'Madrigale Arioso,'" 222.

Altus as necessary to bring his frottole into line with other contemporary vernacular repertories.[23] On this basis, we may well imagine that the melody in the uppermost voice of each *aria* was its most characteristic feature, recognizable especially to those who knew the song from a prior version in some other arrangement. But in fact, Petrucci's anthologies do not single out their Cantus voice when designating certain songs as *arie*, raising the possibility that his use of the term signaled a concept subtler than melody.

Others have expressed less certainty than Haar when interpreting *aria*, acknowledging that *cinquecento* usages suggest multiple meanings of different kinds. Nino Pirrotta, for example, wrote of the term that "nothing is more puzzling than its ubiquitousness and its oscillation between generic and specialized meanings."[24] Such oscillation apparently remained characteristic into the *seicento*, when, according to Tim Carter, it "can indicate a genre (as in *aria per cantar ottave*); it can be used simply to mean 'melody'; and it can (as in English) have the more general sense of demeanor, manner, or character."[25] Petrucci's *arie* may indeed suggest all of these meanings. But we should not lose sight of the most fundamental purpose that *arie* served by providing ready-made templates for placing music and poetry into relation with one another. Rather, we come closer to understanding Petrucci's use of the terms *aer* and *modo* by examining the light they throw on the myriad musical formalisms at stake in the song principle, and which, taken as a whole, defy being reduced to the concept of "melody."

Our first step, then, should be to recognize that such terms signal specific iterations of a general type of relation, regulated by the song principle, whose contingency can help us to account for what has made *aria* so conceptually elusive. Petrucci's *arie* reveal the contingency of form: at first blush this conclusion may seem counter-intuitive, because their radically generic

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[23] Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 289.

[24] Pirrotta, "Early Opera and Aria," 57.

[25] Carter, "The Concept of 'Aria,'" 128.

nature clearly bespoke an assumption of regularity and predictability among poetic forms. Yet such an assumption was just as clearly in tension also with the variability to which Prizer has found Cara responding in his settings of particular poetic texts: these were at least irregular and unpredictable enough to merit attention to the specific ways in which they had been formed. How, then, are we to reconcile such seemingly incompatible conceptions of form among songs setting the same corpus of *poesia per musica*?

What both kinds of songs attest is that determining the relation between poetic form and musical form was a significant practical consideration for those who made and performed frottole, and that its outcomes were by no means given. Historians have typically understood that relation as the simple exercise of the power of poetic form over musical form. Prizer, for example, writes that in the frottola repertory "poetic form tends to govern musical form."[26] Yet juxtaposing songs at both ends of the spectrum between generality and particularity weakens the explanatory power of this model, since it proves that the putative "governance" of poetic form over musical form was highly inconsistent and varied in practice. Therefore my approach emphasizes instead that the relation itself was highly variable and subject to constant negotiation; the affinities between forms regulated by two separate formalisms (poetic and musical) required the coordination of a third (the song principle). The musical formalisms that we can discover at stake in the Petruccian frottola repertory were not beholden to poetry or poetic forms; nor, indeed, were they even exclusive to that repertory. Precisely their independence from poetry, on the contrary, was what permitted coordinating their affinities with poetic form in various ways—some more generic, others more particular.

This is not to belabor ontological differences between poetry and music, but rather to argue that the poets who wrote the *poesia per musica* of the frottola repertory, and the musicians who gave it life in song, were deeply engaged in the practical matter of relating the

[26] Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes,* 106.

two domains. Apart from the oblique testimony of letters and poetic treatises, the surviving repertory embodies most of what remains of the fruits of such engagement. And in fact, the repertory is a rich resource that can reveal much about the affordances of the song principle, if we understand it as having served an archival function within the replicatory processes that had produced it and did not cease with its publication. More than other songs, Petrucci's *arie* distilled those processes into rudimentary *archetypes*—types drawn from an archive—and in this they reflected a song principle that was not an abstract idea but as a series of practical choices that needed to be made about the relation between poetry and music. They are studies in the replication of forms, and accordingly they make ideal guides to procedures that were not confined to them, but which, on the contrary, were widespread among frottole.

Lessons of Petrucci's *arie*

An enduring trope in non-specialist writings about frottole is that they were generally trivial, toss-away pieces of little consequence.[27] Such judgments are especially damning by comparison with the mature Italian madrigal, for which the frottola has often served as a conveniently "primitive" foil (a historiographic tradition I will touch upon in Chapter 2). Yet specialists in the frottola, such as Prizer, instead have taught us to perceive in the repertory the extraordinary variety I described above, and to regard its leading figures as significant composers of distinctive works. Prizer, indeed, praised Cara as "a subtle formalist whose best works are carefully crafted" and as "a composer whose works are central to any discussion of the frottola itself or of the origins of the madrigal."[28] There is risk in overstating such a position, however, because two of the operative concepts here—the work and the composer—are in good measure anachronistic. Moreover, there is also surely a kernel of truth in non-specialist caricatures of the

[27] Most recently, see Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. I, 694-701.

[28] Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 105.

repertory, since in their music and poetry both, frottole traded in stock phrases and clichés and took a relatively small number of forms.[29]

Notwithstanding the distinctive procedures that also characterized the output of figures like Cara, many frottole are so alike that it can be difficult to pinpoint in them the work of a composer, in the sense that we commonly understand these concepts today. What we need in place of works and authors, then, are analytic concepts befitting the repertory and the replications of formulas and forms that its contents comprised. Recall that Whitney Davis, whose theory of replication I summarized in the Introduction, has stressed that replications must be "*similar* … and *substitutable* for one another in *specific social contexts of use*."[30] The *arie* in Petrucci's anthologies plainly depended upon the baseline similarity and easy substitutability of their texts in order to be equally accommodating to different poems. If we recognize that many frottole, too, were effectively interchangeable, then here are terms that will allow us to appreciate the repertory's redundancies without holding them to anachronistic expectations about authors and their works. No less anachronistic, perhaps, they hold the promise of helping us identify imperatives that shaped the production of frottole in vital and historically specific ways. They can help us glimpse the deeper social and cultural conditions of Cara's "formalism."

All these issues converge most clearly in the fourth installment in Petrucci's frottola series, which is so different from its series companions that it merits special consideration. First published in the summer of 1505 but known today only through a subsequent (presumably second) edition of 1507, the fourth anthology stood apart from the rest of the series not least because of its title, which lengthily distinguished among the many song forms: *Strambotti, Ode, Frottole, Sonetti, Et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli, Libro quarto* (see Figure 1.1).[31]

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[29] Giuseppina La Face has documented a group of stock "melodic modules" that recur among *strambotti* in the Estense Codex (about which, see more below). See Bianconi, *Gli strambotti*, 164-73.

[30] Davis, *Replications*, 1 (emphasis added).

[31] For a timeline of Petrucci's activities in this period, see Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 283ff. This edition,

It was also the only book in the series that featured a table of contents organized by form rather than alphabetically, by incipit (see Figure 1.2). And, whereas the first three books were dominated by barzellette, the fourth instead gave priority to strambotti: more than half of the songs (47 of 91) took this form. The new prevalence of strambotti surely helps to account for the book's more superficial differences, since its title and table of contents announced the form's priority and marked a significant shift in the repertory Petrucci was offering. According to Stanley Boorman, Petrucci's foremost modern bibliographer, this shift implies that he was relying on different sources of material than he had for the earlier volumes.[32]

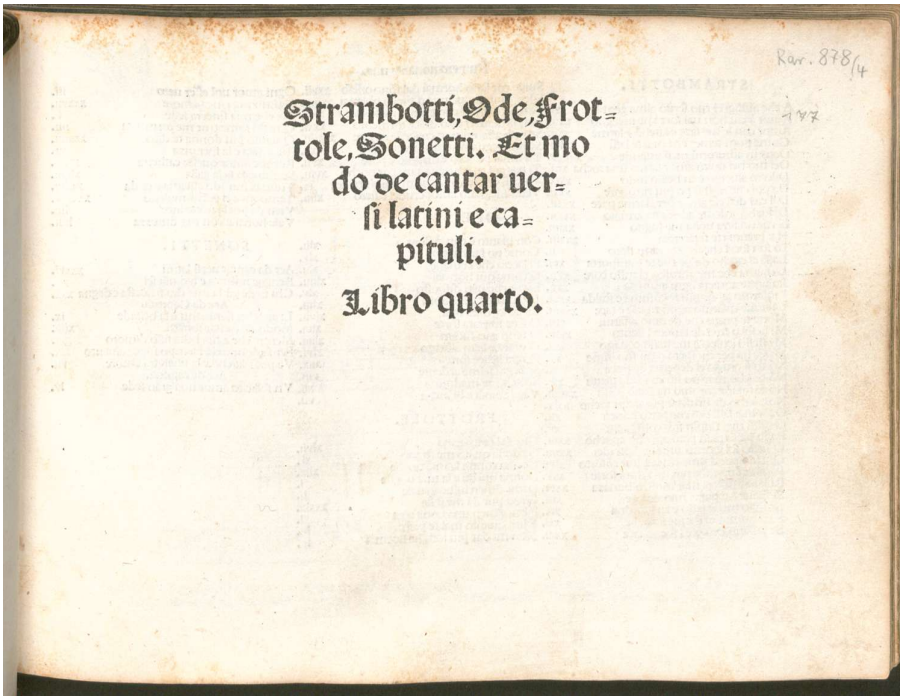
The printer also may have wished to clarify the formal variety that the catch-all "frottola" had obscured. Boorman has proposed that the book's distinctive paratexts and presentation of *arie* betoken a "didactic mentality" that continued into the next two volumes, though they reverted to the simpler title format (e.g. *Frottole Libro quinto*), forming a set of three that "[made] the whole repertoire more accessible to musicians wishing to learn basic performing skills."[33] To be sure, the fourth book was not alone in featuring *arie*. On the contrary, Petrucci included them in nearly all of his anthologies by indicating with headings that a song's music could be just as well be used with other poems of the same form (see Table 1.2 for a complete list of the *arie* in Petrucci's series). Michele Pesenti's "Ben mille volte al di me dice amore," for example, appeared in the first anthology headed "Modus dicendi capitula," signaling that the music could be used as a "way of reciting *capitoli*." The third, fifth, and sixth books identified four anonymous texted sonnet settings as being "per sonetti," that is, for sonnets in general and not only those underlaid in Petrucci's editions. Such songs number even higher if we expand this list to include all songs whose forms were expressly identified by headings in Petrucci's

presumably the second, survives only in a single copy held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB). A high-resolution scan of the BSB copy is available for download through Google Books.

[32] Boorman, ibid, 288-91.

[33] Ibid, 290.

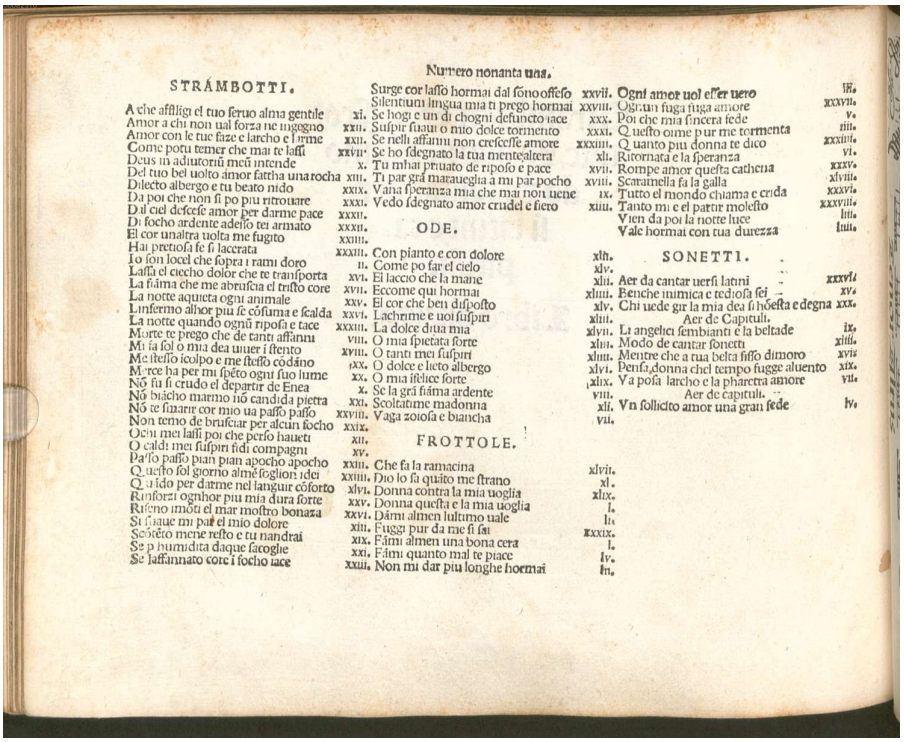
Figure 1.1: Title page, *Strambotti, Ode, Frottole, Sonetti ... Libor quarto.* [1505]



Strambotti, Ode, Frottole, Sonetti. Et modo de cantar uersi latini e capituli.

Libro quarto.

Figure 1.2: Table of Contents, *Strambotti, Ode, Frottole, Sonetti ... Libor quarto.* [1505]



Numero nonanta una.

STRAMBOTTI.

A che affligi el tuo seruo alma gentile
Amor a chi non ual forza ne ingegno
Amor con le tue faze e larcho e larme
Come potu temer che mai te lassi
Deus in adiutoriū meū intende
Del tuo bel uolto amor fattha una rocha
Dilecto albergo e tu beato nido
Da poi che non si po piu ritrouare
Di cel descese amor per darme pace
Di focho ardente adesso tei armato
El cor unaltra uolta me fugito
Hai pretiosa se si laccrata
Io son locel che sopra i rami doro
Lassa el crecho dolor che te transporta
La fiama che me abrusscia el tristo core
La notte aquieta ogni animale
Linfermo alhor piu se cōsuma e scalda
La notte quando ognū riposa e tace
Morte te prego che de tanti affanni
Mi sa sol o mia dea uiuer i stento
Me itesso icolpo e me steso cōdano
Moree ha per mi spēto ogni suo lume
Nō fu si crudo el departir de Enea
Nō biacho marmo nō candida pietta
Nō te smarir cor mio ua passo passo
Non temo de bruscior per alcun focho
Ochi mei lassi poi che perso hauesti
O caldi mei suspiri fidi compagni
Passo passo pian pian apocho apocho
Questo sol giorno almē soglion idei
Quando per darme nel languir cōforto
Rinforzi ognihor piu mia dura sorte
Riseno imōdi el mar mostro bonaza
Si saque mi par el mio dolore
Sofrēto mene resto e tu nandrai
Se p humidita daque sacoglie
Se laffannato core i focho iace

Surge cor lasso hormai dal sono offeso xxvii.
Silentium lingua mia ti prego hormai xxviii.
Se hogi e un di chogni defuncto iace xxx.
Suspir suaui o mio dolce tormento xxxi.
Se nelli affanni non crescesse amore xxxiii.
Se ho sdegnato la tua mentealtera xli.
Tu mhai priuato de riposo e pace xvii.
Ti par grā marauegha a mi par pocho xviii.
Vana speranza mia che mai non uene ix.
Vedo sdegnato amor crudel e fiero xiiii.

ODE.

Con pianto e con dolore xlii.
Come po far el cielo xlv.
El laccio che la mane xlii.
Eccome qui hormai xliiii.
El cor che ben disposto xlv.
Lachrime e uoi suspiri xlviii.
La dolce diua mia xlvii.
O mia spietata sorte xliii.
O tanti mei suspiri xlvi.
O dolce e lieto albergo xlix.
O mia infelice sorte viii.
Se la grā fiama ardente xli.
Scoltatime madonna vii.
Vaga zoiosa e biancha

FROTTOLE.

Che fa la ramacina xlvii.
Dio lo sa quāto me strano xl.
Donna contra la mia uoglia xlix.
Donna questa e la mia uoglia l.
Dami almen lultimo uale li.
Fuggi pur da me si sai xxxix.
Fami almen una bona cera l.
Fami quanto mal te piace lv.
Non mi dar piu longhe hormai lii.

Ogni amor uol esser uero lix.
Ogniun fuga fuga amore xxxvii.
Poi che mia sincera fede v.
Questo ome pur me tormenta iiii.
Quanto piu donna te dico xxxiiii.
Ritornata e la speranza vi.
Rompe amor questa cathena xxxv.
Scaramella fa la galla xlviii.
Tutto el mondo chiama e crida xxxvi.
Tanto mi e el partir molesto xxxviii.
Vien da poi la notte luce liii.
Vale hormai con tua durezza lvii.

SONETTI.

Aer da cantar uersi latini xxxvi
Benche inimica e tediosa fei xv.
Chi uede gir la mia dea si hōesta e degna xxx.
Aer de Capituli.
La angelici sembianti e la beltade ix.
Modo de cantar sonetti xiiii.
Mentre che a tua belta fisso dimoro xvii
Pensi, donna chel tempo fugge aluento xix.
Va posa larcho e la pharetra amore vii.
Aer de capituli.
Vn sollicito amor una gran sede iv.

Table 1.2: *Arie* in Petrucci's anthologies

Book	Heading	Form	Texted	Attribution
1	"Modus dicendi capitula"	Capitolo	Yes	Michele Pesenti
3	"El modo di dir sonetti"	Sonnet	Yes	Giovanni Brocco
3	"Per sonetti"	Sonnet	Yes	Anonymous
4	"Modo de cantar sonetti"	Sonnet	No	Anonymous
4	"Aer di versi latini"	Sonnet	No	Antonio Caprioli
4	"Aer de Capituli."	Capitolo	Yes	Filippo de Lurano
5	"Per sonetti"	Sonnet	Yes	Anonymous
6	"Per sonetti"	Sonnet	Yes	Anonymous
6	"Per sonetti"	Sonnet	Yes	Anonymous
8	"Aer da Capitoli"	Capitolo	Yes	Giovanni Battista Zesso
9	"Aer de capitoli"	Capitolo	Yes	Marchetto Cara
11	"Aer de capitoli"	Capitolo	Yes	Johannes Lulinus Venetus

Table 1.3: Songs identified by form in Petrucci's anthogogies

Book	Heading	Form	Texted	Attribution
4	"Sonetto"	Sonnet	Yes	Anonymous
4	"Sonetto"	Sonnet	Yes	Marchetto Cara
4	"Sonetto"	Sonnet	Yes	Nicolò Pifaro
5	"Stramotto"	Strambotto	Yes	Anonymous
5	"Stramoto"	Strambotto	Yes	Anonymous
5	"Sonetto"	Sonnet	Yes	Marchetto Cara

edition (see Table 1.3). Yet in this respect, too, the fourth book stood apart from the others in featuring three of twelve total *arie* (and six of the eighteen songs in Tables 1.2 and 1.3) in the ten anthologies of Petrucci's that survive, for this was the greatest concentration in any single volume. (The fifth book, represented by four items between Tables 1.2 and 1.3, is not far behind.)

If Boorman's theory is correct, then Petrucci pitched the fourth anthology, and perhaps the fifth and sixth as well, at consumers who possessed enough musical knowledge to read the notation but stood nonetheless to deepen their knowledge and understanding of the repertory. And, if indeed this was the printer's design, then the fact that the fourth anthology went into

multiple editions is probably a sign of the project's success. That its *arie* served a didactic end, moreover, has seemed evident to several other commentators, most recent among them Iain Fenlon, who has argued that they did so by "providing amateurs with access to [the extemporized declamatory tradition]," thus "making available the raw material on which to base their own improvised songs."[34] Fenlon's is an important insight, because it recognizes in Petrucci's *arie* not merely static records of sung practices to which we do not otherwise have access, but rather the transmission of those practices as part of an ongoing process.

Lacking in these general assertions about the didacticism of the fourth book and its *arie*, however, is a more precise accounting of what it was they taught their users how to do. At the broadest level their purpose was to bring the similarities that linked different songs to the fore, assisting amateurs by organizing a confusingly miscellaneous repertory into groups of songs on the basis of their forms. The anthology's title and its table of contents plainly served this end by drawing attention to each of the various forms and classifying every song, respectively, although the organization of the table faltered under the "Sonetti" heading, where Petrucci grouped several capitoli and the "Aer da cantar versi latini." The more fundamental lesson they taught lay at anther level of abstraction: no matter how diverse the repertory was in other respects, a shared type of relation between poetry and music was the glue that held it together. More than its series companions, Petrucci's fourth book foregrounded the way in which the entire repertory was regimented by the song principle. Just as important, moreover, it taught how to put that principle into practice. This was the didactic work of the *arie*: to induct singers into the practice of relating poetry and music by giving them an archive with which to assemble their own formalisms. Not only did they supply amateurs with the "raw material" that singers needed to extemporize, or to make their own frottole, they also revealed the "rules" that implicitly governed the organization of that material. Petrucci's *arie* taught singers

[34] Fenlon, "Orality and Print," 93. See also Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 86-89.

to use, indeed to replicate, forms.

Fenlon's comments, meanwhile, have again linked *arie* with the concept of "improvisation," which historians of Italian song long regarded both as the cause of the frottola's formulaic nature and as the source of its formulas. If we are to get to the bottom of what *arie* taught singers how to do, we must first address this subject. In the early twentieth century, the frottola drew attention as a sudden florescence of polyphonic Italian song after the prolonged drought of the *quattrocento*. But the florescence, scholars long ago concluded, is an illusion. To judge from contemporary accounts, performance of Italian vernacular song continued unabated throughout the fifteenth century, which led Pirrotta to postulate the existence of what he called the "unwritten tradition."[35] Haar and others searched extensively for signs that the music of that tradition occasionally surfaced in written sources such as notated *arie*, whose concise, repetitive and formulaic qualities implied ease of memorability.[36] Because these qualities make *arie* emblematic of the frottola repertory as a whole, it has been seen as closely allied to improvisation and oral transmission. Prizer, for example, has described the frottola as having "originated as a notated record of the previously unwritten tradition."[37] This perspective has also come to support unflattering evaluations of the repertory by non-specialists. Richard Taruskin, in the *Oxford History of Western Music*, has written of Cara's "Mal un muta" that its dependence on formula "bespeaks its origin in oral practice."[38] As a corrective to the misconception of the frottola as a sudden bloom of Italian song, Pirrotta's theory has clearly had a significant and lasting impact.

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[35] Pirrotta, "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," "The Oral and Written Traditions in Music," and "Novelty and Renewal in Italy, 1300-1600."

[36] Haar, *Italian Poetry and Music*, especially Ch. 4, "*Improvvisatori* and Their Relationship to Sixteenth-Century Music."

[37] Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 63.

[38] Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, I, 696.

Yet this view was guided by modern assumptions about writing and orality that have since been called into question, and with good reason. Much recent work has shown why thinking of musical practices in a dichotomized fashion, with a freely improvisatory, minimally contrapuntal, unwritten strain contrasting to a fixed, contrapuntal, written strain, is misleading. On the contrary, improvisation and written composition alike featured various degrees of the determinacy historians have sometimes thought to be characteristic of writing alone.[39] Philippe Canguilhem, Peter Schubert, and others have excavated a number of relatively simple, rule-based procedures for extemporizing fauxbourdon-style counterpoint, which appear to have been widely in use both before and after 1500.[40] One such procedure, which we will encounter again in subsequent chapters, is that which Giuseppe Fiorentino has gleaned from the late-fifteenth-century treatise of Guilielmus Monachus: it allowed groups of singers to generate a full homophonic texture by harmonizing above or below a given melody in a fixed pattern of intervals.[41]

This line of inquiry has demonstrated that counterpoint, or at least a simplified version of it, could be conceived as a process reducible to a set of fixed operations performed on the spot when singers extemporized together.[42] Kate van Orden and others have revealed that evidence of this and similar procedures proliferates in written sources, demonstrating why we need to be careful about how our assumptions about works and composers shape our under-

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[39] On this point see Canguilhem, "Improvisation as Concept and Musical Practice," 154-6, as well as my argument in Chapter 2.

[40] Regarding this trend, see Cumming, "Renaissance Improvisation and Musicology." See also Canguilhem, "Singing upon the Book"; and Schubert, "From Improvisation to Composition." Regarding the nature of composition in this period, especially with respect to improvisation, see Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" and van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*.

[41] Fiorentino, *Folía*. Monachus's treatise is available in a modern edition and translation by Eulmee Park.

[42] Indeed the word "counterpoint," Schubert has shown, generally referred in sixteenth-century usage to an extemporized practice. Schubert, "Counterpoint pedagogy in the Renaissance," 503.

standing of music of the period.[43] What we regard as works were sometimes no more than the outcomes of extemporizing committed to notation, and "composers" were perhaps no more than "scribes hovering around performers."[44] The explanatory power of such arguments, however, can be carried too far, and the frottola suggests an important limit case in this respect. My research has turned up only minimal evidence in Petrucci's repertory of patterns like those van Orden has found in the Parisian chanson, or like those I describe in Ariostean madrigals, Neapolitan *arie*, and *romanesche* in subsequent chapters of this dissertation. All of these seem likely to have been derived from fauxbourdon-style procedures. It is possible that many frottole, too, were generated by writing down the results of rote procedures for extemporizing song that we have not yet discovered.

Yet even if evidence of such procedures were ultimately forthcoming, we would need to be cautious about interpreting its implications. In our haste to identify traces of the putative "unwritten tradition" to which the frottola was probably indebted, it has been easy to adopt a reductive view of the repertory merely as a "record" of an oral past without discerning the vital work that it did in its present day *by means of writing*. Petrucci's repertory supported what was, by all indications, a thriving culture of song. Registering formulaic qualities in "Mal un muta," however, Taruskin has taken the former view, on the ground that "oral genres, as we have long since learned, are formulaic genres." This may be true so far as it goes, but it hardly follows that written genres cannot also be formulaic, or that they are compromised or diminished by being so. Rather, those formulas that do recur throughout Petrucci's repertory, and which *arie* distilled into archetypes, suggest that the link to improvisation lay in relying upon foundational procedures for producing songs. Shared between "unwritten" and written traditions was a culture that comprehended them both, and it was into this culture that the fourth book, with

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[43] van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 82.

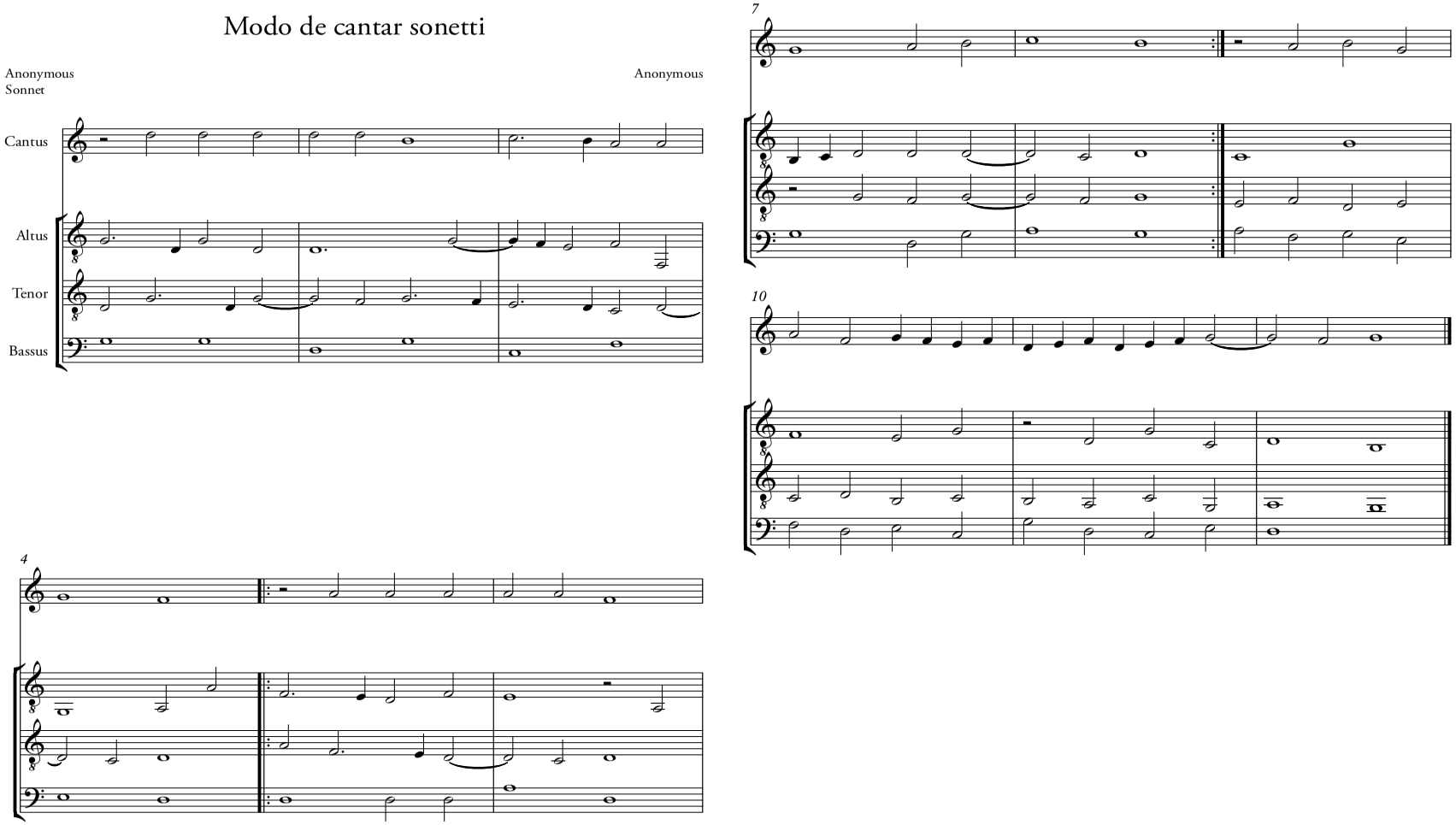
[44] Ibid, 157.

its didactic paratexts and its emphasis on *arie*, initiated newcomers to the repertory by exemplifying the song principle.

As we have seen with Lurano's *aria* for *capitoli*, such songs possessed a musical simplicity that laid plain the principle of a relation between music and text at the level of form. And, by comparing this *aria* with others, we can quickly see how thoroughly conventionalized (thus formulaic) were its musical means. Petrarchan sonnets, readers will recall, consisted of *endecasillabi* arranged in two quatrains and two tercets with the rhyme scheme *abba abba cdc cdc* (or similar variations thereupon). To accommodate this fourteen-line form, the anonymous musician who wrote the untexted "Modo de cantar sonetti" in the fourth book supplied just three phrases to be sung both for a poem's quatrains and its tercets (see Example 1.3). In theory it was possible to sing a sonnet with this *aria* in numerous ways, but the "official" solution, suggested by Petrucci's texted *arie* for sonnets, was to fit the four lines of each quatrain into three phrases of music by singing the second phrase twice, for the second and third lines of text, thus accentuating their shared b-rhyme (see Table 1.4). Each line of the each tercet, by contrast, occupied a musical phrase of its own. We have already observed this type of correspondence between the units of the poetic line and the musical phrase in Cara's "Mal un muta" and Lurano's *aria*. In fact, it is possible to break down the basis for this correspondence still further, and in doing so recognize some of the affinities between word and tone upon which it depended.

Much like the previous examples, the "Modo" for sonnets is mostly syllabic, with the notable exception of the melismatic approach to the final cadence in the third phrase. We might take this as a sign that syllables and notes, like poetic lines and musical phrases, functioned as analogous units within their respective domains of language and music. Yet note as well that even at the end of the third phrase the cadence falls at the same hypermetric point as it did in the first two phrases, arriving on its destination pitch in the second half of the fourth breve. This hypermetric regularity of phrase-lengths, which we find in Petrucci's other *arie*,

Example 1.3: “Modo de cantar sonetti”



suggests that part of the basis for the syllable-to-note correspondence lay in a more abstract relation between poetic meter and musical meter such that a single *endecasillabo*, when sung, always lasted a certain duration, though the span was not always four breves, as it is here. "Mal un muta," by comparison, matches the *ottonari* of its text with phrases of three breves, suggesting that the more general practice was simply to coordinate the regularity of a poem's meter with phrases of fixed lengths, even if the precise duration varied from song to song and meter to meter. To be sure, the repertory does not exclusively feature songs with fixed phrase-lengths; this was merely one conventional way of relating the separate formalisms that regulated poetry and music.

The overarching metric correspondences we witness here afforded musicians flexibility at the level of the individual syllable and the individual note that proved important for establishing other kinds of affinities between the two domains. Indeed the florid passage at the end of the "Modo" for sonnets is hardly unique in the repertory. On the contrary, extended melismas were so commonplace at cadential approaches that they must have sent experienced listeners a clear sign that a formal unit of the poem was coming to a close: either the end of a line or, as in this "Modo" and Lurano's *aria*, the end of a stanza unit such as a quatrain, tercet, or distich. Working within an isometric musical framework could have afforded singers discretion with respect to the rhythmic patterns they sang whenever they substituted successive poetic lines and stanzas for one another on each pass through it. We lack direct evidence that singers altered rhythms to fit their texts on the fly, but the existence of such a practice could help to explain the ubiquity of a certain melodic formula that we have already encountered in Lurano's *aria* for *capitoli*, and which we find again in the "Modo" for sonnets: in both songs, multiple phrases of music begin with five repetitions of a single pitch. Especially when the harmonic support of the lower voices was homophonic and relatively static, as at the beginnings of the second and third phrases of Lurano's *aria*, singers could have altered durations so that each

of the accented syllables received longer note values or stronger metric placements without causing too much difficulty in coordinating the ensemble.

Such repetitions probably served another purpose, too. Italian prosody distinguishes two different types of *endecasillabi*, known as *endecasillabi a minore* and *endecasillabi a maiore*, depending on whether the first hemistich is five or seven syllables long, respectively, and there is usually a stressed syllable in the penultimate position (that is, the fourth or sixth) before the caesura.[45] On the whole, *endecasillabi a maiore* were far more common, which explains why the number of repetitions at the beginnings of phrases in Lurano's *aria* and the "Modo" for sonnets was five: when a new pitch finally arrived, it did so for the sixth syllable, accentuating musically what was likely to be its stressed quality. In settings of *strambotti*, as we will see, musicians were apt to set the first hemistich almost as if it were a separate line of text, a practice that Petrucci's editions make clear by placing a *signum concordantiae* (the mark we now call "fermata") at caesurae.[46] The convention at stake was that the music needed somehow to correspond to a text's caesura and the stressed syllable preceding it. Petrucci's *arie* laid out a simple technique for accomplishing this end by means that were uniquely musical in nature, yet were easily recruited into the song principle's homologies of form.

The prevalence of pitch repetitions at the beginnings of phrases in frottole was not limited to *arie*, or even, as we will see, to Petrucci's repertory. In fact, it was a widespread cliché before and after 1500. La Face has identified this as one of the principal "melodic modules" present among the strambotti in the Estense Codex.[47] This gesture was the polar opposite of the melisma, which, by contrast to the *initiating* function of pitch repetition, served a *closing* function. Both clichés appear to have been markers of the declamatory style that frottole

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[45] For a brief introduction, see the entry on *endecasillabi* in Treccani's *Enciclopedia Italiana*, V.

[46] Fallows, "Signum concordantiae."

[47] Bianconi, *Gli strambotti*, 165.

Table 1.4: Musico-poetic plan of the anonymous "Modo de cantar sonetti"

Phrase	Poetic Line	Rhyme	Cadence	Measure	Cadential Voices
A	1	A	D	m. 4	Tenor, Bassus
B	2	B	G	m. 8	Tenor, Bassus
B	*3*	*B*	*G*	*m. 8*	*Tenor, Bassus*
C	4	A	G	m. 12	Cantus, Tenor
A	5	A	D	m. 4	Tenor, Bassus
B	6	B	G	m. 8	Tenor, Bassus
B	*7*	*B*	*G*	*m. 8*	*Tenor, Bassus*
C	8	A	G	m. 12	Cantus, Tenor
A	9	A	D	m. 4	Tenor, Bassus
B	10	B	G	m. 8	Tenor, Bassus
C	11	A	G	m. 12	Cantus, Tenor
A	12	A	D	m. 4	Tenor, Bassus
B	13	B	G	m. 8	Tenor, Bassus
C	14	A	G	m. 12	Cantus, Tenor

The italic type represents the internal repetitions of each quatrain; the shading represents the repetitions of the second quatrain and the second tercet.

shared with extemporized song. Their status as clichés is also what makes them so revealing, because the affinities they formed with language were not merely given or natural. Rather, their conventionality, a social and cultural phenomenon, served as a mechanism that regulated and perpetuated them. We glimpse that mechanism acting with force in the didactic project of Petrucci's *arie.* From these simple artifacts of convention singers could have learned to organize their musical practice according to abstract patterns, such as repeating pitches at the beginnings of isometric phrases and singing melismas at their ends, and thus become initiated into the culture of declamatory song.

Much more widespread than these patterns, and more foundational to that culture of song, was the convention of full cadential closure at line-endings, and this presents greater theoretical and historiographic challenges and thus requires further consideration. The music-theoretical tradition of drawing analogies between musical phrasing and verbal syntax was

already ancient in 1525, which is when Pietro Aaron, whose career overlapped with Petrucci's, defined the cadence in his *Trattato* as "nothing other than a sign by which composers make an indirect ending [*mediato fine*] according to the sense of the words."[48] As Martha Feldman has observed, Aaron was responding at least in part to a trend that had recently seen theorists of counterpoint "sever" its old alliance with syntactic structures. His response can be seen as part of a more "rhetorically minded" school of thought that reached its pinnacle at mid-century in the writings of Zarlino.[49] Sharing an interest in rhetoric with Italian theorists during the same period was also the "Cologne School" that Caleb Mutch has investigated in his recent doctoral dissertation on the history of the cadence.[50]

What most of these theorists shared, although they sought to define the cadence on a specifically musical basis, was their conviction that cadences were best understood by analogy with grammatical punctuation. Defining cadences strictly in musical terms was a task of extraordinary complexity, and it yielded inconsistent and conflicting positions; even today definitions and taxonomies of cadences are much disputed.[51] When Zarlino defined cadences in Part III, Chapter 53 ("On the cadence, what it is, its species, and its use") of his *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), he signaled the difficulty of the task by describing the proliferation of types as "almost infinite" (*sono quasi infinite*).[52] It was easier, by contrast, to define cadences partly by recourse to their relationship with verbal structures:[53]

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[48] "Cadenza non è altro che un certo segno del quale gli Compositori per alcun senso delle parole fanno un mediato fine." Aaron, *Trattato,* Chap. 8 [unpaginated]. Quoted and translated by Feldman, *City Culture*, 186. I have slightly modified Feldman's translation.

[49] Feldman, ibid.

[50] Mutch, "Studies in the History of the Cadence."

[51] See Harrison, "Cadence."

[52] Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, 224.

[53] "La Cadenza adunque è un certo atto, che fanno le parti della cantilena cantando insieme, la qual dinota,

> The cadence is a certain act that the voices of a composition make in singing together, which denotes either a general repose in the harmony or the perfection of the sense of the words on which the composition is based. Or we could say that it is a termination of a part of the whole harmony at the middle or end, or an articulation of the main portions of the text.

Feldman has registered the lack of musical detail in this definition, noting the allowances it made for "passages that were not articulative in contrapuntal terms."[54] Examples from Petrucci's repertory are frequently instructive in this respect. From a contrapuntal perspective, the termination of the second phrase in Nicolò Pifaro's "Pensa donna che 'l tempo fugge al vento," from Petrucci's fourth book, is inadequate (see Example 1.4). Although the Altus and Tenor are prepared in m. 16 to form a so-called "clausula" by proceeding from a third to a unison on C, they arrive instead on a fourth in m. 17. Yet to modern ears the motion of the Bassus from G to C is sure to weigh in favor of this termination's status as a cadence.

If we arbitrate such matters chiefly on the basis of textual considerations, then we need not choose between the two perspectives. Certainly Zarlino devoted considerable discussion to the musical structure of cadences, determining that in general they consisted of two voices moving in contrary motion through three successive dyads. This definition would exclude the manner in which Pifaro terminated the second phrase of his sonnet setting.[55] But we can just as well take our cue from Zarlino in considering cadences as encompassing any musical "articulation of the main portions" of a sung text, since, as he wrote later in the passage quoted above, "the cadence has the same value in music as a period in speech, so much so that it might

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o quiete generale dell'harmonia, o la perfettione del senso delle parole, sopra le quali la cantilena è composta. Overamente potemo dire, che ella sia una certa terminatione di una parte di tutto 'l concento, & quasi mezana, o vogliamo dire finale terminatione, o distintione del contesto della Oratione." Zarlino, ibid, 221. Quoted and translated by Feldman, *City Culture*, 189.

[54] Feldman, ibid, 190.

[55] Ibid. See also Michele Fromson, "Imitation and Innovation," 22-23.

be called a musical period."[56] This statement, too, he qualified, observing that it was standard practice to place cadences at internal resting-points, not only at the ends of complete utterances, just as skilled rhetoricians do in speaking. Provisionally and heuristically, then, let us take as cadences any musical terminations that correspond to textual divisions.

This definition sacrifices musical specificity, perhaps, but it offers some distinct advantages nonetheless. In the first place, it gives us flexibility to identify a wide range of strategies for closure without over-worrying their theoretical status at the time. Some of these will align with categories for which already we have commonplace names (e.g. "perfect" or "plagal" cadences); others will not. In the second place, frottole, as several other commentators have observed, appear to have sprung from the intersection of two different compositional approaches, the one structured around a cantus-tenor framework and the other organized from the bass up, each with different implications for what we count as cadences (as we see in Example 1.4).[57] The latter approach did not gain recognition among music theorists until the middle decades of the sixteenth century, well after the frottole in Petrucci's anthologies ceased to be current. Rather than disqualify as cadences certain types of musical closure on the basis of theoretical precepts that may not even be appropriate to the repertory in question, we do better to err on the side of being too catholic. Finally, though it risks a tautology, this definition highlights the implicit recognition by Aaron and Zarlino that the nature of cadences and their relation to verbal structures and syntax was deeply conventional.

However, what clearly distinguished the practical conventions of frottole from the theoretical perspectives of figures such as Aaron and Zarlino, both of whom prioritized the "sense of the words," was that frottole matched cadences with divisions of prosody rather than

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[56] "Onde la Cadenza è di tanto valore nella musica, quanto il punto nella Oratione; et si può veramente chiamare Punto della Cantilena." Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, 221. Quoted and translated by Fromson in "Imitation and Innovation," 22.

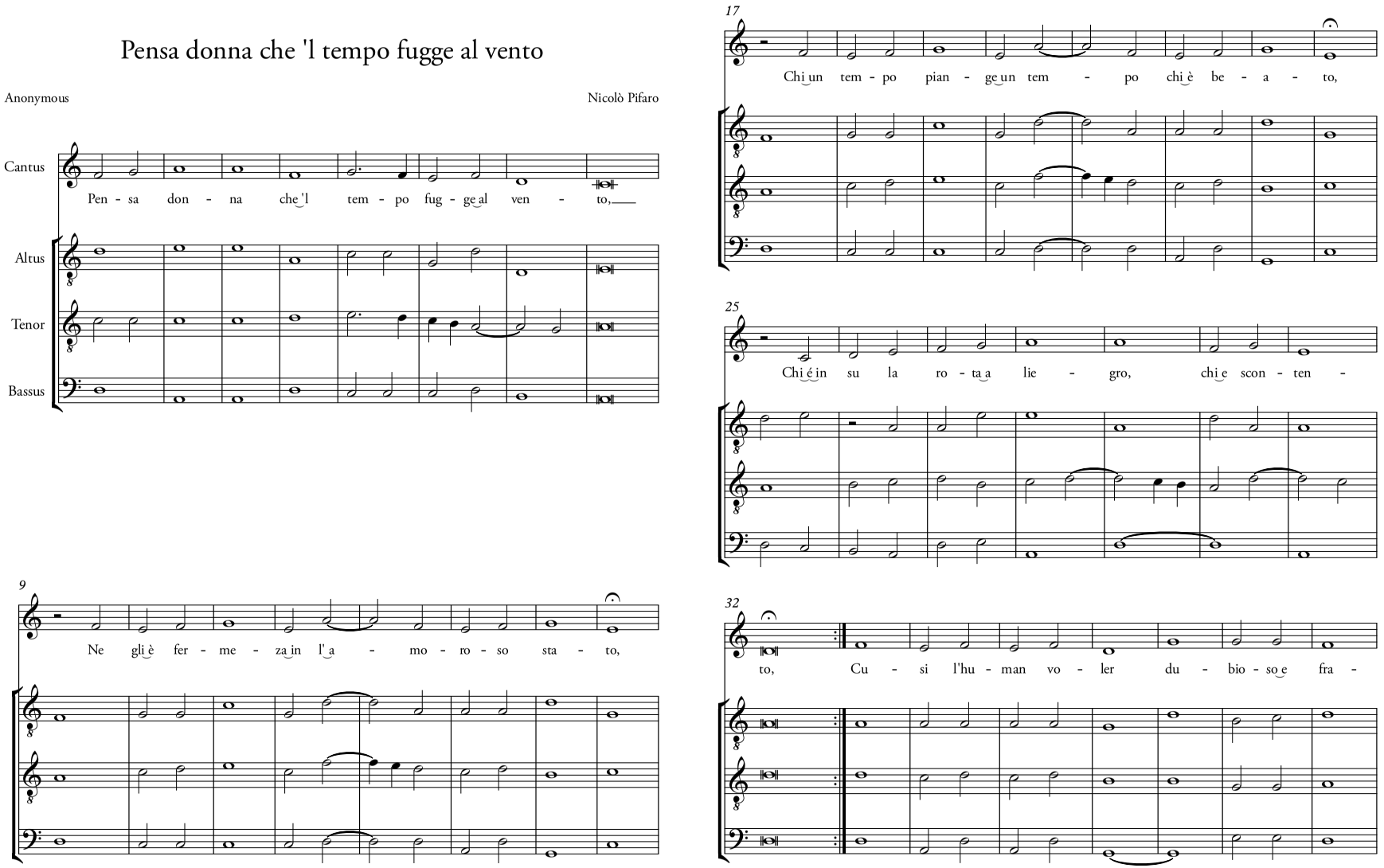
[57] For example, see Dahlhaus, *Studies*, 284.

semantics and syntax. In all of the texted examples above, poetic line endings coincide with terminal cadences. Because poetic lines in the *poesia per musica* of the frottola repertory often formed complete semantic units, this practice did not usually obscure the poetry's sense. But if a singer attempted to declaim poems with enjambments using an *aria* like the "Modo" for sonnets in Petrucci's fourth book, then cadences were likely to occur abruptly in the middle of verbal clauses. Using that "Modo" to sing the opening sonnet of Francesco Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, for example, creates such a misfit almost immediately: the cadence at the end of the first phrase divides the first two lines of poetry from one another in obvious disregard for the semantic continuity of their enjambment: "Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono / di quei sospir ond'io nudriva 'l core" ("You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound / of those sighs with which I nourished my heart").[58]

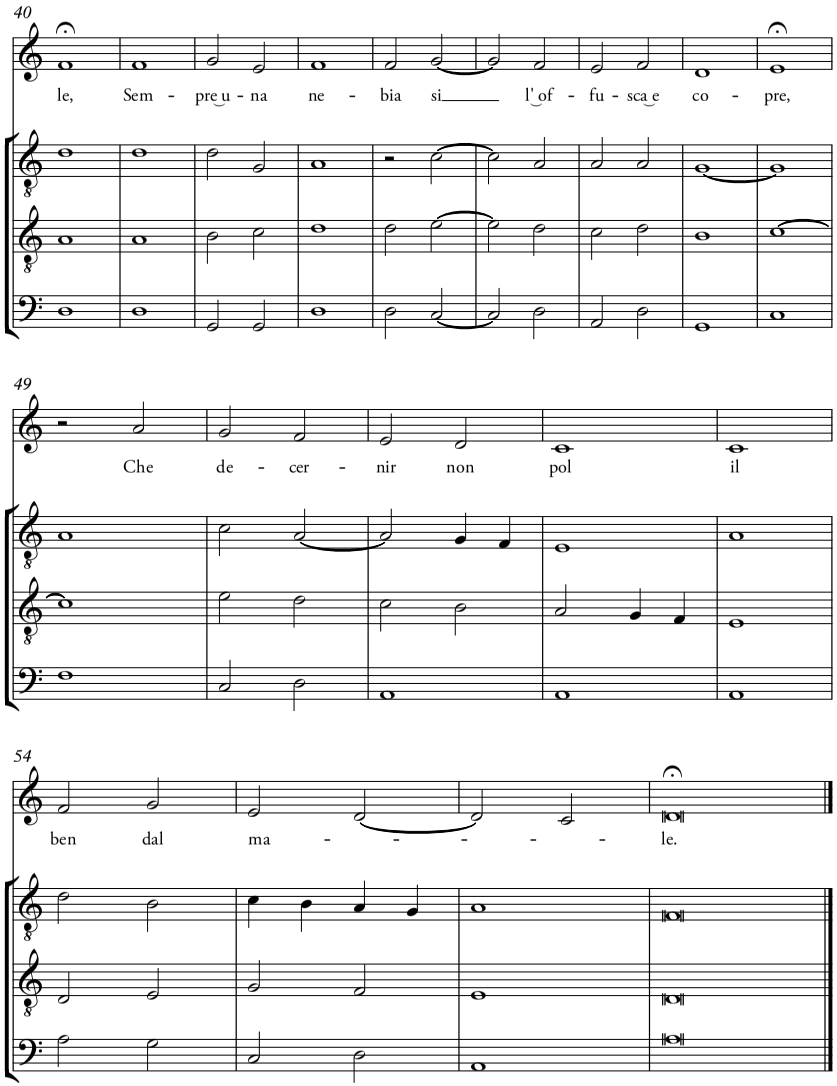
Such instances tend to offend sensibilities refined on the semantic and syntactic nuances of the Italian madrigal. Certainly Zarlino's preference was for the cadential practices expertly exemplified in madrigals by his illustrious predecessors at the Cappella Marciana in Venice, Adrian Willaert and Cipriano de Rore. Thus Zarlino's comments, and perhaps Aaron's too, implicitly may have taken aim at the rhetorical impropriety of the declamatory convention of pairing cadences with line endings. Among turn-of-the-century frottole, however, the coincidence of cadences and line endings provided one of the most important means by which to tether music to poetry through multiple strophic repetitions. Often occurring at regular hypermetric intervals, as in each of the examples above, they organized the music into a predictable structure that must have helped singers pace the delivery of each syllable. In a syllabic passage this feature was less important, perhaps, but cadences provided a stable orientation while working through melismas and, among advanced performers, ornamenting written melodies. Cadences were stable destinations that marked the points by which singers needed to have

[58] Durling, ed. and trans., *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 36-7.

Example 1.4: Nicoló Pifaro, “Pensa donna che ’l tempo fugge al vento”



Example 1.4: Nicoló Pifaro, “Pensa donna che ’l tempo fugge al vento” (continued)



sung the entirety of each line of text. They were the ultimate signs of musico-poetic closure.

This is a deceptively simple point. The comments of Aaron and Zarlino quoted above clearly recognized cadences as one of the ways in which music, though it was not language, was most like it, and thus they constitute important evidence with respect to the song principle. Indeed it is telling of how the song principle coordinated the two domains that both writers appear to have conceived of cadences as *signs* of closure (albeit with respect to semantic, not prosodic, units of text). Of the two, only Aaron actually used the word *segno*, but Zarlino's assertion that a cadence "denotes" (*dinota*) repose similarly implied a semiotic process. Charles Sanders Peirce's theory of signification gives us modern terms for conceptualizing this process as consisting of a triadic relation between a sign (the cadence), an object (textual closure), and a third thing, an "interpretant," linking the sign and the object to one another.[59] Seeing this process as triadic helps account for Aaron's curious choice of words in describing the signifying act of the cadence as making a *mediato fine* ("indirect ending" in Feldman's translation, as quoted above). A cadence was *mediato*, or "mediated," as we might also translate the word, by its relation to text. In fact Aaron is somewhat more specific in this respect, highlighting the music's mediation by knowledge of the sense of the words.[60]

But in frottole, where the sense of the words mattered less than their formal arrangement, what mediated the relation between sign and object was the song principle. Peirce famously ordered signs into three classes according to their relations with objects of signification: the *icon* signifies through similarity or likeness; the *index* through relations of causality,

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[59] For a brief introduction to the relevant aspects of Peirce's theory, see Tomlinson, *A Million Years of Music*, 188-89 and "Evolutionary Studies," 653-54.

[60] The Cambridge Italian Dictionary defines the verb form of this word, "mediare," as "to mediate." Some dictionaries, such as the Collins Italian Dictionary, define the adjectival form "mediato" as "indirect," as Feldman does. John Florio's Italian dictionary of 1611, the first to be published in English, offers some ground for using the cognate "mediated," as I do here, by defining "mediate" as "by meanes or intercession." See Florio, *Dictionarie*, 306.

proximity, or deixis; and the *symbol* through representational convention or habit. Signs often belong to all three classes at once, and we can see that in their relation to verbal structures, cadences had iconic, indexical, and symbolic qualities. Their relation was iconic insofar as the role that cadences served in music was seen to be like that of syntactic or formal articulators in poetry, and it was symbolic insofar as the relation itself was clearly governed by convention. But the type of relation most foundational to the song principle was indexical.[61] Expanding our list of musical signs to include the gestures of beginning (pitch repetition) and ending (melismas) that we encountered above, it quickly becomes clear that these signs referred not to such linguistic objects as words and phrases but rather to certain positions within poems, that is, to their pragmatic contexts.[62] It was this capacity for musical signs to index positions within the texts they set that finally allowed likenesses between the two domains to come to the fore, and to become recognized and habituated as the conventions of the song principle.

The song principle, then, can also be described as a system of indexical relations. There is a strategic reason for adopting this definition, in that scholars of premodern and Early Modern musics have often been mired in unproductive debates about whether concepts such as triads existed before they were theorized.[63] The song principle was chiefly a practical concern, and literary and music theorists of the period certainly left it untheorized; but we bypass such debates by recognizing the indexical function of cadences as signs. Whether or not musicians expressly recognized an iconic likeness between cadences and line-endings, or saw that their choices were conditioned by symbolic habits and conventions, so ubiquitous was the coinci-

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[61] Tomlinson has observed that the index occupied a special place in Peirce's writings, because he "recognized an affinity between the interpretant, with its causal action, and the index, the type of sign relating to its object through contiguity, proximity, touching, pointing, or causality." Tomlinson, "Evolutionary Studies," 654.

[62] Thus these signs suggest what Michael Silverstein has called the "condition of metapragmatic indexicality." Silverstein, "Metapragmatic Discourse and Metapragmatic Function," 48.

[63] For a recent litigation of this debate, see Mutch, "Studies in the History of the Cadence," 108.

dence of cadences and line-endings that there can be no doubt they replicated this indexical type of relation in making frottole, and it rose thus to the level of culture.

But this Peircean view is also strategic for another reason: it is designed to recognize in the song principle a local working-out of music's differences from language, which turn in part on the former's deeply indexical nature.[64] Herein lies a final, most illuminating lesson of Petrucci's *arie*: they reveal how certain socially and culturally situated formalisms, taking root in music's own self-referential indexicality but reaching out to poetry, helped to regulate pitch structures in connection with the song principle. Let us turn again to the fourth book's "Modo" for sonnets. Its cadences are not all of the same kind, except insofar as in all three instances the Cantus and Tenor form the types of pairs that Zarlino's contrapuntal definition of cadences (two voices moving in contrary motion through three successive dyads) surely would have sanctioned. Modern theories of cadence typically associate the hallmark "4–3" suspensions of cadences in Renaissance polyphony with the Cantus voice.[65] In this *aria*, however, the two voices divide the labor of making the suspension so that only in the final instance, at the end of the third phrase, does the Cantus make the gesture. (The same is true, by way of comparison, in Lurano's *aria* for *capitoli*.) Throughout the repertory, in fact, this type of cadence, in which the Cantus is the suspended voice, appears almost unfailingly at those positions of greatest completion in the text, and far less often in all other, less final positions. Also notable here is the activity of the Bassus. Only in the final cadence does the Bassus make the octave leap that was a distinctive feature of this repertory (though it would soon fall out of fashion). Like suspensions in the Cantus, this "octave-leap" cadential motion in the Bassus can be found

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[64] As Tomlinson has asserted, "Musicking in the world today is the extended, spectacularly formalized, and complexly perceived systematization of ancient, indexical gesture-calls." Tomlinson, *A Million Years of Music*, 205.

[65] For example, see Harrison, "Cadence." The roots of this tradition, as Harrison's discussion of Andreas Werckmeister's account of invertible counterpoint makes clear, can be traced at least as far back as the early eighteenth century.

in frottole most often in positions of greatest finality.

There is also another, obvious kind of difference distinguishing the cadences in this "Modo" from one another: whereas the first arrives on D, the second and third are on G. To appreciate fully the significance of this difference, we need some ground for comparison. Analysis of the other sonnet settings in Petrucci's fourth book that share its tripartite structure (see Table 1.5) reveals a general pattern of *cadential polarization*, or alternation between cadences on two pitches that are maximally distant from one another within the diatonic collection (i.e. at the interval of a perfect fourth or perfect fifth). The resulting individual patterns take several forms. The pattern of cadences in the "Modo," for example, is D-G-G-G for each quatrain and D-G-G for each tercet. But in "Va posa l'archo e la pharetra amore," by contrast, the pattern is G-D-D-G and G-D-G (see Table 1.6 and Example 1.5). And "Mentre che a tua belta fisso dimoro," which is attributed to Cara in Petrucci's edition, features an "evaded" cadence at the termination of the second phrase, the Bassus undercutting what otherwise, at least from a contrapuntal perspective, would be a cadence on A, thus recalling the contrasting second section of "Mal un muta" (see Table 1.7 and Example 1.6). Two final examples, "Benche inimica e tediosa sei" and "Chi vede gir la mia dea si honesta," are actually one, because their music is identical. Alone among this group of sonnet settings, they feature a "plagal" cadence on A at the end of the phrase, as part of the pattern A-A-A-D and A-A-D (see Table 1.8 and Example 1.7).

Although we need to be wary about drawing over-general conclusions on the basis of so small a sample, the abstract pattern of cadential polarization these songs reveal suggests that additional indexical relations were at stake in the coincidence of cadences *on certain pitches* and the terminations of poetic lines. Just as rhyme-endings structure the content of poems on the basis of patterns of similar and contrasting phonemes, this cadential polarization organized the closure of musical phrases into patterns of similar and contrasting pitches, which appear

to have been determined, at least in part, by hierarchies within the diatonic collection. In some cases, the resulting musical structures bear an unmistakable resemblance to their poetic analogues: in "Va posa l'archo" (Example 1.5), each cadence on G aligns with an "A" or a "C" rhyme, and each cadence on D a "B" or a "D" rhyme. However, on the whole such perfect congruence is relatively rare. The more important point, with respect to the broader culture of declamatory song around 1500, is that *some cadential pitches indexed specific positions—and usually, indeed, classes of positions—within poetic texts by virtue of their relations to other pitches*. This was a uniquely musical formalism brought to bear in the act of setting sonnets, and widely dispersed, as we will find, in the rest of the repertory, yet it was not reducible to any single pitch: a pattern of affordances in flux.

It has proven tempting to interpret such patterns in the light of later tonal preferences and the modern system of tonality. Edward Lowinsky, as noted above, famously described the cadence as the "cradle of tonality" and moreover he assigned to the frottola and its Spanish-language counterpart the villancico the "place of honor" in "the advance of tonality in European music."[66] Lowinsky was drawn to open/closed, antecedent/consequent structures of the kind so often manifested, especially in the parallel periods of Viennese classicism, with cadential punctuation on the dominant and tonic, respectively.[67] Although many of Lowinsky's interpretations have long ago fallen out of favor among historians of this repertory, such thinking persists even today. In a recent article on Thomas Morley's late-sixteenth-century recompositions of *balletti* by Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, Megan Kaes Long has drawn a causal historical link between their "characteristic tonality" and the "gradual emergence of eighteenth-century tonal traits."[68] The term "characteristic tonality" is Long's coinage and, at least in Morley's case, it

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[66] Lowinsky, *Tonality and Atonality*, 4 and 18.

[67] For example, see ibid, 13.

[68] Long, "Characteristic Tonality," 268.

Table 1.5: Three-phrase sonnet settings in Petrucci's fourth book of *frottole*

Folio	Incipit	Attribution	Heading	Final
vii	Va posa l'archo e la pharetra amore	Anonymous		G
xiiii	Untexted [Modo de cantar sonetti]	Anonymous		G
xv	Benche inimica e tediosa sei	Anonymous	"Sonetto"	D
xvi	Mentre che a tua belta fisso dimoro	Marchetto Cara	"Sonetto"	G
xxx	Chi vede gir la mia dea si honesta	Anonymous		D

Table 1.6: Musico-poetic plan of "Va posa l'archo e la pharetra amore"

Phrase	Poetic Line	Rhyme Ending	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
1	1	A	G	m. 4	Tenor, Cantus
2	2	B	D	m. 8	Tenor, Cantus
2	*3*	*A*	*D*	*m. 8*	*Tenor, Cantus*
3	4	A	G	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus
1	5	A	G	m. 4	Tenor, Cantus
2	6	C	D	m. 8	Tenor, Cantus
2	*7*	*D*	*D*	*m. 8*	*Tenor, Cantus*
3	8	A	G	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus
1	9	C	G	m. 4	Tenor, Cantus
2	10	D	D	m. 8	Tenor, Cantus
3	11	C	G	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus
1	12	C	G	m. 4	Tenor, Cantus
2	13	D	D	m. 8	Tenor, Cantus
3	14	C	G	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus

denotes features that could just as well describe some aspects of the tripartite sonnet settings of Petrucci's fourth book:

> Morley uses regular metrical periodicity in combination with statement-response phrase structure; these regulatory techniques enable his balletts to articulate formally significant dominant-tonic relationships. Such relationships, presented with metrical regularity at multiple levels of formal hierarchy, established a stylistic norm wherein pairs of tonally open and tonally closed musical utterances reoccurred at the level of the phrase segment, phrase, phrase group, and form.

Petrucci's tripartite sonnet settings may extend the link Long has discerned even further back

Table 1.7: Musico-poetic plan of "Mentre che a tua belta fisso dimoro"

Phrase	Poetic Line	Rhyme Ending	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
1	1	A	C	m. 4	Tenor, Cantus
2	2	B	Evaded	m. 8	N/A
2	*3*	*B*	*Evaded*	*m. 8*	*N/A*
3	4	A	G	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus
1	5	A	C	m. 4	Tenor, Cantus
2	6	B	Evaded	m. 8	N/A
2	*7*	*B*	*Evaded*	*m. 8*	*N/A*
3	8	A	G	m. 12	Tenor/Cantus
1	9	C	C	m. 4	Tenor/Cantus
2	10	D	Evaded	m. 8	N/A
3	11	C	G	m. 12	Tenor/Cantus
1	12	C	C	m. 4	Tenor/Cantus
2	13	D	Evaded	m. 8	N/A
3	14	C	G	m. 12	Tenor/Cantus

Table 1.8: Musico-poetic plan of "Benche inimica" and "Chi vede"

Phrase	Poetic Line	Rhyme Ending	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
1	1	A	A (Plagal)	m. 4	N/A (no clausula)
2	2	B	A	m. 8	Tenor, Cantus
2	*3*	*B*	*A*	*m. 8*	*Tenor, Cantus*
3	4	A	D	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus
1	5	A	A (Plagal)	m. 4	N/A (no clausula)
2	6	D	A	m. 8	Tenor, Cantus
2	*7*	*D*	*A*	*m. 8*	*Tenor, Cantus*
3	8	A	D	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus
1	9	C	A (Plagal)	m. 4	N/A (no clausula)
2	10	D	A	m. 8	Tenor, Cantus
3	11	C	D	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus
1	12	C	A (Plagal)	m. 4	N/A (no clausula)
2	13	D	A	m. 8	Tenor, Cantus
3	14	C	D	m. 12	Tenor, Cantus

than Gastoldi and his *balletti*, to vernacular song at the turn of the *cinquecento*. Indeed her description of "pairs of tonally open and tonally closed musical utterances" recalls the manner in which Taruskin has written about Cara's "Mal un muta," in which cadential polarization also features prominently.[69]

Yet this group of songs can also serve as an object lesson in the risk of generalizing about tonal systems and analyzing earlier musical patterns in light of later developments. Petrucci's fourth book also featured a final sonnet setting, Nicolo Pifarò's "Pensa donna che 'l tempo fugge al vento," which is unlike the others in comprising six phrases of music in total, organized as two sets of three, the first for the quatrains and the second for the tercets. These repetitions are a holdover from the tripartite schemes, in that they emphasize yet again the salience of rhyme-endings to the musical and cadential plans of frottole. However, the two sets of phrases follow slightly different cadential plans, and in this Pifarò's setting marks out a modest distance from the three-phrase schemes we have encountered previously. Furthermore, its cadences are not polarized between two pitches but fall on three: D, A, and C (see Table 1.9 and Example 1.4). And, whereas the tripartite sonnet settings in Petrucci's fourth book feature pitch repetitions at the beginnings of one or more phrases, this cliché is absent from "Pensa donna." Pifaro's setting shares in a general way the style of the other sonnet settings in this book: the text setting is syllabic, with many of the lines set off from the next by a rest; each phrase is of the same duration (approximately four breves); and the four-voice texture is predominantly homophonic. Nevertheless, it lacks some of the basic tropes and procedures that lend the others a formulaic, *aria*-like quality with respect to the song principle and the indexical relation between music and text.

Cadential polarization, one such procedure, thus did not have had the totalizing regulative force that we associate with tonal systems, at least not as a generalizable principle. Its

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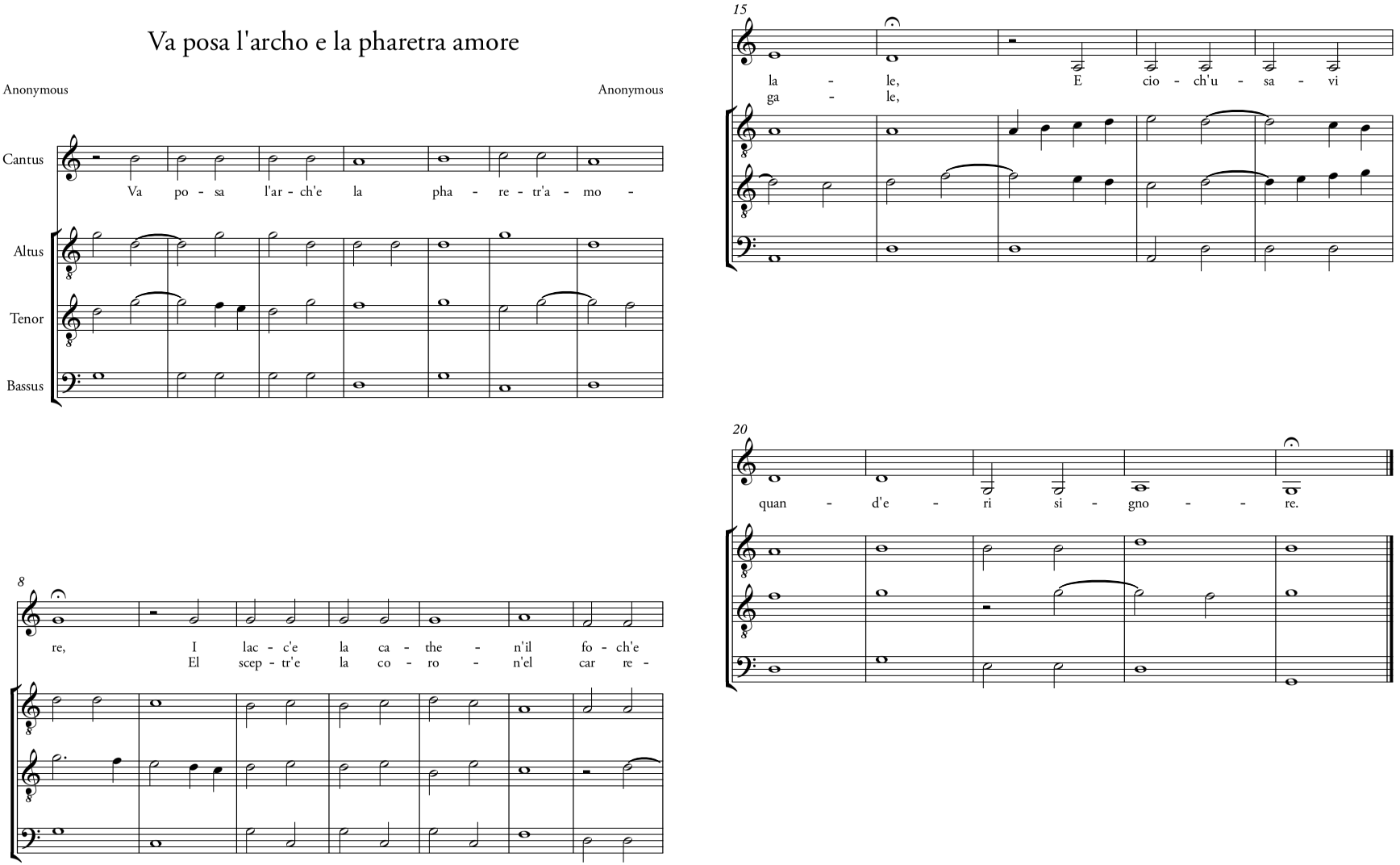
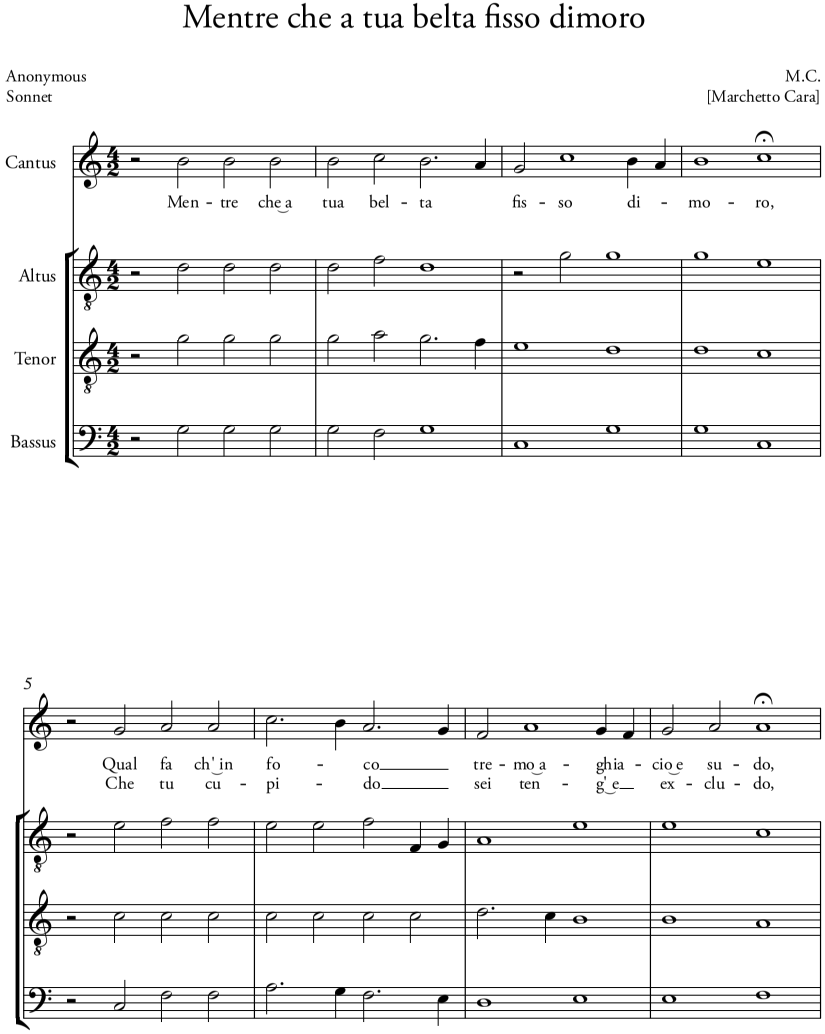
[69] Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. I, 694.

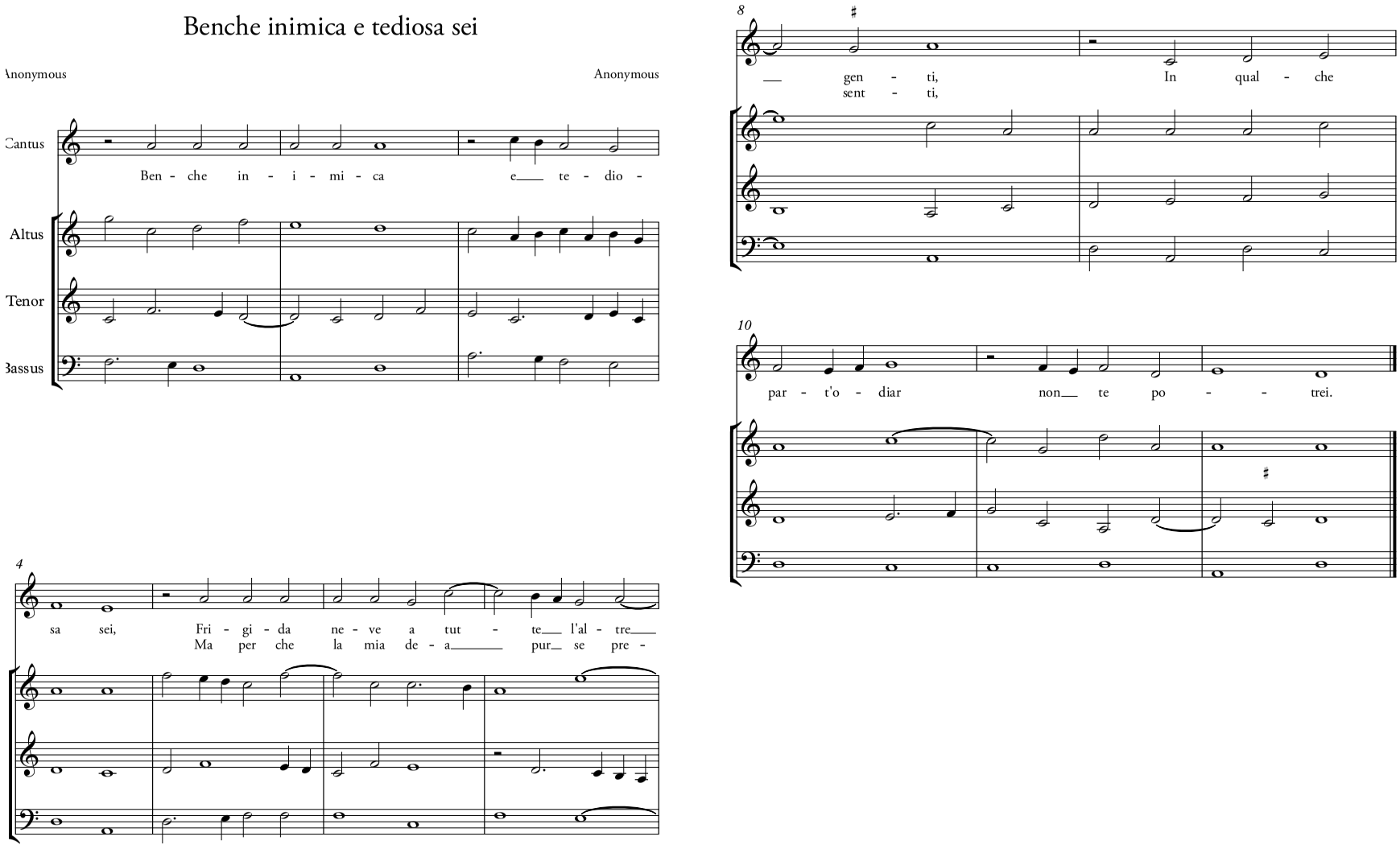
Example 1.5: “Va posa l’archo e la pharetra amore”



Example 1.6: Marchetto Cara, “Mentre che a tua belta fisso dimoro” (continued over)



Example 1.7: “Benche inimica e tediosa sei”



status, rather, was more like that of the melodic gestures of "opening" and "closing" that recur so often in Petrucci's frottole, and above all in his *arie*: it was a musical archetype whose affordances made it well suited, as in the case of "Va posa l'archo," to indexing positions within the forms of poetic texts. Feldman has suggested parallels between the proliferation of commonplace gestures in *cinquecento* song and the Petrarchan gestures with which its texts were rife. These gestures and clichés, as she has observed, drawing from Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions*, accumulated in rich "cultural storehouses" that served poets and musicians as repositories of models to be imitated—indeed, to be replicated. Music and vernacular poetry of the period typified twin traditions, each of which vacilated between originality and imitation as they converged in song repertories like that of Petrucci's frottola anthologies.

The *similarities* among the tripartite sonnet settings in Petrucci's fourth book imply that they were linked to one another through shared histories of replications of models, which together formed nodes in the network of replications that constituted the cultural archive they mined. In this, because of its differences from the rest of the group, they also throw into relief what was original to Pifaro's song. This difference reveals certain limits to what we might call the *substitutability* (recalling the other of Davis's terms) of one song's music for that of another. Again, there is ample evidence that musicians and patrons of the period often felt strongly that a song's music was particularly well suited to its text. But if *arie* invited singers to substitute one text for another with the same music, did they not also use multiple musical settings for the same poem? Surely this is an implication of the didacticism of the tripartite sonnet settings in Petrucci's fourth book, which share so much common ground and yet diverge from one another in a few highly specific ways, such their cadential plans. It is not hard to imagine one of the original users of the book, favorite text in hand, testing out the suitability of its different sonnet settings.

We need to discern in Petrucci's repertory a spectrum of music-text relations deter-

Table 1.9: Musico-poetic plan of Nicolò Pifaro's "Pensa donna"

Phrase	Poetic Line	Rhyme Ending	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
1	1	A	A	m. 8	Tenor, Bassus
2	2	B	C	m. 16	[Altus], Tenor
2	*3*	*B*	*C*	*m. 24*	*[Altus], Tenor*
3	4	A	D	m. 32	Cantus, Tenor
1	5	A	A	m. 8	Tenor, Bassus
2	6	B	C	m. 16	[Altus], Tenor
2	*7*	*B*	*C*	*m. 24*	*[Altus], Tenor*
3	8	A	D	m. 32	Cantus, Tenor
4	9	C	D	m. 40	Altus, Bassus
5	10	D	C	m. 48	[Cantus], Tenor
6	11	C	D	m. 57	Cantus, Tenor
4	12	C	D	m. 40	Altus, Bassus
5	13	D	C	m. 48	[Cantus], Tenor
6	14	C	D	m. 57	Cantus, Tenor

mined by the song principle. On one hand were songs akin to Petrarch's poems, many of them attributed to well-known composers such as Pifaro, Cara, or Bartolomeo Tromboncino, which were characterized by their originality and nonreplicatory nature. Such artifacts were what we usually call works, because we believe they attest to the labors of their creators: "Pensa donna," for example, is the outcome of Pifaro's work. Petrucci's unprecedented commitment to attributing the music he published whenever possible, to which I return below, seems to have coincided with an emerging discourse on musical authorship in which, as Rob Wegman has argued, the outlines of the modern figure of the "composer" began to take shape.[70] To some extent, at least, the work of composers—whom Wegman has opposed to "makers," those who "[wrote] down music that might just as well have been sung collectively"—could be measured by a song's non-similarity and non-substitutability. But on the other hand, and widespread in this repertory, were artifacts of convention, which were characterized by anonymity and substi-

[70] See Wegman, "From Maker to Composer," especially 478.

tutability: these were songs like Petrucci's *arie*. The replicatory traditions they manifested were sometimes in tension with the authorship, and I investigate the later history of that tension in Chapter 4. Yet if *arie* typified the song principle, the composers of frottole, too, replicated it almost as a matter of course.

Petrucci's *arie*, then, were much more than the archival traces of ephemeral or "unwritten" improvisatory traditions otherwise lost to us. They served an additional archival function that we are now in a better position to appreciate: as archetypes of the song principle's formal homologies, they comprised a repository of models to be replicated in new, potentially transformative performances. In this they constituted a *cultural archive*, taking the phrase to mean what Michel Foucault described in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* as that which "[reveals] the rules of a practice that enable statements both to survive and to undergo regular modification."[71] Petrucci's *arie* archived a system of indexical relations between music and text for the purpose of its replication, so that singers could substitute different texts that fit their model, embellish its phases with ornaments, and write their own similar *arie*. This cultural archive, disclosing the rules of the practice, traced pathways through the various replications entailed in each of those activities. The archive was transformed as variations arising in the process of replication fed back into the archiving function of new songs. And, owing to the new scale of production eventually achieved by music printing, the archive must have come to regulate with unprecedented force the formalisms gathered by the song principle.

Strambotto Formalisms

Here, perhaps, we come up against the limits of the archive, in the more conventional sense of that word. The foregoing analysis suggests in a general way that the (Foucauldian) archive exercised its power by transmitting socially and culturally situated formalisms in the act

[71] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 130.

of replicating forms. Yet in many instances we lack even the most basic contextual information about individual songs, preventing us fully from reconstructing their relations to one another. We can see the nodes of a network but not its edges. Certainly we can measure statistical properties of the aggregate and stipulate the "rules" that must have governed the making of frottole, in the manner of corpus analysis, but such statistical abstractions risk obscuring specific histories of replication as they bore on individual songs, and thus the histories of the "rules." This incommensurability of "our" abstractions and "theirs" is an all but insurmountable historiographic problem unless we leverage what Petrucci's *arie* have taught us about the culture of declamatory song. For although the subsequent replications that Petrucci's *arie* must have invited from their users left us no discernible material traces, they signal a robust practice that extended outward throughout the rest of his broader repertory, in which the song principle was a vital historical force.

Both the subtlety of that principle and the variety of its affordances are apparent even in the simplest of the forms represented in Petrucci's anthologies, the strambotto. Strambotti enjoyed a brief period of extraordinary popularity at the turn of the sixteenth century, a phenomenon that Giovanni Zanovello has explored in his recent article about the Estense Codex, also known as Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.F.9.9 (hereafter ModE).[72] Copied as a gift from a learned music teacher at the cathedral school in Padua to one of his former students, and completed in 1496, it is the only presentation manuscript we have from that period that was devoted exclusively to Italian vernacular song.[73] Also unusual is ModE's high concentration of strambotti—the highest, in fact, among all surviving print and manuscript sources of frottole, with strambotti accounting for as many as 98 of the 104 songs the codex

[72] Zanovello, "The musical strambotto," especially 16-17.

[73] On ModE, see also Jeppesen, *La frottola*, II, 76–82 and 166–71 and La Face Bianconi, *Gli strambotti*.

originally contained.[74] Although ModE is an exceptional example in this respect, three other major sources of vernacular song compiled in the decade after it was completed also showcase the form: two other manuscripts (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana e Archivio Storico Civico, MS 55; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique, Fonds du Conservatoire, MS Rés. Vm7 676, and Petrucci's fourth book.[75] Altogether, approximately half of the songs in these sources are strambotti, far greater than the proportion of strambotti in the frottola repertory as a whole, of which they made up approximately 10% in 1505.[76] By the 1520s strambotti had mostly faded from the written record of Italian song, with some notable exceptions we will encounter in Chapters 2 and 3.

What accounted for the disproportionate representation of strambotti in the earlier sources? Part of the answer, according to Zanovello, hinges on the form's close association with *improvvisatori* like Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500) and Benedetto Gareth (ca. 1450–1514), called Il Cariteo.[77] Thanks to its elevation in the late *quattrocento* by such figures, whose verse was well represented in Petrucci's repertory, the *strambotto* occupied an ambiguous middle ground between "popular" and "literary" poetic registers that apparently had special appeal

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[74] As Zanovello explains, the loss of part of the codex makes it difficult to pinpoint this number precisely; his estimate of 86-98 *strambotti* is based on the index. See his "The musical strambotto," 16, n. 33.

[75] The manuscripts sources are Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana e Archivio Storico Civico (Castello Sforzesco), MS 55; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique, Fonds du Conservatoire, MS Rés. Vm7 676. Three of the sources—ModE, Petrucci's fourth book, and the Milanese manuscript—are from the Veneto. For more details, see Zanovello, "The musical strambotto," 16-17.

[76] Zanovello bases this estimate on the subsequent Petrucci prints, which my research confirms. See Zanovello, "'You Will Take This Sacred Book': The musical strambotto as a learned gift," 17.

[77] Serafino's fame is well documented, especially in Vincenzo Calmeta's well-known biography of the singer, "Vita del facondo poeta vulgare Serafino Aquilano" (1504), translated by Gary Tomlinson as "Life of the Fertile Vernacular Composer Serafino Aquilano" in *Source Readings*, 321-5. The association with improvisation must also have owed much to the resemblance between the *strambotto toscano* and the *ottava rima*, which was widely used in the oral tradition of epic and mock-epic poetry; for more on this resemblance, see Chapter 2. On Serafino, see also Giuseppina La Face Bianconi and Antonio Rossi, *Le rime di Serafino Aquilano in musica*.

for aristocratic amateurs in this period.[78] ModE bears out the association with improvisation insofar as the manuscript's compiler, Giovanni Francesco da Vaccarino, appears to have selected only the most formulaic variety of musical setting. That Vaccarino presented the songs in ModE without attributing their music strengthens the implication of their substitutability: it is as if they were simply too much like one another to be recognizable as the distinctive works of particular composers. Indeed, Zanovello speculates that Vaccarino might have appreciated these strambotti less as works in their own right than as emblems of the kind of musical activity he valued, as gestures in the direction of improvisation.

Even among the minimalistic strophic forms of the frottola repertory, settings of *strambotti* tended toward musical economy, and this is especially evident in ModE. The concise modularity of the poetic form, eight *endecasillabi* organized into four distichs, clearly encouraged this tendency. Of the three main types of poetic *strambotti*, which were distinguished by their rhyme schemes, the most prevalent in this repertory was the so-called *strambotto toscano* variant, rhyming *ab ab ab cc*.[79] The contrast in the *toscano* between the first three distichs (*ab*) and the fourth (*cc*) was effectively lost in ModE's strambotti, which provided music only for a single distich, to be repeated three times. In other words, these songs set their texts as if every poem were a *strambotto siciliano*, in which the rhyme scheme is *ab ab ab ab*. Because the accentual patterns of the words in each distich were usually variable, Zanovello suggests that singers might have manipulated the rhythms they sang on each pass through the music, adding ornaments as their skills permitted. In this way, the strambotti in ModE afforded what he calls a "simplified modality of improvisation."[80] This is the crux of their generic or *aria*-like quality, and it can be seen in their almost uniform adherence a single musico-poetic plan.

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[78] Zanovello, "The musical strambotto," 22.

[79] Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 65.

[80] Zanovello, "The musical strambotto," 22.

An anonymous setting of one of Serafino's *strambotti* from ModE will serve to demonstrate the structure of that plan as unfolding in two sections of music, each divided into two phrases at the caesura, as indicated by a *signum concordantiae* (see Example 1.8). The text setting in the first phrase of each section is syllabic and features several pitch repetitions, often as little more than an expanded cadential formula, before leading into the melismatic outpouring of a slightly longer second phrase. The phrase endings are clearly punctuated by cadences of various kinds, and a full semibreve's rest further separates the two sections of music from one another. Here too we find evidence of cadential polarization in the song's alternation between terminations on C and G as one of several common strategies found in the repertory of ModE for indexing textual closure musically (see Table 1.9). It is in a style more florid than that of all the *arie* we have encountered to this point, which have been syllabic almost without exception, and yet we can see it as having expanded upon the melodic gestures of beginning and ending to which they gave testimony above.

Strambotto settings in this florid style are one of two types populating Petrucci's repertory, the other being more syllabic in nature, and they reveal a more widely shared formalism concerning the relation between this specific poetic form and its musical counterpart, organized as a series of indexical relations between language and music. We can see how varied were the many affordances of this formalism by comparing two further examples from Petrucci's fourth book, both of the more syllabic type, which are preserved across from one another in an opening near its middle: Bartolomeo Tromboncino's "Non temo de brusciar per alcun focho" and Marchetto Cara's "Dilecto albergo e tu beato nido."[81] Both songs accommodate their eight-line texts in three phrases of music, but they do so in slightly different ways. In "Non

[81] The songs are attributed to B.T. and M.C., respectively, but these must be Tromboncino and Cara. Both are named elsewhere in this and the other books, and they are the figures associated most closely with the *frottola*. For a brief discussion of "Dilecto Albergo" see Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, p. 109. "Dilecto albergo" is also preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique, Fonds du Conservatoire, MS Rés. Vm7 676, ff. [13r-14v].

temo," which exemplifies the simplest and most formulaic type of strambotto setting, the first two sections of music carry the text, one line per phrase, and a four-barreled repeat sign directs that they be repeated four times over to sing the whole text (see Example 1.9). The third phrase, comprising everything after the repeat sign, is untexted, perhaps as a brief instrumental tag to be played between each distich or as a coda.[82] In "Dilecto albergo," instead, the first two phrases of music are stated three times, conveying the first six lines of the poem (see Example 10). The third phrase is then stated twice for the final distich.[83]

The text of Tromboncino's "Non temo de brusciar per alcun focho," which another source attributes to the obscure figure Paulo di Paulini, employs a conceit that takes full advantage of the form's repeating bipartite structure:[84]

Non temo de brusciar per alcun focho	I'm not afraid of burning in any fire,
Che'l focho [che] nel pecto ogn'altro avanza	For the fire in my breast surpasses every other;
Ne de sumerger credo in alcun locho	Nor do I fear being submerged in any place,
Che in un lago de pianti ho la mia stanza	Because I have my dwelling in a lake of tears;
De ciaschun vento stimo el furor pocho	I hold for little the fury of any wind,
Che quel de mie suspir ha piu possanza	Because the wind of my sighs has more power.
Per farme amor d'ogni martir cimento	To put me to the test of every pain, Love
Mi fa restar al focho al aqua al vento.	Makes me stay in the fire, the water, and the wind.

In the first line of each of the first three distichs, the speaker boasts his unconcern for the threats of fire, water, and wind—a studied unconcern, depenent on Petrarchist clichés evinced in each distich's second line: each element is wreaking such metaphorical havoc from within that it poses no external threat. The final distich reveals the underlying source of the speaker's torment to be Love. There are hints of sophistication in the playful conflation of the poetic figure with the real thing, and in the anaphora of the conjunction "che" that hinges the poem's

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[82] Regarding the performance conventions for such sections of music, see Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 108.

[83] In *Courtly Pastimes*, 109, Prizer has described as "an obvious method of emphasizing the closing rhyme scheme," since its contrasting music supplies a direct analogue to the new rhyme ending of the final distich.

[84] On the attribution to Paulini, see Cattin, "Nomi di rimatori."

Example 1.8: “Se’l zapator il giorno se a fatica”

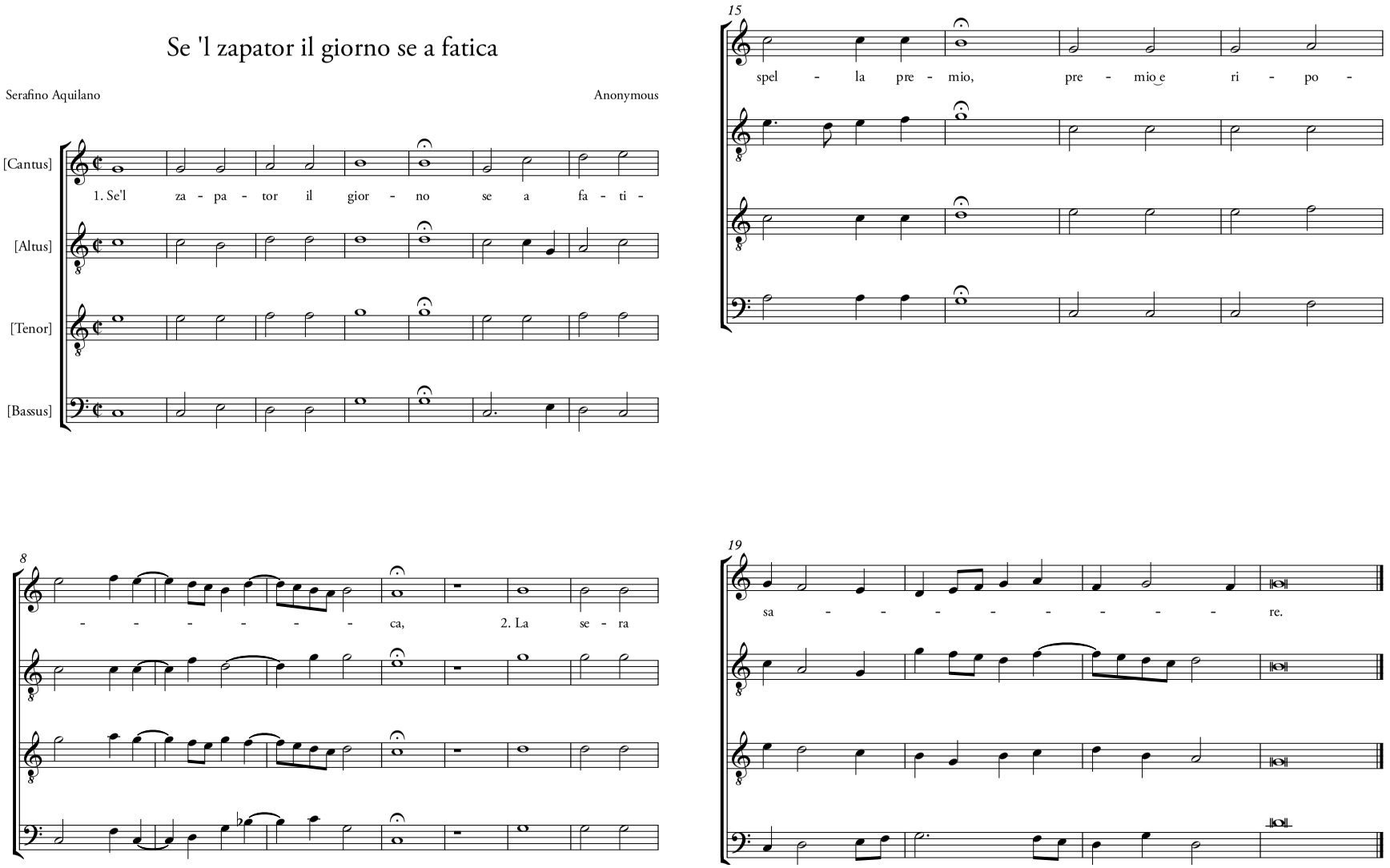


Table 1.10: Musico-poetic plan of "Se'l zapator il giorno se a fatica"

Phrase	Text	Rhyme	Cadence	Measure	Cadential Voices
A1	Odd lines, first hemistich		G	m. 4	[Cantus]/Tenor
A2	Odd lines, second hemistich	A	C	m. 11	Cantus/Tenor
B1	Even lines, first hemistich		G	m. 16	Altus/Bassus
B2	Even lines, second hemistich	B	G	m. 22	Cantus/Tenor

form and content. But the text is simple, and its imagery exaggerated but conventional, typical of *poesia per musica* of the period. Indeed, its most singular feature is the parallel syntax of the first three distichs, marked by the anaphora.

This aspect of the syntax reinforces the bipartite structure that the rhyme scheme suggests, and in this it is well matched by the musical plan that Tromboncino chose, based on two repeating sections. Although they rarely did so with the rhetorical clarity of Paulini's conceit in "Non temo," writers of *strambotti* often took the form's alternating rhyme scheme as an invitation to organize its eight lines into syntactically complete distichs, often with strong line breaks (we will see in Chapter 2 that this tendency distinguished lyric *strambotti* from epic *stanze* of the same form). The musicians who then set their poetry in the two-phrase template often followed suit, emphasizing the contrast between each phrase of the tune. Tromboncino's setting of "Non temo" exemplifies this formal gambit, albeit in exaggerated fashion.

Tromboncino's setting alternates between a pair of phrases sharply differentiated, among other things, by tessitura, contour, rhythmic activity, and the pitch of cadential resolution. In the song's first phrase, the text-bearing Cantus voice makes the small leap from C to E, before undertaking a stepwise ascent to the C above, outlining in the process the rest of the diatonic scale. Following a suspension cadence to C, the melodic line descends again, reaching its terminus on D, a step above the initial pitch, supported in the lower voices by a cadence on G (see Table 1.11). In contrast with the wide tessitura and rhythmic activity of the first phrase, the song's second phrase is more subdued. After making an initial leap to the diapente the line

settles back, hovering around its final, C, for more than six breves, where it remains as if locked in an extended cadential holding pattern.

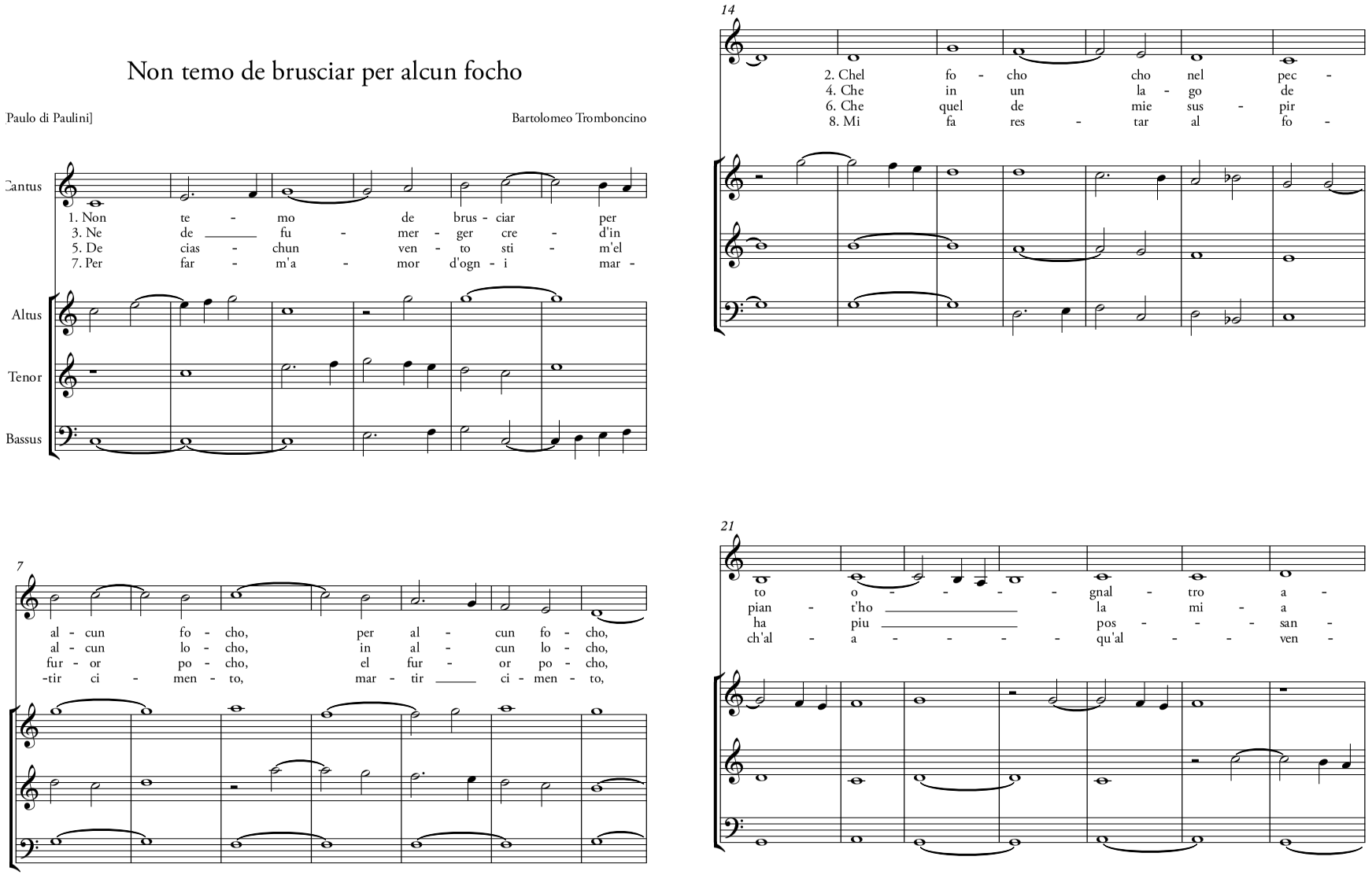
In contrast with the parallel structure and vivid imagery of the first three distichs of "Non temo," the text of Cara's "Dilecto albergo" features a more tortuous syntax and subtler metaphors:

Dilecto albergo e tu beato nido	Delightful dwelling and you, happy nest,
In cui nacque il principio del mio focho	In which was born the source of my fire,
Ivi [gittò] mia dea suo primo grido	There my goddess let out her first cry,
Presaga del mio mal[;] tu sei quel locho	Presaging my pain; you are that place
E for' uscir del qual io non me fido	From which I doubt I will ever emerge;
La causa nel mio pecto la colloco	I stash the cause away in my breast;
E dubito morir anzi esce fore	And I fear I will die before it can come forth;
Che spesso onde un' nasce l'altro more.	Thus often where one is born, another dies.

The repetition of the same vowel at the end of each of the first six lines is a slightly unusual, in that it leaves intact the alternating rhyme scheme (*-ido*, *-oco*) but narrows the phonetic differentiation between the two lines of each distich. The vowel repetition defers full formal closure typical of each of the first three distichs to the last one. This technique accentuates the feature of the text that most sets it apart from "Non temo," namely its syntactic complexity.

Cara's setting adopts a parallel strategy of weakened closure (see Example 1.10). The first section reverses the order of the musical clichés of beginning and ending that we have come to recognize as conventions of this repertory, with a melismatic opening that makes an octave-leap cadence—normally a sign of finality or textual completion—at the caesura. The setting of the second hemistich in this section, by contrast, features the type of monotonal recitation usually associated instead with the beginnings of phrases. Meanwhile, both the first and second sections terminate with cadences on A (see Table 1.12). This gives the rhyme scheme's vowel repetition, as well as its deferral of formal closure, a direct musical analogue: only in the third phrase does the tune cadence decisively to D, in a gesture of musical closure (complete with the octave leap in the Bassus) that is repeated for the two lines of the final distich.

Example 1.9: Bartholomeo Tromboncino, “Non temo de brusciar per alcun focho”



Example 1.9: Bartholomeo Tromboncino, “Non temo de brusciar per alcun focho” (continued)

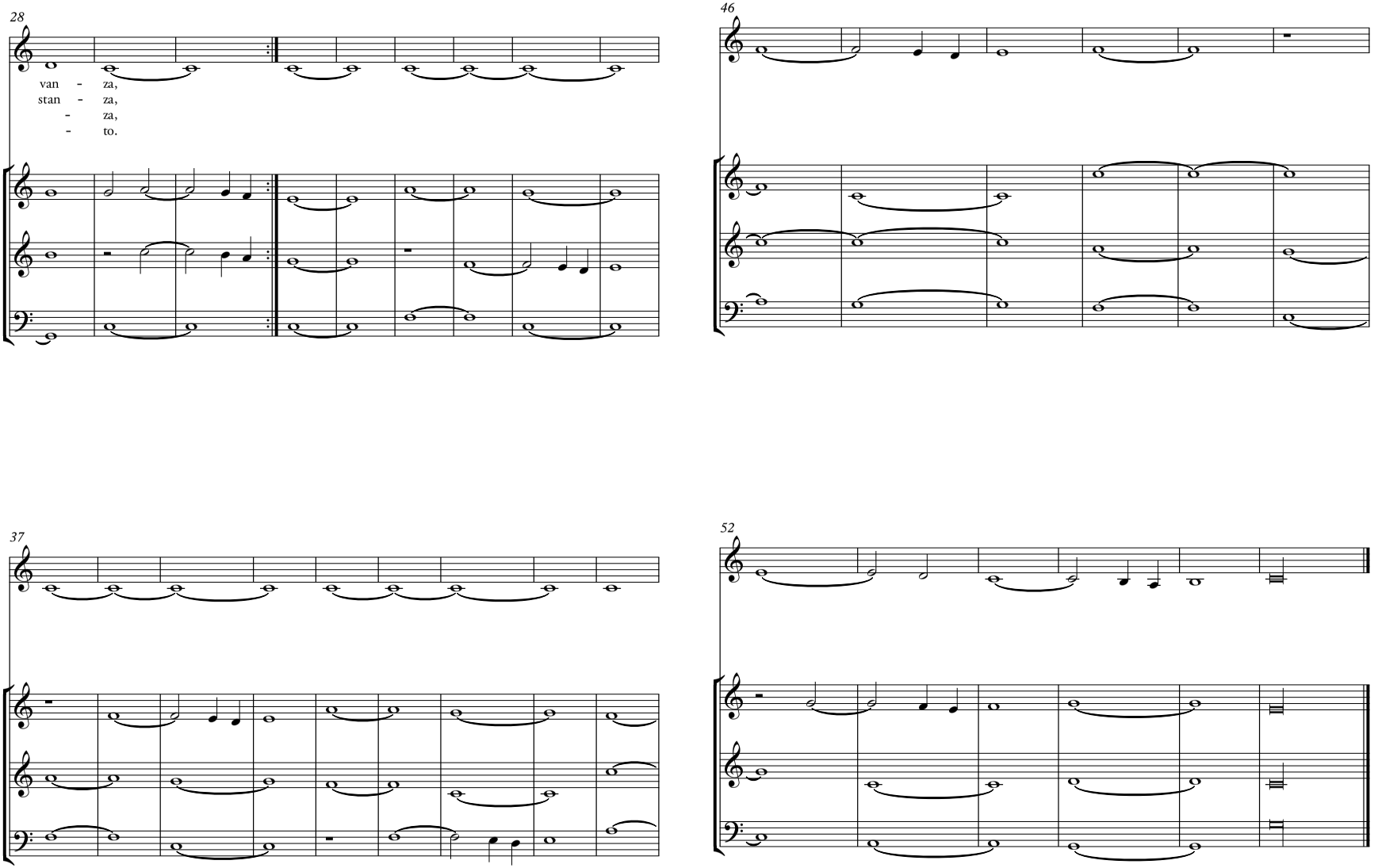


Table 1.11: Musico-poetic plan of "Non temo de brusciar per alcun focho"

Phrase	Text	Rhyme	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
A	Even lines	A	G	m. 7	Altus, Bassus
B	Odd lines	B	C	m. 15	Cantus, Bassus
C	Coda (untexted)	A	G	m. 29	Cantus, Tenor

In these examples, we have begun to see some of the ways in which musicians, responding both to the formal and also the semantic aspects of their texts, achieved variety within the affordances of a simple formalism. "Non temo" and "Dilecto albergo" clearly evince different formal strategies in poetry and music. Yet their comparison shows an underlying similarity, and, despite their differences, both songs put cadential polarization into the service of indexing specific features of the texts at hand. Although their side-by-side placement in Petrucci's print was probably coincidental, it is also fortuitous, since it reveals a shared musical formalism in their cadential plans.

This formalism was by no means ubiquitous among Petrucci's strambotti, let alone among frottole in general. Yet its regulative power can be seen in two of the most unusual exemplars in Petrucci's repertory: Tromboncino's "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile" and Cara's "Occhi mei lassi poi che perso haveti." Both appear in the fourth book, which, as Zanovello has recently pointed out, included more strambotti that show complex plans of musical organization than most other sources for the form.[85] Many of these more-complex strambotti are concentrated in the book's first two gatherings, where indeed we find these extraordinary examples by Tromboncino and Cara. The former's "A che affligi" is unparalleled in having a Cantus voice that spans nearly two octaves, beginning in F4 clef and ending in C2 clef, making demands upon its singer's range that are replicated nowhere else in the repertory. In

[85] In "The musical strambotto," 21, Zanovello has attributed this atypical variety and complexity to the marketplace imperatives of the Venetian publishing world, which prized authorship as an indicator of literary value. According to this perspective, Petrucci presumably hoped that the names of composers like Tromboncino and Cara might serve an authorial function, attached to songs whose divergences from the simplest possible formula bore witness to their originality as works.

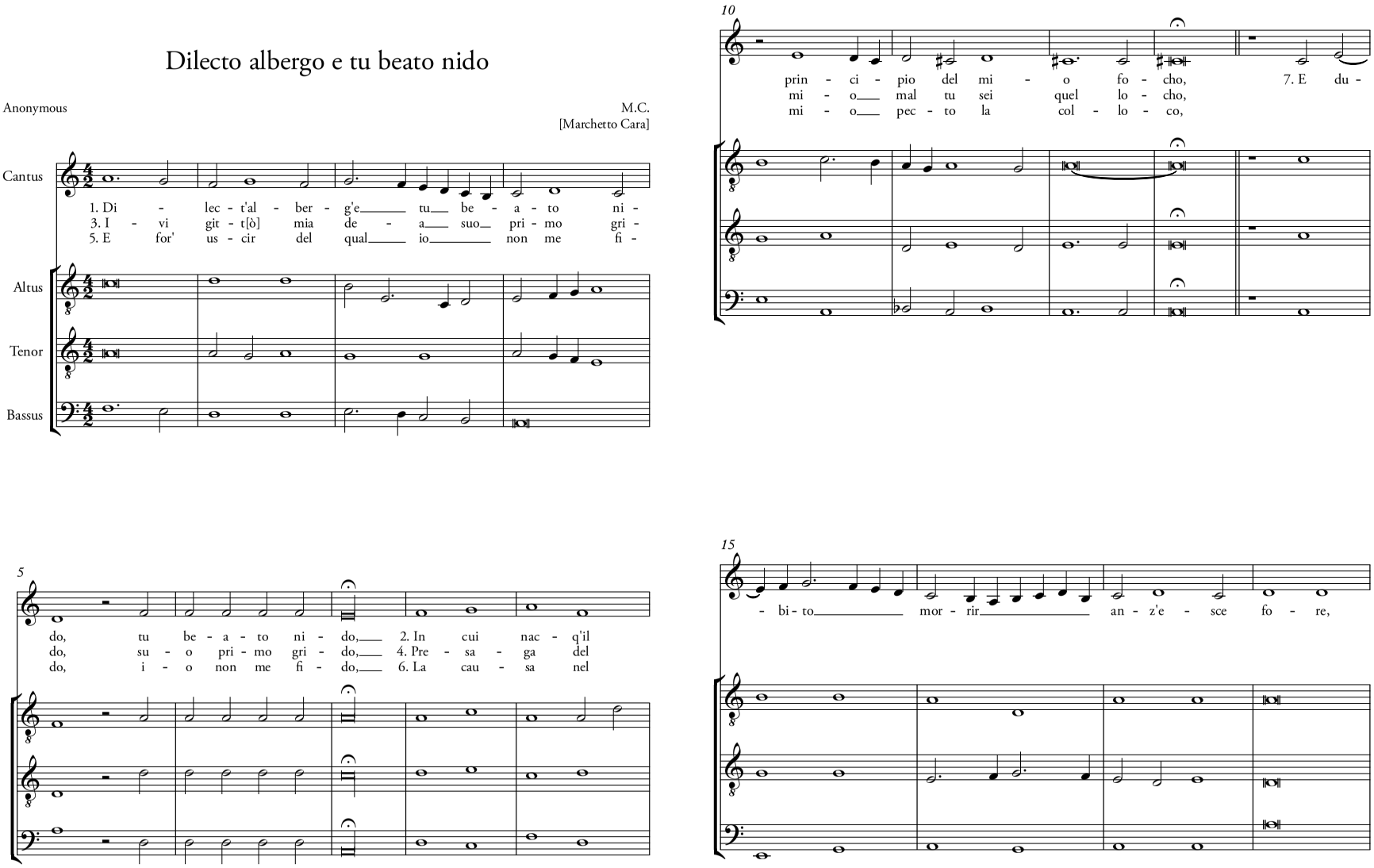
Table 1.12: Musico-poetic plan of "Dilecto albergo e tu beato nido"

Phrase	Text	Rhyme	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
A	Lines 1, 3, and 5	A	A	m. 7	Bassus, Tenor
B	Lines 2, 4, and 6	B	A (Phrygian)	m. 13	Bassus, Tenor
C	Lines 7 and 8	C	D	m. 19	Altus, Cantus

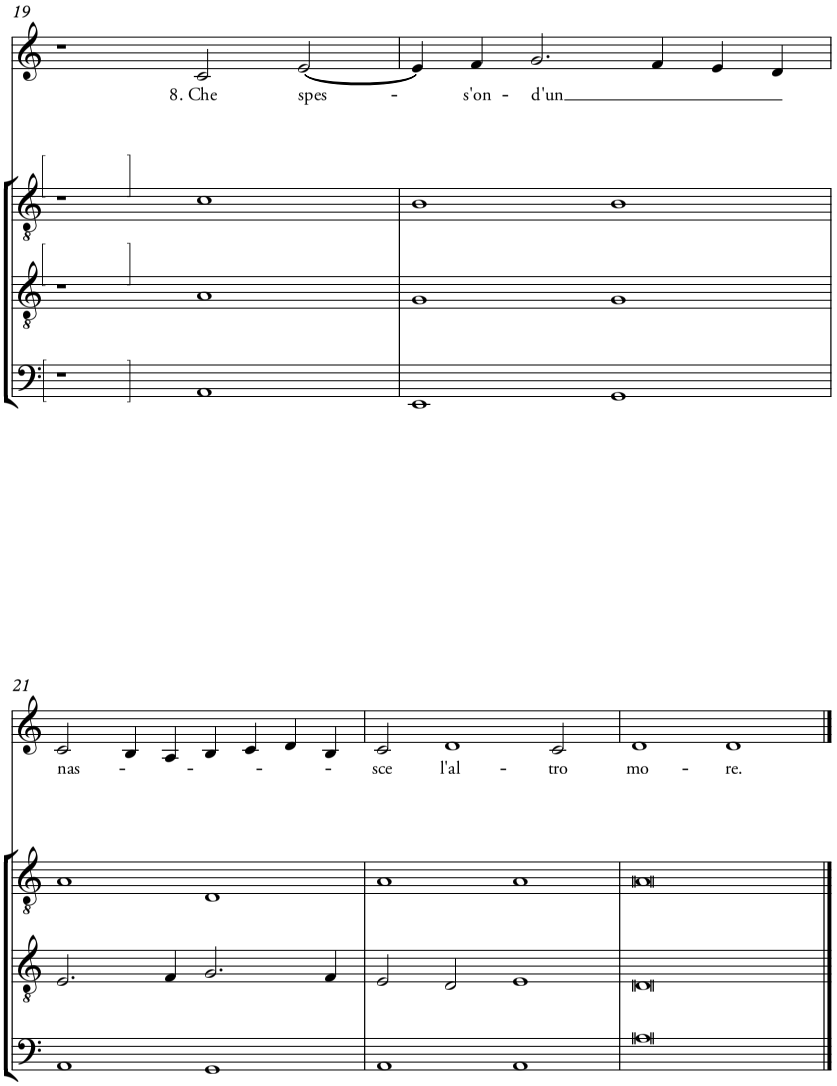
fact, "A che affligi" is the only frottola in Petrucci's prints whose Cantus voice is notated even partly with an F clef. Notwithstanding these unusual features, however, let us note that "A che affligi" has these things in common with simpler strambotto formulae: it is syllabic, with phrases punctuated by cadences at hypermetrically regular intervals, and those cadences fall suggestively into a regular pattern of alternation between A and D at the ends of odd and even lines, respectively (see Table 1.13). This pattern gives striking evidence of a closer adherence to the formulaic bipartite design than first meets the eye, and suggests that even the most original and work-like strambotti reflected replicatory traditions that were modeled in a more basic or archetypal fashion in Petrucci's *arie*. Although the music for each distich is obviously different in "A che affligi," the regularity of phrase length and alternation between the same pair of cadential pitches to accentuate the repetitive rhyme scheme recall the overall structure of generic strambotti. Such resemblances are a testament to the regulative power of the replicable formal tradition in which the song participated.

Cara's "Ochi mei lassi," by contrast, scarcely resembles generic strambotti in most of those same respects. The cadences at line endings do not occur with hypermetric regularity, and neither are they organized in a repeating bipartite pattern as in the case of "A che affligi" (see Table 1.14). Still, the choice of the cadential pitches G and A, which lie a fifth above and a fifth below the tonal center of D, may imply the lingering force of the preferences for such relationships, which were also evident in the sonnet settings discussed above. It is notable that these pitches form the extreme points of the diapente and diatessaron within the octave species bounded by D, for these were the very pitches that Zarlino sanctioned as supporting "regular"

Example 1.10: Marchetto Cara, “Dilecto albergo e tu beato nido”



Example 1.10: Marchetto Cara, “Dilecto albergo e tu beato nido” (continued)



(*regolari*) cadences.[86] His choice of words was again suggestive, for although we are apt to interpret this word as signaling a frequency of occurrence it might be translated better as "rule-bound." What we see in the foregoing analyses is the application of this musical formalism not merely as a theoretical rule, but as something that was latent in a particular musical practice and transmitted, in this context, by way of their form-indexical function. The accumulation of such information manifested a dynamic abstraction, a cultural archive. Pursuing this archive's transmission over time will mean leaving the frottola behind in the following chapters, but not the replicatory traditions these analyses have begun to reveal.

Formalisms, Storage Media, and the Archive

In the Introduction, I proposed a model of replication comprising three main elements: *formalism*, *cultural archive*, and *storage medium*. Until now my discussion of frottole has mostly been confined to the first two elements, though the third was undoubtedly the ground of Petrucci's most famous intervention. In his petition to receive an exclusive privilege to print polyphony from the Venetian Signoria, in 1498, Petrucci announced the invention of a technique that had eluded others: a "most convenient way to print figured song."[87] Petrucci's claim has secured him a sure place in textbooks and surveys, though many historians now read it with skepticism, since most of the technical aspects of his process were already in use in print shops in Venice or elsewhere. Boorman has suggested that Petrucci's invention, such as it was, consisted merely in devising a method for avoiding overlapping music and text—chiefly in order to preserve the elegance of his typeface on the page through the potentially messy mul-

[86] Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, 320.

[87] The privilege survives in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, at Collegio, Notatorio, Registro XIV (1489–1499), formerly f. 159*r* and now numbered 174*r*. It has been reproduced many times in print, and is also widely available in translation. My translation in based on Duggan's transcription in *Italian Music Incunabula*, 300.

Table 1.13: Musico-poetic plan of "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile"

Line	Rhyme	Cadence	Measure	Cadential Voices	Notes
1	A	A	m. 7	Bassus, Cantus	
2	B	D	m. 15	Bassus, Tenor	
3	A	A	m. 23	Bassus, Tenor	Tenor: E to G to A
4	B	D	m. 31	Tenor, Altus	
5	A	A	m. 39	Bassus, Cantus	
6	B	D	m. 47	Tenor, Cantus	
7	C	A	m. 55	Bassus, Tenor	
8	C	D	m. 63	Tenor, Cantus	

Table 1.14: Musico-poetic plan of "Ochi mei lassi poi che perso haveti"

Line	Rhyme	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
1	A	G	mm. 7-8	Cantus, Tenor
2	B	D	mm. 15-16	Tenor, Bassus
3	A	D	mm. 21-22	Altus, Bassus
4	B	G	mm. 26-27	Cantus, tenor
5	A	D (Plagal)	m. 33	N/A
6	B	D	mm. 43-44	Tenor, Cantus
7	C	A	m. 52	Bassus, Cantus
8	C	D	mm. 63-64	Tenor, Cantus

tiple-impression process.[88]

But perhaps the novelty of Petrucci's *Frottole* series, at least, lay less in the printer's technical process, innovative or not, than in the extent to which the books supplied material support to their repertory. Relatively few manuscript sources for Italian song survive from the fifteenth century, no more than a few dozen.[89] Literary sources for the *poesia per musica* sung

[88] Boorman's skepticism is evident, for example, in his assessment that "it is hard to see where there might have been any true invention in what Petrucci was announcing." See Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 79ff. This position represents the recent scholarly consensus. Iain Fenlon, for example, writes: "From a purely technical point of view, the novelty of Petrucci's "invention" of music printing is more apparent than real … Petrucci's real innovation was to have invented the concept of a printed book entirely devoted to music." See Fenlon, "Music, Print, and Society," 382.

[89] For a detailed catalogue of the surviving manuscript sources for Italian *frottole*, see Jeppesen, *La Frottola*. The dearth of such sources led Fausto Torrefranco to propose what he called the "secret" (unwritten) tradition of

as frottole were certainly plentiful, but they transmitted poetic texts without musical notation. Petrucci's editions, in contrast, probably ran to at least 200-300 copies, each copy containing a collection of songs rivaling the length of a typical surviving manuscript.[90] The impact of Petrucci's books should thus be clear: even accounting for inevitable manuscript attrition, physical copies of frottole—replications—must have circulated in far greater numbers in the decades after 1504 than ever before. This huge output of printed music signals changes in the conditions of replication, even if their implications would not be fully realized until the middle of the sixteenth century, when print became a truly commercially viable medium for musical transmission.

The replicatory processes that shaped Italian vernacular song around 1500 and throughout the rest of the sixteenth century flowed through broad assemblages of objects, actors, and abstractions. I have aimed here to suggest a more general model of the process of replication with which to gauge how they did so, and with what effect: *formalisms* organize abstract information about form, shaping the materials that accumulate in *storage media*, which supply a *cultural archive* to the *formalisms* that restart the process. Recall again the example of the Shinto shrine at Ise Jingū, from the Introduction: the medium of the present shrine is the principle component of the archive from which its caretakers formalize as they begin to rebuild again. Put in these terms, the archival explosion of Italian vernacular song after Petrucci started printing frottole in 1504 most affected the salient replicatory processes by forming a substantial musical corpus in this novel medium.

Print was by no means the only available storage medium, since frottole were certainly inscribed in manuscripts and committed to memory as well. But print multiplied and exteriorized the archive to an unprecedented degree. In doing so, it rendered the formalisms that

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fifteenth-century Italian vernacular song, as outlined in his *Il segreto del quattrocento*.

[90] The estimate here follows the most conservative ones that Boorman proposes in *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 357ff.

had shaped the archive ever more apparent, producing standardizations within the salient replicatory processes. Historians of the book have argued for several decades now that mechanical reproduction did not necessarily produce 'uniform' texts; that on the contrary, the technology exerted new sets of transformative pressures in transmission. Yet in the long run, perhaps, what grew more uniform in print were not texts, but rather the replicatory traditions that mediated them in a broader culture of declamatory song.

2

The Ariostean Madrigal

The spectacular rise of the madrigal in the middle decades of the *cinquecento* brought a shift in the characteristic format of Italian vernacular song. Solo song, until then the default format, all but disappeared from the written record, displaced by the madrigal's polyphony. Just as suddenly as it had flourished in the frottola anthologies of Ottaviano Petrucci, publication of vernacular song in the solo format slowed to a drip after 1520, only to resurface with a vengeance at the end of the century in the new vogue for monody. In the light of this history, the madrigal's most eminent twentieth-century historian, Alfred Einstein, came to regard the madrigal as an "aberration" in the historical course of Italian song, and the frottola as a false start.[1] "Strange indeed is the fate of the frottola," Einstein wrote in *The Italian Madrigal*. The older genre represented a "song principle" that was temporarily forced into an "underground existence" in practices of extemporized song that needed little written support, or was relegated to "lighter genres," before reemerging in monody.[2] Though it was merely an opening act to the century's main event of the madrigal, the frottola, in Einstein's view, took the encore.

In the previous chapter, I interpreted Einstein's *song principle* as describing not only the solo format of the frottola, but also a relation between poetic and musical forms that guided frottola makers. I argued that the song principle also stipulated homologies on the basis of

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[1] Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 185.

[2] The full passage reads: "Strange indeed is the fate of the frottola. Brought forward as a contrast to the Flemish-Burgundian art; not prescribed melody but free invention; not artificiality but simplicity; not fashionable lyricism but freshness, mockery, and parody—all this is a beginning. But, considered as lyric art, it is also an end; for the madrigal, which rises after a thirty-five years' bloom of the frottola, is the very opposite of song. The song principle is immortal; it cannot perish, and it lives on in the forms of the villanella and canzonetta. But in the genre of serious and exalted music it is crowded out as soon as it has attained a certain importance and is doomed to lead, as it were, an underground existence, at least in its monodic form. Not until a century later does it come to the surface again." Ibid, 115.

affinities between their domain-specific features (e.g. rhyme-ending in the one and cadence in the other), thus coordinating the historically situated *formalisms* that governed each of them. The song principle therefore represented a third formalism that placed the features of each domain into relation. By situating the frottola within the *process of replication* I described in the introduction to this dissertation, I also showed that what can appear to be the unchanging quality of those homologies in strophic song repertories like the frottola can be understood instead as a testament to social and cultural pressures to conform to an *archive* of existing models or *archetypes*. But not a fixed, static archive; the archive was dynamic thanks to the feedback that arose whenever its constitutive archetypes were replicated. It was through the regulative power of this contingent archive that form afforded both the iterability of certain patterns of organization and variability among them. Thus the song principle afforded an extraordinary variety within the socially and culturally mediated constraints of form.

Changes to the two dimensions of the song principle—its formal homologies and its characteristic format—seemed to Einstein, and have continued to seem to many other writers since, inextricably linked to one another in the development of the madrigal.[3] According to a view that still prevails widely in one form or another, the texting of the lower voices emerged in tandem with a new emphasis on music's relation to poetic sense and syntax, rather than form.[4]

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[3] "The madrigal style originated in a disintegration of the frottola, more exactly, a disintegration for the sake of expression … The 'accompanied monody' becomes a work of art for several voices. The closed song form gives way to the free motet form. Wherever this new structure was applied to a 'free' text, for example a canzone stanza, a ballata, or a true madrigal text, we have the genuine madrigal as a textual-musical concept." Ibid,119.

[4] James Haar, framing the matter of form somewhat differently, writes that "the traditional view of the madrigal is that it evolved from the frottola as the result of two important developments: the turn toward verse of a higher literary quality, observable in the later frottola, and the change from accompanied-solo texture to a style in which all four voices, now fully texted, take nearly equal importance in presenting the poetry." The "turn toward verse of a higher quality" to which Haar alludes has often been given as a reason for why the madrigal accorded a new priority to linking music with poetry's non-formal (i.e. semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic) dimensions. I share Haar's skepticism that such a turn can truly be discerned. Other explanations for the underlying phenomenon have since emerged, the most convincing of which I briefly survey below. See Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance*, 60.

But several recent accounts of the genre's emergence have cast a different light on the forces that bore on its adoption of a polyphonic idiom, challenging us to revisit both what precipitated and what followed this pivotal moment. Giuseppe Gerbino has explored the madrigal's deep involvement in debates among aristocratic Florentines about the primacy of the Tuscan vernacular in the 1520s.[5] And Gary Tomlinson sees behind the polyphonic turn a radical new imperative that composers reflect on the relation between music and poetry as two arts divided from, rather than united to, one another. These interventions give fresh impetus to the argument this chapter sets forth: notwithstanding its embrace of polyphony, the madrigal was not antithetical to the song principle and did not wholly abandon it.

To examine this situation, I foreground in this chapter a group of madrigals long considered peripheral to the mainstream of the genre: settings of stanzas from Ludovico Ariosto's hugely popular epic poem *Orlando furioso*, published first in 1516 and definitively in a third edition of 1532. My analysis here is focused narrowly on those settings that most clearly appear to bear some relation to *arie*, the song formulas which, as I showed in the previous chapter, exemplified the practical application of the song principle. This relatively small corner of the vast madrigal repertory is surely a place for the song principle to have hidden in plain sight: it was partly in connection with the declamation of verse like Ariosto's that historians after Einstein have suspected solo song persisted, perhaps indeed via *arie*, in the interval between the frottola and the emergence of monody. And yet Ariosto is seldom mentioned in connection with the genre's development, even though the period bookended by the first and third editions of *Orlando furioso*, from 1516 to 1532, was coterminous with the composition of the earliest madrigals.

As we will see, there are three main reasons for this omission. First, only a single setting of a text by Ariosto was published in those decades. His poetry was apparently little regarded

[5] Gerbino, "Florentine *Petrarchismo* ." See also his *Music and the Myth of Arcadia in Renaissance Italy*.

by those who shaped the early madrigal. Second, until recently, modern historians have almost unanimously connected the rise of the madrigal with Petrarchism, a literary phenomenon with which Ariosto's outlook had very little in common. Indeed his poetry lacks features that the connection with Petrarchism has led us to expect of madrigalian verse. *Orlando furioso* offered epiccombined with elements of romance, rather than the familiar lyric of Petrarch's sonnets. Although composers could detach individual stanzas or string together series of them to form vignettes, on the whole the poem betrays little of the atomized expressivity characteristic of the lyrics set as madrigals. Third, in the first decades of its existence, *Orlando furioso* was likely most often sung in a strophic manner better suited to its long narrative arcs and the unyielding repetitions of its form than the through-composed manner typical of the madrigal.

The evidence of such performances is limited to anecdotal accounts by contemporaries, a handful of *arie* thought to have formed part of their musical infrastructure, and some later madrigals that apparently allude to those *arie*. The performances, nevertheless, participated in a vernacular tradition of extemporized singing of epic and romance that had served as one of Ariosto's chief sources of inspiration. That debt put Ariosto further at odds with the priorities of the Florentine milieus in which the madrigal first took shape, since the tradition of extemporized solo song represented for those circles the degradation of the vernacular opposed by their Petrarchizing postures. Early audiences were perhaps just as likely to encounter *Orlando furioso* in fragments sung by all manners of performers, as they were to read a version of the text. This materially messy transmission was by design—Ariosto, we will see, welcomed the conveyance of his poem in the practices that had partly inspired it—but it strengthened a connection with extemporized song that would have made madrigalian settings in the early Florentine context improbable.

Yet if there is not much cause to connect Ariosto directly with the earliest years of the madrigal, the fact remains that by mid-century his poem had become an acceptable, even

popular source of madrigal texts. One reason to focus on settings of stanzas from *Orlando furioso*, therefore, is that they show the madrigal not to have been defined exclusively by the aesthetic and cultural-political circumstances surrounding its emergence. Ariosto's verse, not to mention his embrace of the "wrong" vernacular tradition, may well have been antithetical to the aims of the madrigal's earliest partisans, but already by mid-century the genre was a more capacious category than they had reckoned. That shift can be explained in a general sense by taking heed of Eric Drott's view of all genres as "enacted and not given *a priori.*"[6] To attend to the madrigal's enactment is to recognize the contingency of its meanings and their constant renegotiation through what Drott calls "acts of assemblage," which draw discrete objects into a single class under the banner of genre.[7]

As the madrigal spread beyond Florence, many such acts must have brought Ariosto's epic into the archive of suitable texts and thus altered the genre. This chapter assays a general explanation of those acts, and hence of the fact that *Orlando furioso* came to serve as the blueprint for a specific kind of response to the madrigal's imperative to reflect on the relation between poetry and music. The nature of that response involves the ambiguous status of writing in Ariosto's work, which I think cannot have escaped the notice of the composers who fashioned his stanzas into madrigals: for *Orlando furioso* resisted the rigid division of the vernacular into separate written and oral strains. Bringing that status briefly into focus here will therefore aid the general project of reconsidering the song principle by allowing its relation to the madrigal to emerge, in turn, as a central problematic of Ariostean settings.

Influence between *Orlando furioso* and the oral tradition that had inspired it notably ran in both directions, unsettling binary conceptions of written and oral vernacular cultures that would quarantine the work from the latter by isolating it to the former. There is much

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[6] Drott, "The End(s) of Genre", 4.

[7] Ibid, 10.

anecdotal evidence of the poem's reach beyond written transmission, such as Michel de Montaigne's stunned recollection that while traveling in Tuscany he had heard its stanzas recited even by the local villagers.[8] According to another telling anecdote from the period, on at least one occasion Ariosto altered his text upon hearing a superior version sung in the streets of Ferrara.[9] Many *cinquecento* critics agreed that such scenarios recalled the process by which ancient Greek rhapsodes had performed and transmitted Homeric epic through a tradition of live performance, but they disagreed about whether to see the analogy in a positive light. Critical reception of *Orlando furioso* cleaved between those who celebrated Ariosto as the Homer of the modern age, and those who regarded the work as too corrupted by the contingencies of live performance and the corrigibility of the spoken (not to mention sung) vernacular to fall within the mainstream of the literary epic tradition.[10]

From either vantage, Ariosto cut an authorial figure invested at most only ambiguously in the authority of writing and written transmission. Literary historian Anthony Welch argues that in his verse Ariosto adopted a "rhetorical pretense of oral delivery" even as he drew attention to the poem's status as a written work through various "metaphors for authorial craft, such as the weaving of a tapestry or the sure-handed piloting of a ship."[11] Meanwhile, the poem's constant narrative intrusions, much criticized by its detractors, similarly pulled in both directions by harking back to the conventions of the vernacular tradition that inspired it while calling attention to the fact that the whole of the lengthy poem was the work of a single author, whose distinctive voice threads through it. Such conflicting features of the work with respect

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[8] Montaigne, *Journal du voyage*, ed. Lautrey, 391.

[9] Pigna, *Scontri de' luoghi mutati dall' autore doppo la sua prima impressione*, Osservazione LII, in Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* (Venice, 1558), 544-45.

[10] Here my discussion is informed above all by Anthony Welch's excellent précis of the work's early reception in *The Renaissance Epic and the Oral Past*, 30-32.

[11] Ibid, 30.

to writing do not merely underscore the delicacy of the balance Ariosto struck when marrying classical and vernacular traditions. They also prefigure its twin legacies throughout the rest of the century—the one embodied by elaborate Venetian editions that monumentalized the written text, the other by a tradition of sung performance that availed itself only minimally of writing—without investing his authorship exclusively in either one.

Here, then, lay a potential alternative to the argument that the elevation of the vernacular would come by repositioning poetry against its sung traditions as an exclusively written art—one outgrowth of which seems to have led to the madrigal. Ariosto's model taught that it was possible for an author both to exert some level of control over a text through writing and also to cede some control to others who could give it a wider circulation than print and manuscript transmission alone would have allowed. Again, within the debate that divided the reception of *Orlando furioso*, some critics deemed this strategy truest to the spirit of the ancient epic tradition, while others argued that as it had been received only in writing, the vernacular revival of that tradition would need to guard against modern influences that would compromise its generic integrity. But that debate easily distracts from what I believe to have been a deeper lesson of the work: that in its form and reception both, it challenged the opposition of written poetry and song that had recently emerged as a new dogma among some literary critics.

That opposition was the construction of those who had political investments in writing as an instrument of exclusionary control over the vernacular. Indeed we now know, thanks to Gerbino's efforts, that the madrigal in its preliminary Florentine stage was thoroughly implicated in such a project.[12] But as this chapter will argue, the mid-century proliferation of madrigalian settings of Ariosto's verse shows that the genre later took alternate paths; and the Ariostean madrigal in particular was characterized by a different relation to writing. Many of the composers of those settings had clearly learned from the lesson of *Orlando furioso*, which

[12] Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia in Renaissance Italy*.

they applied by drawing for themselves from an archive of song that their predecessors had eschewed. They did so by making use of compositional techniques, also described below, which were at the time indelibly connected with extemporized song. That is why their settings of Ariosto so often exemplify with clarity the form of relation between poetry and music characteristic of the song principle, even in the polyphonic format, thus revealing its portability into the madrigal.[13]

The first part of this chapter revisits the place of the song principle in Einstein's historiography, and follows the thread of his thought through a few other touchstones of twentieth-century writing on the madrigal. I then pivot to reconsider the relation between the song principle and the madrigal: from different perspectives, Gerbino and Tomlinson share the view that the genre was predicated upon confronting a newly grasped distance between poetry and music. My interpretation of the song principle, which stresses the importance of the indexical structure of the relation between poetry and music, argues that it too depended upon distance between the two domains, and this suggests that we must rethink historical continuities between the frottola and the madrigal. To be clear, I do so neither to identify madrigalian impulses in the frottola, nor to rehabilitate Einstein's discredited evolutionary account of the relationship between the two genres. Instead my ultimate purpose is to show how the song principle, though much altered by contact with the new genre, came to play a role in the madrigal through its relationship with Ariosto's verse.

My next step in this direction is also a step back from the madrigal, or rather a dive into the murky period of Italian vernacular song before the genre took hold beyond Florence. In particular, I revisit the question of how stanzas from *Orlando furioso* were sung in those years—a precarious question, to be sure, since hardly any written musical notation has sur-

[13] By portability, a recurring concern of this dissertation, I mean dynamic capacity of form to travel across genres by means of its diverse affordances. See my discussion in Chapter One, which follows Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network*, 6-11.

vived to guide and secure our answers. But this situation poses different obstacles than we have generally assumed. My analysis of the only known setting of an Ariostean stanza from this early period demonstrates the ease with which one of the most prolific composers of frottole, Bartolomeo Tromboncino, applied old principles when he encountered this new text. Of special interest here is a particular archetype of frottola form, *cadential polarization*, which was a focus of my analyses in the previous chapter. Makers of frottole had often drawn upon that archetype in order to establish an affinity between cadence and the rhyme scheme of the *strambotto*, a poetic form virtually indistinguishable from Ariosto's *ottava rima*, and it must have been the shared form that prompted Tromboncino to make that choice here, too.

If the goal is to make present for our historical gaze the music that eluded written notation, this line of investigation has clear limitations. But what my approach aspires to do instead is to bridge the distance that we typically perceive between the madrigal and extemporized song on account of our own habitual assumptions about writing and orality—and about the later history of the madrigal. Nino Pirrotta's famous assertion than an "unwritten tradition" continued in parallel with the written strain of Italian song dominated by the madrigal helps us understand what it was about Ariosto's poetry, and its musical baggage, that many of the genre's earliest partisans must have rejected: its compromised relation to the authority of writing.[14] Yet it is imperative to put pressure on Pirrotta's memorable phrase. Without examining our commitments (or antipathies) to writing and musical notation, our histories risk foreclosing other perspectives by regarding the two veins of vernacular song only in terms of a strict dichotomy between the madrigal, aligned with writing, and extemporized song, aligned with orality.[15] Such a dichotomy conforms to the Florentine ideology that drove the development

[14] Many of Pirrotta's writings tough upon this subject, including "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," "The Oral and Written Traditions in Music," and "Novelty and Renewal in Italy, 1300-1600." Rossi gives a complete bibliography of these writings in "*Vergine bella* e Dufay."

[15] In my reading, much recent work on Medieval and Renaissance techniques of extemporized song has sought

of the madrigal beginning in the 1520s, but it is also undone by the genre's Ariostean strain.

Under the conceptual regime of the dichotomy, madrigalian settings of Ariosto, especially those seen as being somehow like the formulaic *arie* of extemporized song, have come to seem like intrusions, albeit welcome ones, from the "unwritten tradition."[16] On the other side of the coin, it has also proven difficult to disentangle the singing of Petrarch's poetry from its singular role in the historiography of the madrigal. The logic of the dichotomy led even so subtle a historian as Howard Mayer Brown to muse, in the face of evidence to the contrary, that "singing Petrarch to formulaic *arie* seems inimical to what we understand of the development of the madrigal, a genre we would characterize by the fact that its composers attempted to write a kind of music sensitive to the nuances of meaning in a particular individual poem rather than any class of poems."[17] It is a testament to the strength of the association musicologists have constructed between Petrarchism and the madrigal that Brown struggled to imagine Petrarch's poetry sung to *arie*. We will return to that situation in Chapter 4. For now, let us note that Brown's comment tells of further assumptions—chief among them that the madrigal, over and against extemporized song, was uniquely positioned to disclose "meaning" thanks to

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to reverse the terms of the old opposition between the ephemerality of performance and the stability of writing by valorizing the former—hence the antipathy to which I allude. A paradigmatic example is the final chapter ("Resisting the Press") of Kate van Orden's *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*, which closes with an eloquent plea: "To assimilate performers to the world of writing and textuality would be to capture them in an eternal purgatory, committing them to something other than the effervescent sensual beauties of sounding music, the thrill of delighting the listeners around them (listeners now gone), and receiving the adoration of their living contemporaries. They told their musical jokes with no intention that we would still be laughing at their wit centuries later, happy to sing and play with no thought to recordings, replication, or preservation." What my approach attempts to do instead is to show that replication is not the exclusive province of writing, and that all situations of performance (whatever their thrills) are comprehended in processes of replication.

[16] Howard Mayer Brown, for example, has described the *madrigale arioso* (on which, see below), as "the second great encroachment of unwritten—and therefore popular—musical material in the sphere of cultured Italian music." See Brown, "Verso una definizione dell' armonia nel sedecesimo secolo," 58. This article was published in Italian, translated by Paolo Cecchi; the translation back into English is mine. Pirrotta had written earlier of "the surfacing of elements of the unwritten," in "Novelty and Renewal in Italy, 1300-1600," 172.

[17] Brown, "Petrarch in Naples," 24.

the affordances of writing, to which it laid special claim.

Again, by the middle of the century, stanzas from *Orlando furioso*—not to mention much other poetry that cannot properly be called Petrarchist—increasingly came to populate the madrigal repertory, if never on the scale of Petrarchan sonnets. Brown knew this part of the repertory well, having written insightful analyses of a number of settings of Ariosto. Yet his insistence that such songs were indeed madrigals (as if their historical acceptance as madrigals were not evidence enough to decide the matter) protests too much, betraying unease about their apparent links with extemporized *arie*.[18] And, given his conception of the madrigal, it is easy to see the source of his unease: those links threatened the generic integrity of the songs that manifested them by making them seem less "written." One task for the rest of this chapter, therefore, is to make plain the assumptions about writing and orality that have supported such a dichotomy in the historiography of *cinquecento* vernacular song, beginning by recognizing that the genealogy of these categories wends through the discourse of the period in question. We need to be vigilant that our distant inheritance of that discourse does not also strictly limit how we interpret it.

After having established how the song principle guided Tromboncino's choices when he set a stanza by Ariosto in the 1510s, we will leap forward again in time, to the first rush of madrigalian production in the century's middle decades. These were the years in which *Orlando furioso* was most popular as a source of texts among composers of madrigals, and they offer the best opportunities for demonstrating how the song principle's portability carried it even into the madrigal. The final part of the chapter is devoted to reexamining two groups of madrigals—Giaches de Wert's four-voice settings of Ariosto, and the short-lived but important sub-genre known as the *madrigale arioso*—that have previously drawn scholarly attention be-

[18] For example, Brown writes: "In short, neither Wert's 'Era il bel viso,' nor any of his other four-voice settings of Ariosto, are simple *arie da cantare*, appropriate for any stanza from *Orlando furioso*. They are rather madrigals, intended to be sung to particular sets of words, in spite of their formulaic nature." Ibid, 30.

cause of their relation with *arie*. I throw new light on that relation by applying the insights into the *aria* concept gleaned in the last chapter, situating these madrigals within the broader replicatory traditions that had long sustained the song principle and would continue to do so as part of a culture of declamatory song. In the most general way but through specific examples, this chapter moves to rethink the madrigal from what we have widely regarded as its margins, where it has seemed least securely anchored to writing.

From Frottola to Madrigal

Einstein believed that the madrigal had grown out of the frottola when composers began to replace the throwaway accompaniments of their solo songs with motet-like textures of four or more equally weighted, text-bearing voices. He developed this theory partly to explain what seemed like an awkward truth about the madrigal to a music historiography still marked by unexamined chauvinism. Several years before *The Italian Madrigal* appeared, Walter H. Rubsamen had written that "[it] is well known that the fully formed madrigal was the creation of composers who were not Italians but Netherlanders, notably Arcadelt, Verdelot, and Willaert."[19] Today this fact no longer seems, as it did to Rubsamen, like a devastating "paradox" mitigated only by "[recalling] that simplicity and homophony have always been native to Italian music, and that complete independence of voice parts is more characteristic of Northern Europe." But we should remember that it was to this view that Einstein responded, while conceding that *oltremontani* had certainly played a critical role in fostering the madrigal, that

[19] Rubsamen, *Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500)*, 35. Rubsamen later argued that the "true" madrigal distinguished itself from the frottola in two ways: first, by setting poetry of a higher literary quality; and second, by being exclusively through-composed. In his view, polyphony supplied the means to accomplish both ends, and its adoption was a development he steadfastly believed that composers of frottole had mostly ignored. Nevertheless, he notably admitted Italian composers to the group of those who had led the way: "the most necessary element, the parity of textually conceived voices, certainly came from the chansons and Italian compositions of the Franco-Netherlanders, Florentines, and Michele Pesenti." See Rubsamen, "From Frottola to Madrigal," in *Chanson and Madrigal, 1480-1530*, ed. James Haar, 58 and 72.

"[its] origins must be sought on Italian soil, and the product is distinctly Italian."[20]

What Einstein found, seeking those origins in the frottola and the "native" tradition he believed it to represent, was a song principle that had been stretched to its breaking point by an increasingly pressing "need for a *new* relation between music and text, going beyond the limits of pure formalism."[21] Forcing the point, he intuited, was a resurgent literary Petrarchism, which catalyzed an evolutionary process that altered the frottola through steady incursions of polyphony, until at last all the voices were suitable to bear text equally, and form's guiding role was much diminished. One consequence of the new genre's unbridled expressivity—now that music had been freed from its timeworn task of mirroring poetic form by motet-like polyphony and through-composition—was that Italian song assumed pride of place at the forefront of the various national styles. But the price of its international success was steep, since the madrigal, as Einstein wrote, had become "the very opposite of song."[22] Thus Einstein arrived at a paradox of his own, *a kind of song opposed to song*, and it led him to adopt contradictory perspectives that muddle his account of the historical relationship between the frottola and the madrigal.

As we know, he considered the development of vernacular song to have deviated from its natural course (which it would eventually resume again) when it abandoned the song principle. The madrigal according to Einstein was therefore "artificial in every sense of the term."[23] Yet he also drew upon metaphors of natural-historical processes that were seemingly at odds with that assessment. The frottola's "transformation" into the madrigal, he wrote, "can be fol-

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[20] Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 4.

[21] Ibid, 114. Emphasis added.

[22] Ibid, 115.

[23] Ibid, 185.

lowed as easily as the transformation of a chrysalis into a butterfly."[24] If the development of the madrigal was like a natural-historical process, how was it also artificial? It seems that Einstein hedged himself into a paradoxical position: in order to meet his own demand that the madrigal's "origins must be sought on Italian soil," he followed its evolution through the only genre of vernacular song to have been published in appreciable quantities during the century's first two decades. But by that evolution's end-stage, the madrigal had cast aside precisely that which had made the frottola seem so natural—that is, what had made it so paradigmatically "Italian"—in the first place.

It has now been more than half a century since Einstein's theory of the madrigal's origins first entered the Anglophone literature. In the intervening decades, many of the assumptions that bore on Einstein's writing have been subjected so thoroughly to musicological critique that his account of the madrigal's origins can read like an inventory of bygone disciplinary habits. Most generally, we now know that Einstein was mistaken to perceive a direct evolutionary line from frottola to madrigal. Iain Fenlon and James Haar have shown through careful study of the provenance of the relevant sources that while there was some chronological overlap between the two genres, they were cultivated in different parts of the Italian peninsula by different groups of people.[25] Whereas the frottola was associated most closely with Northern Italian courts (notably those at Mantua and Ferrara) and with Venice and the other cities in its orbit, the madrigal emerged first at Florence, and soon thereafter at Rome. In this light, the paradox in Einstein's narrative can be seen to have arisen from trying to explain a process of transformation that never occurred.

Yet Einstein staked more on the bifurcation of Italian song into "natural" and "artificial" tracks than a hypothetical evolution from frottola to madrigal, and those terms have

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[24] Ibid, 121.

[25] Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretations*.

continued in subtle ways to guide the historiography of the madrigal. Above all, the two categories shaped his explanation of what most distinguished the madrigal from virtually all other genres of Italian vernacular song: namely, that it had abandoned the song principle when it adopted polyphony and through-composition. And although subsequent scholars have never again referred to the song principle as such, the thrust of that core conviction has proven resilient. Even many of those who have since rejected Einstein's evolutionary narrative, for example Haar, fully concur that the madrigal's polyphonic idiom in particular took an "artificial" stance toward the delivery of the poetic text, since the many voices of its counterpoint were often at odds with the singular subjects of its lyric verse.[26] In this respect, the crux of his contention that the madrigal effected a historical break has remained highly influential, and the first aim of what follows here is to sketch selectively how this break is supposed to have occurred, and with what effect, in order finally to reassess the madrigal's relationship to the song principle.

Some historians of the madrigal have substituted a less charged lexicon for Einstein's "artificial" and "aberration" when describing the forces that carried Italian vernacular song away from its soloistic and strophic traditions. Pirrotta, taking a longer view even than Einstein, postulated that "perhaps the entire development of Italian music during the sixteenth century, sacred as well as secular, should be considered as a deliberate adoption of a polyphonic *maniera*."[27] It is no simple task to render this last word in English—neither "manner" nor "style" adequately conveys the sense of what Pirrotta meant—but the choice betokens a savvy redirection of Einstein's thinking. For as Tomlinson observes, Pirrotta's invocation of *maniera* brought the field of madrigal studies into a productive dialogue with the concept of *man-*

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[26] Haar writes: "there is something *artificial* about the use of vocal polyphony, based in concepts of communal worship, for music accompanying texts that stress individual thought and feeling" (emphasis added). See *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 64. Of course, there are also those who interpret this artificiality as having allowed the genre to give voice in unique ways to the complicated subject positions that a single speaker might comprise. See my discussion of Susan McClary's *Modal Subjectivities* below.

[27] Pirrotta, "Novelty and Renewal in Italy, 1300-1600," in *Music and Culture in Italy*, 173.

nerism.[28] Already well established among art historians as the defining feature of the period between the Renaissance and the Baroque, mannerism had only just recently begun to surface in musicological writing, too, when Pirrotta broached the subject in 1973.[29] Though a sweepingly broad force in his telling, the musical *maniera* he described bore locally on the madrigal by motivating the development of the genre as a "secular motet," thus effectively alienating it from earlier vernacular song traditions.[30]

The picture of the madrigal that emerges here, as mannerist genre *par excellence,* has carried us some way, perhaps, from Einstein's view. Yet Einstein's sense of the genre's artificiality remains legible in Pirrotta's work, as well as other writing on musical mannerism, though couched in ostensibly more neutral and historically grounded terms. Indeed the conceptual apparatus to which Pirrotta alluded came from art history freighted with the notion that painters like Tintoretto and Bronzino embraced artifice in order to distance themselves from the Renaissance style brought to what Ernst Gombrich called the "peak of perfection" by Leonardo, Raphael, and early-period Michelangelo.[31] That is, left with nothing to perfect, a new generation of artists daringly and deftly manipulated the naturalistic style they had been bequeathed, resulting in one that seems, by contrast, artificial.[32] Many of those applying the concept of mannerism to music have unsurprisingly sought parallels to that art-historical nar-

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[28] Tomlinson, "Consider the Madrigal," 9.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Pirrotta writes that "within that larger frame [of the polyphonic *maniera*] innumerable possibilities for individual manneristic expression were available and often exploited, but they were even more remote from any broad feeling of tradition, since they depended on the artist's personality or the patron's whim."

[31] For a representative mid-century view, see Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, Ch. 18, "A Crisis of Art," 265-308.

[32] The art historian John Shearman cautions that whereas today "artificial" has pejorative connotations, in the period it was a desirable quality: "in the sixteenth century *artifizioso* was wholly complimentary, and to a great extent concomitant with *maniera*; books ought to be written, and pictures painted, with artifice." See Shearman, *Mannerism*, 18.

rative: thus Haar, echoing Pirrotta, describes the style of the early madrigal as "a deliberately chosen *maniera*, yet artificially different from the international classical style of 1520."[33] From this perspective, the madrigal could seem doubly artificial, because when it drew away from local traditions, by whose standard it no longer seemed like "natural" song, it adopted a mannered version of music's own *ars perfecta*.

Recourse to the language of mannerism has also signaled unfavorable views of the genre, which recoil especially from "madrigalisms." This is the (usually pejorative) term widely employed to describe various devices or effects whereby a musical feature is understood to "imitate" or "represent" a word, phrase, or affect of the poetic text it presents. In Vincenzo Galilei, such devices certainly had a notable critic in the *cinquecento*; he saw them as evidence of polyphony's general faults.[34] Today, so-called madrigalisms are often regarded as the overwrought emblems of the genre's mannered excesses—a judgment that is reinforced by the fact that they are often accorded the lion's share of discussions of the madrigal in historical surveys of the period, far out of proportion with their actual prevalence in the repertory. In his *Oxford History of Western Music*, for example, Richard Taruskin represents the genre as driven by the compulsion to imitate texts by ever-more-extravagant madrigalisms.[35] Carried to their extremes, according to Taruskin, the musical indiscretions encouraged by this compulsion were partly responsible for the undoing of the *ars perfecta* style.

Taruskin's position is idiosyncratic and written for a general readership, but it never-

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[33] Haar, "Classicism and Mannerism in 16th-Century Music," 17.

[34] Those critics had continued a long tradition of decrying its artificiality, and their complaints extended not only to liturgical contexts but to secular ones as well; the premise of Vincenzo Galilei's famous complaint about the madrigalian abuses he summarized as *laceramento della poesia* is that the genre's contrapuntal foundation was basically antithetical to the sung presentation of poetry. See Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna*, 88-90; and my discussion below.

[35] Taruskin, *Oxford History*, Vol. I, 722-41. Tomlinson has criticized Taruskin's focus on madrigalisms in his section on the madrigal as too narrow in its scope and oversimplified in its analysis. See Tomlinson, "Monumental Musicology," 363.

theless transmits a line of thought that we have seen threading from Einstein through Pirrotta and Haar. Einstein's underlying sense of the madrigal as artificial—what he had described as "the very opposite of song"—is still discernable when Taruskin finds Cipriano de Rore pursuing the imitation of text in "Dalle belle contrade d'oriente" with a literalness that veers into "bombastic exaggeration and distortion" of its musical means.[36] The chief difference, by comparison with Pirrotta and Haar, is that the connection with mannerism has been weaponized against the genre. Still intact here too is Einstein's argument that the madrigal was guided from the beginning by a form of relation between poetry and music that sharply differentiated it from other genres of vernacular song. Basic to this relation was the madrigal's capacity to represent the semantic and affective content of poetry, rather than its form—owing to its embrace of polyphony and through-composition.[37]

Although Einstein's notion of the song principle was long ago forgotten, then, the premise that led him to coin the term is nevertheless still widely accepted. Whether it is accepted in a positive or negative light, it positions the madrigal apart from a simpler, more natural, recitational kind of song, guided by poetic form and delivered by a solo singer, to which it often serves in our histories as a more sophisticated foil.[38] This positioning has solidified in

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[36] Taruskin, *Oxford History*, 727. Taruskin's principal source for his section on the madrigal is Haar, whom he praises as "the madrigal's leading 'revisionist' historian." Specifically, he cites Haar and Fenlon, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretations*; and Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*.

[37] This remains the premise of Susan McClary's *Modal Subjectivities*, which is perhaps the most sweeping reinterpretation of the genre in recent years. It was precisely the uniqueness of this capacity that allows her to claim the madrigal as an unparalleled vehicle for the articulation of early modern subjectivity's multifariousness. The conflicting modal implications of different voices—an option made available only by the adoption of polyphony—enable what McClary interprets as the "multifaceted representation of conflicted interiority." See McClary, *Modal Subjectivities*, 32.

[38] In another survey of the period, Allen Atlas suggests that the achievement of Adrian Willaert's *Musica nova* madrigal "Aspro core" is that it "goes beyond 'song.'" See Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 440. In Atlas's telling, to be clear, the transcendence of song occurred only when Willaert and his Venetian contemporaries "developed a new kind of madrigal in which serious poetry called forth equally serious music. In effect, they reinvented the genre by striking a delicate balance between poetry and music, in which neither is fully subservient to the other."

recent decades as newer theories of the madrigal's origins have encouraged scrutinizing it more or less in isolation. The problem is not that we have been blind to the madrigal's many intersections with other genres, for example its stylistic debt to the French chanson, for these have been amply studied and they are well understood.[39] The difficulty instead is that, while there is surely much truth to be gleaned from viewing the madrigal as exceptional, celebration or disparagement of what made it so has led us to downplay deeper continuities with the Petruccian frottola and with the genres that Einstein lumped together as "the lighter forms" of vernacular song.

Assertions of the madrigal's exceptional nature have rested especially on the proposition that its relation to poetry was a unique one, which has been founded, in turn, on the idea that specific poetic concerns drove the process of the genre's development. Einstein, recall, discerned the regenerative effects of Petrarchism already in the later frottola anthologies, believing that the verse in those volumes, being of a putatively higher literary caliber than typical *poesia per musica*, demanded commensurate musical sophistication.[40] And in an essay that remained the authoritative word on the subject until the last decade, Dean Mace linked the privileged place of Petrarchism in the history of the madrigal to Pietro Bembo's emphasis on the sonic dimensions in Petrarch's poetry in his *Prose della volgar lingua* of 1525.[41] According to Mace, the frottola lacked a range of musical means sufficient to convey the sonic nuances revealed in Bembo's readings of Petrarch, precipitating an epochal shift in style when his adherents moved to apply his insights to song. Parts of the madrigal repertory attest clearly to Bembo's influence: *bembismo* bore evident fruit in the Venetian madrigal of the 1530s and 1540s, most notably in Adrian Willaert's rigorously Petrarchist *Musica nova* (whose contents were composed as much

[39] A comprehensive recent introduction to this literature is Susan Hammond's *The Madrigal: A Research and Information Guide*.

[40] Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 107-115.

[41] Mace, "Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal."

as two decades prior to its first appearance in print in 1559).[42]

However, Gerbino has argued that Bembo's ideas cannot explain the origin of the genre, since the madrigal was first cultivated in Florentine circles where Bembo was never more than a marginal figure. Gerbino urges that we search the social world of Florence during the 1520s to discern the formative conditions of the madrigal. There, in the ferment of the *questione della lingua*, debate about the stakes of vernacular poetry intersected with the articulation of civic identity, inviting composition of self-consciously Florentine verse by an aristocratic literary elite.[43] These poets turned for settings of their poetry to a professional class of mostly foreign-born composers, who stood almost entirely apart from the musicians who practiced the solo tradition of vernacular song.[44] Gerbino points out that one reason for choosing these composers was their fluency in a contrapuntal idiom readily enlisted to enforce a strong musical separation between the classicizing vernacular of the Florentine elite and more demotic counterparts. According to this hypothesis, the madrigal's new format and its departure from the formal principles that guided other vernacular repertories bespeak its implication in a broad, concerted effort to assert the supremacy of the Florentine poetic tradition.

The strict division of roles between poet and musician may also explain what has long seemed like a curious failure on the part of contemporaneous literary figures to theorize, let alone address as a practical matter, the relation between music and language.[45] Turning written poetry into song was instead a concern they left to professional musicians. Their lack of theoretical interest in song was grounded in a new conception of poetry that liberated it from

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[42] Martha Feldman has documented the ways in which Bembo's brand of Petrarchism was felt in Venetian music circles during the 1530s and 1540s. The musical activity dating from this period, however, postdates the earliest cultivation of the madrigal in Florence during the 1520s. See Feldman, *City Culture.*

[43] Gerbino, "Florentine *Petrarchismo*," 617.

[44] Ibid, 620.

[45] Ibid, 618.

its historical affiliation with music. The critic and poet Gian Giorgio Trissino was unequivocal about this division: "[words and rhymes] can produce imitation without [song] … the poet only considers the former two, leaving song to the singer."[46] As both Gerbino and Stefano La Via have argued, Trissino's comments throw unexpected light on the madrigal's relation of poetry and music, showing that the nascent genre in fact depended upon the conceptual separation of the arts. La Via writes that "the intimate fusion of word and sound achieved in the madrigal not only does not exclude the autonomy of two expressive planes, but it is based on it."[47] The genre's singular, paradoxical coup, then, was to capitalize upon the separation of music and poetry by rejoining them to newly heightened expressive ends.

This view of the early madrigal allies well with the position Tomlinson adopts, taking inspiration from Pirrotta.[48] Elaborating on Pirrotta's insight that a polyphonic *maniera* guided the general course of *cinquecento* song, Tomlinson argues that the madrigal pried open new space for reflection on means of relating music and language that had hitherto been automatic.[49] What was so distinctive about the madrigal, according to Tomlinson, was not that it forged ever-closer affinities between word and tone, but that composers of madrigals widened and explored the distance between music and language by exploiting the expressive capacities of music dissociated from poetry's semantic, syntactic, and linguistic-pragmatic dimensions. The conjunctions and disjunctions of music and language in the madrigal were two sides of the same coin, two manifestations of a single impulse to contemplate the capacity of musical style to respond variously to poetry's many dimensions. Tomlinson concludes that "the madrigal is not so much a genre as a *meta-genre*—a genre about the possibility of genre, or at least about

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[46] Quoted in Ibid, p. 618. The translation is Gerbino's. For the original, see La Via, "Madrigale e rapporto fra poesia e musica," 57.

[47] Quoted in Gerbino, "Florentine *Petrarchismo*," 619.

[48] Tomlinson, "Consider the Madrigal."

[49] Ibid, 12ff.

the particular conditions of its own possibility."[50]

In different ways, each of these new perspectives nuances the commonplace conception of the madrigal as having marshaled musical means to intensify poetry's semantic content. According to Gerbino and La Via, cleaving music from poetry freed it to heighten the meaning of the text in a far more direct fashion. Their analyses reaffirm the idea that the madrigal "marginalizes form in favor of sense," in Gerbino's words, by revealing that music and poetry needed to be divided so that they could be recombined more expressively.[51] Tomlinson similarly recognizes that a newly conceived distance between music and poetry stood behind the emergence of the madrigal and continued thereafter to serve as the object of, and occasion for, reflection on the nature of song. But he is also attentive—uniquely so, I think—to surpluses beyond the "sense" of the poetic text that a focus on the madrigal's semantic intensification risks obscuring. Although madrigalian polyphony certainly produced semantic and affective gestures of the kind usually characterized as madrigalisms, just as often it carried poetic texts away from recognizably linguistic contexts by means of musical formalisms that arose in relation to poetry, perhaps, but belonged emphatically to another medium.

Here at last we are in a position to begin to reassess the madrigal's relationship to the song principle as I have re-conceptualized it. Composers of madrigals, as Tomlinson argues, constructed the space between words and tones with a self-consciousness about their practice that had no recent precedent in the history of Italian vernacular song, and their efforts bore fruit that permanently altered the broader musical landscape. Yet it was precisely the coordination of music and language as separate domains, and the independent systems that governed them, that the formal dimension of the song principle regulated. Contrary to Einstein's view,

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[50] Ibid, 25. His argument explicitly follows Pirrotta's suggestion, in the essay "Novelty and Renewal in Italy: 1300-1600," that "the entire development of Italian music during the sixteenth century … should be considered as a deliberate adoption of a polyphonic *maniera*." See *Music and Culture*, 173.

[51] Gerbino, "Florentine *Petrarchismo*," 608.

then, those who developed the madrigal did not abandon the song principle as such, but rather expanded with seemingly limitless resourcefulness the types of musical formalisms that could be placed into relation with poetry. This ambitious and manifold expansion was such that the song principle itself opened out to new formal possibilities. To be clear, I do not mean to overemphasize the formalism of the early madrigal—the old idea, that is, that the madrigal hewed close to poetry's formal aspects only as part of a transitional phase, before it came into its own.[52] I invoke formalism, rather, in the more general sense of the preceding chapters, as the knowledge of how to form music drawn from the accumulated possibilities of a cultural archive of vernacular song.

That archive was now much enlarged by comparison with the Petruccian frottola, in part because of the sheer volume of madrigals composers churned out. And enlarging the archive in another, equally important sense was the extraordinary diversity of musical means manifested in this cascade of song, which extended eventually to include even *arie* and the formal homologies we know them to have modeled within the solo tradition of vernacular song. Yet, as I have already suggested above, the madrigal's intersections with *arie* have always sat uneasily with claims about the genre's exceptional nature, whether cast in Einstein's terms ("It is the very opposite of song") or Gerbino's ("It marginalizes form in favor of sense"), for the plain reason that *arie* seem to threaten its generic integrity. But if instead what truly distinguished the madrigal from other *cinquecento* genres was the self-consciousness of the stance that it adopted toward the formal relations between poetry and music, rather than any particular form those relations took, then *arie* need no longer seem so out of place among its many potential resources.

From this perspective, it becomes easier to appreciate continuities between the frottola and the madrigal without assigning to them an evolutionary relationship, as Einstein did,

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[52] Haar criticizes Einstein and others for adopting such a view in *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 74.

and without marginalizing the madrigals that seem closest to frottole. Although music had always been governed by principles that were distinct from those of language, the solidifying of written poetry's aesthetic independence from song belied the apparent power of formal homologies to bind the two arts as one. The power of such homologies could no longer be taken for granted, and the seam that joined music and poetry together was revealed to be arbitrary, not given. Henceforth, not to call its power into question would be to take an impoverished or naïve view of both arts—or perhaps, like Vincenzo Galilei, to take a deliberately archaizing position.[53] Galilei is particularly instructive because he shows that, after the advent of the madrigal, part of the song principle's attractiveness to some *cinquecento* commentators lay in its promise of a return to a mythical, Orphic past when poetry and music were undivided. From another vantage, the divide that Galilei argued against had only arisen as an extension of the principle itself.

Portability

We should not allow ourselves to be misled into thinking that composers now faced a simple, dichotomized choice between madrigal and song. Older formal homologies persisted in the madrigal as a resource upon which savvy composers could draw as part of their meta-generic reflections. As I will argue through the rest of this chapter, the choices composers made must be understood within the broader context of the politics of the vernacular. Gerbino cautions that the madrigal was not an outgrowth of any single aesthetic theory, but resulted instead from the convergence of the social forces that shaped debate about the *questione della lingua* in Florence during the 1520s.[54] For this reason, efforts to reconcile the many competing political affiliations and aesthetic principles espoused by the Florentine literary figures who

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[53] I explore the archaizing tendency in Galilei's writings at greater length in Chapter 4.

[54] Gerbino, "Florentine *Petrarchismo*," 613.

loom large in the history of the early madrigal—figures like Trissino, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Ludovico Martelli—are unlikely ever to yield a coherent musico-poetic theory motivating the development of the new genre. What arguably united those diverse figures was not a theory as such, but rather their commitment to the prestige of the written vernacular over and above its spoken and sung forms, which impinged drastically upon music's *conscription* into song—a term I use here not to imply music's subservience to poetry but to describe the newly strengthened imperative that music's relation to poetry also be rooted thoroughly in writing. If song was to keep pace, then music, too, would need a suitably written vernacular.

More than any other genre of Italian vernacular song at the time, the madrigal depended upon the support of writing: the intricacies of fully texted lower voices and sumptuous counterpoint virtually demanded it. Perhaps it was for this reason that the madrigal came to dominate the market for printed vernacular song in the second half of the *cinquecento* by entering into a symbiosis between genre (madrigal) and medium (print), each driving the other's success. Yet as the madrigal's reach broadened, it came ever more often into contact with poetry like Ariosto's, inviting composers to reflect anew on their genre's musical investment in writing. In what follows, I seek to explain how and why those composers often engaged with the song principle that Einstein believed the genre abandoned. I begin first by implementing Caroline Levine's heuristic distinction between forms, which are "organizations or arrangements that afford repetition and portability," and genres, which are "customary constellations of elements into historically recognizable groupings of artistic objects, bringing together forms with themes, styles, and situations of reception."[55] I do this by focusing first on the portability of a specific form of the song principle in connection with the earliest sung performances of *Orlando furioso*; then, I show how composers brought that form to bear on madrigalian settings of stanzas from Ariosto's epic.

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[55] Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network*, 13-14.

The earliest known setting of a stanza from *Orlando furioso* followed one year after the poem's first edition of 1516, when Bartolomeo Tromboncino's "Queste non son più lagrime che fuore" (XXIII, 126) appeared in Andrea Antico's anthology *Canzoni, sonetti, strambotti, et frottole, libro quarto*, published at Rome. The text of Tromboncino's song diverges in several respects from the published version of the poem, perhaps indicating an even earlier date of composition; the composer's Estense patrons, or even their protégé Ariosto himself, could have furnished him with this version of the song's text in Mantua or Ferrara.[56] Such a connection would help to account for what otherwise amounted to an unusual choice of text, for Tromboncino's stands out as the only selection from Ariosto in the frottola repertory. Like Petrucci's before them, Antico's anthologies were highly accommodating songbooks, and the frottola—ever a capacious genre—might easily have assimilated Ariosto's verse. Yet it did not: only decades after the frottola had fallen from fashion did composers regularly begin to mine *Orlando furioso* as a source of song texts.

To judge solely on the basis of surviving publications in print, settings of stanzas from Ariosto's epic peaked in the 1550s and 1560s (see Table 2.1).[57] Two unusual songbooks devoted exclusively to *Orlando furioso* underscore the burst of activity in those decades: Salvadore di Cataldo's *Tutti i principii de' canti dell'Ariosto posto in musica* (1559), which provided music for the first stanza of all forty-two cantos; and Giachet Berchem's three-volume *Capriccio* (1561), which organized no fewer than ninety stanzas into an ambitious musical epitome of the epic.[58] In fact, nearly all of the known settings postdate Ariosto's death in 1533, even though the

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[56] Haar makes this astute observation in *Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance*, 95.

[57] For a detailed catalogue of *cinquecento* and *seicento* settings of *Orlando furioso*, see Balsano and Haar, "L'Ariosto in musica."

[58] Virtually nothing has been written about Cataldo's *Tutti i principi* in modern scholarship. On Berchem's *Capriccio*, see Haar, "The 'Capriccio' of Giachet Berchem: A Study in Modal Organization." Because neither of these volumes explicitly identifies its contents as madrigals, I do not treat them at length in this chapter.

Table 2.1: Settings of stanzas from Ariosto's Orlando furioso, 1510 – 1619

Decade	Total settings of *stanze*
1510 – 1519	1
1520 – 1529	0
1530 – 1539	2
1540 – 1549	84
1550 – 1559	152
1560 – 1569	216
1570 – 1579	86
1580 – 1589	99
1590 – 1599	31
1600 – 1609	35
1610 – 1619	13

These statistics are based on the inventory of settings in Haar and Balsano, "L'Ariosto in musica," in *L'Ariosto*, ed. by Haar and Balsano, 47-88.

poem's career in musical performance during his lifetime is amply documented in contemporaneous sources.[59] This seeming discrepancy is perhaps unsurprising. The apparent lack of settings dating from the decades between the first edition of *Orlando furioso* and the publication of Cataldo's *Tutti i principii* and Berchem's *Capriccio* attests to what was generally the anemic condition of the market for printed music during this period. On the production side, printing music was still a risky enterprise that required significant capital outlays and yielded meager, if any, profits. Meanwhile, political instability throughout the Italian peninsula further discouraged potential entrants to the business.[60]

By the time the famous Scotto and Gardano firms began to establish themselves as the central players in the heyday of Venetian music printing, from ca. 1540 to 1575, the tastes of

[59] On the performance of *Orlando furioso*, see Welch, *The Renaissance Epic and the Oral Past*, 31-33.

[60] Concerning the financing of music printing, see Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, 73-4. Fenlon and Haar touch upon the impact of the political situation on the industry in *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century*, 18-19.

their buyers had already shifted decisively toward the madrigal. Madrigal books, which at first circulated principally in manuscript, were not nearly so catholic in their poetic makeup as the frottola anthologies had been, and *Orlando furioso*—despite its unquestionable popularity in some Florentine milieus—emphasized its debts to traditions that the new madrigalian ideology rejected.[61] The earliest composers of madrigals, for the reasons I have summarized above, were therefore unlikely to set stanzas from the epic. Meanwhile, interest in the frottola had clearly waned through the 1510s and 1520s, and what taste for the genre still remained, mostly concentrated in Northern Italian cities and courts, could have been sated by the many hundreds of songs that Petrucci and Antico had already put into wide circulation. This scenario is likely because frottole were so readily adaptable to new texts, and in this way accommodated reuse.

When stanzas from *Orlando furioso* were first sung, it must often have been thus, with old frottola tunes—or in an extemporized manner, employing *arie*. These two manners of performance, to be sure, were not one and the same. They were almost certainly alike, however, in sharing the close correspondences between poetic and musical forms that were generally determined by the song principle. Owing to the formal nature of such correspondences, substituting one text for another was a relatively straightforward affair, so long as it fell within the range of variation that could easily be accommodated by a given setting. That is, assuming the setting had been designed to correspond above all to a poem's form—and not, say, to its semantic content—then any other poem of the same form ought in principle to correspond equally well. This important paradigm of substitution was modeled by the *arie* in Petrucci's anthologies, which advertised their general suitability for specific poetic forms (e.g. "Modo de cantar sonetti").

Many frottole nevertheless resisted substitution, and William F. Prizer has insisted that they were sometimes capable of articulating homologies between poetry and music that hinged

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[61] Ariosto in Florence

upon the specific formal aspects of a given poem.[62] Rather than view such cases as proto-madrigalian exceptions to the rule, and therefore as signs of the forward-looking tendencies of their composers, I have shown in the previous chapter that we should regard both these frottole and generic *arie* alike as testifying to the historicity of the song principle that was in operation. Both kinds of songs reveal that correspondences between poetic form and musical form were not given and that, in fact, coordinating such correspondences was of paramount concern to the community of those who made, performed, and transmitted them. Setting a frottola text to music—even fitting a poem to a familiar *aria*—meant applying one's practical knowledge of how to coordinate the two formal domains, a coordination based on gestures drawn from an accumulated archive of similar songs. Again, this archive was dynamic, transforming itself as new songs were brought into it, and its producers could utilize its resources in different ways whenever they placed music and poetry in interaction.

The regulative power of this socially mediated, dynamic archive explains the portability of the song principle. Moreover, when the concept of the archive is situated within the process of replication theorized in the Introduction, its dual function is clear: for we may regard musical repertories both as the tangible outcomes of myriad replicatory processes (they are the storehouse of past replications) and as their input in the same processes (they supply models for future replications). What allowed the song principle to cycle between those two functions, thus renewing the process of replication, were the media—i.e., the memories and codices—that stored the archive and the formalisms that were compiled from it. Replication, seen from this perspective, was the virtual engine that drove the portability of the song principle. Petrucci's *arie* afford us a window onto the process of replication because in them we witness the song principle put into practice. Since they were generalized by design, these generic songs laid bare some of the archetypes of musical form that guided the musicians who made the

[62] Prizer, for example, discerns a supple and sophisticated treatment of form in the frottole of Marchetto Cara. See Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, 107.

frottola repertory. At least one of these archetypes, as I will explain below, evidently informed Tromboncino's frottolistic setting of an Ariostean stanza as well.

In keeping with earlier Italian epics, Ariosto composed *Orlando furioso* entirely in *ottava rima*, or stanzas of eight *endecasillabi* with the rhyme scheme *ab ab ab cc*. This is noteworthy because the form of each stanza is essentially identical to a *strambotto*. Whereas the lyric *strambotto* was one of the main formal types in the frottola repertory, *ottava* stanzas drawn from epic appeared there only occasionally, beginning with Antico's anthologies in the 1510s.[63] Yet a single stanza detached from its epic context might well have been mistaken for, or deliberately treated as if it were, a lyric *strambotto*. The concise, epigrammatic quality of "Queste non son più lagrime che fuore" meant it certainly could have passed for lyric. More to the point, the portability of the same form between the two genres meant that Tromboncino set the stanza much as he might have set the text of a *strambotto*.

In setting Ariosto's text this way, Tromboncino mobilized the resources of a rich archive of strambotti, with which "Queste non son più lagrime che fuore" unsurprisingly reveals a deep familiarity. The most formulaic type of strambotto, much in evidence throughout the surviving frottola repertory, consists of music for one distich only, repeated four times to accommodate the poem's eight lines. The resulting musical repetition established a clear and simple affinity with the repetition of the rhyme scheme, even if it obscured what was usually a different end-rhyme (*cc*) in the final distich (see Table 2.2). This type of setting was characteristic, for example, of strambotti in the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.F.9.9 (ModE), whose anonymous songs, as Giovanni Zanovello has argued, bore close association with the declamatory practices of extemporized song.[64] The generic nature of the

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[63] Haar maintains that as late as the century's first decade, *ottava rima* remained the exclusive province of extemporized epic, whose musical settings (so far as we know) were stored almost exclusively in memories and transmitted only in live performances. See Haar, *Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance*, 95.

[64] Zanovello, "'You Will Take This Sacred Book': The musical strambotto as a learned gift," especially 16-17.

Table 2.2: Musico-poetic scheme of a formulaic strambotto

Musical Phrase	Rhyme Ending
A	a
B	b
A	a
B	b
A	a
B	b
A	c
B	c

strambotti in ModE made them especially well suited for substitution. Fitting each successive distich to the two phrases of music provided would have required applying the principle of substitution in order to realize the full song in performance. Less formulaic were most of the strambotti that appeared in later printed anthologies. Zanovello connects this trend with the attributions that frequently attended printed strambotti: sharper divergences from the simplest formulas, by his reasoning, indexed stronger composerly interventions.

Tromboncino's own "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile," described in Chapter 1, offers a clear example of how, despite such divergences, the most conspicuously "composed" strambotti drew from the same broad archive of formal homologies as the most formulaic. In many respects, "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile" is an exceptional case: not only because it was through-composed, but also because the ambitus of its tune stretches to the extremes of the gamut—perhaps inviting performance by multiple singers—through a series of unusual clef changes that defy the conventions of the genre. However, my analysis of this song in the previous chapter revealed an underlying bipartite design in the pattern of alternation between cadences on D and A (the tonal center and its diapente, respectively; see Table 2.3). Pairing two phrases of music to the repetitions of rhyme scheme was merely the simplest manner of establishing formal homologies between poetry and music. But an important lesson of Petrucci's

Table 2.3: Cadential Plan of Tromboncino's "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile"

Poetic Line(s)	Rhyme Ending	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
1	a	A	m. 8	Bassus, Cantus
2	b	D	m. 16	Bassus, Tenor
3	a	A	m. 24	Bassus, Tenor
4	b	D	m. 32	Tenor, Altus
5	a	A	m. 30	Bassus, Cantus
6	b	D	m. 48	Tenor, Cantus
7	c	A	m. 56	Bassus, Tenor
8	c	D	m. 64	Tenor, Cantus

arie, also on display here, was that even more fundamental to those homologies than repetition was the simultaneous alignment of line-endings with cadences. Even in a formulaic setting, what preceded each cadence changed line by line as the tune altered to accommodate new accentual patterns in the poetic text, while the cadence itself stood fast, providing an anchor.

Putting it another way, cadences generally articulated musical form much as rhyme-endings articulated poetic form.[65] This affinity, rooted in an analogical relation that arose from simultaneity, often ran deeper still, when "rhyming" cadences (that is, cadences on the same pitch) were paired with parallel end-rhymes. In "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile," for example, each A-rhyme is paired with a cadence to A, each B-rhyme with a cadence to D (see Table 2.3). Similar kinds of affinities between cadences and end-rhymes were in fact widespread throughout the repertory, underscoring their significance to the song principle. Apart from, and independent of, wholesale repetition, such affinities were arguably the primary basis upon which musicians generated formal homologies between poetry and music. We can easily miss the significance of this fact if, on account of their ubiquity in this and other repertories, we trivialize such affinities by treating them as natural or given. Yet the analogical relation between end-rhymes and cadences was not given: it was regimented not by some natural law,

[65] Martha Feldman gives an excellent account of Zarlino's comments on syntax and cadence, which clearly support this conclusion, in *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, 186-93.

but rather by the implicit agreement of the community of those to whom it was meaningful. Wherever musicians replicated this kind of relation, an archetypal form of the song principle involving the affinity between end-rhymes and cadences, we witness the regulative power of a historically situated formalism at work.

When Tromboncino encountered the text of "Queste non son più lagrime che fuore," he must immediately have recognized its prosody and drawn accordingly on his knowledge, refined through many years of practical experience, of how to form musical homologies with such poetry (see Example 2.1). In this case, he applied his knowledge neither in the most generic fashion, nor in the fully through-composed manner of "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile," but chose instead a kind of middle ground between the two options. His setting of the stanza is in two parts, and like many strambotti in the printed frottola repertory it could be considered an expansion upon, or a variation of, the simple bipartite model. The first part of the song accommodates lines one through six of the text in two phrases (AB), stated three times, giving the initial impression of a formulaic *strambotto*. But the second part provides new music for the final distich, two phrases (CD) that carry lines seven and eight; there follows, to close the work, a reprise of B with a repeat of the final line of text (see Table 2.4). Notwithstanding these divergences from the bipartite model, when all four phrases are strung together in performance, the resulting pattern of alternating cadences on A and D—even down to the cadential pitches involved—unmistakably resembles that of "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile."

Motivating the cadential patterns in both songs was the poetic prosody they shared, in particular its underlying distich-based structure, and so their resemblance is no coincidence. On the contrary, it gives evidence of a deeply rooted formalism, mediated by social and cultural pressures, which guided Tromboncino when he placed his music into relation with the text of a poem manifesting this prosody. That formalism led him to replicate a form of the song

Table 2.4: Cadential plan of "Queste non son più lagrime che fuore"

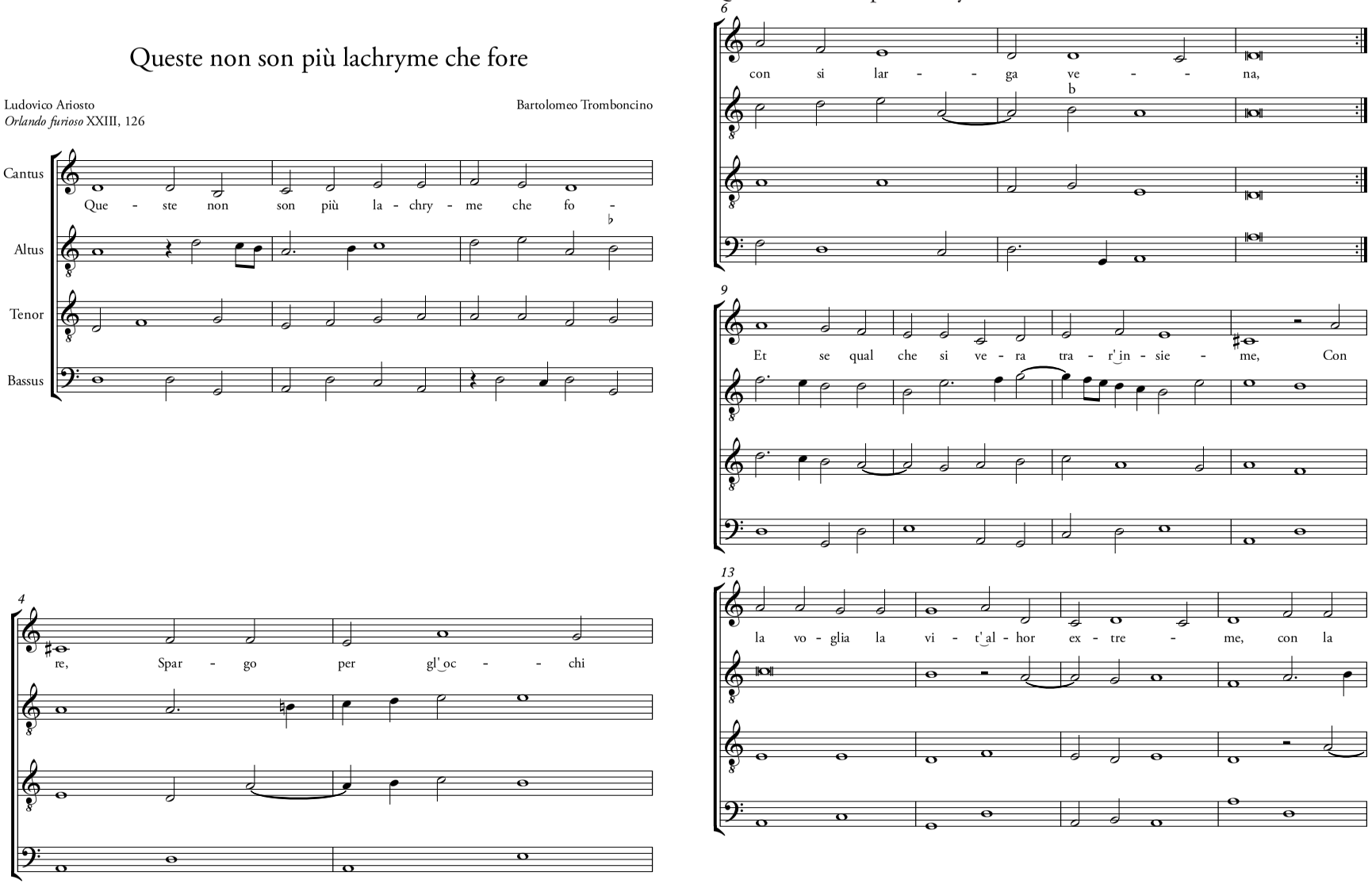
Phrase	Poetic Line(s)	Rhyme Ending	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
A	1	a	A	m. 4	Alto, Basso
B	2	b	D	m. 8	Canto, Tenor
A	3	a	A	m. 4	Alto, Basso
B	4	b	D	m. 8	Canto, Tenor
A	5	a	A	m. 4	Alto, Basso
B	6	b	D	m. 8	Canto, Tenor
C	7	c	A	m. 12	Tenor, Basso
D	8	c	D	m. 16	Canto, Tenor
B	8	c	D	m. 20	Canto, Tenor

principle that did not rely exclusively on the wholesale repetition of musical phrases, but which applied instead what I have in termed in Chapter 1 *cadential polarization by fifth*. This was the archetype of musical form, prevalent among strambotti, whereby all the major structural cadences occurred exclusively on pitches adjacent along the circle of fifths (here they happen to number only two, A and D). I do not mean to suggest that when he composed "Queste non son più lagrime che fuore," Tromboncino necessarily had in mind his own earlier setting of "A che affligi el tuo servo alma gentile," or indeed any strambotto in particular; in both cases, rather, he replicated a type of formal relation that was abstracted from the archive of musical possibilities he knew.

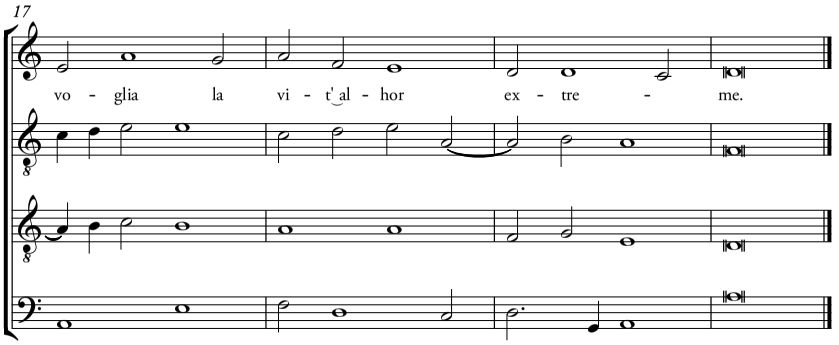
The special power of this archetype in generating musical homologies with *strambotti* can be explained in part by recourse to contemporaneous theorists of mode. Many theorists affirmed the special hierarchical significance of cadences on what, in Zarlino's terms, for example, were the "extreme notes of the diapente and diatessaron,"—that is, notes that we would understand today as the tonal center and the fifth above or fourth below it.[66] These were the options usually sanctioned for the cadences at points of greatest structural moment, such as

[66] Zarlino, *On the Modes*, 55. Joachim Burmeister described cadences on the tonal center and its "midpivotal pitch" as "principal" and "less principal," respectively." See Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, 147.

Example 2.1: Bartholomeo Tromboncino, “Queste non son più lachryme che fore”



Example 2.1: “Queste non son più lachryme che fore” (continued)



midway- and endpoints. The theoretical primacy of these cadential pitches in particular was probably owed to what also made them so effective as articulators of musical form within the context of the song principle. For the "extreme notes of the diapente and the diatessaron" offered the greatest possible distance, and thus the maximal possible contrast, measured from the tonal center to any pitch contained within a given octave species. This was an exclusively musical formalism at stake, but the binary logic of its alternation between two cadential poles supplied a strong parallel with the poetic prosody at hand.

My analyses in the previous chapter reveal the prevalence of cadential polarization by fifth among the *arie* and other strambotti in Petrucci's anthologies, suggesting that it provided the musicians who generated the repertory with a ready way of strengthening the affinity between end-rhymes and cadences. Yet "Queste non son più lagrime che fuore" stands apart from all of the examples I cited there because it belongs ultimately to a different poetic genre—again, it is an epic *ottava* rather than a lyric *strambotto*. Precisely because, at the level of prosody, this can seem like a meaningless distinction, the song offers an object lesson in the differences between genre and form and exemplifies the portability of the latter across the conventional boundaries of the former. The same formal, prosodic organization appeared in poems whose differences from one another in the "customary constellations" that constituted different genres—including differences of thematic content, style, and reception—could hardly be greater. The form's affordance of diverse poetic content enabled its portability from one genre to another.

In a similar fashion, the affordance of the archetype of cadential polarization by fifth allowed Tromboncino to implement it in relation to a genre of poetry (epic) for which, so far as we know, he had never before fashioned music. This can help us rethink the relation between the song principle and the madrigal. Because the song principle played so generative a role in the manufacture of frottole, we tend to conflate it with that genre. Conversely, we tend

to define the madrigal by deemphasizing the relevance of form to its constitution as a genre. I am proposing instead that the song principle, in its formal aspects, afforded portability across genres, and that even in madrigalian contexts it could be mobilized when the circumstances warranted it. My comparison of Tromboncino's settings has offered us a glimpse of the affinities between a type of prosody (shared by the *strambotto* and *ottava rima*) and a type of musical organization (cadential polarization). The task that now remains is to reconcile those affinities with what we know about the madrigal's relation with *arie* and their special role in madrigalian settings of Ariosto.

Part of what makes the particular manner of relating poetry and music I have described here noteworthy is that it depends on cadences, which were only partially encoded in a single voice. Moreover, the sung melody of an *aria* did not always participate in every phrase-ending *clausula*. When it did not, information that was important to the coordination of the relation between poetry and music was available only in the other voices. For these reasons it appears that deeper *modal* and *harmonic* principles were often at stake in the application of *arie*. They were not reducible to their melodic dimensions alone. Thus my view of *arie*, as forms of the song principle that exemplified its practical application, cuts against Haar's insistence that, "to judge from Petrucci's use of the term, *aria* in the first half of the sixteenth century meant melody."[67] Haar is doubtless correct to draw attention to melody as an important distinguishing one *aria* from another. But even he has conceded that when "investigating the concept of *aria* in the sixteenth century, we must always examine both the melodic structure and the structure of the harmonic bass, and we must consider findings of techniques of variation and of melodic paraphrase not only as proof of compositional skill, but also as echoes of an improvisational practice."[68] We need to think more expansively about the harmonic freight *arie* frequently

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[67] Haar, "The 'Madrigale Arioso,'" 222.

[68] See Haar, "Arie per cantar stanze ariostesche" 46. The translation is mine.

brought to their intersections with the madrigal. At a minimum, we should attend to the organization of cadences, which clearly helped to afford the moment-to-moment contingencies of relating poetry and music, as lynchpins of a more general principle of song.

There is a clear tradition of searching for *aria*-like structures in the madrigal, including in a sub-genre that concerns me here: the *madrigale arioso*.[69] Yet my approach departs from that tradition in at least three respects. First, I have not endeavored to locate instances of specific *arie* like the *passamezzo* and *romanesca*. Although such *arie* were frequently mentioned in connection with the declamation of Ariostean stanzas throughout the period, not until the *seicento* were they ever directly connected with the genre of the madrigal. What I have identified instead are traces of the formalisms that guided musicians when they applied the song principle, as exemplified by *arie*, to madrigalian composition. Such traces point outward to broad networks of replicatory processes. And so I will argue at the end of this chapter that it is due to the portability of form (and, indeed, of formalisms) through those processes that we are sometimes able to perceive resemblances between madrigals and specific *arie*.

Second, although I have taken much inspiration from Haar's work, and from Brown's bass-driven approach to vertical sonorities in the *madrigale arioso*, here as elsewhere my approach is also informed by recent research that has emphasized the generation of notated music via techniques for extemporizing counterpoint. That body of research has shown that the melodic and harmonic dimensions of the best-known *arie* were deeply inter-determined, and so I attempt to forge a middle path between two distinct analytic traditions in the literature on the madrigal's intersections with *arie* as represented by Haar and Brown, respectively: the one focused on melody, the other focused on harmony.

Third, investigations of *arie* in the madrigal repertory have almost always interpreted the latter primarily as a material archive of the former, which thereby stands in for a puta-

[69] Most recently, Newcomb has attempted to expand this approach to the madrigals of Luca Marenzio, "Recurring Patterns with a Structural Function in Marenzio—or Marenzio's Riffs."

tively "unwritten" realm of extemporized song otherwise inaccessible to our historical gaze. I bring fresh scrutiny to the dichotomy of writing and orality that has generally motivated that interpretive stance by situating both madrigals and *arie* within the same broader replicatory processes. The alternative perspective I offer allows the construction of the relation between writing and song during the period in question to emerge as an important part of the generic stakes of the Ariostean madrigal.

Aria and the Madrigal

The conception of *arie* developed here militates for a broader reinterpretation of their place, and that of the song principle they typified, in the mid-century madrigal. A productive starting point is Giaches de Wert's *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (1561), his only book of four-voice madrigals, which numerous modern commentators have connected with the sung recitation of Ariosto's verse. Introducing her edition of the volume, Carol MacClintock asserts that five of these madrigals, all of them setting stanzas from *Orlando furioso*, "are really polyphonic versions of *arie per cantar ottave*" (these five are listed in Table 2.5).[70] Haar must have agreed, for he has argued that one of them, "Dunque baciar sì bell'e dolce labbia" (Example 2.2), bears so striking a resemblance to Tromboncino's "Queste non son più lagrime che fuore" (Example 2.1, above) that it gives evidence of Wert's knowledge of the latter, by then more than forty years old, as an *aria*.[71] Though Haar does not reveal which aspects of the two songs he found similar, he is probably referring to the broad sweep of their melodic contours, allowing for transposition. In both songs, the first phrase climbs a minor third, then descends to terminate on the *subsemitonum modi*, whereas the second phrase outlines a larger ambitus

[70] MacClintock, *Giaches de Wert: Opera Omnia* XV, ix.

[71] Haar writes: "The melody … is so similar to Tromboncino's that one has to assume either knowledge by the young Wert of the forty-year-old piece or its continuing existence as an *aria*. This might come to the same thing; Ariosto's stanzas may have been sung to Tromboncino's music in Mantua long after the frottola repertory had passed out of fashion." See *Italian Poetry and Music*, 96.

Table 2.5: Settings of *Orlando furioso* in Wert's *Primo libro* à 4

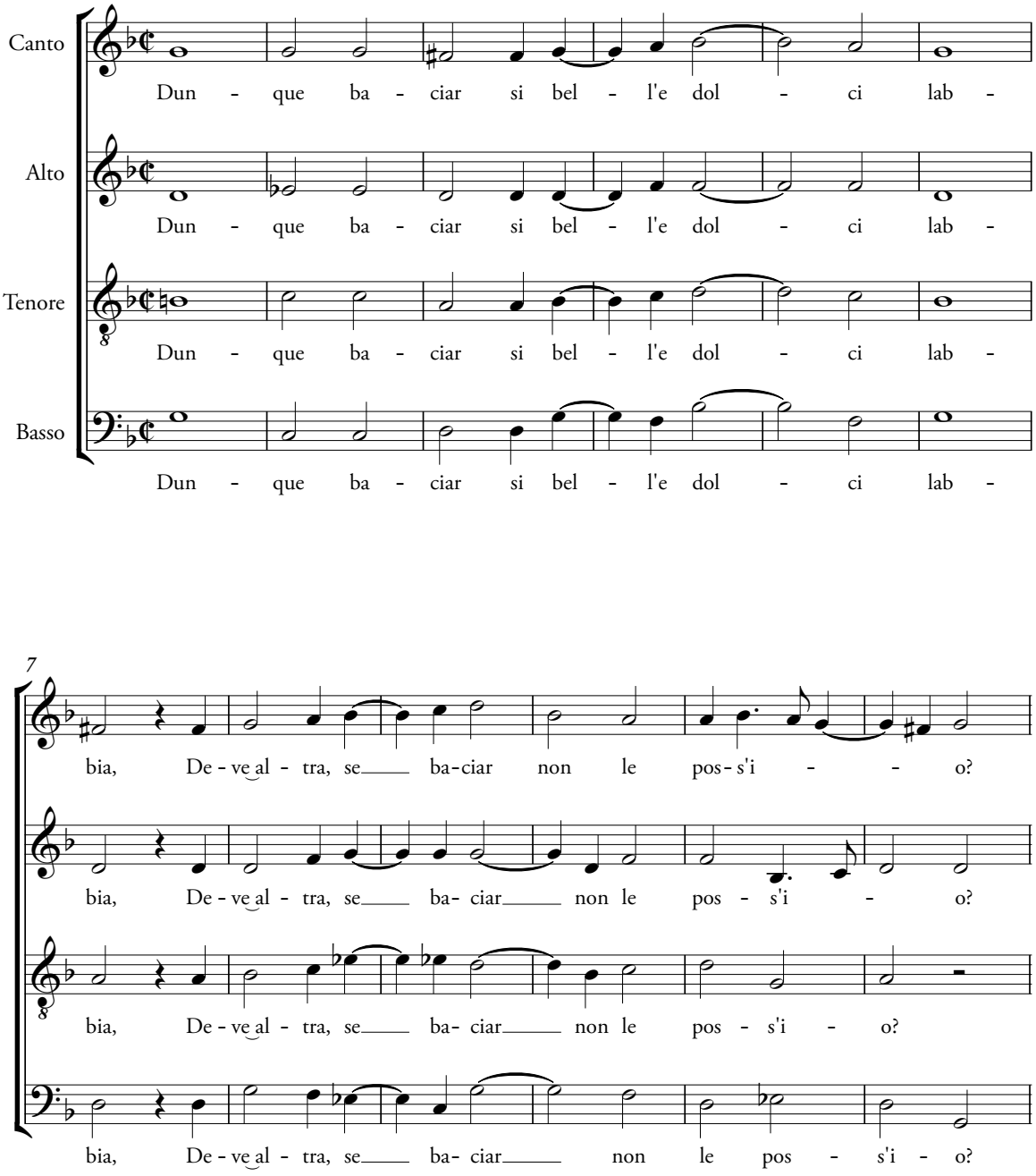
Incipit	Text	Tonal Type
Dunque baciar si bell'e dolci labbia	Orlando furioso XXXVI, 32-33	G-mollis
Il dolce sonno mi promise pace	Orlando furioso XXXIII, 63	G-mollis
Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi	Orlando furioso XXXII, 21	D-durus
Era il bel viso suo, qual esser suole	Orlando furioso XI, 65	D-durus
Chi salirà per me, Madonn'in cielo	Orlando furioso XXXV, 1	F-mollis

and ends instead on the tonal center.

MacClintock also did not elaborate upon her basis for claiming that Wert's madrigals were "polyphonic versions of *arie*," but the point cannot be confirmed by Haar's argument alone. The similarity he perceives is of so general a nature as to call seriously into question a direct causal relation between the two songs: where they resemble one another most closely, for example, the two melodies could just as well be said to manifest the *aria* tune widely known as the *passamezzo antico*. This resemblance they share with many other songs besides, including a number of the strambotti that I described in the previous chapter. To be clear, my point is not that these songs are "versions" of the *passamezzo antico* or any other *aria* as such, but rather that their apparent redundancies link them to larger networks of replications within which all of these were nodes. Given the complexity of those networks, and the difficulty of mapping them in anything but the sketchiest of outlines, teasing out specific causal relations and feedback channels within them would generally be a quixotic endeavor.

For now, then, let us set aside the plausibility of Haar's claim about the relation between these two songs, and focus instead on the foundational assumptions underlying his approach more generally. Notably, he describes the similarity in order to fill an apparent lacuna: the absence of *arie* designed for use with *strambotti* (or, for that matter, with *ottava* stanzas) in the Petruccian frottola repertory. This lacuna has long presented scholars of the repertory with a conundrum. Why did Petrucci give *arie* for some poetic forms but not others—and none for

Example 2.2: Giaches de Wert, "Dunque baciar si bell'e dolci labbia, mm. 1-12



the *strambotto*, which was closely linked to the practices of extemporizing song in which we believe *arie* played a prominent role? One answer may be that many strambotti were already so formulaic that there was no need to single out any one example as an *aria*. The texts of many formulaic strambotti could have been swapped out for others via the common practice

of substitution. Haar's discussion of "Queste non son" and "Dunque baciar" highlights this by speculating that Tromboncino's song had become an *aria*. Haar's discussion highlights also a second possibility, compatible with the first: that some strambotti transmitted in the surviving notated repertory incorporate the pre-existing tunes of well-known *arie*.[72] And he suggests that "Queste non son" may present one or the other such case on the ground of its similarity to Wert's "Dunque baciar."

Taking the two songs together, and noting that both of them set texts from *Orlando furioso*, Haar proposes that they reveal the broad outlines of an *aria* that could have been used to recite the epic. He speculates, too, that this *aria* might have been local to Mantua, where the two composers served the same family of patrons (albeit at different times); or that Tromboncino's strambotto, far from having borrowed an extant tune, might instead be a wholly original composition so well loved that it came to serve as the basis for an *aria*, which later made a cameo in Wert's madrigal. Again, because of the great distance that separates us from the history in question, the causal relations at stake present an intractable problem. Yet both of the genealogies Haar describes hinge upon a single interpretive premise that skirts the issue of causality. Whether or not the tune he identifies as an *aria* predated "Queste non son" or was adapted from it, each of these pieces gives a written trace of the *aria* and thus gestures toward a broader realm of musicking that evaded the printed page. Herein lies the conviction that guides Haar's investigations into the madrigal's intersections with *arie* more generally: that they preserve tangible evidence of a tradition mostly lost because it partook minimally of written support.

The rewards of searching for *arie* in surviving notated songs are evident in Haar's findings. He accumulated an impressive body of evidence for his contention that composers setting stanzas from *Orlando furioso* often drew their melodic material from a common archive.

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[72] Ibid, 95-6.

"Queste non son" is but the earliest example he cites; the vast majority of such songs come instead from the decades in which composers set Ariosto most frequently, and many of them are madrigals. The similarities they evince suggestively connect the madrigal to the "unwritten tradition" of *cinquecento* song (though Haar rarely uses that term, preferring the "improvisatory tradition" or the "orally transmitted tradition").[73] But he scrupulously differentiates Tromboncino's setting and later madrigals from that tradition itself, viewing them instead as reflections or imitations of the improvisatory practice. His reasons for vigilance are clear, since an overly zealous interpretation of these songs would advance far-reaching claims without explicit evidentiary support.

Notwithstanding his caution, Haar adopts these songs as the kind of written evidence that musicology has long prized, remedying the absences that have frustrated historical knowledge of *improvvisatori* and their practices. In a limited sense, they render those practices legible, and thus historically knowable, through musical notation. Yet precisely because they are legible, from Haar's perspective such songs were always already compromised. They made *arie* un-unwritten. They recorded in writing what was normally transmitted by oral means—that is, through sites of performance and pedagogy where writing factored little—and thus inexorably transformed them. Underlying this conclusion is the assumption that *arie* belonged foremost to a culture of orality and oral transmission categorically distinct from that of writing.

Haar's assumption has not withstood the scrutiny to which musicologists and scholars in adjacent disciplines have recently subjected it, and indeed the larger context in which he made it has been thoroughly reappraised in recent years. Such reappraisals follow a large body of scholarship in many disciplines that challenges the "great divide" theory of orality and literacy that was popular in the middle decades of the twentieth century. This theory received its most powerful articulation in the writings of Walter J. Ong, who argued that writing and

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[73] See, for example, Haar's discussion in *Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance*, 76-78.

literacy "transformed human consciousness."[74] Critics have contested this claim on grounds that are too many and too varied to enumerate fully here, but their thrust is clear: human culture does not neatly bifurcate into a "before and after" owed to a transition from orality to writing; moreover, oral and written transmission interact with one another in myriad, often highly complex ways.[75]

Many approaches to this subject, including my own, are informed by Jacques Derrida's rethinking of the historical construction of the relation between speech and writing, which can be read partly as a critique of theories of orality like Ong's.[76] According to Derrida, Western thought has long privileged speech as the site of presence and meaning to which writing, by contrast, can only ever provide indirect access. However, he argues that the deferral of presence ascribed to writing is actually characteristic of all forms of signification, including speech, as part of what he refers to as *arche-writing* or simply *writing*. Speech, then, does not afford presence and meaning in a way that is unavailable to writing in the more usual, "narrow" sense. Thus the historian of Medieval English literature Joseph Dane writes that we should regard orality as "a fiction inscribed in literacy and writing," and theories of orality as "a product of the bad faith of writing, as writing tries to hide its own lack of origin."[77]

I share Dane's suspicion, but my aim here is to pursue another implication of Derrida's *arche-writing*: that signification arises from differences and is structured according to the logic of the trace, which is to say that signs always signify in relation to other signs. To sing or to

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[74] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p. 77.

[75] One recent edited collection especially salient to this discussion, thanks to its focus on the *quattrocento* and *cinquecento*, is *Interactions between Orality and Writing in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Luca Degl'Innocenti, Brian Richardson, and Chiara Sbordoni.

[76] See Derrida, *De la grammatologie*. Joseph Dane assays one such reading in "The Lure of Oral Theory in Medieval Criticism." Here my account of Derrida is informed by Juliet Fleming's exposition in *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida*, especially pp. 8-9; and Tomlinson's in *The Singing of the New World*, pp. 11-15.

[77] Dane, "The Lure of Oral Theory in Medieval Criticism," p. 145.

inscribe an *aria* in the *cinquecento* was equally to inhabit this structure; so, too, was to compose a madrigal based upon, or related to, an *aria*. Each of those acts was at least minimally determined by the repetitions, reiterations, and redundancies of form that organized them and made them meaningful, and so the condition that Haar ascribes to the traces of *arie* in written song—that they were traces of something else—obtained just as much to those *arie* that were sung but never inscribed on paper or parchment.

We might even say that Haar quietly performs something akin to the maneuver Derrida famously critiques, by which Western philosophers have usually affiliated speech with presence. Just as for them writing serves as the indirect sign of a divine or metaphysical presence that can only be signified by speech, so for Haar the trace of an *aria* in written song is the "reflection" of an *aria* whose true form, by implication, existed only ever in an "improvisatory tradition" that we cannot know. What I am proposing instead is that extemporized song consisted as much as written song in this trace-structure, and that a certain historiographic leverage can be found in this fact. Mediating the repetitions and redundancies that linked the iterations of a particular *aria* to one another, whether extemporized or inscribed, was an archive that, from the perspective of the theory of replication, can neither be divided from the songs that comprised it nor isolated to any one of them. And if we adopt this view, we can regard songs like those by Tromboncino and Wert as something other than the indirect signs of an *aria* that lies beyond the reach of writing. They do not bring us to the brink of a world of unwritten musicking so much as they bespeak a specific type of engagement with the resources of the archive. And in this way, at least, they are not much different from *arie*.

We should, then, be wary of hypostasizing the differences between *arie* and madrigals as a dichotomy of oral and written cultures, respectively, whatever the important consequences of this dichotomy (to which I return below). Beneath the manifest differences between *arie* and the madrigal lay a foundational redundancy, a form of relating poetry and music, which

linked them to one another through replication and sometimes, because of this link, organized them both in similar ways. We can and should distinguish functionally between the two types of song. Whereas *arie* supplied music general enough to facilitate the many contingencies that arose in substituting of one text for another, madrigals were keyed to the contingencies of the specific texts they set and thus refused substitution. For this reason, madrigals like Wert's were not *arie* as such, nor indeed "versions" of them. And yet, though they likely feature none of the melodic borrowings or internal repetitions to which Haar has drawn our attention, as so many modern commentators have observed, they seem to resemble extemporized realizations of *arie* made to fit specific texts.

And so the question is now an urgent one: On what basis may we assert their similarity? MacClintock, Haar, Tomlinson, and others are surely right to connect Wert's four-voice madrigalian settings of Ariosto with *arie*. By now, however, it should be clear that these songs cannot simply be characterized as "polyphonic versions" of *arie* for several further reasons of a more straightforward sort. A narrow focus on melody has led us generally to neglect other types of information, especially relating to cadences, that *arie* modeled. Even a cursory survey of cadences, indeed, reveals other similarities, arguably as strong as the melodic one Haar perceived, between madrigals from this group and Tromboncino's "Queste non son." Wert's "Il dolce sonno mi promisce pace," for example, shows precisely the same type of cadential plan: line-by-line alternation between cadences on the tonal center and its diapente (see Table 2.6). There is good reason to suspect that Wert's choice was motivated by the form of the text, in which, contrary to Ariosto's usual practice, the strongest syntactic breaks align consistently with the end of each distich. Ariosto works an exaggeratedly schematic take on the poetic form to which Wert's rhyming cadences give an equally schematic musical analogue.

Moreover, we cannot assume, as Haar and MacClintock both seem to do, that *arie* were not already polyphonic. Recent research has repeatedly demonstrated the ease with which

Table 2.6: Cadential plan of "Il dolce sonno mi promise pace"

Phrase	Poetic Line(s)	Rhyme Ending	Cadence	Measure	Cadential Voices
A	1	a	D	m. 3	Alto, Basso (Phrygian)
B	2	b	G	m. 7	Canto, Alto
A'	3	a	D	m. 10	Tenore, Basso (Phrygian)
B'	4	b	G	m. 13	Canto, Tenore
C	5	a	D	m. 16	Canto, Alto
D	6	b	G	m. 18	Canto, [Tenore]
E	7	c	D	m. 20	Canto, Tenore
F	8	c	G	m. 24	Canto, Tenore
F	8	c	G	m. 27	Canto, Tenore

quattrocento and *cinquecento* singers and instrumentalists were able to extemporize multiple voices from a given line according to the step-by-step prescriptions of relatively easy rules. Even when an *aria* was transmitted as a single melody, most musicians with even a modicum of formal training could readily have produced a four-voice realization of it on this basis (for a summary of these rules, see Table 2.7). Music generated thus possesses a telltale style, which has enabled Kate van Orden and others to identify instances of music in written sources that originated in such a procedure.[78] Wert's four-voice madrigals were not composed exclusively in this manner, but they unmistakably share with such music a predominantly homophonic style: this style forms part of their similarity to *arie*, and we need to account for it.

Among those who have drawn attention to these madrigals and proposed their relation to the tradition of epic recitation, Tomlinson and Brown have grounded their accounts in harmonic terms. Tomlinson suggests that it was their distinctive "harmonic language," in tandem with their Ariostean texts, which linked Wert's four-voice madrigals with the declamatory tradition.[79] One strength of his account is that it turns not at all on the melodic similarities that preoccupy Haar (indeed, he avoids the word *aria*, except when quoting MacClintock)

[78] Van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*, 156-58.

[79] Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, 60.

but rather on patterns of chords that betray an extreme economy of musical means. He draws special attention to the four of the songs that have overwhelmingly homophonic textures, pointing out that all four "circle incessantly around four triads," which fall into two groups that are related to one another by transposition: g, D, B-flat, and F in the two madrigals in G-mollis; and d, A, F, and C in the two in D-durus. According to Tomlinson, the minimal range of harmonic motion that arises from the permutations of these four chords spotlights a supple syllabic delivery of the texts: the result is declamation by four voices, rather than one.

Tomlinson observes, further, that the resulting patterns of interlocking fifth-related chords were shared with the "harmonic variation schemes" that contemporaneous sources associated with sung recitations of Ariosto's epic.[80] In this way, he connects Wert's madrigals to the declamatory tradition on the ground that they shared the restricted harmonic range of its most formulaic supports. Underscoring this insight is Giuseppe Fiorentino's recent demonstration that the very schemes Tomlinson cites as patterns of chords—the *passamezzo antico*, the *romanesca*, and the *folia*—are readily derived by applying the formulaic procedure for producing extemporaneous four-voice counterpoint, described above, to certain highly generic melodies. Indeed, these schemes show why *arie* cannot simply be understood as melodies. Their bass lines, though "originally" derived in counterpoint with given melodies, were sometimes transmitted independently, resulting in a tangle of sources that mired twentieth-century scholarship in what now seem like fruitless debates about the true nature of such schemes.[81] In the light of recent work like Fiorentino's, we may now see that these *arie* were both melodic and harmonic in nature, and that the two dimensions were deeply inter-determined.

Qualifying Tomlinson's insight with the knowledge that these schemes represent the outcomes of applying a widely used procedure for generating four voices from given melodies,

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[80] Ibid, 60-1.

[81] I revisit those debates, and explore the full implications of Fiorentino's discovery for it, in Chapter 4. See especially pages…

Table 2.7: Fauxbourdon-style procedure derived from Guilelmus Monachus

Voice	First sonority	Intermediate	Penultimate	Final sonority
Canto	1	1-1-1-1-1-1…	1	1
Alto	1 (6) (4) (8)	5-6-5-6-5-6…	5	1 (6) (4) (8)
Tenore	8	3-3-3-3-3-3	3	8
Basso	8	5-3-5-3-5-3…	5	8

The formula is given here in the form of intervals to be sung in relation to a reference pitch, in this case below the Canto, and is adapted from that given by Giuseppe Fiorentino in *Folía.*

we are in a position to render more precise his claim. Wert's four-voice settings of Ariosto resemble the polyphonic realizations of the specific *arie* that sometimes structured the extemporized singing of epic poetry insofar as they share an identical collection of vertical sonorities. And now that we understand better why those particular vertical sonorities (and not others) arose so often in *arie* associated with extemporized song, we can understand why the counterpoint in Wert's madrigals behaves in a similar fashion. But this similarity was bound to elude Haar's narrower focus on melodic borrowings as the basis for written song's relation to *arie*, and becomes visible only when we realize that Wert's Ariostean madrigals may have shared with existing *arie* not their melodies, but rather their characteristic fashion of deriving harmonic supports and other, non-melodic dimensions.

It is no coincidence that, in the same passages Tomlinson selects as paradigmatic examples of Wert's limited harmonic range, the relationships between the four voices track closely to what would have been prescribed by the procedure that rendered *arie* polyphonic. Somewhat less often, the voices actually proceed exactly as that procedure would have stipulated. In Wert's setting of the second line of "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi, ahi lassi," for example, the lower voices relate to the Canto as if Wert had here applied the formula by rote: the Alto follows it below in parallel thirds until the cadential flourish of the final word ("irrazionale"), while in the same span, the Basso alternates between fifths and thirds below the Canto, and the

Tenor between fifths and sixths below it (Figure 2.1 diagrams these relationships). Much recent scholarship suggests that we can read this passage as a written-out realization of the Canto in four voices, thus making plain its thinly disguised origin in a procedure so simple that even choirboys were trusted to execute it.

Despite such examples, rote application of such procedures cannot account for all of the resemblances of the type that Tomlinson perceived. Most of the passages he cites were manifestly not composed by hewing close to the procedure in question, yet they all feature what he describes as the "interlocking progressions of a fourth" that were characteristic of the most familiar *arie*. Such progressions may instead be explained as arising from the convergence of certain types of melody and harmony within the basic affordances of the rules of counterpoint. One property all Tomlinson's examples share—which they also share with the *passamezzo*, the *romanesca*, and the *folia*—is that their melodies mostly proceed in conjunct motion through the diapente. This behavior has an important consequence: harmonizing such melodies together with a preference for the kinds of vertical sonorities we now regard as "root position" triads yields a certain pattern of relationships between the voices that was more or less exactly what formulas for producing extemporaneous counterpoint codified. Caught up in the excitement that recent work on improvisation has generated, we can lose sight of the fact that such procedures were expedients: means to a compositional end that could have been (and probably often were) achieved otherwise.

Whatever the means Wert employed to compose these songs, they share a certain pattern of contrapuntal possibilities with *arie* we know to have been used in the recitation of Ariosto's verse, and these possibilities arose from the convergence of a particular set of constraints on composition, written or not. Whether or not the melodies of his four-voice madrigals allude to the tunes of pre-existing *arie*, in other words, these songs replicate something far more elusive about *arie* than their tunes: their characteristic *style*. Wert replicated that style in these

Figure 2.1: "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi, ahi lassi," line 2

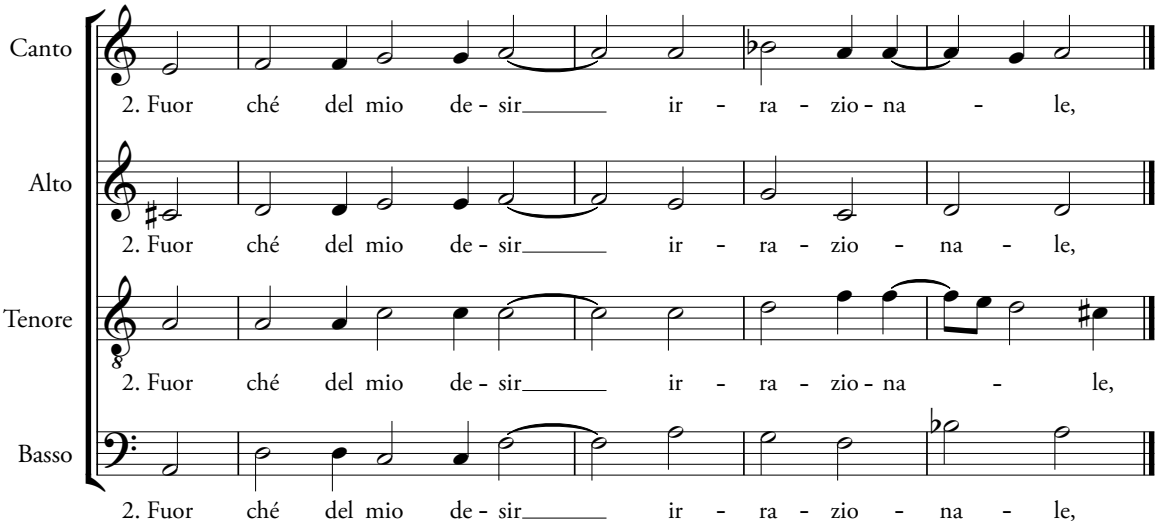


Table 2.8: "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi, ahi lassi," line 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Canto												
Alto	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	6	5	4	4
Tenore	5	6	6	5	5	6	6	6	3	3-4	4-5	6
Basso	5	3	3	5	5	3	8	3	3	3	2	8

Relationships are expressed as intervals (or their octave equivalents) above and below the reference pitch, respectively. In this example, the tenor provides the reference pitch. Each column represents one vertical sonority.

madrigals, which is to say that he obeyed the unspoken but conventionalized expectations for how *arie* should proceed. Of course, this is far from the whole picture, for here that style has been brought into contact with the expectations of a genre that Brown calls "inimical" to *arie*. Those expectations were liable to change, and we should suppose that Wert's madrigals might have reshaped them even as it responded to them. But here we begin to see how Wert responded, in idiosyncratic fashion, to the meta-generic imperative that Tomlinson perceives across the whole of the madrigal's history: the imperative that composers reflect on the nature of the relation between poetry and music.

Welch, we remember, described Ariosto as "having adopted a rhetorical pretense of oral delivery," and we can say that the four of Wert's four-voice madrigals that are predominantly homophonic arguably do much the same: by replicating the characteristic style of *arie*, they project the *rhetorical pretense of extemporized song*. Yet they also leaven that style with musical flourishes that conspicuously index choices made and planned by a composer, such as the staggered, paired entries for the second line of text in "Il dolce sonno" (see Example 2.3). The silence of the Tenore and Basso voices in m. 4 is not in any sense unusual to encounter in a madrigal, but in this instance it provides a reminder that this song, though it veers close to an extemporized style, is the work of a composer who chose to respond to Ariosto's text in this manner and at this particular moment.

We may suspect that what motivates the two different textures is the meaning of the text, since they embody a contrast we can hear as a simple musical analogue to the contrast between "il dolce sonno" (sweet sleep) and "l'amaro vegghiar" (bitter wakefulness). Indeed, it is clear how a composer could have put the homophonic style of *arie* to use in generating the type of localized semantic intensification so often associated with the madrigal; this style often served as a *topos* of restfulness in the madrigal, in contrast with more contrapuntally active passages. However, if we interpret such contrasts as manifesting the special capabilities of a genre embedded in a culture of writing, which allowed a precise relation between word and tone to be fixed at one moment and recalled at another, we would be mistaken for two reasons. First, sung recitation with *arie* was capable of its own kind of precision in the relation between word and tone, thanks to a degree of formal regimentation that gave singers flexibility to alter melodic details on the fly, in order to be responsive to the contingencies of text.

Second, elements of that same regimentation structure Wert's madrigals, too. By this I mean that Wert replicates not only the style of *arie* but also salient aspects of their form—that is, of the song principle. It is on this ground that the fifth of Wert's four-voice settings of Ari-

osto, "Chi salirà per me, Madonn'in cielo," whose texture is not homophonic, can nevertheless be said to resemble an *aria* as much as the other four. The two phrases of music with which he set the first and second lines of text repeat for the third and fourth. Both of these phrases end with a cadence on the tonal center of F, whereas lines five through seven each terminate with a cadence on C (see Table 2.9). These basic patterns of repetition suggest again the archetype of cadential polarization by fifth familiar to us from earlier settings of *strambotti* and *ottave*. To be sure, we have not previously seen this archetype used to relate music and poetry in precisely this way, effectively dividing the music that corresponds to the *stanza* into two halves; but the choice could well have been motivated by the form of this particular stanza, whose sense and syntax divide neatly into two units at its midpoint.

In general, such a large-scale bipartite division of the *ottava* into two parts is far more characteristic of Ariosto's *stanze* than of the *strambotti* that we have previously encountered. This helps to account for the fact that although the range of cadential pitches in Wert's four-voice settings of Ariosto is greater than in the *arie* and strambotti I described in Chapter 1, in every case the cadence at the end of line four is either the tonal center or its diapente. What this fact suggests, I think, is that Wert recognized the midpoint, together with the end of line eight, as the moment of strongest formal articulation, and drew accordingly upon the readiest means available to provide it with a musical analogue. Moreover, we may take the expansion of cadential possibilities here to represent a simple extension of the archetype of cadential polarization by fifth: specifically, the archetype expands to include cadences on the pitches that give the "roots" of the chords that produce patterns of interlocking fifth-related chords in these madrigals. For this reason it is surely notable that, of all the line-ending cadences in these madrigals, the only two that do not occur on one of those pitches—the pair of cadences on E at the ends of the fifth and sixth lines of "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi"—are Phrygian and thus exceptional for other reasons, too.

Example 2.3: Giaches de Wert, “Il dolce sonno mi promise pace,” mm 1-10

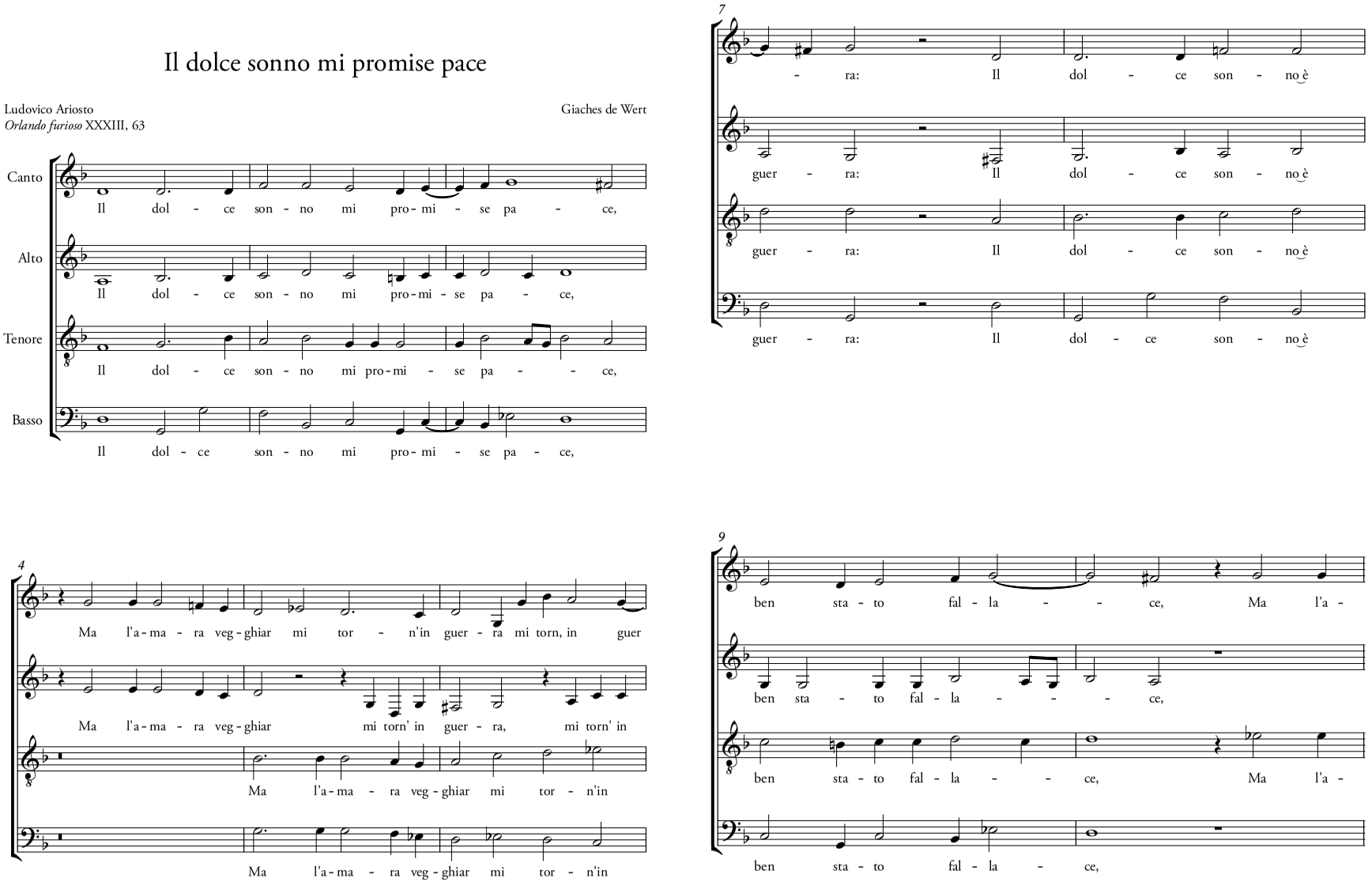


Table 2.9: Musico-poetic plan of "Chi salirà per me, Madonn'in cielo"

Phrase	Poetic Line	Rhyme Ending	Cadence	Measure	Cadential Voices
A	1	a	F	m. 5	Canto, [Tenor]
B	2	b	F	m. 8	Canto, Tenore
A'	3	a	F	m. 13	Canto, [Tenore]
B'	4	b	F	m. 16	Canto, Tenore
C	5	a	C	m. 19	Canto, Tenore
D	6	b	C	m. 24	Tenore, Basso
E	7	c	C	m. 28	Tenore, Basso (evaporates)
F	8	c	N/A	N/A	N/A
E'	7	c	C	m. 36	Tenore, Basso (evaporates)
F'	8	c	F	m. 41	Canto, Tenore

In other words, despite the expansion of cadential options, the great majority of line-ending cadences in these madrigals nevertheless fall either on the tonal center or on its diapente (see Table 2.10). This finding resonates suggestively with what Brown has observed of cadences in the *madrigale arioso*, the sub-genre that took hold in three anthologies of songs for four voices published at Rome by Antonio Barré between 1558 and 1562.[82] Brown focused his attention chiefly on the first of the anthologies, whose contents are generally the most homophonic of the three volumes, and especially on its ten G-mollis settings of *ottave*, which account for more than a third of the book's contents. Analyzing these songs, he found an overwhelming preference for cadences on G, the tonal center, and D, its diapente. Of the eighty cadences that he counted at line endings, these two pitches account for sixty-nine (see Table 2.11 for more details). Nine of the cadences that fall at the end of the fourth line of a *stanza* were on G; one was on D.

The replication of the old strambotto song form is not absolute, of course. Only one of the ten songs in this group, Barré's own "Deh ferma amor, costui che cosi sciolto" (XXXII, 20) features the kind of line-by-line alternation between the two pitches familiar from strambotti

[82] Brown, "Verso una definizione dell'armonia nel sedecesimo secolo: sui 'Madrigali Ariosi' di Antonio Barré," especially 44-46.

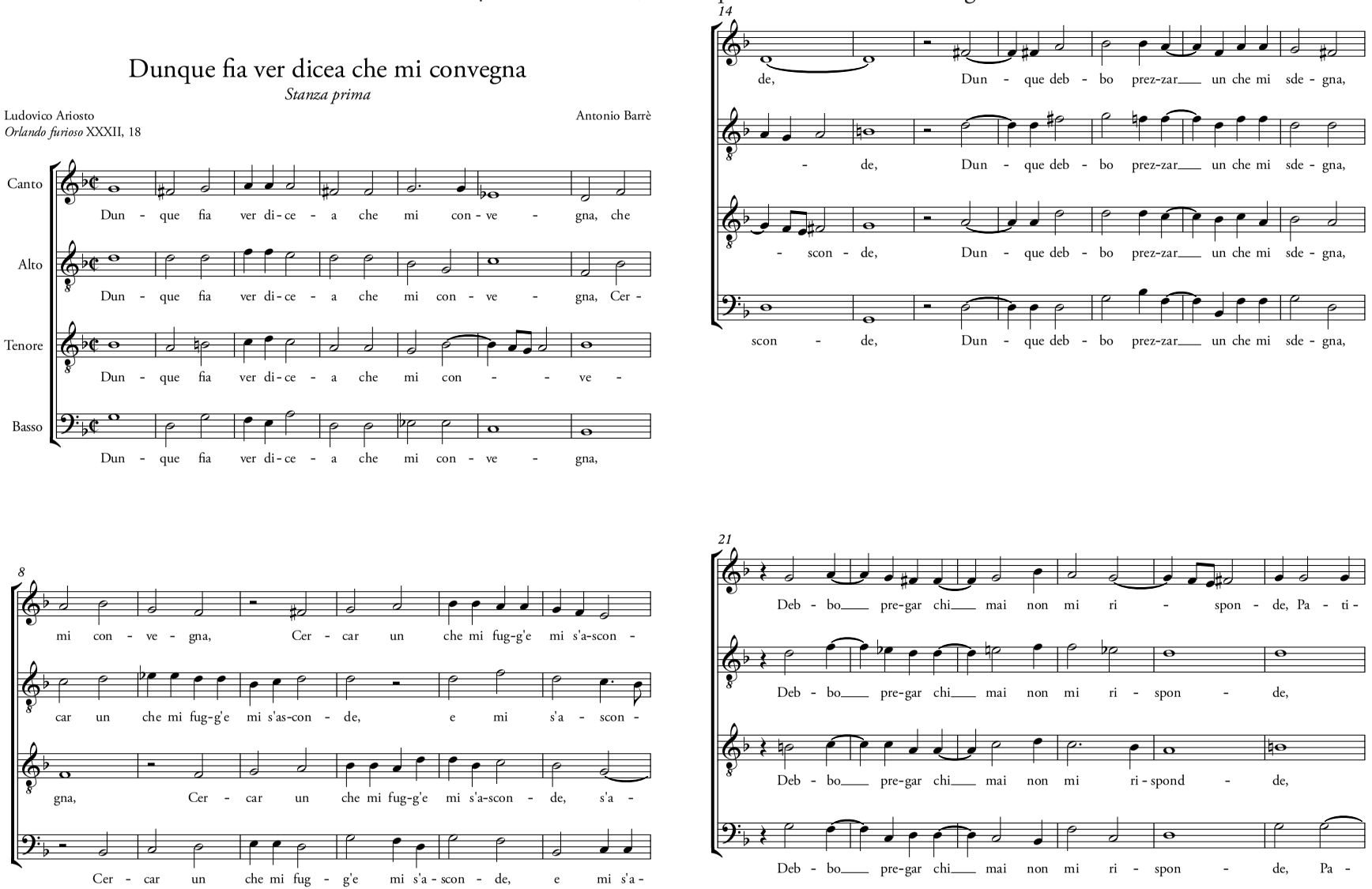
Table 2.10: Cadences in Wert's four-voice settings of Ariosto

Cadential Pitch	Total Occurrence
Final	24
Diapente	19
Third	5
All others	6

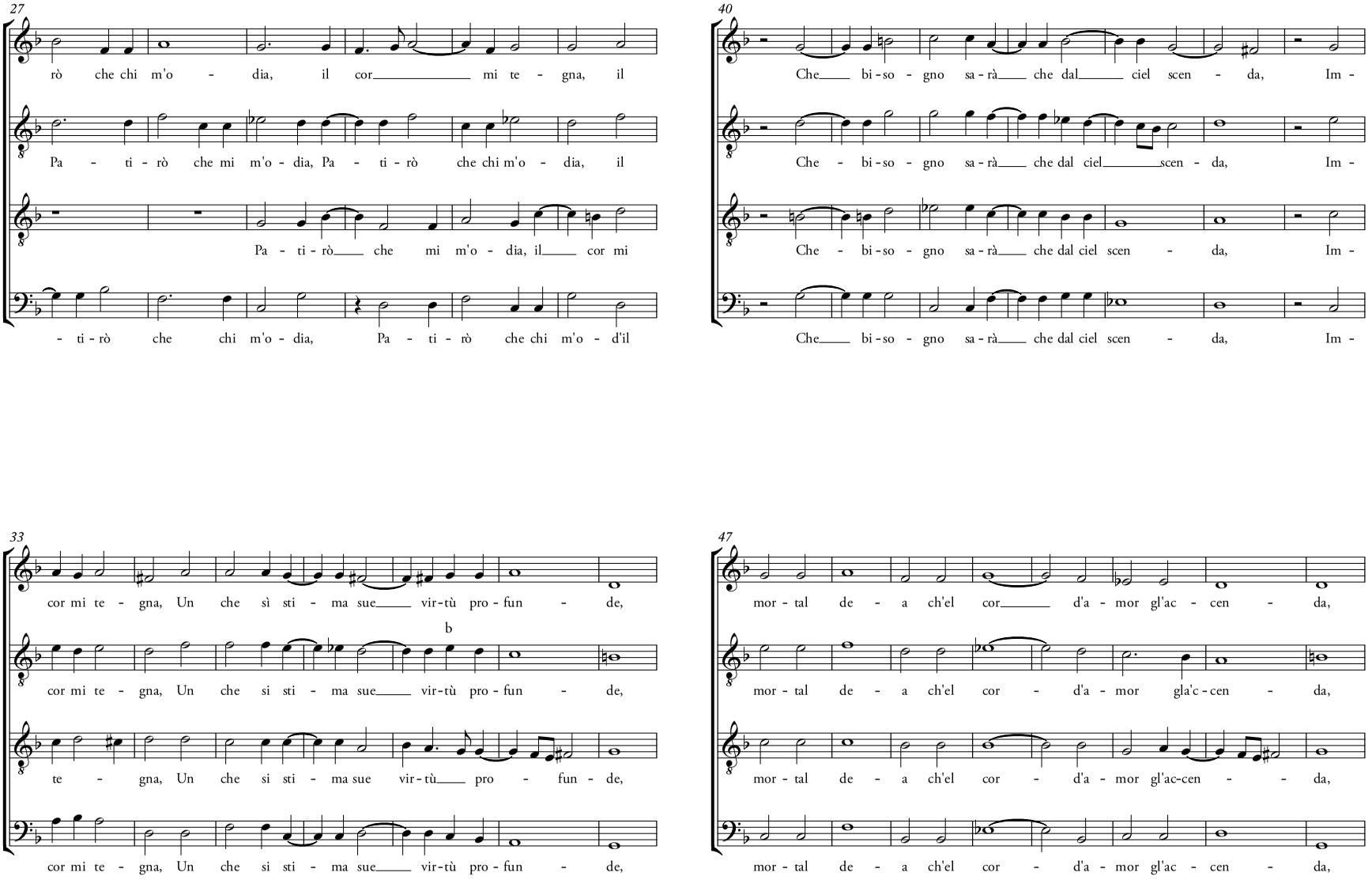
and *arie*. And in the new, through-composed genre the adherence to cadences on the tonal center and its diapente could be broken in a manner responsive to units of syntax or semantics. This occurs, for example, in Barré's setting of the Ariostean stanza "Dunque fia ver, dicea, che mi convegna" (XXXII, 18). Here the cadence on B-flat at the end of the first line answers the imperative to punctuate line endings with cadences (see Example 2.4); but the divergence from the scheme of alternation between G and D that follows thereafter signals the enjambement of lines one and two, contributing to the overall effect by heightening the urgency of Bradamante's lament (of which this is the first stanza). It is as if Barré felt the cadence on a pitch other than the tonal center or its diapente to be less conclusive than cadences on those pitches. The same procedure occurs again in his setting of the next stanza from the lament, "Sa questo altier ch'io l'amo et ch'io l'adoro," where the music cadences on F for an enjambment at the end of line five.

The ten G-mollis *madrigali ariosi* from Barré's anthology show further similarities with Wert's settings of Ariosto that make their shared cadential preferences all the more salient. They feature progressions of what today we would conceive as interlocking fifth-related root-position chords; they reflect the characteristic homophonic style of extemporized song; their line endings often occasion a rest of a semibreve or more, thus marking each line as a formal unit; and six of the ten set *ottave* from *Orlando furioso*. Despite these similarities, however, Haar has made a forceful case for understanding these two groups of songs as subtly different from one another. He argues that Wert's homophonic style should be distinguished from the "arioso"

Example 2.4: Antonio Barré, “Dunque fia ver dicea mi convegna”



Example 2.4: Antonio Barré, "Dunque fia ver dicea mi convegna" (continued)



Example 2.4: Antonio Barré, "Dunque fia ver dicea mi convegna" (continued)

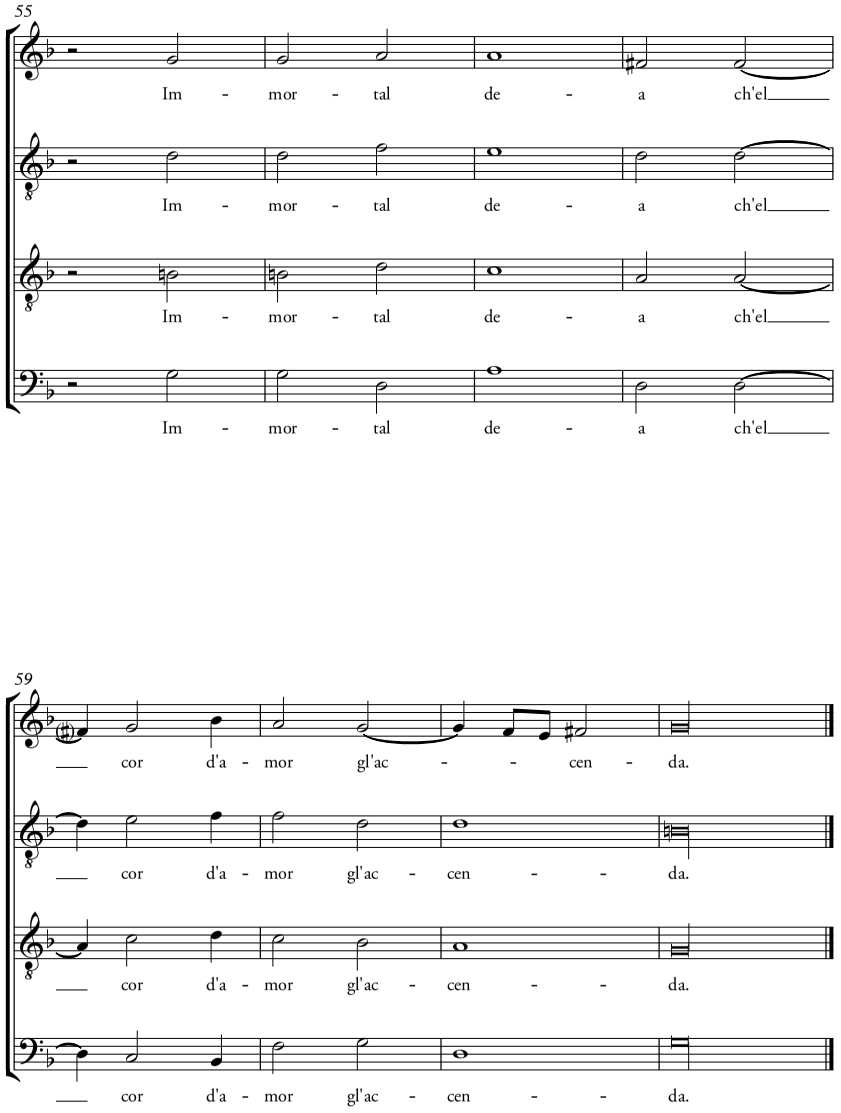


Table 2.11: Cadences by pitch in the G-mollis *ottave* in Barré's *Primo libro delle muse* (1558)

Cadential Pitch	Total
G	41
D	28
Bb	6
F	3
C	2

style of Barré's books because it mostly makes frequent use of "canzonetta rhythms, based on subdivisions of the beat" instead of the "additive textual flow" of the *madrigale arioso* proper.[83] However subtly we might distinguish the two groups from one another, their many similarities nevertheless imply that they were linked to one another by more than coincidence. Together they provide strong evidence that when composers such as Wert and Barré encountered Ariostean stanzas and set about fashioning them into madrigals, they drew from the deep archive of musical *formalisms* that also guided extemporized song.

That they did so suggests the distance that the madrigal had traveled in the years since its inception at Florence in the context of the politics of the vernacular that attended it there. The first composers of madrigals seized upon a relatively dense contrapuntal idiom in order to declare the genre's separation from much of the existing sung vernacular tradition; this was, in effect, an assertion of the priority of writing over speech and song. The mid-century madrigalists who set Ariosto, by contrast, turned repeatedly to the extemporized style of vernacular singing that Florentine predecessors had mostly eschewed. Why did they do so? In one sense, the answer is very simple: Ariosto's own engagement with the extemporized, sung declamation of poetry provided an impetus to replicate the specifically musical dimensions of the same tradition. This much we have long understood; it stands behind all general assertions that madrigalian settings of Ariosto point toward an oral tradition of reciting poetry with *arie*. Yet

[83] Haar, "The 'Madrigale Arioso': A Mid-Century Development in the Cinquecento Madrigal," 233.

the relation between the madrigal and those *arie* cannot be described only in terms of straightforward borrowings, quotations, citations, or allusions. Brown signaled this when he took note of the fact that patterns like the schemes of the best-known *arie* appear often in the *madrigale arioso* repertory—but never the schemes themselves, as we know them today.

The formalisms replicated in these madrigals from the earlier song repertory suggest a different type of connection between the two kinds of song, the *aria* and the madrigal, which is most evident at their intersection in settings of texts from *Orlando furioso*. Both kinds of song partook of the formal resources of a cultural archive and mobilized them for much the same reason: in order to relate poetry and music in song. Herein lay the operation of a deeper kind of writing than that to which the madrigal, over and against *arie* and the "unwritten" tradition they represented, had laid special claim. The madrigals to which I have attended here give evidence of their formation within the same convergence of affordances and constraints that shaped the *strambotto* repertory: the affordances of the archetype of cadential polarization, and the contrapuntal constraints of extemporizing polyphonic song in an idiom emphasizing sonorities we now describe as root position triads. Both kinds of songs arose from replicating certain forms within the same set of cultural conditions, and it is this shared history that accounts for so many of their similarities.

Wert's four-voice settings of Ariosto and the *madrigali ariosi* published by Barré are certainly not *arie* dressed up as madrigals. The choices that composers like Wert and Barré made in setting Ariostean *stanze* as madrigals respond to the special imperative of that genre, as Tomlinson argues we should perceive it. Both of those composers manipulated the forms they replicated in ways that suggest a keen self-consciousness about the relation between their practice and that of the extemporized tradition of vernacular song. It is perhaps not too much to suggest that they learned this self-consciousness from the example Ariosto and the reception of his epic. Ariosto had forged a distinctive and knowing authorial voice while writing exclu-

sively within the affordances of a poetic form that lay at the heart of a still living sung tradition, which then reabsorbed his verse in the new, through-composed, contrapuntal, and above all *written* genre of the madrigal. Composers working in this genre frequently understood that their practices were guided and constrained by formalisms that brought their songs into networks of relationships with other kinds of songs. Their task as composers of madrigals was to work their inherited forms in ways that openly took stock of, and confronted, this plain fact.

Such self-awareness surely marks the difference between *arie* and madrigals. At the same time, seeing both kinds of songs as inhabiting inherited forms dissolves some of the distinctions we have always drawn between "unwritten" *arie* and "written" madrigals in some kind of *arioso* style. It is for this reason that I believe we do wrong to regard the latter merely as versions, reflections, or imitations (the terms we have seen Haar and others using) of *arie*. The nature of their relation was more complicated than these terms capture, notwithstanding the clear-cut cases of melodic borrowings that Haar has enumerated, because they were linked to one another across sprawling networks of replications. Taking them all together, we can begin to discern the portability of archetypal patterns of affordances—specific forms of the song principle—that performers of *arie* and composers of madrigals alike were able to mobilize to many ends.

Enactment

We have begun to see here that the small part of the madrigal repertory setting stanzas from *Orlando furioso* offers the clearest examples of the song principle's survival in the genre. I claim no close link between Ariosto and the circumstances of the first emergence of the madrigal, but instead argue that in the decades that followed its emergence, madrigalian settings of his stanzas reveal much about what Drott would call the genre's *enactment*. The madrigals reveal—as few others in the large repertory do—that the song principle, as a form of relating

poetry and music, was at times able to move to the center of what it meant to compose madrigals. Wert's Ariosto settings and many of the songs Barré gathered under the rubric *madrigale arioso* drew in similar ways from an archive of formal homologies between music and poetry. In these works we can see that the song principle did not disappear with the frottola's exit, but persisted at mid-century especially in connection with a strong Ariostean current. Settings from *Orlando furioso* often manifested their authorial *maniera*, to invoke again Pirrotta's term, by presenting a rhetorical pretense of extemporized song. In doing so, they hold a revealing mirror to the genre.

I conclude with a final observation, which uncovers one more link between the Ariostean madrigal and the argument of this dissertation as a whole. Brown's interest in the *madrigale arioso* was motivated above all by what he regarded as its important place in the history of several related developments that carry us into the *seicento*: the (re)development of monody, the birth of opera, and the consolidation of a recognizably modern tonality. His suspicion that the genre played a special role in the latter development led him to devise an analytic technique, loosely based on the *Basso seguente* notation of *continuo* practices, which would evaluate its harmonies with respect to the bass in a conspicuously modern way. He found sanction for this approach in the writings of a number of *cinquecento* music theorists who affirmed that voice as the harmonic reference-pitch. Brown's application of this technique to the *madrigale arioso* suggested that, in many cases, these songs could have been composed as successions of a specific kind of vertical sonority—the triad—above bass lines that do not stray from a relatively small harmonic range.

This finding stands out, among other reasons, because it does not correspond with the ways in which more recent writers have understood, on the basis of sixteenth-century testimony, formulas for extemporizing four-voice counterpoint. In such formulas, the given reference pitch is usually either the Cantus or the Tenor. One conclusion to draw from this discrepancy

might be that two entirely different compositional processes were at stake: the one driven by the generation of certain consonances above a bass, the other by the generation of certain consonances around or below a melody. But the similarity of the two approaches attests that more basic and similar principles were operative in both cases. These principles, indeed, we might regard collectively as the tonality the two approaches shared, where that concept is understood neither as abstract rules nor as retrospective generalizations, but rather as the emergent effect of the self-regulation of a network of replications. In this chapter I have demonstrated how those principles repeatedly arose in relation to particular imperatives of form (to relate musical form to poetic form by means of cadential polarization) and genre (to reflect on the nature of those means). In addition to these, the next chapter will add another category, more abstract and more elusive than they, which has already begun to make itself known here: the category of *style*.

3

The Genealogy of Neapolitan Style

In the previous chapter, I explored the persistence of the song principle within the madrigal and showed how composers applied that principle to develop a special approach to the genre. On this basis, I challenged a central claim of Alfred Einstein's *The Italian Madrigal*: that the madrigal diverged most radically from the natural course of Italian song by adopting polyphony and through-composition, driving the song principle "underground" in the period between the brief flourishing of the frottola and the reemergence of monody at the turn of the *seicento*. Instead, I argued, the song principle was reconciled with the madrigal in fashioning a specific kind of response to its core generic demands. That response was shaped above all by the example of Ludovico Ariosto and the vernacular politics manifested in his *Orlando furioso* (1516) and its reception history. Following Ariosto's lead, some composers who set his stanzas to music as madrigals mobilized specific formal resources associated with the song principle, thus bridging a divide that some contemporary observers believed separated written from spoken, and indeed sung, vernaculars.

Einstein's argument had another dimension I have not yet addressed. Although he believed that the importance of the song principle was diminished by and in the madrigal, he conceded that it had never disappeared entirely from the written record of Italian song. Instead it persisted in a group of genres that circulated on a smaller scale than the madrigal. Einstein referred to these collectively as the "lighter forms." They occupied a lower register than the madrigal in both linguistic and musical respects. Many of these genres set texts in local or regional dialects, marking their distance from what Giuseppe Gerbino has called the "new lyric language of Italian poetry" that formed an crucial part of the ideological background to

the madrigal's emergence at Florence during the 1520s.[1] Musically, Einstein's "lighter forms" avoided the contrapuntal tendencies and the through-composed forms of the madrigal, which had developed as a musical reinforcement of the elite status of its lyrics.

It was in the "lighter forms," to read Einstein, that the song principle quietly survived for much of the *cinquecento* outside the ambit of the madrigal. If my aim in the previous chapter was to show that even the composers of madrigals drew upon the resources of the song principle when the genre intersected with an Ariostean politics of the vernacular, I devote this chapter to reconsidering how those same resources were transmitted in connection with dialect song and, more specifically, in connection with *Neapolitan style*. This is my term for the concept implicitly linking various genres designated in print by names such as "villanesca" and "villanella," all of which contemporaries clearly associated with Naples. In fact, these genres frequently intersected with, or were conflated with, one another in ways that can make them hard to classify, but as a guiding heuristic, we can follow Donna Cardamone, the leading modern scholar of this repertory, in distinguishing between the two most important of them on the following ground: the villanesca was the main genre of Neapolitan dialect song before 1565, and the villanella the main genre thereafter.[2] The concept of Neapolitan style will allow us to clarify the links between these genres and an important but little understood volume that properly belonged to neither of them, the *Aeri racolti* of Rocco Rodio, a collection of three- and four-voice songs that survives in a single, incomplete copy of a Neapolitan edition of 1577.

Like those genres, Rodio's anthology constituted a Neapolitan link in the transmission of the song principle; unlike them, it did so in the context of offering *arie* together with poetry of an unambiguously elevated register, complicating Einstein's narrative much like the Arioste-an madrigals of the previous chapter. Those madrigals revealed their genre to have been more

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[1] Giuseppe Gerbino, Music and the Myth of Arcadia, especially 99-100.

[2] For a concise overview, see Donna Cardamone, "Villanella."

expansive than we, following Einstein's lead, have often assumed, but Rodio's *arie* staked no claim to madrigalian status. These *arie*, despite the decidedly elevated register of the poetry they set, were not madrigals at all, but were on the contrary connected, by way of their Neapolitan origin and shared formalisms, with the "lighter forms." Holding the key to clarifying that relationship and their adherence to the song principle, then, is the concept of Neapolitan style as an index of the musical culture at Naples. Though Naples was the site of a distinguished tradition of vernacular song long before the period in question, this culture was transformed in the *cinquecento* in response to the city's turbulent social and political history, and a new significance attached itself to musical invocations of Naples and *napoletanità*, or "Neapolitan-ness."[3]

The first section of this chapter explores the complexities such acts entailed, while the second surveys significant events in the city's history in order to link the emergence of Neapolitan style to an ongoing crisis of Neapolitan citizenship. That crisis was precipitated by two causes: Spanish imperial rule of Naples, and large-scale migration of peasants into the city. Articulating *napoletanità* musically was thus a timely project when Neapolitan song first appeared in print in 1537, and the new genre of the villanesca fit this purpose in responding to the new socio-political reality. Many aspects of the villanesca, such as the prevalence of peasants among those it caricatured as the denizens of a bustling urban metropolis (one of Europe's largest at the time) are attributable to that situation. Villanesche must have provided the city's noble residents, who were forced to cede much of their power in civic affairs to the Spanish viceroy and his administration, a politicized form of musical entertainment, a space for testing some of the conflicting claims now being made on local and regional identity. Such noblemen were almost certainly the chief patrons and performers of the earliest villanesche, and we will find some of the same figures linked to the *Aeri racolti*, too.

Yet if the musical formalisms to which these noblemen turned acquired local signif-

[3] According to the entry in *Vocabolario Treccani*, "napoletanità" is a word derived from the local dialect that denotes "the quality, the Neapolitan condition, being and feeling Neapolitan."

icance in this context, they connect Neapolitan style with a broader Italianate culture of declamatory song that cannot be isolated exclusively to a single city or region on the peninsula. We have encountered traces of that culture in the preceding chapters, but its Neapolitan inflection has particular importance as a link between the frottola repertory at the beginning of the *cinquecento* and the vogue for monody at its end. Beginning in the 1540s, just as the madrigal's circulation was accelerating, there emerged in dialect song a distinctive alternative to its exclusive politics of the vernacular, which drew from that cultural archive. The spread of this alternative was enabled by much the same technology of single-impression printing that stood behind the madrigal's success. Certainly madrigals dominated the output of the Venetian presses: of all the editions printed by the leading firms of the day, the houses of Gardano and Scotto, more than half of the total were books of madrigals.[4] Dialect song represented a much more modest share of the total output, by contrast, but it was a substantial share nevertheless, comparable to that of the motet.

There was perhaps a certain irony in this development, because by the end of the period in question the villanella, though it was ostensibly Neapolitan in origin, had assumed the status of a pan-Italian musical vernacular, the most significant alternative to the madrigal, signaled by the fact that its texts were no longer always in dialect. Although the "villanella" designation persisted, after 1580 it was gradually replaced by the more neutral "canzonetta," likely because of this very process of genericization.[5] It had become a kind of musical koiné instead of a dialect. Developing in tandem with, and as a complement to, the madrigal's polyphonic style, the stylistic and generic alternative designated by the terms villanella and canzonetta designated drew upon the song principle and other key musical formalisms we have come to recognize as comprising the culture of declamatory song: restriction of the ambitus of the uppermost voice

[4] These figures are based on the statistics in Bernstein, *Print Culture*, 148.

[5] Cardamone, "Villanella."

to the diapente above the final; conjunct motion among upper voices; homophonic texture; and the prevalence of sonorities we now theorize as root-position triads. The genealogy of Neapolitan style reveals that this development can be explained by virtue of the fact that it was intimately connected with the fate of the local nobility, who had drawn from the same archive of formalisms that we have seen transmitted in other repertories.

All this comes to bear, in the final sections of this chapter, in taking a fresh look at the *Aeri racolti*.[6] We know virtually nothing about the circumstances of its publication by Giuseppe Cacchi, except that it was "novamente ristampate" (newly reprinted)—the usual formula for new editions of older texts—and that it was connected somehow with Rodio, who signed its perfunctory dedication. But the greater mysteries of the book involve its place in our histories of monody and opera. The *Aeri racolti* offers us a rare glimpse of the explicit transmission of the song principle at mid-century, and it does so, moreover, by connecting *arie* to the singing of vernacular poetry of an elevated register. Yet it limns an image of vernacular song from a specifically Neapolitan perspective, more precisely that of a fragmented aristocracy struggling to articulate its sense of identity under Spanish imperial rule. This context helps to explain its adoption of the song principle as a convergence of the broader culture of declamatory song with the narrower imperatives of Neapolitan style. In coming to understand this book, then, we continue to pursue the transmission of the musical formalisms that the preceding chapters have brought to light, now in connection with the nebulous and fungible category of *style*.

In search of Neapolitan style

The first book that laid special claim to a Neapolitan style was *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana*, a collection of three-voice songs with texts in dialect that was published in 1537 by an obscure printer named Johannes Colonia. The derivation of the word "villanesca" from

[6] The copy is held by the Museo della Musica in Bologna, and it is available digitally through the museum's online catalogue.

villanus or *villano*, medieval terms for a feudal tenant, suggests rustic or pastoral associations, an impression that is much strengthened by a woodcut on its frontispiece, which features three peasants, each identified as one of the book's voice parts (Cantus, Tenor, Bassus).[7] Inside its pages, the modest musical means of the book's fifteen songs and the crude manner of its texts, all in the poetic form of the same name, *canzone villanesca*, affirm their lowliness. Yet these songs, as we will see, were almost certainly written and sung by urban aristocrats, members of the large Neapolitan nobility, and professional musicians whom they employed. From the beginning, songs "in the Neapolitan manner" (*alla napolitana*) took root in what Gerbino has called the "rustic picturesque," a stylized rural identity that was never fully localized because it was inscribed within an urban imaginary. As a musical genre, the villanesca was made in the local nobility's own negative image of itself.[8]

In fact, Cardamone has shown that the style of the songs in Colonia's anthology overlapped extensively with ten "arie napolitane," published in 1537 or 1538, in a volume otherwise devoted to three-voice madrigals mostly by the papal singer Costanzo Festa.[9] By far the likeliest explanation for the presence of ten "Neapolitan" *arie* in the Roman book is that members of the Neapolitan nobility resident there, or else musicians in their employ, had served as conduits for this repertory. Therefore we can regard both volumes as artifacts of the vibrant Neapolitan song culture we know to have been centered, throughout the 1530s and into the early 1540s, upon a circle of noblemen around Ferrante Sanseverino, the Prince of Salerno, a claimant to the Kingdom of Naples and the city's most active patron of the arts. Indeed half of the *arie* in the Roman book were presented with texts, as *canzone villanesche*, which surely con-

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[7] Regarding this etymology, see Cardamone, "Debut," 66.

[8] According to Gerbino, "the stylistic domain of the *villanesca* is the rustic picturesque: a mental country imagined as a symbolic projection of the upper class's discourse of cultural diversity, opposition, or resistance." See *Music and the Myth of Arcadia*, 153.

[9] See Cardamone, "Madrigali a Tre" and "A Colorful Bouquet."

nect them in a direct way to Colonia's repertory. Another connection between the two books, though certainly less conclusive with respect to the origin of their contents, can be seen in the fact that they have survived to this day bound together in a single, incomplete copy, with one partbook missing from each set, in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.[10]

We will encounter Salerno and his circle many times again throughout this chapter. For now, let us observe that in some respects the "arie napolitane" of the Roman book recall the *arie* in the frottola anthologies of the century's first two decades. Indeed the rest of the *arie* are strambotti, and thus examples of a form whose popularity, so robust among earlier frottole, was now in decline. Their presence in the Roman book led Cardamone to propose that it adopted a deliberately "retrospective position," perhaps as the work of a single individual (Festa?) aiming to please former patrons.[11] They may have been out of date in 1537–38, but the strambotti in the Roman book reveal the enduring potency of older, more widely shared formalisms for what was now being claimed as a distinctively Neapolitan style of *aria*. Certainly there are "Neapolitan" inflections in their texts, which make use of words from the Neapolitan dialect and integrate famous local proverbs such as the one quoted as the eighth line of "Tu pur ti pensi de me far' Antuono":[12]

Tu pur ti pensi de me far' Antuono,	You may think of taking me for a fool,
Io so dove ti preme lo garrese;	But I know where your sore point is;
Io conosco lo lampo da lo truono,	I can tell lightning from thunder,
Però non me venire con 'st'entramese;	So don't come to me with those excuses;
Docato falso se consce al suono,	One can tell a false coin by its sound,
E lo Lombardo anchor da l'Albanese;	And the Lombard from the Albanian too;
Va, figlia mia, che a marzo te ne rase,	Get going, my girl, for March will shave you,
De vendere cetruli per cerase.	For selling cucumbers as cherries.

[10] Schmieder, *Musik: Alte Drucke bis etwa 1750*, 376. I have not been able to examine the binding, and neither Schmieder nor Cardamone (who draws attention to the fact that the two volumes are bound together in the first paragraph of "Madrigali a Tre") dates it.

[11] Cardamone, "A Colorful Bouquet," 135.

[12] The text and translation are drawn from Cardamone, "A Colorful Bouquet," 140. The earliest record of this proverb is in Giovan Battista del Tufo's *Ritratto* of 1588.

It is harder to make similar claims about the arie, because the music supplied with this text and its companions would not have been wholly out of place among Petrucci's anthologies, even though those volumes, by contrast, chiefly transmitted songs of Northern Italian origin. Indeed its basic similarity to the simplest of the strambotti in that repertory can easily be seen even without being able to consult the missing Bassus partbook (see Example 3.1; the Bassus is my reconstruction).

Like all of the strambotto *arie* in the Roman book, the music for "Tu pur ti pensi" is based upon several short, syllabic phrases. Thus it functioned much as we have come to expect of *arie*, in structuring an indexical relation between music and text by means of a one-to-one correspondence between their respective formal domains; the song principle was the socially and culturally situated formalism organizing this correspondence. Whoever made these *arie*, then, appears to have drawn from the archive of musical formalisms that comprised the culture of declamatory song we have traced in the frottola repertory and the Ariostean madrigal. Some of those formalisms are evident, for example, in the pitch repetitions that sometimes mark the beginnings of phrases, as in "Quiss'occhi toi son lado latri de montello" (see Example 3.2), and in the *polarization* of cadences, meaning that cadences occurred on pitches maximally distant within the diatonic collection. Both formalisms have repeatedly come to the fore in previous chapters, the latter especially in connection with the binary rhyme-endings of *strambotti* and Ariostean *stanze* in *ottava rima*.

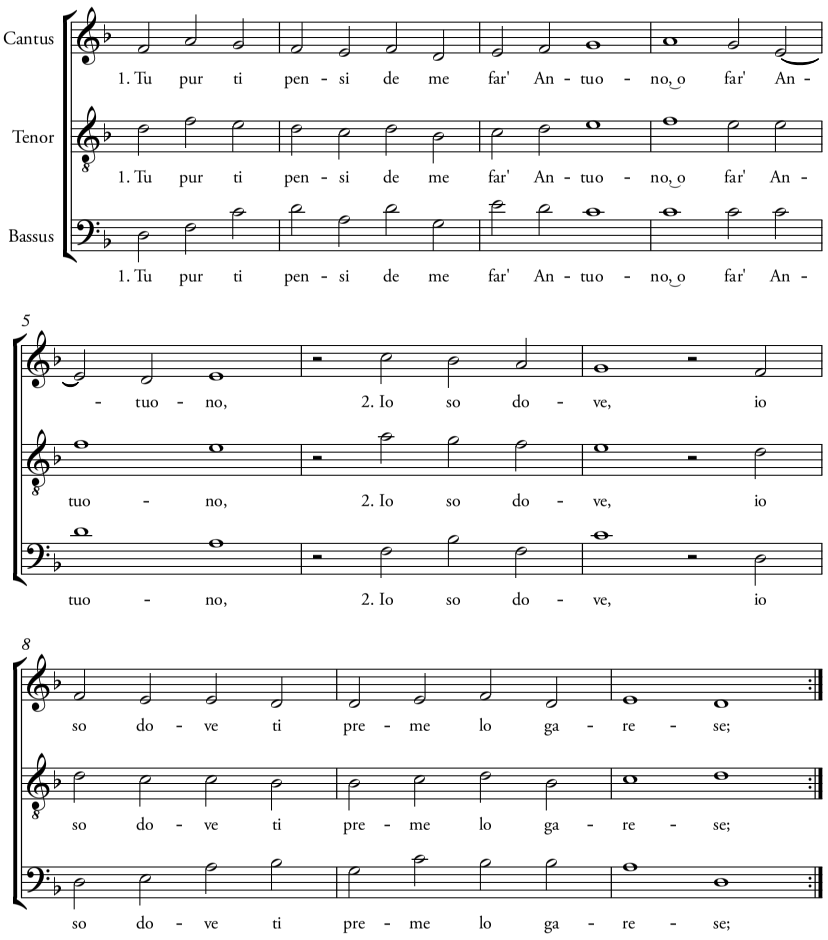
Yet in certain other respects the strambotto *arie* in the Roman book stood entirely apart from those in Petrucci's anthologies of earlier decades. First, they were arranged in three voices rather than four. This may seem like a superficial difference. Petrucci himself had printed three-voice versions of many of his frottole, in the form of lute-song intabulations, and the arrangement of the lower voices in his repertory was probably more flexible in practice than his versions reveal in order to accommodate a variety of performing forces. But the three-voice

EXAMPLES 3.1 AND 3.2: "Tu pur ti pensi de me far' Antuono" and "Quiss'occhi toi son lado latri de montello" (Bassus voices reconstructed)

Tu pur ti pensi de me far' Antuono

Anonymous
Strambotto

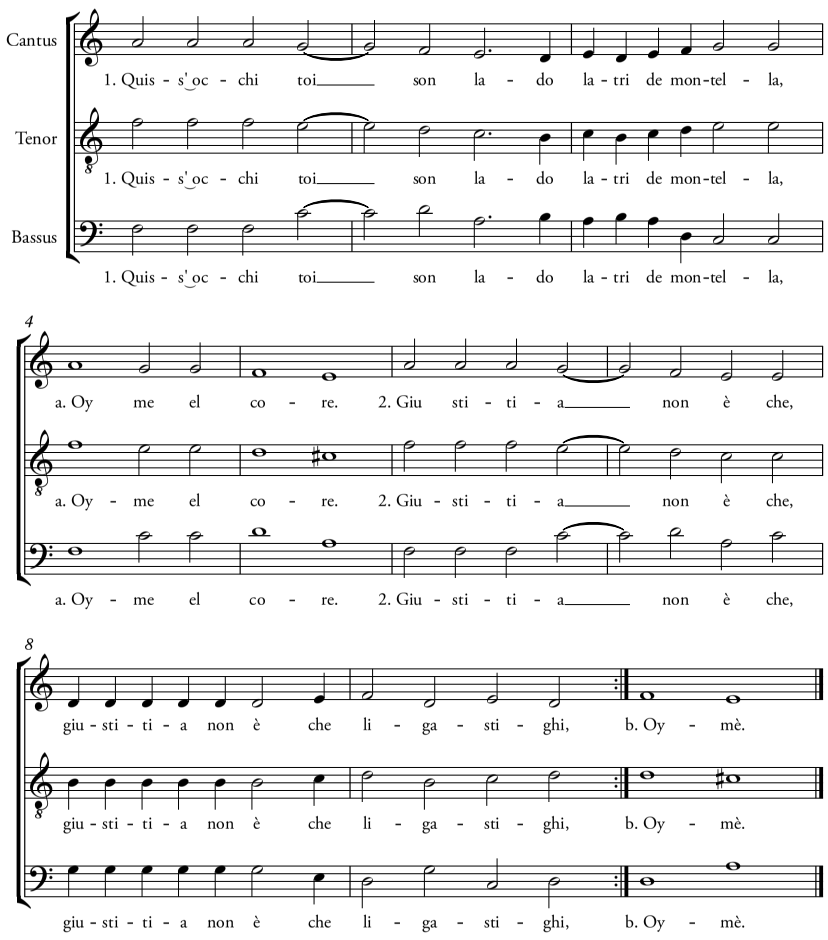
Anonymous



Quiss'occhi toi son lado latri de montella

Anonymous
Strambotto with refrain

Anonymous



texture of the *arie* in the Roman book is notable in the light of what would ultimately become its enduring association with songs in the Neapolitan style. Second, in all ten of the *arie* in the Roman book, the surviving voices (Cantus and Tenor) form pairs that proceed almost exclusively in parallel thirds. Such pairs, singing in parallel thirds and sixths, can be found scattered among the songs in Petrucci's anthologies. Here, by contrast, they are the rule rather than the exception. This intervallic relationship implies a fauxbourdon-style derivation, simplifying somewhat the process of reconstructing the Bassus (as I have done in Examples 3.1 and 3.2). Just as important, it marks another link with the villanesche in Colonia's anthology, in which the same type of three-voice texture, with the Cantus and Tenor following one another in parallel thirds, was similarly pervasive.[13]

Third, several of the strambotto *arie* feature brief refrains, unlike any examples known to us from Petrucci's repertory and other sources of frottole from around the turn of the sixteenth century. Cardamone has pointed to such refrains as evidence supporting the theory, advanced by Einstein and Gennaro Monti in the first half of the last century, that the poetic form of the *villanesca* was derived from that of the *strambotto*.[14] This theory rests on the observation that, schematically, *villanesche* can be understood as *strambotti* expanded by the addition of a refrain after each couplet or *mutazioni*. A gradual process of expansion, Cardamone has argued, could have arisen by way of troping, glossing, or "centonizing" the melismatic passages with which strambotti frequently concluded.[15] In "Quiss'occhi toi son lado latri de montella," for example, full cadential closure of each phrase does not come until the refrain, the words "Oyme el core," (Example 3.2, mm. 4-5). This may well mark a kind of midway point between the two forms, a strambotto *en route* to becoming a villanesca. At minimum, the presence of

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[13] Cardamone published an edition of these songs as an appendix to her article "Debut," 114-30.

[14] See Monti, *La villanella alla napolitana*, 199; Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 355-57; and Cardamone, "Musical and Metrical Forms," 2-14.

[15] Cardamone, "Musical and Metrical Forms," 9-12.

this and other refrains among the strambotto *arie* in the Roman book distinguish its contents from frottole of Northern origin.

We can see that a complex picture of the relationship between the two repertories has begun to emerge. There are unmistakable likenesses between the Neapolitan *arie* in the Roman book (and by extension the villanesche in Colonia's anthology) and the examples from Petrucci's repertory that we encountered in Chapter 1. On this ground we can link the earliest contributors to the villanesca to a culture of declamatory song stretching back through the frottola, with the song principle at its center. Yet the *arie* in the Roman book and the villanesche in Colonia's anthology suggest a style of their own, which, in conjunction with their texts, pointed to an origin at Naples.

Precisely this issue of origin, indeed, materialized as a self-conscious concern in the villanesca. This self-consciousness was evident already in the space between the peasant iconography of Colonia's woodcut and the noble patronage of the genre, that is, in its foundational adoption of the "rustic picturesque." Cardamone has catalogued many of the most "essential ingredients" of this three-voice style, in order to buttress the argument that it was "conceived in imitation of popular Neapolitan music in the oral tradition."[16]

This theory offers a plausible explanation for the emergence of a written tradition of Neapolitan song. But that tradition emerged out of an "imitative" breach, so that the villanesca was from the first self-consciously stylized, mannered, and alienated from its own origin. Such alienation was to be the lasting condition of Neapolitan style, and it suggests that one explanation for the enduring popularity of the villanesca (and later that of the villanella), throughout Italy and abroad, lay in its *affectation* of "rustic" simplicity. That affection lay at least in part on the genre's adoption of musical means that it shared with other genres unconnected with Naples, such as the frottola and the *madrigale arioso*. To the extent that it remade "popular

[16] Cardamone, *The* Canzone villanesca alla napolitana *and Related Forms*, Vol. 1, 121.

Neapolitan music in the oral tradition," it did so in a musical style that bled all too easily into other music by and for the aristocracy. It embodied what Giulio Caccini, without irony despite its frequent pretensions to rusticity, would later describe as "[la] nobile maniera di cantare" (the noble manner of singing).[17] Neapolitan style had been a noble style at least since its emergence as a written tradition.

After 1537, many more books of villanesche followed Colonia's anthology into print, yet their production immediately shifted to Venice, the center of the *cinquecento* book trade in general and the main hub of music printing in particular. In fact, we know of no other books of vernacular song, villanesche or otherwise, printed in Naples between 1537 and the publication of Rodio's *Aeri racolti* in 1577. Compounding this complication in the Neapolitan connection of such songs was that not only their production but also their composition shifted abroad, as musicians with no ties to Naples composed and published in the genre. The vogue for villanesche clearly flourished in Venice, as is evident in the large number of songs by the circle of composers around Adrian Willaert, whose own influential collection of *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana* Gardano published in 1545 and who was well represented also in a series of anthologies published by Scotto.[18] Among several other leading Venetian composers of the day who contributed to these anthologies were Perissone Cambio and Baldassare Donato. A group of composers who were active in Naples published there, too, but it is clear that songs in the Neapolitan style became a Venetian commodity during the 1540s.

Throughout this period certain stylistic considerations continued to distinguish villanesche by the two groups of composers—those in Naples, and those elsewhere. Villanesche by Neapolitan composers were always in the three-voice style of the Roman book and Colonia's

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[17] Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, ed. by H. Wiley Hitchcock, 43

[18] Regarding the success and subsequent influence of this volume, see Pirrotta, "Willaert and the *Canzone Villanesca*"; Cardamone, *The* Canzone villanesca alla napolitana *and Related Forms*, Vol. 1, 179ff; and Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia*, 150ff.

anthology. Willaert and his northern colleagues mined three-voice villanesche for texts and musical material, but they, by contrast, usually adopted a fuller four-voice texture. Because of these borrowings, we can easily draw instructive comparisons between the two types of villanesche. For example, in his four-voice setting of "Cingari simo venit'a giocare," first published by Scotto in 1544, Willaert seems to have taken as his model a three-voice villanesca by the composer Giovanni Domenico da Nola, which is known to us from one of two volumes printed by Gardano in 1545 (presumably Willaert had access to it prior to publication).[19]

Nola's version of the song reveals its continuity with the examples drawn from the Roman book in various ways. His setting comprises four phrases of music in total, organized in two halves, or two phrases each for the text's *mutazioni* (i.e. the couplets of the underlying *strambotto*) and the refrain (see Example 3.3). The text setting is entirely syllabic, with minimal repetition of text, except that the first hemistich of each line of the *mutazioni* repeats as part of a longer, two-part phrase. The second half of each phrase for the *mutazioni* leads into rapid patter in shorter note values, thereby propelling the line energetically toward the primary accent on the penultimate syllable and the cadence that marks its close. Certainly this effect is unlike anything in the Roman book or Colonia's anthology, suggesting the influence of Nola's composerly touch. But the song's conventionality with respect to the Neapolitan *arie* we sampled above is clear especially in the song's harmonic dimensions: the Cantus and Tenor proceed almost exclusively in parallel thirds, and even when they do not, in the refrain, the underlying intervallic relationship persists, now staggered at the interval of a semiminim. Yet again, they suggest a fauxbourdon-style derivation of the texture, as does the Bassus, which alternates between a fourth and a fifth below the Cantus.

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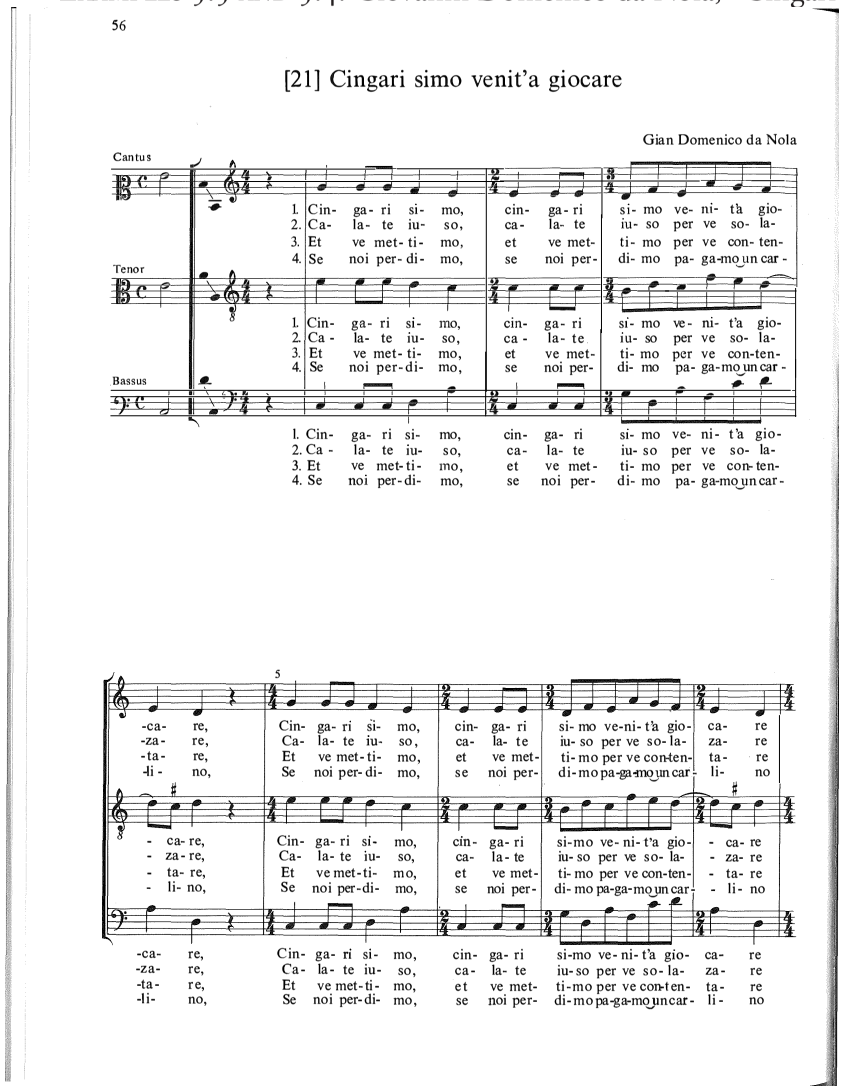
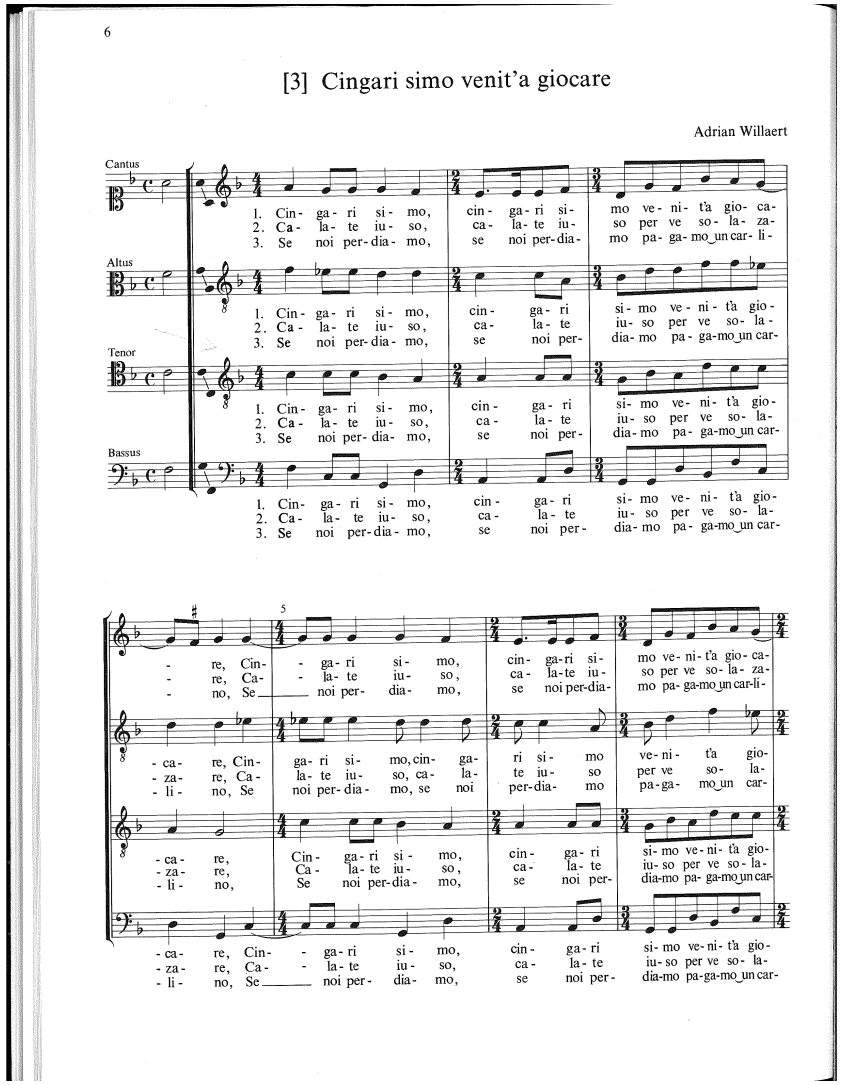
[19] See Cardamone's comments in Willaert et al., *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana and villotta*, xiii. Willaert's version was published first, but we can explain the stipulated chronology in the following way: as the most eminent musician in Venice he could well have had access to music that was already in Gardano's hands, but had not yet reached the public.

EXAMPLES 3.3 AND 3.4: Giovanni Domenico da Nola, "Cingari simo," mm. 1-8 and Adrian Willaert, "Cingari simo," mm. 1-7





Willaert took the Cantus of Nola's setting as the basis for his version of "Cingari simo," placing it instead in the Tenor and transposing it down a fifth, from D-durus to G-mollis (see Example 3.4). Furthermore, in expanding the texture to four voices, he abandoned the monotony of the intervallic relationships that had governed his model. His part writing is freer, following no set patterns, and yet the resulting texture remains pervasively homophonic. In fact, closer analysis of that texture suggests a strong preference, which was shared with Nola's setting and also implicitly codified in the fauxbourdon-style procedures that must have stood behind it, for the type of sonority with a third and fifth above the lowest-sounding voice. Another similarity between the two versions can be seen in their shared organization according to the song principle: Willaert added repetitions of the second phrase, for the second line of each *mutazioni*, and the whole of the refrain, but in its basic pairing of lines of text with musical phrases his setting otherwise closely resembles his model (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). These similarities, both relatively abstract in kind, tell of the adaptability of Neapolitan style to new contexts.

Cardamone discerned two traditions of the villanesca, tracing the genre's development along parallel "Southern" (three-voice) and "Northern" (four-voice) tracks during the following decades.[20] Certainly the two versions of "Cingari simo" suggest two traditions that were distinct from one another on musical as well as geographical grounds. Nino Pirrotta, Cardamone's mentor at Harvard, believed that the earliest villanesche revealed the work of "real Neapolitan composers who set out to recapture in its upper line the manner and mannerisms of popular singers."[21] Pirrotta's qualification of those composers as "real Neapolitans" tacitly implied that their villanesche were more in keeping with a deep-rooted local style than those of the Northerners who later contributed to the genre, and this implication can sometimes be

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[20] See Cardamone, *The* canzone villanesca alla napolitana *and Related Forms*, Vol. 1, especially 121-179.

[21] Pirrotta, "Early Opera and Aria," 61.

Table 3.1: Musico-poetic plan of Nola's "Cingari simo venit'a giocare"

Phrase	Poetic Line	Rhyme	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
A	Mutazioni (odd)	A	D	m. 4	Cantus, Tenor
A	*Mutazioni (odd)*	*A*	*D*	*m. 8*	*Cantus, Tenor*
B	Mutazioni (even)	B	C	m. 13	Cantus, Tenor
C	Refrain	B	F	m. 16	Cantus, Tenor
C'	Refrain	B	D	m. 19	Cantus, Tenor

Table 3.2: Musico-poetic plan of Willaert's "Cingari simo venit'a giocare"

Phrase	Poetic Line	Rhyme	Cadential Pitch	Measure	Cadential Voices
A	Mutazioni (odd)	A	G	m. 4	Cantus, Tenor
A	*Mutazioni (odd)*	*A*	*G*	*m. 8*	*Cantus, Tenor*
B	Mutazioni (even)	B	F	m. 13	Cantus, Tenor
B	*Mutazioni (even)*	*B*	*F*	*m. 18*	*Cantus, Tenor*
C	Refrain	B	B-flat	m. 21	Tenor, Cantus
C'	Refrain	B	G	m. 24	Tenor, Cantus
C	*Refrain*	*B*	*B-flat*	*m. 27*	*Tenor, Cantus*
C'	Refrain	B	G	m. 30	Tenor, Cantus
Coda	Refrain	B	G	m. 32	Tenor, Cantus

felt in a general way in Cardamone's writings as well.

Yet such a distinction between the two traditions may have been far less salient at the time, especially beyond Naples. Cardamone has unearthed a wide array of Northern Italian writings from the period that make mention of *napolitane*, or Neapolitan songs, which reveal that the concept of Neapolitan style was rich with significance in contemporary reception, often as a generic signifier of light-hearted musical entertainment.[22] Such songs were in high demand throughout the middle of the *cinquecento*, as the investments Gardano and Scotto made in the villanesca prove. Judging from their evident popularity, four-voice versions of Neapolitan songs by Venetian composers may have done just as much to satisfy that demand as their three-voice models. To my knowledge, writers of the period never distinguished be-

[22] Cardamone, *The* canzone villanesca alla napolitana *and Related Forms*, Vol. 1, 160-78.

tween different traditions of villanesche, and their silence on this matter belies the priority that Pirrotta and Cardamone assigned to three-voice villanesche in assessing Neapolitan style. Whether they were in three voices or four, and whether they had come via Naples or Venice, villanesche were often simply *napolitane*.

This fact suggests a tension between the ostensibly local claims of Neapolitan style and its reconstitution in situations far from Naples, such as Willaert's Venice. To this end, paradoxically, we will need to scrutinize further the circumstances in which the villanesca first emerged, because even then the genre had afforded many opportunities for what Emily Wilbourne has termed *travestimento* or "travestied" sound, whenever noblemen sang from the perspectives of peasants.[23] Gerbino, again, has offered a case study for comparison in his reading of Angelo Beolco's performances in the persona of the Paduan peasant Ruzante. Beolco was Paduan by birth, but the peasant personified in Ruzante's songs was imagined from within the musico-poetics of the Venetian cultural elite, as an artifact of its "symbolic alter ego."[24] The emergence of the villanesca as a vital genre in the 1530s offered Neapolitan noblemen a similar opportunity to try on different identities at a moment of great precariousness—a cathartic but also political kind of act. Because of this history, the concept of Neapolitan style was always already overdetermined.

"Our Muses are extinct"

When Colonia published his anthology in 1537, the city of Naples and the surrounding region were undergoing a series of dramatic social, political, and cultural transformations.[25]

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[23] Wilbourne defines *travestimento* sound as "the points at which the performer's voice, emerging from inside his or her body, contradicts a disguised exterior. Such moments expose a productive tension between a voice and a body that produces it." See "*Lo Schiavetto* (1610): Travestied Sound, Ethnic Performance, and the Eloquence of the Body," 2.

[24] Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia*, 153.

[25] For a general introduction to the history and historiography of the city in this period, see *A Companion to*

Dynastic conflict over the succession to the Kingdom of Naples in 1494 had helped precipitate the outbreak of the Italian Wars, which would continue to ravage the peninsula throughout the first half of the *cinquecento*.[26] Because of its strategic position on the Mediterranean, control of Naples was hotly contested and frequently achieved by violent means, such as the "sack" by a French army under the command of Charles VIII in February 1495. After 1504, despite ongoing French efforts to regain the city by force, it was a viceroyalty of the Kingdom of Aragon, as it remained when Charles V consolidated his various domains within the Kingdom of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire in the 1530s. Thereafter Naples would be a Spanish viceroyalty until the eighteenth century, though not without sporadic revolts, the most famous of which resulted in a short-lived Republic in 1647.[27] Numerous rebellions also broke out in the sixteenth century, and we will see that one of them, involving the circle around the Prince of Salerno, was closely related to the history of Neapolitan style.

The sack of 1495 and the events that followed shook the foundations of the vibrant artistic and intellectual life that had characterized Naples in the second half of the *quattrocento*. In fact, much of the poetry preserved in the frottola repertory, if not its music, had come by way of Naples and the celebrated *strambottisti* who were active there, most notably Benedetto Gareth and Serafino dell'Aquila, whom we encountered in Chapter 1.[28] As if the everyday obstacles facing poets, artists, and musicians in a city torn apart by a series of invasions and the constant threat of armed conflict were not enough, the political situation disrupted the existing networks of patronage by weakening the power of the native Neapolitan nobility. Furthermore, after 1532 an additional hurdle facing the city's literati came in the form of censorship

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Early Modern Naples, ed. Tommaso Astarita.

[26] For a broad overview, see Aurelio Musi, "Political History."

[27] Regarding the Republic of 1647, see ibid, 142ff.

[28] See also Cardamone, *The* canzone villanesca alla napolitana *and Related Forms*, 46-65.

and worry about the Inquisition. Literary historian Nancy L. Canepa has read these words from the epilogue of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1504) as a valedictory to a golden age that seemed now to have passed: "Our muses are extinct, our laurels are desiccated; our Parnassus is in ruins, our woods are mute, and our valleys and mountains have gone deaf from sorrow … Everything is lost, every hope failed, every consolation dead."[29]

In the next few decades, Naples swelled as it absorbed thousands of peasants from the surrounding countryside, seeking refuge in the city from war and famine, leaving farms unattended, and worsening shortages in the population centers. Administrative and census records indicate that from 1505 to 1547 the population quadrupled, from approximately 48,000 people living in the city to more than 212,000.[30] Though modern historians doubt the reliability of the first figure, even the more modest (but more reliable) increase observable after 1528, when the city had around 155,000 inhabitants, gives the impression of rapid growth during this period.[31] The result was a burgeoning metropolis, easily the largest city on the Italian peninsula at the time, and second only to Paris in the whole of Europe. Moreover, as a port city on the Mediterranean, Naples was home to a diverse population, and becoming ever more so. The local dialect was only one of many languages now spoken regularly throughout the city.

Against this background of social and political upheaval, the question of what it meant to be Neapolitan was increasingly urgent for many of the city's citizens.[32] Strictly from a political and legal perspective, the status of citizenship continued being organized according to the

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[29] "Le nostre Muse sono extinte, secchi sono i nostri lauri, ruinato è il nostro Parnaso, le selve son tutte mutole, le valli e i monti per doglia son divenuti sordi … Ogni cosa si perde, ogni speranza è mancata, ogni consolazione è morta." Nancy L. Canepa, "Literary Culture in Naples, 1500-1800," 427.

[30] On the city's demographics and the shortcomings of the surviving archival information, see Giovanni Muto, "Urban Structures and Population" 43-9.

[31] Ibid.

[32] For an excellent introduction to the social and cultural geography of the city in this period, see John A. Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples*, especially 1-27.

division of the city into *seggi* (seats), each *seggio* associated with a different neighborhood or district. Traditionally, Naples had comprised five noble districts (Capuana, Montagna, Nido, Porto, and Portanova) and a "popular" (i.e. bourgeois) one, the *seggio del popolo*. The last was dissolved under Aragonese rule in the fifteenth century, but it was restored after the sack of 1495 and preserved by the Spanish in order to dilute the political influence of the noble *seggi*. Their power was further weakened by the final consolidation of Spanish rule under Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, who was the imperial viceroy between 1532 and 1552. Caste and class had long complicated the matter of what it meant to be Neapolitan. But these new political developments, as well as the extraordinary influx of newcomers to the city, put significant pressure on traditional notions of Neapolitan citizenship.

This was true especially for the substantial population of noble-born citizens, whose changing fates were intertwined with the genealogy of Neapolitan style. In his *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples*, historian John A. Marino has traced a long and arduous process by which, in response to such pressure, the city's elite residents gradually forged a new Spanish-Tridentine identity through the performance of various religious and civic rituals.[33] The noblemen who remained in the city sometimes found new ways to flourish, but as the Venetian ambassador reported in 1559, the previous decades had all but "extinguished all the passions of the kingdom."[34] Many members of the nobility left Naples in this period, by choice or by force, in successive waves of emigration that gave Neapolitan identity the dispersed, diasporic quality it has even today.[35] The wider European circulation of songs in Neapolitan style followed partly on the heels of these nobles. The popularity of the style at the French court, which has been documented most extensively by Jeanice Brooks and Rich-

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Quoted in Marino, ibid, 4.

[35] For modern comparisons, see Frasca, *Italian Birds of Passage*; and Keller, "Continuing Opera."

ard Wistreich, stemmed from performances by Neapolitan exiles resident there, among them Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Prince of Salerno himself.[36]

This history surely helps to account for some of the complexities we have observed. The dispersal of Neapolitan style in Northern Italy and elsewhere abroad mirrored the contemporaneous dispersal of Neapolitan identity. But the circumstances in which Colonia's anthology and the Roman book were published in 1537–38 require further explanation, for we know virtually nothing about the status of these or similar genres before then. In fact, the only books of vernacular song that had been published in Naples to that point were Giovanni Antonio de Caneto's two volumes of *Fioretti di frottole*, whose title and contents connect them to the Northern Italian frottola anthologies.[37] Manuscript sources from the period before 1537 do not transmit villanesche. Therefore Neapolitan dialect song seems from our distant perspective to have appeared whole cloth in 1537, which is at odds with the claims made to its rootedness. Again, it may well be that Colonia's publication reflects a local oral lyric tradition of which few other traces survive, and yet the appearance of the villanesca at that moment seems keyed to events just then reshaping the city's cultural geography.[38]

One such event was the surge of peasants streaming into the city, which gives the representation of peasant song in the villanesca the appearance of social commentary. Much like Ruzante's "Paduan songs," even the earliest surviving villanesche represented their peasant personae from within the discourse of an urban elite—in this case, the embattled Neapolitan

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[36] See Brooks, *Courtly Song*, Chapter V, "Dialogues with Italy"; and Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, especially [TK].

[37] Only the second of Caneto's anthologies, from 1519, has survived; the first we can only stipulate on the basis of the title of the second. Little work has been done on Caneto to date; he did so much as register an entry in the *New Grove*. For more, see the cursory comments in Harrán and Chater, "Frottole"; and Cardamone, "Debut," 69-70.

[38] Concerning the local oral lyric tradition, see the forthcoming PhD dissertation by Elizabeth G. Elmi, "Poetry and Song in Aragonese Naples: Written Traces of an Oral Practice." See also Donna Cardamone and Cesare Corsi, "The Canzone Villanesca and Comic Culture: the Genesis and Evolution of a Mixed Genre, 1537-1557."

nobility, whose sense of self was clearly under siege. Colonia's book was notably modest: physically small, three slim partbooks in the oblong octavo format seldom used for songbooks.[39] Its contents affected an unstudied naïveté linguistically, by means of crude mannerisms, innuendo, and folk proverbs; and musically, by the means we surveyed above. Yet even so modest a book was undoubtedly expensive at the time, and it was almost certainly pitched to the well-heeled purchasers who belonged to such groups as the Accademia degli Intronati in Siena, singled out for mention here because it counted among its members many of the Neapolitans in Salerno's circle.[40] Colonia's publication (and perhaps the Roman book too) could have memorialized their musical activities, perhaps in connection with the Intronati, or else supplied them (and similar groups) with material.

These links are speculative. But attending to specific institutions and patrons is instructive, for they teach us about the general conditions in which the villanesca first emerged as a written genre. The Accademia degli Intronati is best remembered for commissioning and mounting the first performance of the theatrical comedy *Gl'ingannati* (*The Deceived Ones*), one of the oldest surviving texts with clear links to the *commedia dell'arte* tradition, in 1532.[41] As it happens, this play was also produced in Naples in 1545, under the auspices of a group that would formally organize itself as a new local academy, the Accademia dei Sereni, the following year. Their performances could have occasioned the singing of villanesche and villanelle, for example during intermedii. There is only scant and indirect evidence of this practice, but at least some of the musical activities of the Sereni bore definite fruit in print, in a madrigal by

[39] This was smaller and cheaper than the oblong quarto format more typical of sixteenth-century songbooks.

[40] Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 25-6. The information he reports comes from Castaldo, *Istoria*, 71-2.

[41] On *Gl'ingannati* and the circumstances of its commission and first performance, see the Introduction in Cairns and Loach, eds., *Three Italian Renaissance Comedies*; Cerreta, ed. *La commedia degl'Ingannati*; and Bosisio, "Accademia degli Intronati di Siena."

Giovanthomaso Cimello, who also published a collection of three-voice villanesche in 1545.[42] The various Neapolitan academies that formed in those years, and more precisely the palaces of the noblemen whose interests they served, were highly plausible venues for the development of a conspicuously uncultivated style that parodied or satirized newcomers to the city while promoting a sense of local character in the face of Spanish rule.

The convergence of political and artistic interests in the activities of the Sereni is recorded in rich detail by the chronicler Antonino Castaldo.[43] His account placed three of six composers named in Rocco Rodio's *Aeri racolti* among the members of the Sereni who performed *Gl'ingannati* at Naples in 1545. The three were the Sienese transplant Scipione delle Palle, from whom Giulio Caccini later claimed to have learned his "noble manner of singing," and the father-son tandem of Luigi and Fabrizio Dentice who, like Salerno, were noble-born members of the Nido *seggio*.[44] In fact, the Sereni was made up almost entirely of members of that *seggio*, where the supporters of the Prince of Salerno were principally concentrated. Were it not for the significant overlap between the membership of the Sereni and the Intronati, it might seem surprising that Neapolitan noblemen had organized themselves according to a Sienese model. Unlike the Sienese aristocrats of the Intronati, for whom the academy provided a gravitational center in the absence of a princely court, in the case of the Sereni this structure was redundant with the existing social organization of Nido noblemen around Salerno.

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[42] Regarding Cimello, see James Haar, "Giovanthomaso Cimello as Madrigalist." Wistreich has written more extensively about the musical life of the Accademia dei Sereni in *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*; see especially 23-28 and 134-7.

[43] Antonino Castaldo, *Dell'istoria di notar Antonino Castaldo*.

[44] Caccini claimed Scipione delle Palle as his teach in the first sentence of his preface to the *Nuove musiche* (1502): "If I have not heretofore published the musical studies I made after the noble manner of singing I learned from my famous master Scipione delle Palle, nor other compositions of divers madrigals and airs made by me at various times, it is because I esteemed them but little." See *Le nuove musiche*, ed. by H. Wiley Hitchcock, 43. Regarding delle Palle and his relationship to Caccini, see Brown, "The Geography of Florentine Monody" and Carter, "Scipione delle Palle."

The key to understanding this situation lies in recognizing that at this moment Salerno's position was becoming perilous, and the Intronati supplied an institutional model, drawn from the context of a republic that was similarly confronting external threats to its sovereignty, for asserting a local aristocratic identity through expressive culture.[45] Theatrical comedies like *Gl'ingannati*, which drew liberally from the ancient Plautine tradition of stock characters and role reversal, were probably made to serve this function (the Intronati play was based on Plautus's *Menaechmi*, and in turn served as the basis for Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*). Guiding such groups, according to the literary historian Richard Andrews, was a view of comedy widely attributed to Cicero, but transmitted by way of the late-antique grammarian Donatus, who defined it as "an imitation of life, a mirror of manners, and an image of truth."[46] The Intronati took interest in comedy not least for its capacity to reflect back to them existing social hierarchies of their city, thereby affirming their status.

Naples did not have a native republican tradition, but it did have a noble class that had always involved itself deeply in civic affairs, and which found itself sidelined now by the imperial viceroy. To members of the Sereni, then, comedies may have served as reminders of a social order fast disappearing from view. But comedy also served to critique or subvert the social order, a capacity that surely contributed something of its appeal to the Sereni. *Gl'ingannati* exemplified what Andrews has called the "regular" tradition of Italian comedies (or *commedia erudita*), which typically featured scripts full of borrowings from Plautus and Terrence. But the anonymous authors of the play, which was likely written collaboratively by the members of the Intronati, leavened its literary Tuscan with a more colloquial register. And, in addition to plebeian scenes of everyday life, the play features several characters whose anticipation of

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[45] Literary historian Richard Andrews has argued that the Intronati "had to organize themselves deliberately into societies which would project their class dominance in terms of social behavior patterns and cultural production." See Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 91.

[46] Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 29.

specific *commedia dell'arte* stock types accounts for the links that are now seen with that tradition. It was first presented during carnival, making the masks, role reversals, and travestied performances at the heart of its plot timely, as well as giving them a barely disguised political dimension. Notable, in this respect, is the humiliating defeat of the Spaniard Giglio, who surely stood in for the Spanish soldiers stationed in Siena at the time, and when the Sereni revived the play a little more than a decade later, this plot detail was again poignant.

In the interim, the genre of the canzone villanesca alla napoletana had emerged in print. Six new collections of three-voice villanesche appeared between 1541 and 1546, presumably attesting to growing interest in dialect song during these years.[47] All of these books came from the Venetian presses of Gardano and Scotto. They had better financial backing than Neapolitan printers like Colonia, enabling them to take risks on new material whose salability was unknown, and they were not hampered by the stricter controls on publication then being imposed in Naples by Spanish administrators. Despite the genre's apparent northward migration after 1537, nearly all of the composers of these books were demonstrably active in Naples. Cimello, as we have seen, was closely connected with the Accademia dei Sereni, and Nola was also among the group's founding members. Given these connections, the genre's flourishing seems likely to have been linked to the contemporary interest being taken by the Sereni and other Neapolitan noblemen in performing comedies. The evidence is abundant, although it remains circumstantial.

The surviving repertory of villanesche includes numerous *mascherate*, or "masked" poems, which were written for the carnival seasons during which comedies were most often performed, and which employ explicit presentations of the masking that villanesche involved as a more general kind of phenomenon. Indeed Nola's "Cingari simo" ("We are gypsies," Example 3.3) was a mascherata. To sing a song, or to wear a mask at carnival or in the *commedia dell'arte*,

[47] This number is based on the catalogue in Cardamone, *The* Canzone villanesca alla napolitana *and Related Forms*, Vol. 2, 25-34.

was equally to perform a particular identity by adopting and displaying signs of that identity. Like the authors and actors of contemporary comedies, then, the Neapolitan musicians who developed the villanesca participated in what Cardamone and Cesare Corsi, citing Mikhail Bakhtin, have jointly described as the "carnivalisation of the world."[48]

In a Naples whose reality was already turned upside down, theatrical comedies and musical villanesche offered a distinct alternative to the elegiac tone of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* from nearly half a century before. The carnivalesque dimension of these genres had a political edge that arose from the way in which they unsettled identity and the social hierarchy that depended upon it. We may never know enough about this situation to connect the emergence of the villanesca to precise institutional contexts, or to interpret the political connotations, if any, of individual songs. However, we are well positioned to recognize that the self-conscious cultivation of Neapolitan style in this period gave new musical expression to the conflicting claims on *napoletanità*: it needed to be remade. It was this same impulse that led the circle around the Prince of Salerno, which included some of those who we know were involved in developing the villanesca, to form the Accademia dei Sereni in 1546. There was no doubt at the time that this was a political project: immediately upon forming, the Sereni were targets of the increasingly iron-fisted and illiberal Toledo, who regarded theirs and several other academies formed at Naples that year as hotbeds of sedition.

His suspicions were not misplaced. The Accademia dei Sereni provided cover for the Prince of Salerno and his circle while they worked in 1546 and 1547 to organize an alliance of all six *seggi*, including the *seggio del populo*, against the Spanish authorities.[49] Sanseverino's

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[48] Cardamone and Corsi, "The Canzone Villanesca and Comic Culture," 102. On "carnivalisation" and the idea of the "carnivalesque," see also Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*.

[49] My account of these activities, and the consequences (musical and otherwise) the rebellion entailed, follows Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 28-30. On the revolt of 1547, see also Aurelio Musi, "Political History," 139-40.

grievances were many, and they stemmed partly from his dynastic claim to the Kingdom of Naples. But he had no difficulty convincing the other *seggi* of their common cause in opposing Toledo's unpopular policies, which included taxes levied to finance distant imperial endeavors, the garrisoning of Spanish soldiers throughout the city, and the threat of introducing the fearsome Inquisition. The situation came to a head on May 25, 1547, when the representatives from each of the *seggi* gathered in the monastery of S. Lorenzo, the traditional seat of the city government, to plot their course of action. Well-known members of the Sereni were present, including Luigi Dentice, who delivered a rousing speech to the assembled crowd.[50] The Prince of Salerno, meanwhile, was one of those chosen to represent the *seggi* in negotiations with the viceroy, perhaps still harboring the hope that he might replace Toledo as the emperor's representative. But the rebellion ended badly for the Neapolitans, and its leaders, among them Sanseverino and much of his circle, were forced into permanent exile, where we will encounter them again below.

Ten years before these events, however, the Prince of Salerno and his followers had been in the thick of another event that must have helped precipitate the coalescence of the villanesca. That event was the emperor's memorable visit to Naples during the winter of 1535–36.[51] Charles arrived in the city at the end of November, fresh off of a series of military triumphs including one, at Tunis, in which Salerno and those under his command had conducted themselves with great distinction.[52] The purposes of his visit were many: to celebrate the recent victories, to confirm the city's status as an imperial stronghold, to bring its governance into conformity with the administrative structures of the rest of his empire, to rally support among

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[50] According to Wistreich, this detail "confirms the tight link between the 'amateur theatricals,' music-making, and the apparently innocent intellectual debates and a carefully thought-out process of politicization designed to lead to a putsch, in which the Prince of Salerno would displace the viceroy." Wistreich, ibid, 29.

[51] Cardamone connected Colonia's anthology with the Emperor's visit in "Debut," 73-75.

[52] On the campaign in Tunis see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 11-17.

the members of the *seggi*, and to winter in comfort and style. During that winter, indeed, the city saw elaborate pageantry of various kinds, from the emperor's triumphal entry to the carefully choreographed ceremonies on display in the Neapolitan parliament.[53]

Directly relevant to the history of the villanesca among these festivities were the competing entertainments sponsored by the Prince of Salerno and Viceroy Toledo, who strove to outdo each other. Sanseverino had never enjoyed the emperor's favor as much he did now, and he sought to capitalize on the opportunity. Meanwhile Toledo strengthened his already firm position by much the same means. According to Gregorio Rosso, a seventeenth-century historian of the city, both figures staged plays in Charles's honor, featuring local actors and musicians: Toledo presented a "very funny pastoral play or eclogue," and Salerno a "most beautiful comedy."[54] No further details about those performances survive, but they may well have occasioned the commissioning of new songs in dialect. Cardamone has speculated about connections between the performances that winter and the publication of Colonia's anthology the following year; at the very least, she argued, its appearance gives "affirmation of Neapolitan enthusiasm" for what we can assume were similar "forms of recreation."[55]

Stepping back from such details, a vivid picture of the emperor's visit emerges in which two of the city's political leaders waged dueling campaigns for influence on a cultural front. This picture suggests that the villanesca emerged in print precisely at a moment when claiming and performing Neapolitan identity were charged acts in the same venues where the genre was

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[53] On the parliamentary theatrics during the emperor's visit see Carlos Hernando, "El parlamento del Reino de Napoles," 329-87.

[54] See Rosso, *Istoria delle cose di Napoli*, 331-4.

[55] Cardamone, *The* canzone villanesca alla napolitana *and Related Forms*, 9. In the same passage Cardamone explores further hints of a connection, also tenuous, between Colonia and another Neapolitan printer, Giovanni Sultzbach, from whom he may have learned the technique of single-impression typography. Sultzbach enjoyed an imperial privilege, and thus it is possible that by way of this still-unproven connection Colonia could have been charged with publishing a musical commemoration of the emperor's visit.

likely self-consciously cultivated. It is even possible, of course, that the same actors and musicians performed at the behest of both Salerno and Toledo in 1536, not least since the interests of both leaders were still officially aligned in dutiful service to the emperor. If this were the case, the performances they gave must have been no less charged in either context. The prince and the viceroy strove to represent Naples, both to itself and to Charles, through various manners of performance, including music. To connect the self-conscious cultivation of Neapolitan style to this general climate, as I have done, is not to locate its origin in particular performances or its "sound" in specific musical features; it is, rather, simply to show how the style arose as a musical response to a broader crisis of *napoletanità*.

The turmoil the city experienced in the first half of the sixteenth century slowly extinguished many aspects of a rich cultural life that had been a source of civic pride for the city's noble residents. What took its place, at least in the realm of vernacular song, was a musical style riven from the first by a series of contradictions: the villanesca and the villanella were at once rustic and urbane, plebeian and noble, simple and sophisticated, and, we might say, unmasked and masked. Such contradictions must have given expression to the nobility's self-conception, and accordingly they only became more pointed as these genres came into their own as counterparts to the polyphonic madrigal in their dissemination far beyond Naples. If Neapolitan style seemed to come untethered from its place of origin, this may have been because its origin lay in a sense of being unmoored. And, like the concept of *napoletanità* itself, the style threading through the villanesca and villanella was manifold: it was something to be performed by displaying signs that were not static.

"A little gift"

At first blush, Colonia's *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana* of 1537 and the *Aeri racolti* of 1577 form an unlikely pair. Yet superficial similarities between the two books hint at a

deeper kind of link involving the song principle. Both books were published in Naples, where music was still a niche specialization rarely undertaken by the local printers, who could not compete with the greater financial resources and better distribution networks of the Scotto and Gardano firms. Jane Bernstein has documented the former's extensive contacts in Naples, going so far as to describe the bookshop opened there by Girolamo Scotto's nephew Giovanni Maria Scotto as a "branch" of the family's firm.[56] Giovanni Maria's shop could well have served as one of the channels by which three-voice villanesche were sent to Venice, and in any event, it surely discouraged further local entrants to the business. The two anthologies therefore stand out for much the same reason: they were vernacular songbooks printed in Naples. Indeed we know of no other books of vernacular song printed there between 1537 and 1577.[57]

Another superficial similarity: both books survive in a single copy only, and in each case a partbook is missing (the Tenor, in the case of the *Aeri racolti*). These lacunae might give testimony to the precariousness of printing music in Naples at the time, and they are at least emblematic of our incomplete picture of music there more generally. Even accounting for the likely loss of editions published during the interval between them, this situation makes the two books all the more extraordinary as documents of the local culture of vernacular song. If the appearance of Colonia's anthology was in fact related to the city's many transformations during the first half of the century, or more precisely to the nobility's experience of them, then perhaps the appearance of the *Aeri racolti* can also be tied to the changing fate of that group. Indeed that book has already suggested one possible link with the noblemen-musicians loyal to Salerno in attributing some of its contents to Scipione delle Palle, Luigi Dentice, and Fabrizio

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[56] For a cursory account, see Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, 86-88. Much more detailed is her discussion in *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: the Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, 50-51.

[57] Also published in Naples in 1577 was Grammatio Metallo's *Il secondo libro de canzoni*, a book which deserves further investigation but falls outside the scope of this chapter. The only other music book I know to have been published in Naples before 1577, in any genre, was Rodio's first book of ricercate, also printed by Cacchi, in 1575.

Dentice, all members of the Accademia dei Sereni who performed in *Gl'ingannati* in 1545. These attributions are all the more notable in light of the fact that most of the book's contents are anonymous (see Table 3.3 for a full inventory of the book's contents).[58]

The text of one of the unattributed songs in the *Aeri racolti* further strengthens this link. "Che non può far donna leggiadra e cara" is one of several stanzas from an *intermedio* the poet Luigi Tansillo wrote for a 1558 production of Alessandro Piccolomini's play *Alessandro*.[59] Like delle Palle and the Dentices, though more tangentially, Tansillo, who lived and worked in Naples, and Piccolomini, who was a leader of the Intronati and probably one of the authors of *Gl'ingannati*, were both connected with the Sereni. That group had officially dissolved in 1547, when Viceroy Toledo outlawed the Neapolitan academies, and its most politically active members, notably Luigi Dentice and the Prince of Salerno, fled the city after the failed revolt. Some of the circle stayed behind, however, including delle Palle, who was Sienese by birth and perhaps for this reason able to avoid being caught up in the local political upheaval. Delle Palle remained in the city until 1559, when he took a post at the court of Cosimo de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, where his fame as a singer continued to grow until his death in 1569. His tutelage of Giulio Caccini must also have occurred during that decade he spent in Florence.[60]

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[58] It is now widely believed that anonymity in such prints was sometimes a sign that aristocratic composers did not wish to be named, lest they be mistaken for professional musicians. Although Dentice father and son were both noblemen, they were also professionals well known to the music-buying public, especially, we can assume, in Naples. As for the other Neapolitan noblemen attributed as composers in the *Aeri racolti*, further research will be necessary before making claims about their public presence in this volume. On the issue of anonymity, see Feldman, "Authors and Anonyms."

[59] Published in Tansillo, *Il canzoniere*, Vol. 1, 257-61. Information about the production, published in the same edition, comes from excerpts drawn from the pamphlet *Stanze di Luigi Tansillo*, which was circulated by the Neapolitan printer Mattia Cancer in 1558. For further details, see Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre*, 197-201.

[60] See *Le nuove musiche*, ed. by H. Wiley Hitchcock, p. 43. Although Caccini was prone to hyperbole and exaggeration, I have no reason to doubt this claim, which was corroborated by his contemporary Antonio Brunelli, who went even further in suggesting that Cosimo brought Caccini to Florence specifically for the purpose of studying with delle Palle. See Warren S. Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici*, 100-1.

Before arriving in Florence, however, delle Palle had participated in the 1558 production of *Alessandro*. On the ground of that involvement, and in light of the attribution of another of the *Aeri racolti* to him, several modern commentators, beginning with Pirrotta in 1969, have proposed that he may have written the *aria* for "Che non può far" as well.[61] Pirrotta's keen interest in this *aria* was piqued by a contemporary account of the 1558 production, which described the music for Tansillo's *stanze* as having been performed in "a style midway between singing and reciting."[62] Certainly this *aria* bears many of the now-familiar hallmarks of declamatory song: the text setting is syllabic and involves the extensive repetition of pitches; the range of the Cantus is small, restricted to three steps above and one step below the final (G); the harmonic support, to judge from the surviving Bassus, is decidedly homophonic; and, in keeping with the song principle, the whole consists of two phrases corresponding to the two *endecasillabi* of a distich, which needed to be repeated three times to accommodate an eight-line stanza (see Example 3.5, with my reconstruction of the Tenor).

Observing many of these same features in the rest of the contents of the *Aeri racolti*, Pirrotta declared that Rodio's book "shows that a school of *recitar cantando* existed in Naples soon after the middle of the century," and it is clear that this *aria* was connected to a wider culture of declamatory song.[63] Moreover, we can trace its organizing principles back to an even earlier date, on account of its obvious similarities with the style of the *arie* in the Roman book and the villanesche of Colonia's anthology, and by way of their links with the frottola. Its rhythms are more languorous than those of the examples we encountered above, befitting the elegiac tone of Tansillo's text for the *intermedio*, a lament sung by Cleopatra. Yet in most other respects the *aria* for "Che non può far" points to the self-consciously Neapolitan style of those

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[61] Brown, "The Geography of Florentine Monody," 165; Carter, "Scipione delle Palle"; and Pirrotta, Music and Theatre, 197-201.

[62] Pirrotta, ibid, 198.

[63] Pirrotta, ibid, 201.

Table 3.3: Inventory of the *Aeri racolti*

No.	Incipit	Attribution	Poet	Tonal Type	Notes
1	Erano i capei d'oro à l'aura sparsi	Sig. Pietro de Ysis	Petrarch	D-durus	*RVF*, Sonnet 90
2	Tu che'l passato mio buon tempo sai	Dentici	Anonymous	D-durus	
3	Poi che'l mio largo pianto	Rocco Rodio	Anonymous	G-mollis	Although the provenance of the text is unknown, it appears also in many other settings from the period.
4	Speme che gli ochi nostri vel'e fasci	[None]	Pietro Bembo	D-durus	Sonnet
5	Cantai un tempo e si fu dolce il canto	Dentice	Pietro Bembo	D-durus	Sonnet
6	E dove non potea la debil voci	[None]	Ludovico Ariosto	G-mollis	*Orlando furioso* X, 25
7	Tutt'il di piango e poi la note	[None]	Petrarch	C-durus	*RVF*, Sonnet 216
8	Nel tempo che rinuova i miei sospiri	[None]	Petrarch	G-mollis	*Trionfo d'Amore*
9	Amor fortuna e la mia mente	[None]	Petrarch	F-mollis	*RVF*, Sonnet 124
10	Amor m'impennò l'ali tant'in alto	[None]	Luigi Tansillo	G-mollis	Sonnet
11	Che non può far donna leggiadra	[None]	Luigi Tansillo	G-durus	[Scipione delle Palle] Poem composed for performance of *Alessandro* in 1558.
12	Era il bel viso suo qua lesser suole	[None]	Ludovico Ariosto	G-mollis	*Orlando furioso* XI, 65
13	Hor che'l ciel e la terra	[None]	Petrarch	A-durus	*RVF*, Sonnet 164
14	Menava gli anni miei gioioso e lieto	[None]	Luigi Tansillo	C-durus	
15	Passer mai solitario in alcun tetto	[None]	Petrarch	D-mollis	*RVF*, Sonnet 226
16	Passe la nave mia colma d'oblio	[None]	Petrarch	F-mollis	*RVF*, Sonnet 189
17	Pien d'un vago pensier che mi disvia	[None]	Petrarch	G-mollis	*RVF*, Sonnet 169
18	Ben s'io non er[r]o di pietat'un raggio [2a pars]	[None]	Petrarch	G-mollis	*RVF*, Sonnet 169
19	Superbi colli e voi sacre ruine	[None]	Baldassare Castiglione	C-durus	Brown previously attributed the text to Giovanni Guidiccioni.

Table 3.3: Inventory of the *Aeri racolti* (continued)

20	Sopr'una verde riva	[None]	Jacopo Sannazaro	D-mollis	*Arcadia*
21	Solo e pensoso i più deserti campi	[None]	Petrarch	D-durus	*RVF*, Sonnet 35
22	Vago augelletto che cantando vai	[None]	Petrarch	G-mollis	An embellished version of this setting was published by G. C. Maffei.
23	Empio cor, cruda voglia	S. Fabritio Dentice	Anonymous	G-mollis	Sonnet
24	Dura legge d'amor	Scipione delle Palle	Petrarch	G-mollis	*Trionfo d'Amore*
25	Cari scogli diletti e fid'arene	Incerto Autore	Jacopo Sannazaro	C-durus	*Opere volgari*
26	Per pianto la mia carne si distilla	S. Pietro de Isis	Jacopo Sannazaro	G-mollis	*Arcadia*
27	Padre del ciel dopo i perduti giorni	Francesco Menta	Petrarch	G-mollis	*RVF*, Sonnet 62
28	Ombrosa valle di bei fior dipinta	Incerto Autore	Anonymous	F-mollis	
29	Quando il dolor mi strugge	S. Tarquinio del Pezzo	Anonymous	G-mollis	

Table 3.4: Intervallic relationships in "Che non può far"

	mm. 1-3	m. 4	m. 5	m. 6	mm. 7-8	m. 9	m. 10	m. 11	m. 12	m. 13
Cantus										
Tenor	6	3	6	3	6	6	6	6-3	4-3	1
Bassus	3	5	3	5	3	5	3–4	3	5–3	8

The relationships are expressed as intervals (or their octave equivalents) below the Cantus. Each column represents a single vertical sonority.

earlier volumes. Its harmonic underpinnings directly recall that style, too, a connection that my reconstruction of the Tenor draws out more clearly than is evident in Pirrotta's. By alternating between thirds and fifths, the intervallic relationship between the Bassus and the Cantus voices suggests a probable fauxbourdon-style derivation, and implies that the Tenor would likely have shadowed the Cantus in parallel thirds (see Table 3.4). This and the other formalisms enumerated here were not wholly new in 1577, nor were they new even in 1558: they intimate a debt to a much older and more widely disseminated culture of declamatory song.

Pirrotta ultimately argued something similar about the *Aeri racolti*. For his point was not that we should replace the "myth that opera and monody originated in the Florentine *camerata*" with another myth, anointing delle Palle and his Neapolitan colleagues, rather than Caccini, as having been responsible for these landmark developments. On the contrary, he observed of both groups that their aesthetics had a "common origin in the musical practice of the fifteenth century."[64] This was a paradigm-shifting insight, and it ultimately led several younger generations of scholars to investigate the transmission of those practices throughout the *cinquecento*, especially as they were connected to extemporized song.[65] The basic continuities of style that Pirrotta that asserted are now widely recognized as having stood behind the pu-

[64] Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre*, 201.

[65] Coelho has provided a useful summary of the subsequent literature through the early 2000s in "The Players of Florentine Monody," sections 1.1-1.4.

tatively "new music" of the *seicento*, if sometimes with the qualification that evidence of them in the form of written, notated exemplars is relatively scant.[66] The accounting of that evidence has grown substantially in recent years, as evidence of "improvisatory" practices has seemed to surface in the debts of written polyphony to fauxbourdon-style procedures such as that which we likely witness underpinning the *aria* for "Che non può far."[67] But the preceding chapters have made it clear that we risk failing to see the deep cultural work such songs did in writing if we view them first and foremost as traces of otherwise ephemeral, "unwritten" traditions.

In the case of the *Aeri racolti*, that work seems intimately linked with the book's Neapolitan style. Yet the connection with Caccini, by way of delle Palle, has brought the *Aeri racolti* the greatest share of the attention it has received to date. In an influential article, Brown followed Pirrotta in proposing that it preserves a repertory that stood prominently in the background of the "new music" Caccini would later claim as his own.[68] We will return to this general argument about the book, and its role in the historiography of monody. For now, let us not approach the *Aeri racolti* by looking at it from the vantage of the *seicento* developments that might refer back to it; first, we need to situate it within the mid-century Neapolitan context of its publication. Brown had important insights on this topic in his brief study of the book and its contents. He saw them as having arisen within "a circle of Neapolitan noblemen and professional musicians" intent upon "devising a kind of music which was based on the techniques of the *villanelle alla napolitana*" for use with "some of the noblest poems in Italian."[69] Much stands to be gained by investigating this theory. But fundamental questions about this unusual songbook remain to be asked.

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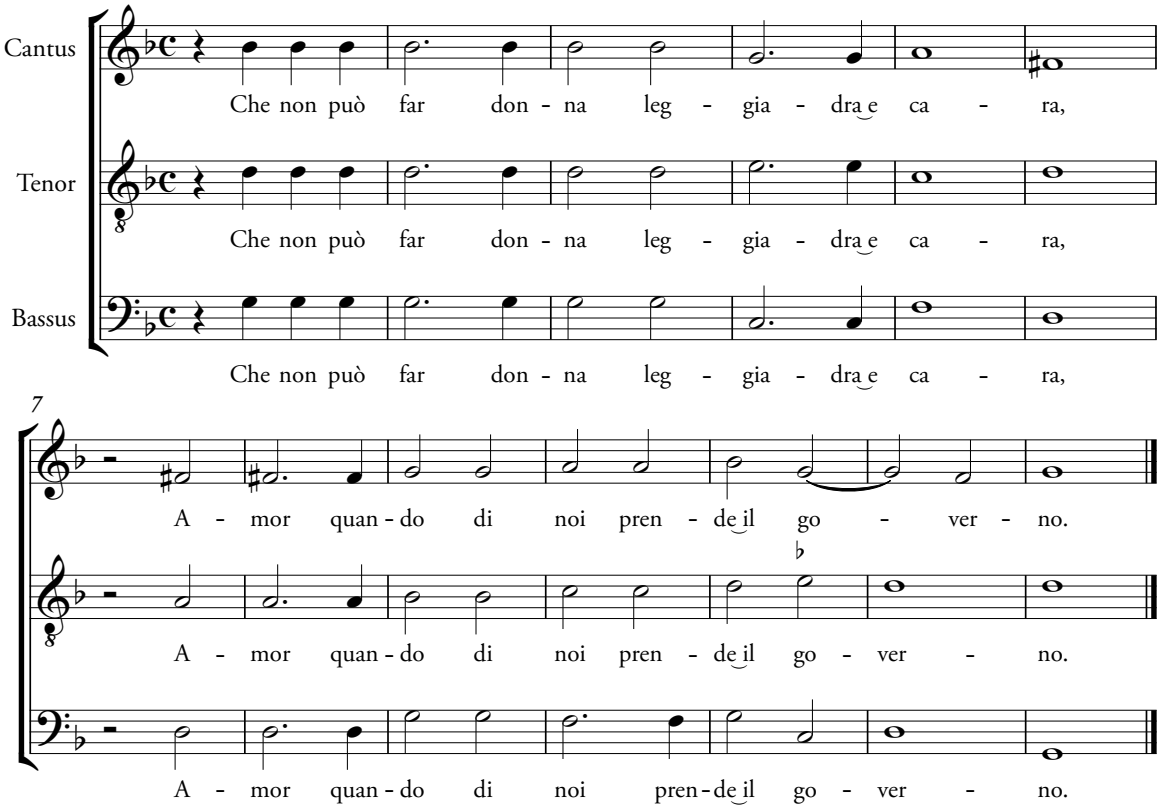
[66] For an example of such a qualification, see Carter, "The Concept of the Baroque," 47.

[67] For example, see Fiorentino, *Folía*.

[68] Brown, "The Geography of Florentine Monody."

[69] Brown, ibid, 152.

Example 3.5: [delle Palle?], "Che non può far donna leggiadra e cara" (Tenor reconstructed)



The most basic question is this: Why does the *Aeri racolti* exist at all? As in the case of Colonia's anthology, most of the circumstances surrounding the publication of the *Aeri racolti* are unknown. The designation "novamente ristampate" (newly reprinted) on the title page gives reason to believe that the surviving copy is from a reprint of the original edition. We also do not know when the first edition appeared, but the printer, Giuseppe Cacchi, was active in Naples only beginning in 1569; if the edition was his, then it almost certainly postdated that year.[70] Rodio's dedication gives the firm impression that the publication was undertaken at his initiative. Addressing the dedicatee, one "Signor Tarquino del Pezzo," Rodio wrote that he had

[70] See "Cacchi, Giuseppe." Cacchi's surviving output includes many works of poetry, philosophy, theology, and much else besides, but no music apart from *Aeri raccolti*, the 1575 book of ricercate by Rodio, and Manilio Caputi's *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro* (1592). Brown guessed that the first edition of *Aeri racolti* might have been published before Scipione delle Palle left Naples for Florence, but the timeline of events makes this highly unlikely: Cacchi did not return to Naples (where he spent his formative years) from his hometown of Aquila until that year. For more, see my comments below.

been "moved to make of these *aeri* a little gift" worthy of his patron's "infinite delight in music."[71] Little has surfaced about Rodio's career, and less still about del Pezzo, leaving us virtually no ground upon which to speculate about the nature of their relationship.[72] We know only that del Pezzo must have been a Neapolitan nobleman, given Rodio's use of the honorific, and that the last item in the *Aeri racolti* was attributed to him. But beyond the reasons Rodio gave in his dedication, which go no further than the standard tropes of the genre, why Rodio chose especially to dedicate this book to him remains unknown, and this line of inquiry cannot help us address more fundamental questions about its existence.

Instead we can begin reconstructing the circumstances surrounding the publication of the *Aeri racolti* in two other ways: by continuing to examine the social and political situation in Naples and its ramifications for the local nobility in the difficult years after 1547; and by analyzing *Aeri racolti* as a purposeful collection of songs, assembled with care and attention to its contents, presumably by Rodio.

In the aftermath of the 1547 rebellion, the Prince of Salerno and his immediate circle sought refuge at the French court, where they plotted the recapture of their city with the protection and assistance of Henry II. The community of exiled noblemen, known as the *fuorusciti*, counted some of the most celebrated Neapolitan singers among their number at various times, most notably the Dentice father and son, Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, and the prince himself. Indeed the seeds of Salerno's defection to France were planted several years earlier in his memorable performances, singing to his own guitar accompaniment, during a diplomatic mission to Fontainebleau.[73] At that time, in 1544, he was still loyal to Charles V, in France

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[71] "Da questa consideratione dunque io mosso vengo à far di questi aeri un picciol presente à V.S. com' à colei, la qual'io conosco (lascio di dir dell'altre belle sue qualità, le quali son rare, & veramente divine) delettarsi infinitamente della musica." See Rodio, *Aeri racolti*,

[72] On Rodio, see Josef-Horst Lederer, "Rodio, Rocco."

[73] Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 22-3.

in the company of the imperial commander Ferrante Gonzaga, who was then negotiating the final touches of the Treaty of Crépy. So strong was the impression made by his performances that it featured in a Florentine dispatch from the French court: "they make [the prince] sing Neapolitan songs and have acquired a quantity of guitars, and every lady has her own."[74] Now that his rebellion had failed, he capitalized on those musically cemented ties.

Cardamone and Wistreich have documented the political and musical activities of the *fuorusciti* in the ensuing decades.[75] Brooks, meanwhile, has connected the presence of the Neapolitan contingent at the French court with the popularity there of Italian-language strophic song, especially villanesche and villanelle.[76] These accounts leave the impression of a proud but vulnerable group that maintained its sense of collective identity far from home partly by means of song. The *fuorusciti* were concentrated in Rome, Venice, Antwerp, and Paris—the same cities where, not coincidentally, books of villanesche and villanelle were now most often published—but they were truly spread out across the continent. Their travels carried them to London, where Brancaccio and Lasso undertook an ill-advised diplomatic mission in 1554, and Barcelona, where the English ambassador to Spain reported hearing both Dentice father and son singing in 1564.[77]

Most telling of the particular role that music played in maintaining a sense of Neapolitan identity among the *fuorusciti* throughout these years is the repertory of "songs of political

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[74] Quoted in Donna Cardamone, ed., *Orlando di Lasso: Canzoni villanesche and villanelle*, xiii.

[75] See Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno"; Cardamone, "Orlando di Lasso and the Pro-French Factions in Rome"; and Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*.

[76] See Brooks, *Courtly Song*, 255-332. Brooks's exploration of the links between the Neapolitan genres and the French *air de cour* suggests another path the written transmission of the song principle took in the middle of the sixteenth century. The constraints of space prevent me from following Brooks down that path into French-language song, but there is ample room here for future research.

[77] The episode involving Brancaccio's mission to England has been the subject of much confusion ever since the sixteenth century. For a clarifying account, see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 38-47. The report of the English ambassador to Spain is quoted in Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno" 92.

exile" that Cardamone's work, building on prior discoveries by Benedetto Croce, has revealed.[78] These were settings of "parting" texts, the goodbyes of separating lovers, which were organized in a *proposta-risposta* (proposal-response) fashion, in a style closely related to that of the Roman *arie* and the three-voice villanesche we examined above.[79] A debt to the style of those earlier Neapolitan songs seems immediately evident, for example, in one of the best-known songs in this vein, "Come t'haggio lassata o vita mia," which appeared in a Roman anthology of 1555, and which appeared in other sources with the title "Lamento d'il Principe di Salerno" (see Example 3.6).[80] Again the Cantus and Tenor form a pair that proceeds in parallel thirds, and though the Bassus partbook is lost, I have reconstructed it on the basis of the same principles as in prior examples, this time working also from a later four-voice version by Filippo Azzaiolo.[81] Here, too, the compass of the Cantus is limited to a relatively small range; the text setting is syllabic and rhythmically supple. Its more purposeful pace of declamation distinguishes it from some of our other examples of Neapolitan style, although for this, as in the case of "Che non può far," there lay a simple explanation in its setting of a lament. "Come t'haggio" exemplified a novel "poetics of exchange," allegorizing the plight of the *fuorusciti* by means of love lyrics.[82] In doing so, it drew that community together, partly by forming a tangible musical link to the world they had left behind by adopting a familiar style.

At home in Naples, however, the Prince of Salerno's abrupt departure had again left the

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[78] See Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno"; and Croce, "Isabella Villamarino," 334.

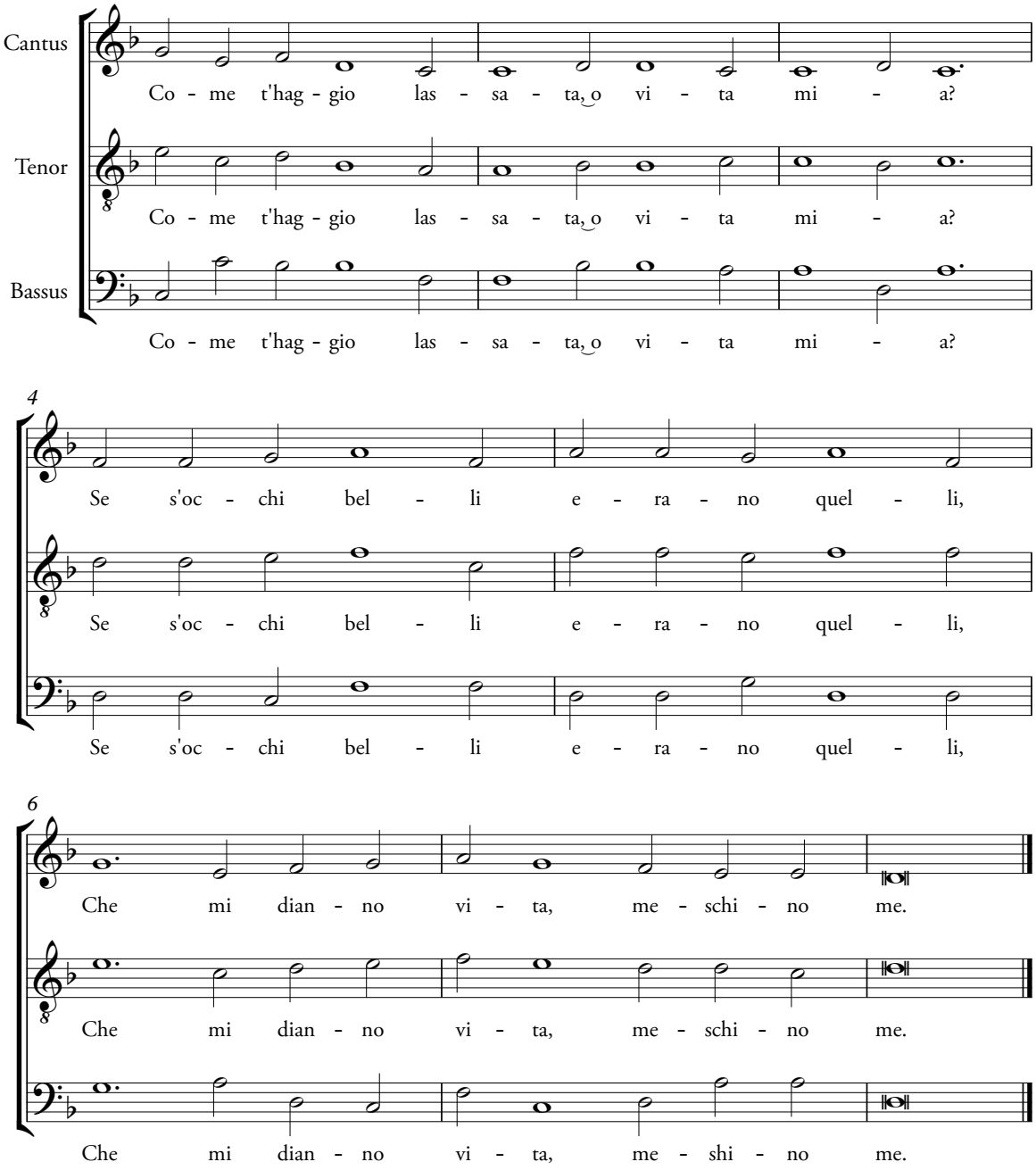
[79] On the links with Salerno's circle, see especially Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno," 78-88.

[80] So well known was the tune of this song at the time, indeed, that it was among the examples that Vincenzo Galilei, writing thirty years later, cited in praising the simplicity of popular songs. See my comments in Chapter 4. Regarding the alternate title, see Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno," 78; and Cardamone, "The Prince and Princess of Salerno."

[81] For an alternative reconstruction of the Bassus, see Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno," 84-85. Regarding Azzaiolo's version, see "Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links," 348.

[82] Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno," 78.

Example 3.6: "Come t'haggio lassata, o vita mia" (Bassus reconstructed)



city's cultural life in an impoverished state, because in the decade leading up to the events of 1547, his patronage had briefly restored some of the luster of the bygone *quattrocento* "golden age" under Aragonese rule. At his extravagant, recently renovated palace in the Nido, Sanseverino had sponsored theatrical comedies, lyric poetry, and music on a scale that few of the city's

remaining residents were positioned to match, apart from Viceroy Toledo himself. Toledo was no less inclined to patronize these secular arts, perhaps, but he did not cultivate the same local traditions as the noblemen who had fled the city. Many of those he actively patronized, such as the poet Garcilaso de la Vega, he had brought with him from Spain. But there were exceptions, and one important local beneficiary of his patronage was Tansillo, who like Vega served as a secretary in the viceroy's household, and who is remembered today as one of the foremost Neapolitan poets of the period between Sannazaro, Torquato Tasso (whose father Bernardo was a private secretary to the Prince of Salerno, and a celebrated poet in his own right), and Giordano Bruno.

Tansillo's verse circulated widely throughout the Italian peninsula during his lifetime, and he also achieved a broad Iberian readership, no doubt thanks to the high-ranking position he occupied within the Spanish administration of Naples. Yet by contrast with Sannazaro, Torquato Tasso, and Bruno, Tansillo has suffered from comparative neglect in the study of *cinquecento* verse, especially in Anglophone writings. Exceptional in this respect is the work that literary historian Erika Milburn has done to situate Tansillo's lyric output within its Neapolitan institutional and intellectual contexts.[83] We tend to regard Tansillo chiefly as an author of amorous lyric, but Milburn highlights his role as the viceroy's Italian-language court poet: in this capacity, Tansillo wrote occasional and encomiastic verse, some of it slotting into the propaganda campaign Toledo undertook to repair his damaged reputation after 1547.[84] His *Sonetti per la presa d'Africa* (1551), which he published to celebrate the capture of several small North African cities by imperial forces under the command of the viceroy's son don García, seems in part to have served just such a purpose. Milburn has shown that there was extensive overlap between that collection's recurring themes and images and the "pro-Toledo propaganda

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[83] Erika Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo and Lyric Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Naples*.

[84] Ibid, especially 73-84.

in other media."[85]

Complicating this reading is the dedication of *Sonetti per la presa d'Africa* to another patron, Gonzalo II Fernández de Córdoba, the Duke of Sessa, who was then engaged in a bitter rivalry with the viceroy. Milburn has speculated that in dedicating the book thus, Tansillo was maneuvering to reconcile the patronage of the two men by celebrating the achievements of the Toledo clan at the request of the Duke of Sessa (a request the dedication claims to have fulfilled).[86] It is hard to know precisely where Tansillo stood amidst the political entanglements in which he found himself at that moment, because his dedication traded in the conventional dedicatory language of *cinquecento* publications. But the work itself leaves no doubt that Tansillo found himself in the position of being the literary mouthpiece for pro-Spanish interests in Naples, and, read in the context of the charged atmosphere after the events of 1547, it could have seemed like a full-throated *apologia* for Spanish rule. One particular sequence of sonnets within the collection, as Milburn has argued, "develops an extended allegory on the dangers of political liberty" and thus invites such a reading.[87]

In this light it may be surprising that we find poems by Tansillo and songs by three of the musicians in the Prince of Salerno's circle (the Dentices and delle Palle) side-by-side with one another in the *Aeri racolti*. Because of his service to the Spanish viceroyalty and his role as its quasi-official spokesperson in Italian-language lyric, Tansillo's political sympathies might have appeared suspect to partisans of the prince who had remained in Naples, among whose number the several connections to the exiled Neapolitans might otherwise place del Pezzo and

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[85] Ibid, 75-76. Milburn outlines those themes and images as "the appropriation of classical antiquity as a legitimization of political power, the crusading ideal and Toledo's role as upholder of the Christian faith, the exploitation of outside threats to justify both the Spanish presence in Naples and the expenses associated with warfare and fortification."

[86] Ibid, 75-76.

[87] Ibid, 81.

Rodio.[88] Considered in conjunction with the book's other poetic choices, however, it is possible to understand the inclusion of Tansillo's verse as celebrating a tradition of Neapolitan lyric poetry that crossed these political boundaries. That tradition was based not on the use of dialect, but rather on the adoption of an elevated poetic register and the reconciliation of Neapolitan eclecticism with the local reception of Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525).[89] Seeing *Aeri racolti* as manifesting this type of reconciliation will put us in a position finally to clarify its broader project.

Apart from five songs with still-unidentified texts and one other poem, we can place all of the texts in *Aeri racolti* in one of two categories (see Table 3.4). On one hand were poems by Petrarch, Bembo, and Ariosto, canonic but non-Neapolitan authors of Italian lyric poetry; on the other were poems by Sannazaro and Tansillo, poets with strong ties to Naples. The first category is the larger, because Petrarch alone accounts for thirteen of the book's texts, or nearly half of the total (all but the two of them from the *Trionfo d'Amore* were drawn from the *Canzoniere*). Sannazaro and Tansillo registered three texts apiece, and Bembo and Ariosto two each. The remaining identified text is the sonnet "Superbi colli e voi sacre ruine," a well-known "ruins" poem that was variously attributed in contemporary sources, but which is now generally thought to have been by Baldassare Castiglione.[90] What stands out first in taking stock of the book's poetic contents is the sheer prevalence of texts by Petrarch. This was however in

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[88] Brown, indeed, assumed that del Pezzo and Pietro de Ysis, to whom another song in *Aeri racolta* is attributed, must have belonged to one and the same "circle of Neapolitan noblemen and professional musicians" as that of the Prince of Salerno. See "The Geography of Florentine Monody," 152ff.

[89] For a survey of that reception, see Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, 108-48.

[90] Howard Mayer Brown attributed it to Guidiccioni in ibid, 166 n. 13. Regarding the strength of the attribution to Castiglione, see Fadini, "Per l'edizione critica," 30-31. Some readers will be familiar with this poem as the basis for the seventh sonnet in Edmund Spenser's "Ruines of Rome" sequence, by way of a translation that appeared in Joachim du Bellay's own sequence, *Antiquitez de Rome* (1558). "Superbi colli" inspired many more imitations besides these, and it is a study in the "poetics of ruins" that figured prominently in Renaissance literary and artistic discourse, on which Andrew Hui has written insightfully in his book *The Poetics of Ruins*.

keeping with broader trends in Neapolitan literary tastes and the local discourse surrounding the *questione della lingua*.[91] Neapolitan literary theorists took inspiration from Bembo's *Prose*, certainly, but they moderated his position with respect to the crucial issue of poetic lexis, allowing for some words that had not appeared in Petrarch. In place of Bembo's narrowly Petrarchan vision for revitalizing poetry and standardizing the Italian language, moreover, they constructed a broader canon of model vernacular authors, to which Naples proudly supplied its share in Sannazaro and others. One influential voice in these debates was Benedetto di Falco, who advocated adopting archaic Tuscan as a stand-in for the ideal of a common language (*linga comune*) so as to avoid the confusion arising from differences between local dialects and discrepant usages.[92] But in practice, Falco embraced a greater range of models for poetic usage in his *Rimario* (1535), a rhyming dictionary, adding to Bembo's Petrarch vernacular authors as diverse as Dante, Bocaccio, Ariosto, Pulci, Sannazaro, Landino, Machiavelli, Castiglione, and indeed Bembo himself.[93] Falco's equivocation typifies the Neapolitan eclecticism of the period, and if the following decades brought ever-stronger advocacy of Bembism as a theoretical aspiration, they also witnessed the embrace of authors other than Petrarch as models for vernacular poetry.[94] The *Aeri racolti* was thus essentially unremarkable in having accorded Petrarch, and, to a lesser extent, Ariosto and Bembo, prominent places alongside local authors.

More significant is the way in which the particular selections from these authors coalesce as an anthology. Beginning around 1545, Italian lyric poetry was increasingly transmitted in

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[91] See Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, 108-148.

[92] Ibid, 112-16. Falco is more famous as the author of the *Descrittione dei luoghi antiqui di Napoli*. See Croce, "Il primo descrittore di Napoli."

[93] Two things about this list, as Milburn has noted, are especially striking: its inclusion of *quattrocento* and contemporary authors; and the presence of Dante and Boccaccio, the former dismissed by Bembo for improper usages and the latter for being chiefly an author of prose. See Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, 112-13.

[94] Canepa, "Literary Culture," 429.

raccolte, or anthologies of poems by many authors, rather than canzonieri, or single-authored narrative cycles.[95] Yet this shift did not spell the end of narrative cycles or thematically related sequences, and those who selected and organized lyric anthologies often played significant roles by imposing structure upon poetic raccolte and songbooks alike.[96] Some commentators have previously described Rodio as the "editor" of the *Aeri racolti*, a term whose vagueness has disguised the fact that the precise nature of his role in producing the book remains unclear.[97] On the basis of his presentation of the anthology as "a little gift" to del Pezzo, it is likely that his role was curatorial in nature, and that his poetic choices were designed to represent a Neapolitan style of vernacular song.

Most of the poems resonate topically and thematically with one another, and nearly all of them share in a somber or elegiac tone. The book's lyric contents, indeed, seem to give expression to a distinctive Neapolitan perspective in this respect, by supplying a repertory of words, tropes, and images that lent themselves especially well to allegorizing the experience of the local nobility under Spanish rule. Many of the recurring words and images populating the poems in *Aeri racolti* would have been ripe for evoking the misfortunes of the *fuorusciti* by means of highly conventionalized Petrarchan codes: tears, grief, loneliness, wandering, and meditations on the passage of time appear repeatedly throughout the anthology. Nearly all of the choices from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* give the impression of having been chosen purposefully as a group, if not to form a sequence then for the singularity of their expression. The extraordinary capacity of the *Canzoniere* to accommodate a range of personalized readings was a part

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[95] Roberto Fedi, *La memoria della poesia*, 49. The most widely disseminated anthologies of lyric poetry from this period were those published in Venice by Gabriele Giolito, and they drove an explosive proliferation of Petrarchan tropes. Among others on the Giolito anthologies and their broad influence, see Clubb and Clubb, "Building a Lyric Canon"; and DellaNeva, *Unlikely Exemplars*.

[96] See also the comments in Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo and Lyric Poetry in Naples*, 85.

[97] Brown, "The Geography of Florentine Monody," 149; and Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno," 96 n. 76.

of made the "metasubjective" discourse of Petrarchism, to use Gary Tomlinson's term for it, so fertile a ground.[98] Taken together, the Petrarchan selections in the *Aeri racolti* suggest one such reading.

Because we know nothing about the book's reception, and because Petrarchan clichés were so ubiquitous in this period, of course, we need to be wary of attaching too much significance to any particular instance of evocative words or images. Moreover, not all of the selections lend themselves to allegorical readings. Petrarch's sonnet "Erano i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi" (*RVF* 90), which is set as the first song of the collection by the obscure Pietro de Ysis, is one such poem. Together, however, the book's selection of lyrics is a grim and gloomy aggregate, in line with the overarching tendency of Neapolitan poetry of the period toward expressions of "grief and revolt."[99] Furthermore, it is surely telling of the circumstances of Rodio's gift to del Pezzo, given its Petrarchan orientation, that exile had been so central to Petrarch's lyric project. As the literary historian Laurence E. Hooper has recently argued, Petrarch's construction of personal and authorial selves was closely linked to his self-identification as an exile.[100] If Rodio curated the book, and if he did so with an eye to its poetic contents, he might have selected some of the songs because their texts had the potential to speak to a fragmented community, many of whose members were still living, as Petrarch had, in exile.

By way of an example, let us sample some of the book's numerous invocations of tears. The first instance occurs in the only song expressly attributed to Rodio himself, "Poi che 'l mio largo pianto," in which Love, personified, takes pleasure in the lyric subject's "abundant weeping." An excerpt from Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, in a setting by Pietro de Ysis, begins: "With plaints my flesh dissolves away" ("Per pianto la mia carne si distilla"). Tears are also central to

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98 Tomlinson, "Giaches de Wert," 23-4.

99 Aldo Vallone, *Storia* 162. Quoted and translated in Canepa, "Literary Culture," 429.

100 Hooper, "Exile and Petrarch's Reinvention of Authorship."

the conceit of Petrarch's "Tutt'il di piango e poi la note" (*RVF* 216), which appears in an unattributed setting: "I spend my time weeping" ("così spendo 'l mio tempo lagrimando," line 4). Moreover, the second quatrain of that sonnet explicitly invokes an old legal term ("bando") for banishment: "so that the arrows of Love keep me ever banished from peace" (sì che li amorosi strali / mi tengon ad ogni or di pace in bando," lines 7-8).[101] Banishment is also a potential subtext of another instance of tears, in an unattributed setting of Petrarch's "Amor fortuna e la mia mente": "and so my foolish mind / is troubled and weeps" ("onde la mente stolta / s'adira et piange," lines 6-7). In that sonnet's first quatrain, the lyric subject, dwelling on the past, "[envies] those who are on the other shore" (invidia a quei che son su l'altra riva," line 4). Though this is clearly an allusion, as the translator Robert Durling notes, to "the next world," it could have been ripe for allegorical or figural interpretation.[102] Moreover, this is precisely the sort of image that Cardamone has associated with Neapolitan "songs of exile."[103]

The alignment of Petrarch's exilic experience with that of the now-fragmented Neapolitan nobility would have made his *Canzoniere* a particularly rich vein from which the latter group could draw its songs. But clearly it was not the only such vein. In addition to the examples cited above, the poignancy of Bembo's "Cantai un tempo e si fu dolce il canto," with its weeping singer now reduced to silence, is surely hard to miss. It must have been made all the more poignant, then, by appearing in a setting by Luigi Dentice, who was one of the leading Neapolitan singers of his generation and one of the exiled rebels of 1547. "Superbi colli," the "ruins" poems, supported a figural identification of Rome (its ostensible subject) with Naples, and, in the tercet of that sonnet, Castiglione famously observes that human works can keep time at bay, but time ultimately wins the contest. Nevertheless, poetry and song, never reduc-

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[101] Regarding the legal definition of "bando," see ibid, 1220.

[102] Durling, ed., *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 238.

[103] Cardamone, "The Prince of Salerno," 84.

ible to their material instantiations, served as emissaries from the past. The lasting monument to the short-lived return to a Neapolitan golden age in the 1530s and 1540s, at whose center had stood the Prince of Salerno, were its works; and these, and/or works like them, formed part of Rodio's gift, in the songs attributed to his circle.

That gift was given not from exile, however, but rather from within Naples itself, and in this light, Brown's identification of the *Aeri racolti* as the product of "a circle of Neapolitan noblemen and musicians" needs qualification. None of the figures he discussed were still resident in Naples in 1577. They had long since scattered to the wind. Perhaps those of the book's contents unconnected to the Prince of Salerno's circle suggest the persistence in Naples of another, potentially overlapping group of noblemen who sang in this style in order to celebrate kinship and common cause with their exiled compatriots. The *Aeri racolti* could have supplied a complement to the "songs of political exile" that Cardamone has traced across the network of sources connected to the *fuorusciti* by fostering a similar tradition of vernacular song at home. The chronology, incomplete as it is, can support multiple interpretations, but the late appearance of the second edition of Rodio's anthology in 1577 may provide a clue. The first edition was probably not printed before Scipione delle Palle left for Florence, in 1569, because that was the year Giuseppe Cacchi first began printing in Naples.[104] A more plausible date for that lost edition is 1575, when Cacchi also published Rodio's *Libro de ricercate a quattro voci*.

Even as early 1570, the situation was clearly retrospective: Luigi Dentice died in 1566, and the Prince of Salerno in 1568. The connections to their circle in the *Aeri racolti* therefore suggest it may have been a memorializing gesture. Recognizing such a gesture makes the volume's elegiac tone all the more poignant to us, perhaps, but we do not know to whom it would have been meaningful at the time. Tarquinio del Pezzo, the (presumably Neapolitan) nobleman to whom Rodio dedicated the volume, has not otherwise been linked to Salerno; nor, for

[104] For details, see footnote 71.

that matter, has Ysis, who took pride of place as composer of the first song in the collection and who may also have been a Neapolitan nobleman (like del Pezzo, he is attributed with the honorific, as "S[ignore] Pietro de Ysis"). The fact is that we can do more than postulate their likely involvement in a local culture of vernacular song still thriving at Naples in the 1560s and 1570s. Nor is it clear why Rodio—a native of Bari who performed music as a trade rather than as a gentleman's pursuit—would have wanted to make such a gesture, if indeed he did, apart from seeking del Pezzo's favor or patronage.

What is clear, however, in broadening our scope, is that there were those in Naples who remained loyal to the revolt Salerno had led decades earlier. This was true even as late as 1585, when the poet Ferrante Carafa, invoking the name of the Accademia dei Sereni, by then long defunct, petitioned the reigning Viceroy, Pedro Girón, Duke of Ossuna, for permission to re-convene the same academies that had been forced to close in 1547.[105] Nearly four decades had passed, and yet the Spanish administration denied his petition, suggesting that the memory of those events still remained potent. The publication of the *Aeri racolti* a decade or so earlier, then, may have represented the surfacing of a musical response to the same impulse: we seen in these songs the lingering desire on the part of the local nobility to sing as one in the face of imperial policies that were designed, as Marino has written, to "divide and conquer."[106] The *Aeri racolti*, according to this interpretation, was a gift given also in honor of the city's cultural patrimony, looking backward upon an undivided past, and thereby anticipating the direction Neapolitan citizen culture would take in the *seicento*, when it "turned more and more in upon itself in nostalgic reverie."[107] At the same time, the book tacitly acknowledged that what it meant to be Neapolitan was now irreversibly changed. After all, the local tradition of lyric

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[105] See "Carafa, Ferrante."

[106] Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan*, p. 22.

[107] Marino, ibid

poetry inevitably spanned the city's political divisions.

In this respect, the inclusion of settings of three poems by Toledo's protégé Tansillo struck a conciliatory note. And why not? Most of those who had been at the heart of the fray in 1547 were now dead. So, too, was Tansillo, who, like the Prince of Salerno, had died in 1568. The text of "Menava gli anni miei gioioso e lieto," a *capitolo* of Tansillo's that appears in the *Aeri racolti* in an unattributed setting, foregrounds "fortune's mutability."[108] Undoubtedly this was a lesson that many among the book's earliest audience in Naples had long since internalized, and perhaps they read the stanzaic structure of the poem, which alternates between joy and sorrow, as an allegory for the precariousness of Neapolitan citizenship under Spanish rule. Beyond offering the potential for such readings, however, the singing of a poem like Tansillo's may have served in Naples the function that song generally served for the network of *fuorusciti* spread out across Europe. This, finally, is the gift Rodio offered to his patron and his buyers alike: the musical means to sing elevated and meaningful verse in Neapolitan style.

"The noble manner of singing"

Naples had no exclusive claim upon the canon of vernacular authors in the *Aeri racolti*. What made the book so unusual, rather, was the manner of its musical presentation of this verse by means of strophic *arie*, according to the song principle. This is the feature that has led Pirrotta, Brown, and others to single out the volume as one of the single most important pieces of evidence that the vogue for monody at the turn of the *seicento* had deeper roots in *cinquecento* and *quattrocento* practices. In this view, Rodio's book transmitted a soloistic manner of song, albeit in arrangements for three and four voices, based on economical and formulaic templates that lent themselves well to virtuosic embellishments, anticipating trends that surfaced more decisively in written sources after 1600.

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[108] See Milburn's comments on this poem in *Luigi Tansillo*, 47-8.

The use of *arie* as vehicles for virtuosity, however, has led us to align them too much with Pirrotta's ideas about an "unwritten" tradition, and to interpret artifacts like the *Aeri racolti* in this light. Certainly the culture of declamatory song depended less upon the material support of written notation than did genres such as the madrigal. But if one consequence of assuming that the madrigal had a special purchase on writing has been the neglect of its capacity fully to absorb that culture into itself, as we discovered in Chapter 2, another has been disbelief that the high-register poetry we associate with the madrigal could have been sung in so formulaic, by implication even trivial, a fashion.[109] Our tendency, therefore, has been to explain away the simplicity of what appears on the page. What appears on the pages of the *Aeri racolti*, as Brown argued, was but the bare scaffolding upon which virtuosic singers worked their magic *ex tempore*.[110] Subsequent research has repeatedly affirmed that the embellishments of Caccini's "new music" in 1602 played an important role in the "noble manner of singing" he claimed to have acquired from delle Palle.[111] Wistreich, for example, has shown that the "*vero modo di cantar cavalaresco,*" or "true style of courtly singing," which was so highly praised by the Neapolitan Giovanni Camillo Maffei in his 1562 treatise on embellishment, implies a link between social status and vocal style that was embodied by the noblemen of the Sanseverino circle.[112]

In performance, the music transmitted in the *Aeri racolti* must never have been so simple as it looks on the page. Yet such speculation can easily get out of hand, projecting the Italianate culture of declamatory song its and related offshoots in adjacent vernacular traditions

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[109] More than a hint of disbelief is evident, for example, in this comment by Brown in "The Geography of Florentine Monody," 151: "although the anthology comes from Naples and contains music written in a popular mode of the sort associated with the *villanella alla napolitana*, it is not a collection of frivolous love songs and other light ditties, but rather offers some of the greatest poetry in the Italian language."

[110] Ibid, 158.

[111] For example, see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, especially Part Two, "Bass Song," 129-220.

[112] Ibid, 142.

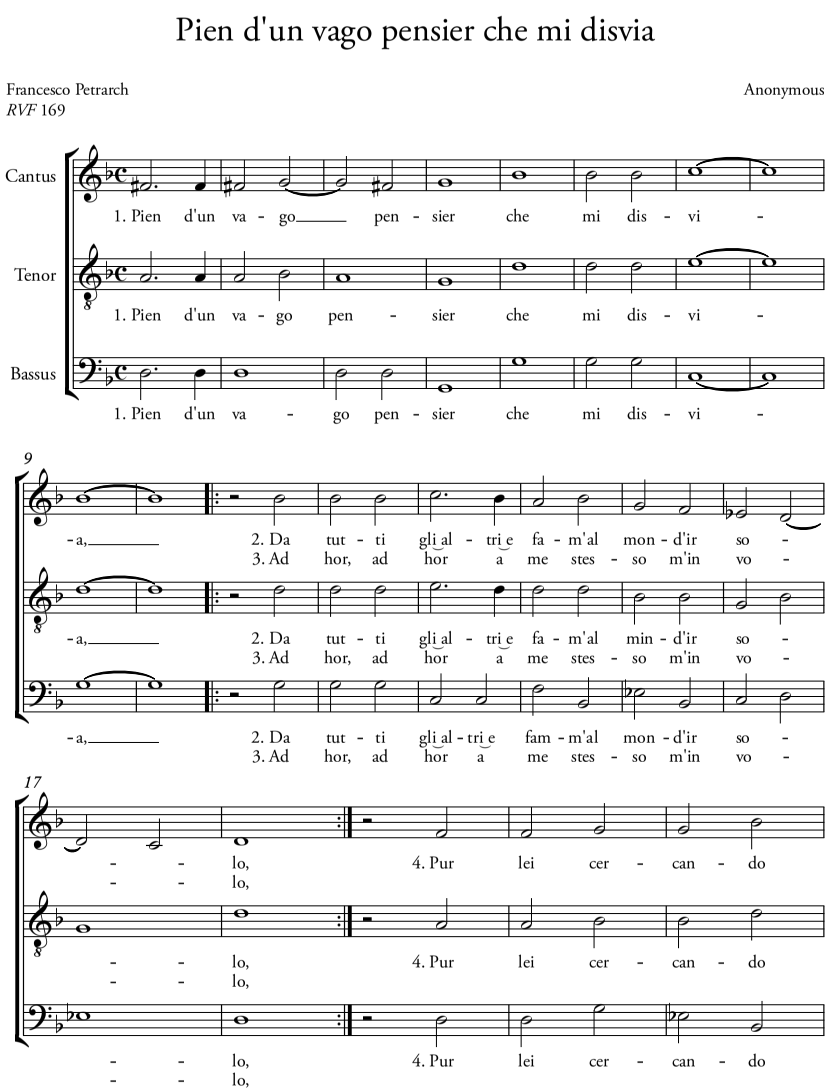
as an inaccessible alternative to "written" counterparts. Kate van Orden, for example, has written of how a chanson by Fabrice Marin Caietain, because it sets Ronsard's sonnet "He Dieu du ciel je n'eusse pas pensé" in the style of a routine fauxbourdon harmonization, "slips from our grasp, receding into the murk of unwritten practices by which *improvvisatori* sang Petrarch's sonnets before they were remade into madrigals in the sixteenth century."[113] By contrast with the timelessness to which this description would consign the culture of declamatory song, the *Aeri racolti* reveal it as fully historical, not only still living but also in flux—even, indeed, in connection with Petrarch.

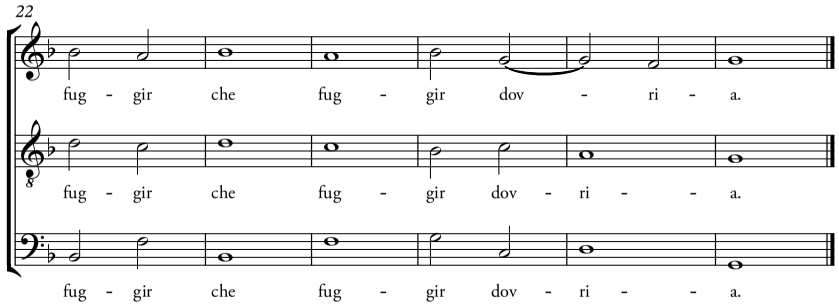
There can of course be no doubt that this tradition relied heavily upon formulas. By way of an example, let us consider the *aria* for Petrarch's "Pien d'un vago pensier che mi disvia" (*RVF* 169), which appears anonymously in Rodio's anthology (see Example 3.7). The song is a mere three phrases of music, with the second phrase meant to be repeated for the third line of each quatrain: exactly the structure of the *arie* for sonnets in Petrucci's fourth frottola anthology of 1505 that we encountered in Chapter 1. Its Cantus melody is deeply generic in the basic rise and fall of its contour, apart from pitch repetitions at the beginnings of phrases and melismatic flourishes at their endings, but otherwise consists mostly of scalar motion within the octave species bounded by D (its final is G, in the *mollis* system, suggesting the "transposed hypodorian" mode). Phrase-endings are bounded by rests and cadences on G and D, exemplifying the archetype of cadential polarization that emerged in Chapter 2, also in connection with the song principle, as a common feature of mid-century madrigals in G-mollis. Finally, the intervallic relationships between the extant voices do not follow a strict pattern, but my reconstruction shows once again how well the Tenor fits the framework they provide by moving in parallel sixths.

All of the musical formalisms attested by these features had long histories in the

[113] van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 156.

Example 3.7: “Pien d’un vago pensier che mi disvia” (Tenor reconstructed)





cinquecento, which we have traced now through various written repertories, from Petrucci's frottola anthologies around 1500 through the Ariostean madrigal, as well as the villanesca and Neapolitan songs of exile. Together they comprised what we have come to recognize as a *cultural archive* brought to bear upon the making of song for different reasons relating to form (in the case of the frottola), genre (in the case of the madrigal), and style in the case of these Neapolitan songs. Each of the instances we have surveyed involved replicating the formalisms stored in that archive, always with subtly different outcomes, so that the archive itself came in time to be transformed. Despite the many evident similarities between the *aria* for "Pien d'un vago pensier" and the *arie* for sonnets in Petrucci's repertory, perhaps even by way of distant causal links, a crucial distinction between the two songs lay in the Neapolitan style of the former. Indeed they were not one and the same, despite demonstrably sharing in the culture of declamatory song, and in this they reveal the historicity of that culture.

This finding is germane to broader issues surrounding all of these repertories, concerning not only the history of opera and monody but also that of tonality. As we have found in Chapter 2, the convergence of some of these formalisms frequently resulted in what Brown termed "stock chordal progressions" with root motion by fourth or fifth, progressions like those we associate today with the *passamezzo* and *romanesca*. He argued that such progressions were effectively "the building blocks of 16th-century tonality, and reflect a tradition in conflict with the more linear conception of mode."[114] But to write of their tonality in this way is to risk obscuring more basic replicatory processes in these songs. How we approach this issue affects the interpretation of a song like the *aria* for the opening lines of Petrarch's *Trionfo d'Amore*, "Nel tempo che rinuova i miei sospiri," which appears unattributed in the *Aeri racolti* with the following direction: "Qui sopra può dire ogni sorte di capitoli in terza rima" ("the above can be recited with every sort of *capitolo* in *terza rima*"). We could interpret this song as an example

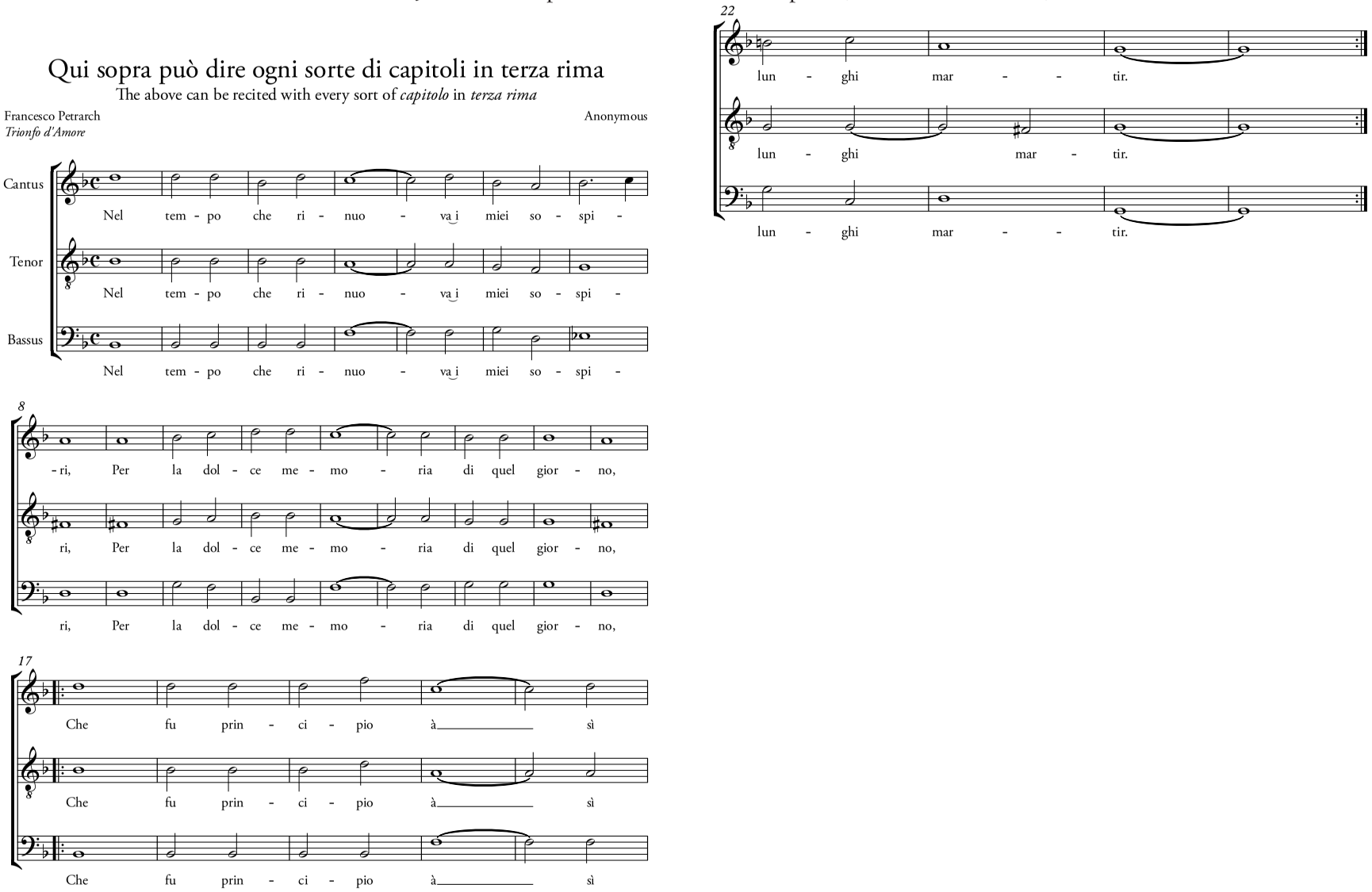
[114] Brown, "The Geography of Florentine Monody," 151.

of the *romanesca*, or a very near approximation of it. Unlike the schematic *romanesca*, this *aria* is in three phrases of music rather than two, befitting the tercet-based structure of *terza rima*, but the likeness of its first and third lines to the scheme is otherwise close (see Example 3.8).

In the absence of testimony from the period identifying this song as a *romanesca*, however, we do better simply to situate it within a network of more basic replicatory structures. The musicians responsible for the contents of *Aeri racolti* drew from and contributed back into to these networks, which collectively comprised a *cultural archive of tonality*. Central to the transmission of that archive among the formalisms described above was the manner in which the song principle related poetry and music by structuring their indexical relation to one another, matching phrases of music to lines of poetry. The regimentation of text-music relations in this manner was one of the chief mechanisms by which musicians at the time abstracted, stored, and used information about pitch without theorizing their actions. Another such mechanism was genre, as we have seen with the Ariostean madrigal. To form and genre, then, we now add style as a third mechanism, having pursued the history of Neapolitan style as far as Rodio's "little gift."

The many meanings of that style left it unstable, so that it was at risk of simply collapsing back into the broader culture of declamatory song. Recall Caccini's name for what he had learned from delle Palle: "[la] nobile maniera di cantare" (the noble manner of singing). The origin of that *maniera* or style, at least with respect to Naples, lay in the citizen culture of the local nobility, and perhaps more precisely in the patronage of the Prince of Salerno; the style burgeoned only when musical formalisms in a more general cultural archive came to be bound up with aspects of that group's ritualized performances of its courtly identity. Those formalisms, notwithstanding prior and contemporary histories in other repertories, then were associated with a noble Neapolitan *maniera*, and for some time thereafter the archive was partially transmitted in relation to this stylistic category. But neither the style nor the archive was

Example 3.8: “Nel tempo che rinuova i miei sospiri” (Tenor reconstructed)



reducible to the other, so when Caccini acquired the resources of the latter by way of delle Palle in Florence at some point during the 1560s, they indexed for him nobility but not, so far as we can tell, *napoletanità*.

That the *Aeri racolti* should seem torn between their Neapolitan origins and a more general, courtly style suggests again the crisis of citizenship that followed that city's transformation, as much of the nobility learned to live in exile. But it also suggests the complexity of the relationship between style and origin, which we will explore further in the next chapter by drawing together the network of replications we have been tracing to reconsider the history of the *romanesca*. We will come, finally, to address the issue of the *romanesca*-like qualities that we have perceived in songs like the *aria* for *capitoli* transmitted in Rodio's anthology, by seeing in it the convergence of longer-lived formalisms more widely disseminated than it. Much in evidence, in the *Aeri racolti*, is the formalism of cadential polarization, which had served as an effective basis for establishing correspondences between music and text in the frottola and *arioso* madrigal repertories. Combined with other preferences to which the book attests, such as those for conjunct motion and root-position triadic sonorities, the resulting prevalence of *romanesca*-like patterns, in which two interlocking polarizations are prominent (B-flat to F and G to D) was a virtually inevitable outcome. To identify this unattributed song as a *romanesca*, however, is to insist that the chicken must have come before the egg.

4

Replicating the Romanesca

In tracing the transmission of the song principle through several local instances of the culture of declamatory song during the *cinquecento*, we have repeatedly come across songs that have intuitively seemed to share common ground with the *romanesca*, though none have yet invoked it by name. Analysis of sonnets and *strambotti* from the frottola repertory revealed among the diverse affordances of *cadential polarization* the musico-poetic efficacy of repeating antecedent-consequent structures that were rooted in this broader formalism. In the same connection we have also come to a better understanding of the elusive *aria* concept, as a specific exemplification, model, or archetype, sometimes for didactic purposes, of the song principle. And, pursuing *arie* through their intersection with the madrigal, we came to see how the formalisms they also manifested particular generic imperatives that gave rise to *romanesca*-like harmonies. Finally, while reassessing the genealogy of Neapolitan style we have seen similar patterns reccurring as indexes of a particular geographical origin and signs of a specific milieu.

What kind of thing, then, was the *romanesca*, to have been implicated in all these likenesses? This chapter seeks an answer by way of considering the nature of its relation to the concepts of musical works and authorship over the course of the *cinquecento.* The *romanesca* was not a work and it had no author, and yet it ultimately came to serve as a kind of common ground upon which to assert these concepts, especially in the *seicento*, in its capacity as a vehicle for virtuosity. That it sat close to the brink of sheer conventionality is clear from its recurring role in the previous chapters, in which *romanesca*-like patterns emerged for the array of reasons enumerated above, and in this way we can come to see it as a special kind of feedback loop within the Italianate culture of declamatory song.

Model authors and authorial models

Chapter One drew a distinction between two general kinds of songs in the frottola repertory. On one hand were songs whose originality or distance from convention bespoke their genesis as the works of specific composers. On the other hand, and far more numerous in the sources that transmit them, were songs hewing so close to convention that they could be readily substituted for one another. These categories were certainly permeable. The most generic frottole often bore attribution, and even unusual ones like Bartolomeo Tromboncino's strambotto "A che affligi" showed many conventional gestures. As in other repertories from the period, the interaction between the two categories arose partly from the confluence in the written record of separate compositional and extemporaneous traditions of musical activity.

This development coincided with an emerging discourse concerning musical authorship that has come into better focus in recent years. Kate van Orden has documented how certain musicians—figures we regard today as composers—came during the sixteenth century to achieve recognition as something like authors in the modern sense: as the originators of musical works that circulated in written form.[1] Her project follows in part from Martha Feldman's observations about the music that circulated anonymously in the *cinquecento*.[2] Feldman casts doubt on the usual assumptions about authorship in the period, and reveals that in many cases anonymity did not signal a failure of attribution but rather a deliberate embrace of authorlessness. Most of the authorless music she writes about was highly conventionalized and bore the hallmarks of the improvisational tradition. Many hands may have touched this music before and after it went to press, but none—save perhaps its publishers—supplied the function we usually assign to authors.[3]

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[1] Van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 6.

[2] Feldman, "Authors and Anonyms."

[3] Here, following both Feldman and van Orden, I mean to invoke Foucault's distinction between "author" and

More generally, van Orden argues that by its performed nature music was a poor fit for "author-based frameworks" that were suited to other media like literature and the visual arts.[4] Even when music could be attributed securely, every performance displaced it from its originator. Authors and musical works went hand-in-hand, for the work revealed the particular labor of an author and, conversely, authorship depended on the production of works. In this period, however, the written work was not yet received through the transcendent textualism that in the nineteenth century would permit notated music, over and against performance, to seem like a direct conduit to the composer's originary act.[5] In the sixteenth-century, according to van Orden, performance could still outweigh the authority of the written work, tipping the balance against musical authorship.

For musical works of the period to bear a clear authorial stamp that authorized them as works, a model of authorship was required. At the beginning of the *cinquecento*, Petrarchism supplied one such model by identifying Petrarch as the paradigmatic vernacular author. By mid-century, this model had been carried over to music in the Petrarch settings of Adrian Willaert's *Musica nova* (1559) and in many other settings. Petrarchism inspired some composers to forge their own authorial personas, nowhere more assiduously than in the burgeoning madrigal repertory, with its copious single-composer books of vernacular song in the mold of the *Canzoniere*; if Petrarch was the model author, then the *Canzoniere* was the model work.

At the same time, however, the *Canzoniere* was also the principal source for the con-

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"author-function." See Foucault, "What Is an Author?," especially 124-131.

[4] Van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 4.

[5] Gary Tomlinson writes of this later phenomenon: "The notated music came to be viewed less as a preliminary script for performance than as the locus of the truest revelation of the composer's intent, the unique and full inscription of the composer's expressive spirit elsewhere—in any one performance—only partially revealed. Music writing itself seemed an inscriptive means endowed with non-semantic, mysterious, even transcendent significance … The notated work took on almost magical characteristics, projecting spirit outward in legible form and traversing the distance between musical exegete and composer." Tomlinson, "Musicology, Anthropology, History," 32.

ventional tropes that populated anonymous poetry. Together with the equally conventional figures used to set them to music, those tropes provided the material infrastructure for what Feldman describes as "the new possibilities of print that allowed works to be endlessly reconstituted for commercial dissemination."[6] Through the process of reconstitution, the significance of authorial subjectivity dissolved into the materiality of poem and the performed presence of song. Though this process was endemic to the particular conditions of *cinquecento* Petrarchism, reconstitution had arguably figured already in Petrarch's perspective on his poetry and its relationship with the authorial subject. For this perspective we need look no further than the beginning of the first poem of his *Canzoniere*, "Voi ch'ascoltate":[7]

> Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
> di quei sospiri ond'io nudriva 'l core
> in sul mio primo giovenile errore,
> quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel ch'io sono
>
> You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound
> of those sighs with which I nourished my heart
> during my first youthful error,
> when I was in part another man from what I am now

Petrarch's direct address collapses any temporal or geographic chasm separating him from readers, closing the distance between the sound of the sighs and their written traces, turning readers into listeners. The "scattered rhymes" of the Canzoniere bridge these gaps in place of their absent author. This substitution is worked through the authorial subject who emerges in the following lines, writing about the experience of a past from which he finds himself removed. Like its author, who was "in part another man," the Canzoniere reaches the reader marked by the passage of time and the vagaries of transmission.[8] Thus work and author, relayed through

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[6] Feldman, "Authors and Anonyms," 186-7.

[7] The text and translation follow Durling, ed. and trans., *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 36-7.

[8] My reading of "Voi ch'ascoltate" takes its inspiration in part from Giuseppe Mazzotta, who writes of these lines that the rhyme scheme ("suono"…"sono") "suggests that, for all the poet's efforts to circumvent time and to rise to a selfless realm of temporal stability, the self's being is in time and that being *is* sound. Sound emerges

replicatory chains that both transform and sustain them, converge in the act of publication that enables the directness of Petrarch's address.

The ontology of the work implicit in "Voi ch'ascoltate" thus won replication at the price of transformation.[9] Anxiety about publication's transformative potential is a trope of authorship with an ancient pedigree; yet Petrarch seems instead to recognize publication as the necessary condition of the poem's direct address to the reader, and of the work itself.[10] This gambit paid rich dividends in the later reception of the work: in the reiterative troping of Petrarchist aesthetics, for example, and in the countless settings and performances of his poetry as song. In response to these and other practices that radically fragmented and remediated the *Canzoniere*, however, some readers sought to police the integrity of the work's boundaries. The many discrepancies among the printed editions of the work that flooded the market at the end of the *quattrocento* spurred Pietro Bembo to produce his authoritative Aldine edition of 1501.[11] Straining to hear Petrarch's sighs through the cacophony of dozens of competing editions—to hear them directly, *as they had actually sounded*—the philologically inclined Bembo asserted the priority of an original text over the new material medium.

This history signals again the complicated dialectic between the original and the ge-

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as the acoustic perception of time, as the material audibility of time's arrow in its silent flight." See Mazzotta, *The Worlds of Petrarch*, 145.

[9] This was not an unusual position for the period. As Mary Carruthers writes, "A work of literature was not taught in isolation, as an artifact produced by some person long dead whose intention we must now 'recover,' but as an ever-rolling stream accumulating and adapting over time as it is 'collated' with its multitude of readers." See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 216.

[10] Consider, for example, the advice that Aeneas gives the Cumaean Sibyll in Vergil's *Aeneid* (VI.72-6), which I take to be an admonition to authors, and is translated here by Sarah Ruden: "And for you, my kind guide [i.e. the Sibyl], / I'll raise a great shrine in my land, and put there / Your lots and secret forecasts for my people, / And appoint priests. But do not trust your verses / To leaves that gusts can play with and confuse. / Chant them yourself, please." See Virgil, *The Aeneid*, translated by Sarah Ruden, 119.

[11] On Bembo's edition, and the immediate circumstances in which it was produced, see Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*, especially Ch. 4, "Bembo and His Influence."

neric as it was realized in a Petrarchist discourse of authorship. Many of the direct effects of that discourse on *cinquecento* musical life have been documented amply elsewhere.[12] Emphasis on the discursive effects of Petrarchism has nevertheless obscured the underlying stakes of the ontological conflict between Petrarch's accommodation for, and Bembo's unease with, the material realities of replication. Recalling the example of the Shinto shrine from Chapter One, we can restate that conflict in terms of competing formalist positions. One formalism, the more capacious, invites us to accept the material discontinuities introduced in the shrine's replication as the condition of its historical perpetuation. The other formalism perceives in the present shrine only a new structure, made by contemporary hands, and yearns to see its unaltered, original form.

Similar formalisms were salient to music in the *cinquecento* and early *seicento*, and over the course of this period the balance shifted from the first to the second. In their *Anachronic Renaissance* (2010), Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood identified two principal models that guided the apprehension of historical artifacts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[13] The *substitutional* model, like the first formalism, emphasized interchangeability: according to its terms, an object could be seen both as the artifact of a past historical moment and also as an ersatz for an absent original. Even after many prior substitutions the ersatz could remain equally effective, and the material contingency of the object at hand could be overlooked. Substitutional logic, as Nagel and Wood demonstrate, was implicit in the manufacture of many Medieval and Renaissance artifacts. An icon that depicted the true likeness of Christ, for example, was but one link in a "chain of replicas" that stretched back to its distant origin. No less effective because of its modern manufacture, the truth of the icon's likeness was underwritten

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[12] See, among others, Mace, "Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal" and Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*.

[13] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*.

by the presumed authenticity of the replicatory chain.[14]

The *authorial* model, like the second formalism, privileged the moment of the artifact's fabrication as the site of a singular performance by a skilled individual or workshop. Because the work bore the unique imprint of that performance in its materials, it could not be replicated: there could be no substitute for the original. It was on this ground that Leonardo da Vinci defended the supremacy of painting over other arts: "[The painting] cannot be copied… it does not produce infinite children, as do printed books."[15] This theory of the work's origin proposed the material immediacy of the relationship between author and work, and in doing so it imagined authorship as a kind of temporal operation. According to the authorial model, Nagel and Wood write, "the author intervenes in time by performing a work."[16] The work in this sense forestalls the passage of time by disclosing the authorial agencies that formed it, once and for all, at the time and place of its origin.

Nagel and Wood show that in this period the substitutional and authorial models became a special theme of some artworks, when the competing theories of origin became part of their content.[17] As Leonardo's praise of painting hints, a catalyst for this turn was the stunning proliferation of copies ("infinite children") made available by the medium of print. Print

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[14] On substitution, see Ch. 4 ("What is Substitution?") in Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 29-34.

[15] Quoted in Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 14. The full passage reads: "[The painting] cannot be copied, as happens with letters, where the copy is worth as much as the original. It cannot be cast, as happens with sculpture where the impression is like the original as far as the virtue of the work is concerned. It does not produce infinite children, as do printed books. Painting alone remains noble, it alone honors its author and remains precious and unique and never bears children equal to itself. This singularity makes painting more excellent than those [sciences] which are widely published." The translation follows that of Claire J. Farago in *Leonardo da Vinci's "Paragone*," 186-90. The original text, in Farago's transcription, reads: "[Q]uesta non si coppia, come si fa le lettere, che tanto vale la coppia quanto l'origgine; questa non s'impronta, come si fa scultura della quale tal'è la impressa qual'è la origgine in quanta alla virtude l'opera. Questa no' fa infiniti figlioli, come fa li libra stampati. Questa sola si resta nobile, questa sola onora il suo Autore e resta preziosa e unica e non partorisse mai figlioli eguali a sé. E tal singularita la fa più eccellente che quelle che per tutto sonno publicate."

[16] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 15.

[17] Ibid, 11ff.

rendered the magical efficacy of substitution mechanical and thus revealed plainly the material histories and human labor that had always enabled substitutional logic. To encounter a printed copy of a work was immediately to be confronted with its evident layers of mediation. The copy's status as copy became more visible, and the logic of substitution came under pressure. Nevertheless, the two models remained counterpoised, firmly embedded in what Nagel and Wood deem characteristic features of Renaissance art: its "apprehensiveness about the temporal instability of the artwork, and its recreation of the artwork as an occasion for reflection on that instability."[18] Because the concept of anachronism—which holds that every artifact has a "proper" historical place—is inadequate to explain these phenomena, they propose the more expansive category of the *anachronic* to account for the artwork's dynamic relationship with time.

Petrarch of course had not foreseen the medium of print, which generated countless copies of the *Canzoniere* and at the same time distributed its author-function into a vast and ever-growing network of actors and forces. Even Bembo, in spite of himself, left a strong imprint on the surface of the text: he applied a heavy editorial touch, regularizing and updating Petrarch's language to meet his own needs and tastes.[19] In this way authors, as van Orden writes, "lose their sovereignty when their works are seen as part of the commercial, artistic, and social systems within which print operated."[20] Marketplace pressures in these systems often intensified the transformative action of transmission, forcing the question of their acceptability: at what point had the *Canzoniere* become so altered that it ceased to be? The prosaic realities of print belied what Nagel and Wood call the "ideal model of frictionless transmission" that print

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[18] Ibid, 13.

[19] On Bembo's editorial choices and numerous alterations, see Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 49-52.

[20] Kate van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*, 15.

was (and still sometimes is) often taken to represent.[21] If a printed artifact ideally supplied frictionless access to a textual, visual, or musical work outside of time, transmitted without history, it did so in a form that was all-too-material. Belief in frictionless transmission, then, required overlooking material differences between copies.

Across many media in this period, the primary strategy for postponing confrontation with the paradoxes of print therefore came to be the invoking of authorship, which sanctioned a suspension of one's knowledge of the work's material history long enough to encounter it as if it had none. In music, however, the new medium also made ample space for artifacts that required no such suspension. Their material histories caused no interference with the authorial principle because they had no author, and it was easy to accept their substitution. Among those artifacts were the *arie per cantare*—which I defined heuristically in Chapter One as formulas for extemporizing song that exemplified the application of the song principle—that appeared with increasing frequency in the Italian peninsula and elsewhere across the sixteenth century. These *arie* were not usually understood to be works, because they were not the traces of singular performances by skilled authors.[22] In fact, as I have argued in the preceding chapters, they are better regarded as patterns of musical possibilities that emerged repeatedly in this period from networks of replications. Repeatability and replicability were constitutive parts of their formulaic nature, and the assimilation of *arie* into the work-and-author-centered historiography of music in this period has been achieved only by obscuring their unruly ontologies with a paradigm weighted heavily in favor of the authorial model.

Different abstractions have taken the place of the author-functions and work-concepts that would otherwise have stitched together the histories of *arie*, had they been authored

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[21] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 364.

[22] For an extended account of the uses of the term *aria* during the period in question, see Carter, "'An Air New and Grateful to the Ear': The Concept of 'Aria' in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy."

works.[23] Faced with the material complexities of those histories, modern historians generally try to represent *arie* in their most schematic forms, often by grasping for their origins and thus treating them more like authored works. The heuristic value of schematic representation—as a pedagogical tool, for example, or as a baseline from which to measure individual variation—is evident, and the historians who have written most sensitively about the material diversity of *arie* openly acknowledge its reductive nature. Nevertheless, schematic representation presents two pitfalls. First, it risks conflating a methodological tool—the schematic form—with the historical phenomenon it is meant to represent. Such a conflation can arise either from the familiarity of the representation or the appearance of uniformity when *arie* are seen in some kind of aggregate. Second, schematic representation threatens to obscure the historical conditions that allowed *arie* to be transmitted at all.

Their longevity suggests the importance of moving beyond schematic representation. In doing so we can clarify the varying formalisms that guided the replication of *arie* in the period and also achieve an ontological account of form that understands its long-term stability as the outcome of historical processes, not as the material expression of formal ideal with essential properties. Recent developments in the disciplines of music history (an improvisational turn in Early Music studies) and music theory (the ascendancy of schema theory) have heightened the urgency of this project. Engaging with those developments, this chapter revisits the history of a single *aria*, the *aria di romanesca*, in which converged the information-bearing abstractions of form, genre, and style that the preceding chapters have brought into focus. These were the categories that made the *romanesca* meaningful and recognizable when singers recited *ottave* in its repeating periodic form, supported by a simple chordal style redolent of the villanella, or when instrumentalists embellished upon lute or keyboard intabulations of its patterns. If their performances were often singular, they were also inexorably linked to one another through the

[23] A counterweight to this tendency in the literature is the series of articles on the best-known *arie* for *Grove Music Online*, written by Giuseppe Gerbino and Alexander Silbiger.

chains of substitutions that transmitted the *romanesca*.

Identity

One of the musical examples in the preface to Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (1602) is the fragment of a song, designated "aria di romanesca" in the margin of the page, setting two verses that begin with the words "Ahi dispietato amor" (see Figure 4.1). Its immediate function is to exemplify the proper and judicious employment of the ornaments that the preface is devoted to explaining: this and the following example, Caccini writes, "include all the best ornaments [*affetti*], which can be used for the nobility of this kind of singing."[24] But its value as an example was owed also to the way it modeled the use of such an *aria* to put the virtuosity of Caccini's style in flattering relief. The *romanesca* was especially well suited to this end because Caccini could expect his readers to be familiar with the *aria*, which was widely known at the turn of the seventeenth century. Modern historians have generally attributed "Ahi dispietato amor" to Caccini. Indeed the fragment is listed, without further qualification, among the composer's works in the *New Grove Dictionary*.[25] But what could Caccini claim to have authored here? When his readers encountered the example, how did they reconcile his authorship with the identity of the well-traveled *romanesca*?

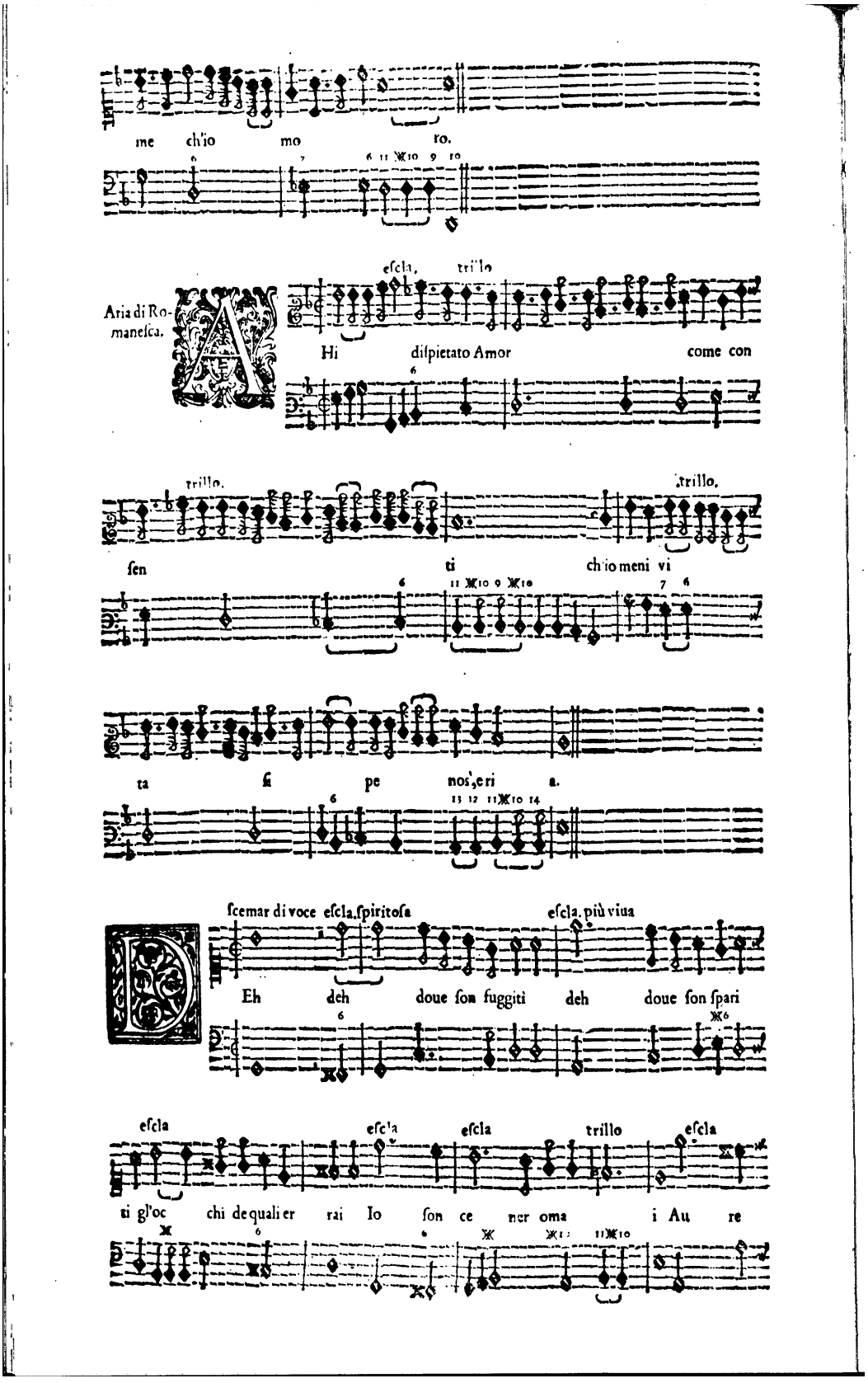
Travel, after all, typically troubles identity by raising ontological questions: Who are you? Where do you come from? In his wide-ranging account of Early Modern techniques of identification, Valentin Groebner has shown how European bureaucrats worked to authenticate the answers they received when they posed these and similar questions.[26] Before the availability

[24] "E perche negli ultimi due versi sopra la parole 'Ahi dispiegato amor' in aria di romanesca, e nel madrigale appresso, 'Deh dove son fuggiti,' sono dentro tutti i migliori affetti, che si possono usare intorno alla nobilità di questa maniera di canti gli ho voluti per ciò descrivere…" Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche*. The translation given here is from H. Wiley Hitchcock's edition of the volume.

[25] See Carter et al., "Caccini."

[26] Groebner, *Who Are You? Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*.

FIGURE 4.1: Giulio Caccini, "Ahi dispietato Amor" (Aria di Romanesca)



of photographic reproduction, identity papers relied heavily on the bearer's perceived resemblance to a verbal description, and this meant that identity was generally more mutable, more contingent, and more easily forged than it is today. Early Modern identity, Groebner notes, was thus much more in keeping with the Medieval Latin coinage of the word—as the logical concept of *identitas*—to mean "the features that various elements of a group [have] in common."[27] Groebner's history of identification draws away from identity in the modern sense toward resemblance, and in particular toward the techniques that people developed for establishing and perceiving it. Identity, seen from this perspective, is not a fixed thing but rather the emergent outcome of a socially mediated process of negotiating resemblance.

"Ahi dispietato amor" bears many features by which savvy readers could have recognized it as a *romanesca*, even if Caccini had not identified it. The fragment's *mollis* system; its two-part periodic structure, arranged so that cadences coincide with the line-endings of two lines from an *ottava stanza*; the pull of the bass line away from, then back toward, its opening and closing pitch of G; the melody's elaborated outline of a scalar descent through the *diapente*, from D to A in the first phrase, and from D to G in the second—in all of these features "Ahi dispietato amor" could have been seen to resemble many other songs based on the "aria di romanesca." Even a cursory survey of other songs composed on the *romanesca*, however, reveals that these features—alone or in combination—were neither necessary nor exclusive properties of its historical identity. We should recognize Caccini's act of naming as significant, therefore, because in bestowing the name *romanesca* on the fragment he invited readers to perceive resemblances that would authenticate an identity—again, an identity grounded in resemblance—when they might not have done so otherwise.[28] The role of naming in the process

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[27] Ibid, 25-6. He takes care to point out that the appropriate New Latin word for one's selfhood was not *identitas* but rather *ipseitas.*

[28] I am grateful to Brian Kane for drawing attention, in private conversation, to the importance of nomination in such situations. Naming plays an important role in Kane's own forthcoming work on the ontology of popu-

of identification might give pause to those who, familiar with many of the same conventions as Caccini's readers, have unearthed the *romanesca* in songs where it was not explicitly named.[29] So widespread is this practice today that it is rarely, if ever, questioned.

Whether or not an instance of identification is plausible, however, the underlying principle of identification depends upon the schematic representations of the *romanesca* that historians have reconstructed by comparing many songs and instrumental pieces bearing the name. And although the appropriate manner of representing of the *romanesca* was the subject of some controversy for much of the second half of the twentieth century, recent opinion has converged around Georg Predota's hypothesis that two parallel traditions met in Italian song at the turn of the seventeenth century.[30] Predota proposed that the controversy over whether the *romanesca* was properly a formula defined by a bass line or a melody had in fact conflated separate histories of transmission of the two—Italian and Spanish, respectively—that were first united (or so he believed) in Caccini's "Ahi dispietato amor."

The melody and bassline tunes fit together in correct two-part counterpoint, as was widely known at the time of Predota's intervention. John Ward had previously combined them in his entry on the *romanesca* in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, and Claude Palisca had transposed this contrapuntal scheme to the G-mollis tonal orientation that was generally characteristic of pieces bearing the name *romanesca* (see Figure 4.2).[31] Despite the evident congruence of the two formulas, however, advocates of each side dug into their insistence that

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lar jazz standards, *Hearing Double: Jazz, Ontology, Auditory Culture*.

[29] The *romanesca* is prominent, for example, among the frameworks in which Susan McClary argues that her concept of the "expansion principle" operated, in songs such as Caccini's "Amarilli, mia bella" and Monteverdi's "Possente spirto." See McClary, *Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music*, especially Ch. 1, "The Expansion Principle."

[30] Predota, "Towards a Reconsideration of the 'Romanesca.'"

[31] See Ward, "Romanesca"; and Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody."

the original identity of the *romanesca* lay in one or the other of the lines, either as melody or bassline. Ward's position was that the *romanesca* was a harmonic framework generated by adding root-position triads above the bass line in Figure 4.2. Palisca, instead, defended the melody as the origin of the *aria*, relying for evidence on comments by the music theorist Vincenzo Galilei. As Predota put the dilemma he strove to resolve, "The basic question remains: do pieces marked 'Aria di Romanesca' use bass formulas, descending melodic formulas, or do these pieces simply rely on a bass-governed scheme of chord progressions?"[32]

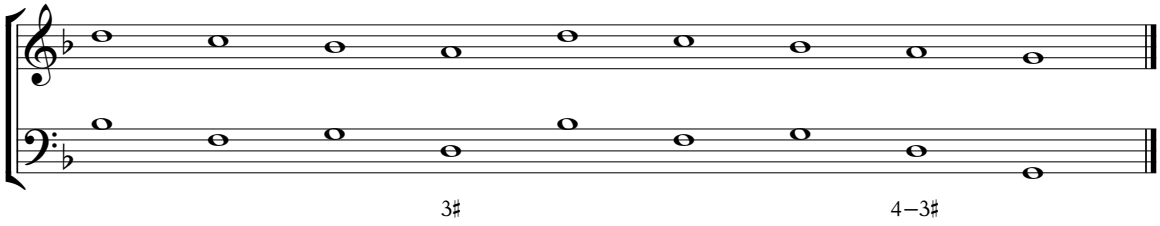
According to Predota, both sides had overlooked the fact that the principal sixteenth-century sources for the *romanesca* generally fell into two categories; therefore, differences between the kinds of sources were at the heart of the controversy. In one category were sources of Iberian provenance or associated with musicians active in the Iberian peninsula, which typically transmitted instrumental pieces designed for virtuosic embellishment in repeating variations. In these pieces the identity of the *romanesca* could be seen to lie in the melody of the upper voice. The other category included sources from the Italian peninsula, which typically transmitted only the bass line. Here Predota oversimplified the picture in distinguishing between the two traditions, since treatises of Italian provenance like Galilei's could readily suggest what Palisca had found: that the identity of the *aria* lay in a melody used to sing *ottave*, so well known it was hardly worth committing to notation on parchment or paper. Nevertheless, Predota's distinction suggested that the two basic positions in the debate merely reflected two materially different local histories of identification.

Subsequent writing on the *romanesca* has not challenged Predota's hypothesis. On the contrary, his ideas have generally found tacit support and the field has largely abandoned the former controversy over the identity of the *aria*.[33] Palisca's two-part G-mollis scheme for the

[32] Predota, "Towards a Reconsideration of the 'Romanesca,'" 94.

[33] For example, although she is (rightly) skeptical of Predota's claim that Caccini's fragment represents the convergence of the two traditions, Rebecca Cypess assumes the rest of his account in her recent article "Artisanship,

Figure 4.2: Claude Palisca's G-mollis scheme for the *romanesca*



aria, meanwhile, has achieved a kind of "textbook" status in the recent secondary literature. In his article on the *romanesca* for *Grove Music Online*, for example, Giuseppe Gerbino reproduces this scheme—albeit idiosyncratically, in a two-flat system—as what he carefully calls a "hypothetical reconstruction of the *romanesca* formula."[34] Although Gerbino's position is equivocal, sometimes seeming to favor "the descant-tune hypothesis," he adopts a tone of judicious catholicism throughout the article, representing a current consensus more inclined to interpretive flexibility than to categorical declarations about the identity of the *romanesca*.[35] This flexibility also characterizes Suzanne Cusick's recent description of the *aria* as "endlessly elastic, transposable to any key, susceptible to almost infinite ornamentation and expansion."[36] Cusick also reproduces the G-mollis scheme, though it sits uneasily with her overall attentiveness to what she describes as the "tension between being and doing" embodied in the elasticity

Imagination, and the Process of Learning."

[34] Gerbino, "Romanesca."

[35] One of the earliest commentators to adopt this position was Alexander Silbiger. As Silbiger wrote in 1976: "There has been much discussion about the exact nature of some of these models—whether they are melodies, basses, or harmonic progressions. I believe that these disagreements stem from a faulty premise—that a composer constructs one of these settings by deliberately writing a variation on a given harmonic or melodic scheme. It seems more likely that he had a general conception of the particular aria abstracted from all the settings with which he was familiar. This conception may indeed include a melodic-harmonic scheme (more or less loosely defined, depending on the particular aria as well as on the period and region in which he was working), but also other features, such as the type of setting, opening formulas, phrasing schemes, rhythmic patterns, stereotyped figurations, tempo, key, and other characteristic elements." Silbiger, *Italian Manuscript Sources of 17th Century Keyboard Music*, 40.

[36] Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court*, 129.

of the *romanesca*.[37]

The tenacity of this particular schematic representation in the recent literature reveals a new consensus about the identity of the *romanesca* in the decades after the turn of the seventeenth-century. This consensus has coalesced around Predota's view that "seventeenth-century monodic composers perceived both [the bass and the melodic] motives as essential components" of the *romanesca*.[38] Recent work on the history of improvised counterpoint, however, throws new light on the relationship between the two motives, and casts doubt on the pride of place Predota accorded to "Ahi dispietato amor" in the history of their combination. For it was hardly a coincidence that the two motives fit together when they met in Caccini's fragment. In his monograph study of the *folìa*, Giuseppe Fiorentino has demonstrated that the schematic bass line historians associate with the *romanesca* arises automatically from the application of simple rules for producing *fauxbourdon* to a stepwise descent through the *diapente*—which also describes the melody of the *romanesca*. These rules are preserved in a late-*quattrocento* treatise by Guilielmus Monachus, and recent scholarship has turned up their signature homophonic style in broad swathes of notated song of the period.[39]

Monachus's formula may be represented, as in Table 4.1, as a series of intervals sung above (or below) a reference pitch from a given melody—in this case, the Tenor—to produce strings of consecutive consonant vertical sonorities. The Altus, for example, may double the reference pitch or sing a third, fifth, or octave above it. Thereafter she must alternate between

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[37] Cusick, Ibid xxv and passim. I discuss Cusick's "tension between being and doing" in more detail below.

[38] Predota, "Towards a Reconsideration of the 'Romanesca,'" 110.

[39] Fiorentino, *La Folìa*. On Monachus, see especially Ch. 8, "El fabordón y el origen de los esquemas armónicos" (Fabordón and the origin of the harmonic frameworks). Albert Seay has published a modern edition of Monachus's *De preceptis artis musicae*, and the text is also available in a translation by Eulmee Park as "De Preceptis Artis Musicae" of Guilielmus Monachus: A New Edition, Translation, and Commentary." On the presence of music apparently generated through this process in the French chanson repertory, see van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*, especially Ch. 5, "Resisting the Press: Performance."

Table 4.1: Fiorentino's Monachus's rules for producing four-voice homophonic counterpoint

	First sonority	Intermediate	Penultimate	Final sonority
Cantus	8	6-6-6-6-6-6…	6	8
Altus	1 (3) (5) (8)	4-3-4-3-4-3…	4	1 (3) (5) (8)
Tenor	1	1	1	1
Bassus	1 (8)	5-3-5-3-5-3…	5	1 (8)

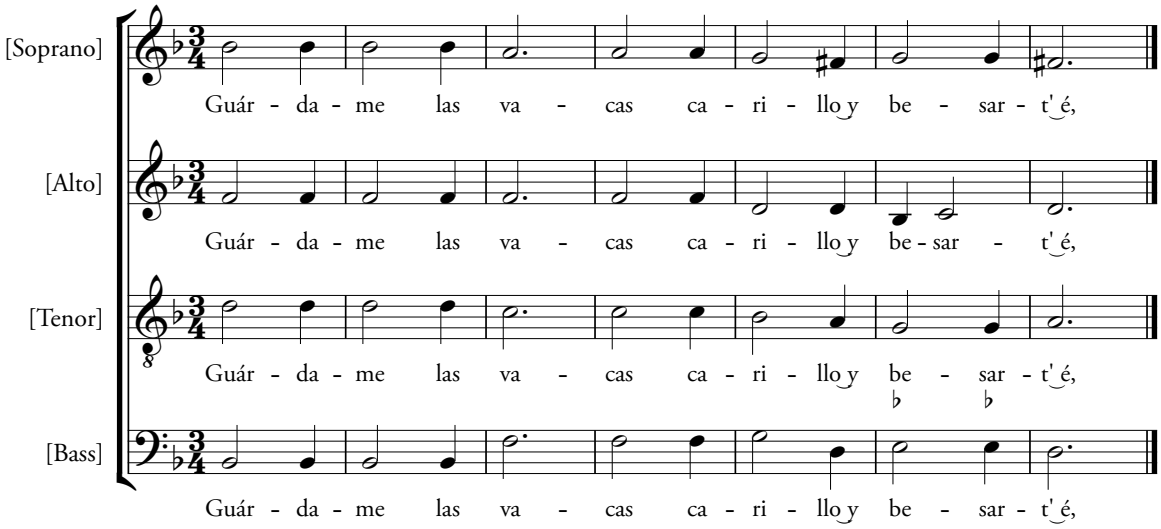
singing a fourth and a third above the reference pitch, until the penultimate sonority, when she sings a fourth above the reference pitch. For the final sonority, she may again double the reference pitch or else she may sing a third, fifth, or octave above it.

Given the commonplace nature of a melodic stepwise descent through the *diapente* and the widespread use of Monachus's rules to produce homophonic counterpoint, Predota' assertion that Caccini "created a completely new form of the *romanesca*" is implausible.[40] The contention is tenable only if each of the motives is understood to have been the "essential component" of its own sixteenth-century tradition. Each motive may well have figured differently in different lines of transmission, but this hardly constitutes evidence that either one was ever considered to be the sole "essential component" of the *aria*. On the contrary, stepping away from surviving notated sources suggests the possibility of more fluid conceptions of its identity—and more complex techniques of identification—in both Italian and Iberian contexts. There is no reason to believe that either of the voices represented in Figure 4.1 was the exclusive sign by which the *romanesca* was identified. To the right observer, the presence of one motive could well have implied the other even in its absence.

The two lines had also appeared together in *romanesche* published long before 1602. This is true, for example, of the vihuela intabulation of the popular song "Guárdame las vacas," identified as a *romanesca* in Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros de música* (1546), one of Predota's

[40] Predota, "Towards a Reconsideration of the 'Romanesca,'" 90.

Example 4.1: Flecha's four-voice version of "Guárdame las vacas," mm. 1-7



principal examples from the Iberian tradition.[41] Allowing for transposition, the lowest voice of that intabulation closely resembles the bass line of the G-mollis scheme. However, Predota minimizes the significance of this example in joining the two elements later found in Caccini's *romanesca* on the ground that "this accompaniment should be considered a more or less inevitable harmonization of this type of melody."[42] But this is exactly the point emerging from recent studies of extemporaneous practices. Since the harmonization was "inevitable" only insofar as it was the outcome of applying certain rules for generating four parts from a given tune, it shows how the *romanesca* itself could have emerged from a network of living, changing practices. The tune of "Guárdame las vavas"—a descent though the diapente—thus presents an important case study: in part because it was often subjected to such a process, and in part because it complicates the picture Predota drew of two traditions.

As Fiorentino observes, the tune frequently found its way into Iberian sources, primar-

[41] Predota refers to the song as "O guardame las vacas," but the full designation in Mudarra's print is better rendered as "Romanesca, or Guardame las vacas."

[42] Predota, Ibid, 91.

ily as a vehicle for the virtuosic embellishments known as *diferencias*.[43] It had also appeared as a four-part song in Mateo Flecha's *La viuda* (ca. 1539), with the diapente descent in the Tenor, and a bass line that again resembles that of the G-mollis scheme of the *romanesca* (see Example 4.1). Here, too, the song's simple homophonic harmonization could well have been derived from Monachus's formula for extemporizing a four-voice texture.[44] But unlike Mudarra's intabulated "Guárdame las vacas" from 1546, this version is nowhere identified as a *romanesca*. In fact, examining settings of "Guárdame las vacas" in general, Mudarra's identification of that tune with the *romanesca* turns out to have been highly unusual; Fiorentino speculates that the identification could have represented an attempt to establish a Spanish origin for the *aria*.[45] In the event, the most important function of Mudarra's designation, whatever else it achieved, was to note a resemblance between "Guárdame las vacas" and the *romanesca*—that is, to establish their identity.

This similarity between "Guárdame las vacas" and the *romanesca* was not lost on at least one shrewd mid-century observer, the music theorist Francisco de Salinas, but it led him to distinguish strongly between the Spanish song and the *aria*. The topic arose for Salinas as an exemplification of remarks on meter in his *De musica libri septem* (1577). There he explained that the difference between two meters—trochaic, consisting of three minims, and ionian, of three semibreves—could be understood as "the same as the difference between the Spanish song 'Las vacas' and that which in Rome is called '*Stantia romanescha.*'"[46] As Fiorentino reports, Salinas further refined this distinction, attributing it to the association of each song with

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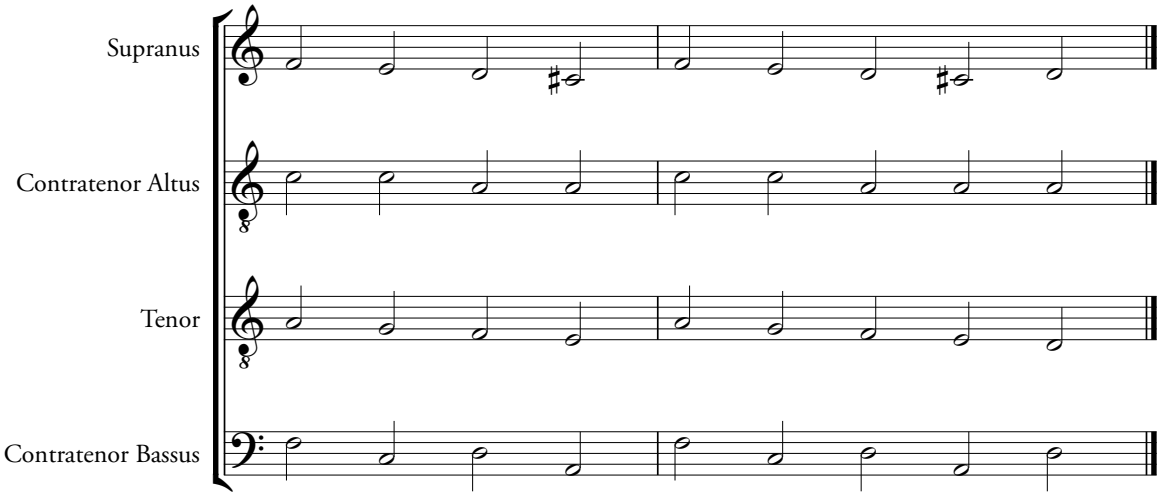
[43] Fiorentino, *La Folía*, 155; for a list of examples see 155-6.

[44] Ibid, 156.

[45] Ibid, 159.

[46] "Es la misma diferencia que existe entre la música del canto español Las vacas y el que se canta en Roma llamado *Stantia romanescha*." Quoted in Fiorentino, *La Folía*, p. 159. The translation is my own. There are echoes here of Zarlino's ascription of a strong metric identity to *arie*, which I discuss below.

Example 4.2: Fiorentino's harmonization of a descent through the diapente, after Monachus



different types of poetic meter:[47]

> Salinas suggests that the melody of "Las vacas" and of the *romanesca* belong, respectively, to Spanish and Italian (namely Roman) traditions, and that the melody of the Spanish tradition is always connected with the text of the villancico "Guárdame las vacas," whereas the Roman melody was used for reciting "Stantia" (i.e. *stanze*). As an example of the text of the *romanesca* Salinas provides a single *endecasillabo*—that is, the typical meter of lyric and popular poetry in Italy. Meanwhile, the lines of the refrain of "Las vacas" are of six syllables. Hence derives another fundamental difference between "Las vacas" and the *romanesca,* concerning the relation between music and text: the melodic-harmonic framework accommodates two poetic lines in the case of "Las vacas," and a single line in the case of the *romanesca*.

Like Predota, then, Salinas distinguished between Italian and Spanish traditions; unlike Predota, however, he carefully assigned the name *romanesca* only to the former. Fiorentino, although he notes that "Guárdame las vacas" and the *romanesca* appear to share what he calls

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[47] "Además, Salinas sugiere que la melodía de 'Las vacas' y de la *Romanesca* pertenecen respectivamente a la tradición musical española e italiana (de Roma) y que la melodía de la tradición española está siempre relacionada con el texto del villancico "Guárdame las vacas," mientras que la melodía romana sirve para entonar 'Stantia' ('estrofas'). Salinas propone como ejemplo de texto de *Romanesca* un verso endecasílabo, o sea el metro típico de la poesía lírica y popular en Italia. Por otro lado, los versos del estribillo de Las vacas son de seis sílabas. De aquí deriva otra diferencia fundamental entre Las vacas y la *Romanesca* por lo que se refiere a la relación entre música y texto: el esquema armónico-melódico sirve para poner en música dos versos poéticos en el caso de Las vacas y un sólo verso poético en el caso de la Romanesca." The translation is my mine. Fiorentino, *La Folía*, p. 159.

a "melodic-harmonic framework" (*esquema armónico-melódico*) whose roots lay in extemporization, follows Salinas in drawing a firm line between "Las vacas," as a theme used by Spanish musicians for their instrumental *diferencias*, and the *romanesca*, used by Italian musicians as an *aria* for reciting poetry in *endecasillabi*.

In all of these approaches, modern historians concerned with the identity of the *romanesca* have generally shared an overriding concern for its geographic and chronological origin. According to Predota, the *romanesca* had two original forms and thus two points of origin, which then converged in "Ahi dispietato amor" as a single form with a new point of origin. Apart from placing the *romanesca* squarely in the Italian tradition, Fiorentino has taken a radically different tack, locating its origin not at a knowable time and place, but in the technique described by Monachus applied to a descent through the *diapente* (see Example 4.22). Fiorentino writes that "if it is not possible to establish the existence of an originary model and [trace] its diffusion through time and geographic space, there is another possibility: to find the origin of these frameworks [e.g. the *romanesca*] in a process of composition."[48] This is hardly an origin in the usual sense, since it is an abstraction outside of time and geography, a formally regulated process to be repeated in many times and places.

Fiorentino's approach begins to account for the stability of form that allows us to recognize affinities between Mudarra's intabulation of "Guárdame las vacas" and Caccini's fragment. Although the rules for producing *fauxbourdon* were only sparsely documented in written sources like Monachus's treatise, their dissemination was probably far more widespread than such evidence would suggest.[49] Yet the material differences among the many songs and in-

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[48] "Si non es posible establecer la existencia de un modelo originario y su difusión a través del tiempo y del espacio geográfico, queda otra posibilidad: encontrar el origen de estos esquemas en un proceso de composición." The translation is mine. Fiorentino, *La Folía*, p. 169. For the derivation of the *romanesca* in particular, see p. 178.

[49] This is an important finding of Philippe Canguilhem's "Singing Upon the Book According to Vicente Lusitano." As Canguilhem shows, virtually any musician of the period with a modicum of formal training would

strumental pieces based on the *romanesca* that appeared during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demand further explanation, since they indicate that the technique of *fauxbourdon* cannot have been the only mechanism by which it was transmitted. Important, too, were the acts of identification through which communities negotiated and established the identity of the *aria*, and the process of replication by which the resemblances they perceived then passed from one *romanesca* to another. Many parameters were involved in its identification and replication, such as abstract categories of form, genre, and style that included, but were not reducible to, the kinds of pitch relationships generated by Monachus's formula.

All of these categories came together in Caccini's identification of "Ahi dispietato amor," and made the song's identification as a *romanesca* plausible. This was thanks to its resemblance to other examples of the *aria*: that it sets the beginning of an *ottava stanza* (a resemblance of genre) to a two-part descent through the *diapente* (form), supported by a bass line and implicit harmonization that evoked the manner of extemporized song (style) all supported the identification. But we should be careful not to regard these features of "Ahi dispietato amor" as manifesting an essential identity, although they had long since become part of widespread agreement in the broader musical community about how to identify the *romanesca*. Disputed examples like Mudarra's intabulation of "Guárdame las vacas" suggest that resemblance, and thus identity, was always subject to negotiation.

The conflicting modern accounts of the identity of the *romanesca* I have surveyed here betray discomfort with the tension between contingency and convention that arises from juxtaposing artifacts at once as similar and dissimilar as Caccini's fragment and Mudarra's intabulation. In the sixteenth century, however, notwithstanding Salinas's distinction between the *romanesca* and the "Las vacas" tune, contingency did not generally compromise or threaten the identity of the *aria*. On the contrary, contingency is better regarded as a constitutive feature of

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have been fluent in this or other, closely related techniques of extemporizing multi-voice counterpoint."

the *aria* concept in general, at least before the strong authorial interventions in the tradition after the turn of the seventeenth century. Until then, the identity of the *romanesca* could not be reduced to the schematic representations that have preoccupied modern scholars—they had at most a tenuous place in sixteenth-century conceptions of the *aria*. Instead, sixteenth-century observers understood the *romanesca* primarily according to a substitutional logic, which supported hearing every iteration both as a materially contingent performance, and as an *aria* with a fathomless history.

Meanwhile, the lingering question of Caccini's authorship of "Ahi dispietato amor"—what exactly had he composed?—remains for now partly unsettled. We may of course assume that Caccini had supplied the ornaments that were meant to exemplify his style in *Le nuove musiche*. In these details we can recognize signature aspects of an authorial performance. Insofar as it indexes that performance, therefore, "Ahi dispietato amor" is not entirely out of place among the other items in the list of Caccini's works in the *New Grove*. Yet the features of its form that made it identifiable as a *romanesca* cannot be attributed exclusively to Caccini. Instead we might see the form as having acted on and through him, as having afforded the space for an authorial performance. That "Ahi dispietato amor" appears neither authorless nor authored, neither timeless nor punctual, suggests a transitional moment in the history of the *romanesca*, when the balance between substitutional and authorial models readjusted.

Substitution

Whatever its status as an authored work, "Ahi dispietato amor" affords a glimpse of the formalism that guided Caccini as he replicated the *romanesca*. That formalism, in turn, was constrained in part by a sixteenth-century sung tradition he knew well. Modern knowledge of the sung tradition, meanwhile, has had to lean heavily on sources like "Ahi dispietato amor" and on the formalisms of later figures like Caccini, because virtually all of the notated sources

of the *romanesca* from the sixteenth century are not songs but instrumental intabulations. The resemblance of Caccini's fragment to those intabulations attests to the formal efficacy of the *aria* across generic borders. Despite the mainly instrumental sources, however, abundant testimony from the period reveals that the *romanesca* was conceived, even in this early phase of its history, as a category of song with specific poetic associations. Such a conception was evident, for example, in the connections that Salinas drew between what he identified as the "Las vacas" and *romanesca* melodies and the prosody of the poetry they were used to sing.

The principle of a connection between melody and poetic prosody generally figured in sixteenth-century descriptions of *arie*. Zarlino pointed to such a connection in passing in *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), when he sought a modern analogue to explain the ancient Greek *nomoi*: "the melody consisted of a certain mode (*modo*) or *aria di cantare*, as we would now say, such as the airs on which we now sing the sonnets or *canzoni* of Petrarch or the *rime* of Ariosto."[50] Others, referring specifically to the *romanesca*, could be more granular in their generic distinctions. Two manuscripts copied around mid-century for the French court, for example, transmit a poem by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, "Pour m'esloingner et changer de contrée," with the following rubric: "this, taken from Ariosto, is for reciting to the lute or guitar with the song they call the *romanesca*, which is a repeat for each set of two verses."[51] As much as any sixteenth-century mention of the *romanesca*, its cameo here confirms again the historical depth of its association with the *ottave rime* of Ariosto's epic poetry.

That association would otherwise be difficult to discern from the notated sixteenth-century sources of the *romanesca* as they have been passed down to us, but it was hardly lost on

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[50] Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558). The translation here follows that of Marco and Palisca in *The Art of Counterpoint: Part III of Le istitutioni harmoniche*, pp. 184-5. Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558). The translation here follows that of Marco and Palisca in *The Art of Counterpoint: Part III of Le istitutioni harmoniche*." Zarlino continues: "these airs cannot be changed or altered in any particular from their determined meter, or they would offend the ear, just as we are disturbed if the meter in a dance is even slightly altered."

[51] "Cecy, pris d'Ariosto, est pour réciter sur le luth ou guiterre avec le chant qu'on appelle *Romanesque* qui est

Caccini and his contemporaries. After the turn of the century, the *romanesca* was clearly a popular vehicle for monodic settings of *ottave* like "Ahi dispietato amor," and such settings were often more elaborate—more deliberately composed—than Caccini's stripped-down fragment. The longevity of the association should make the discrepancy between the sources from the two periods seem all the more surprising.

Why are there so few notated musical sources connecting the *romanesca* with *ottava rima* from the years before 1600, and so many thereafter? The answer cannot simply be that the association had suddenly grown stronger, since it was already sufficiently widespread at mid-century to reach the attention of writers as far removed from one another—and from the Italian peninsula—as Francisco de Salinas and the anonymous scribe who added the rubric to the poem by Saint-Gelais. Despite the formal continuities bridging the two periods, something subtler about the conception of the *romanesca* changed: the balance shifted from a substitutional to an authorial ontology.

Nagel and Wood, whose terminology I am adopting to describe that shift, do not maintain that the substitutional or the authorial model never operated exclusively, or that one simply gave way to the other over the course of the Renaissance.[52] In their view the tension between the two models achieved new significance in conjunction with the institutionalization of the artistic author—a situation, as I have already outlined, which had clear analogues in music. Although neither model was new in the Renaissance, the conflict between their respective theories of the work's origin thereafter rose to the level of content: in and after the Renaissance, they write, "the mark of the artwork was its capacity to test the models and at the same time

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une redite de deux vers un deux vers." Quoted and translated by Brooks in "Catherine de Mecicis," 428.

[52] "Such an argument would reproduce a traditional account of Renaissance art as an emancipation of the artist from mindless submission to custom, an account sketched out already by the sixteenth-century historian Giorgio Vasari, who asserted that in the Middle Ages artists were content to copy one another and only with Giotto did they stop copying and begin attending to nature." Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 16.

continue to function as a work underwritten by one or another of these models."[53] Artworks accordingly became more engaged with their own temporality as *works*, with their relationships to their makers, and with their mediation or their putative immediacy. A symptom of this engagement, paradoxically, was that the substitutional model stood out, whereas before it had simply been implicit in the manufacture of many kinds of artifacts.

This development is witnessed even in painting, which Leonardo celebrated as the authorial medium *par excellence*. Renaissance painters were acutely aware that style could be manipulated to index a particular historical time or place, and they sometimes used this power to great rhetorical effect. The awareness was not straightforward authenticity-to-the-times, but instead allowed painters of historical scenes to exploit anachronism, as if to acknowledge the complicated temporal operations of a work tasked both with being a faithful depiction of the past and with being an artifact of modern authorial creation. As an example of ambivalent historical positioning, Nagel and Wood offer Vittore Carpaccio's *St. Augustine in His Study*, completed around 1503 (see Figure 4.3).[54] At first blush, the painting seems to depict Augustine at a precise moment in historical time: the interruption of his writing by the voice of the just-deceased St. Jerome.[55] Students of the painting have long understood, however, that closer examination reveals a more complicated temporal dynamic.

Carpaccio's finely tuned attention to contingency in the painting's details—the long shadows, the hand poised above the page, the alert dog, the fluttering leaves of the codices on the floor—declares an imagined fidelity to the original scene. These details confront us

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[53] Nagel and Wood, Ibid, 17.

[54] Nagel and Wood, Ibid, Ch. 4, "An Antique Statue of Christ."

[55] The legendary scene the painting depicts was originally recounted in an apocryphal letter by Augustine. As Nagel and Wood write, it would have been well known to many viewers in *cinquecento* Venice, where the letter was often reprinted. Ibid, 35.

FIGURE 4.3: Vittore Carpaccio, *St. Augustine in His Study*

with the precision of what Nagel and Wood call "the momentariness of that moment."[56] It happened thus. Yet Carpaccio also depicted Augustine's study as if it belonged to a modern Venetian scholar. Presented in just as much, if not greater detail, the objects surrounding Augustine would have possessed the casual familiarity of the everyday for many of the painting's early viewers. Although they participated in a scene from the distant past, the furniture, instruments, and other accoutrements scattered about the room point us back again to the historical world of the painting's manufacture. Carpaccio's painting may have been a disguised portrait, and plausible candidates have been proposed for the identity of the sitter: perhaps, as many have argued, he was the *quattrocento* humanist Basilios Bessarion.[57] Whoever he was, the painting does not force a choice between the two possibilities, but rather permits viewers to see the figure either way—as Augustine, or as his avatar—or both ways at once.

This double identity is salient to the temporal effect of the work. By staging a series of manifestly anachronistic collisions, the painting invites recognition of the authorial performance it preserves as well as the Augustinian moment it represents. Carpaccio made it thus. In Nagel and Wood's reading of *St. Augustine in His Study*, however, there is more to the painting's engagement with its own temporality than Carpaccio's manipulation of style. One of the objects in the study, they note, is unlike the other anachronisms. At the painting's center, standing on an altar in the rear of the study, is a bronze portrait statue of Christ. Although this statue, like the other objects, was of modern fabrication—it survives today in the Museo Poldo Pezzoli in Milan—Carpaccio and his contemporaries perceived it as an authoritative and effective replica of a long-lost cult object described by Eusebius and other writers of late

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[56] Ibid, 36.

[57] On the identity of the sitter, see Branca, "Ermolao Barbaro e l'Umanesimo Veneziano"; Perocco, "La scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni"; Gentili, "Carpaccio e Bassarione"; and Brown, "Sant'Agostino nello Studio di Carpaccio: un ritratto nel ritratto?"

antiquity.[58] Many viewers would have known that the statue was fashioned somewhere in the Veneto in the 1490s, yet in the depth of its fidelity to the descriptions of the ancient artifact they saw it to be as good as the original. Already by 1500, in fact, the statue had generated a burgeoning tradition of copies.

The bronze statue of Christ is unlike the other anachronisms, then, because a viewer looking at Carpaccio's painting could plausibly have imagined that it had really sat in Augustine's study. Like a relic, it provided a tangible material link to an otherwise irretrievable moment in the past. Thus, in Nagel and Wood's reading, the statue supplies the focal point of the painting's "clash of temporalities." The substitutional model of the historicity of form that the statue's efficacy depends upon stands out in relief against the authorial model, which would regard the object instead as a modern anachronism. This conflict is not resolved, but turns back onto the painting, which invites reflection upon its own anachronic nature.[59] Despite the painting's staging of their "conceptual interference," the substitutional and authorial principles are both operative in *St. Augustine in His Study*, and the plural temporality the picture limns "becomes a fundamental feature of the work of art in the modern period."[60]

The category of the anachronic, which Nagel and Wood introduce to account for the complex dynamic of the work's temporality, has a distinctly songish quality. Although Nagel and Wood do not write about music directly, they offer the transmission of "nondocumentary

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[58] Here my description closely follows Nagel and Wood, Ibid, 40-44.

[59] "From one point of view, the painted statue is the lost and absent original, the nonexistent original, that the modern Italian statue reinstantiates. From another point of view, the statue is simply an anachronism, that is, a citation of a modern work that makes a bad fit in an historical scene. By holding both points of view open, the painting becomes something like an anatomical model, revealing the inner workings of picture-making. The painting proposes as the resolution of the predicament a new, or at least newly institutionalized, function for pictures: staging itself. Pictures like Carpaccio's become places where competitive models of the historicity of form can be juxtaposed, places of impossibility, of critical reflection and nonresolution." Nagel and Wood, Ibid, 44.

[60] Ibid, 44.

verbal texts" as an example of "perfect substitutability"—and with only slight qualification we might find ready analogues among musical works.[61] Textual transmission was hardly as seamless as Nagel and Wood imagine it to have been when they write that "the force of an old poem did not depend on the literal antiquity of the page it was written on." In fact, the foundational premise of humanist philological method was that not all copies of a text were equal: some afforded better access to the text than others. This premise also stood behind Bembo's Aldine edition of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, which claimed to present an authoritative version of the text amidst the crowd of compromised competitors. The enduring potency of that collection may not have depended always upon the antiquity of the page, but it certainly required complex negotiations between the work's antiquity and the novelty of its representations—many of which were sung.

Among the many anachronistic objects in Augustine's study are two precisely notated pieces of music, otherwise unknown, in the lower right-hand-corner of the foreground (see Figure 4.4). One piece, in four voices, spreads across the opening of an oblong quarto codex, resting on a lectern near Augustine's feet; the other, in three voices laid out on a single loose leaf, nearly bursts out of the painting at the very edge of the frame. Neither piece has a discernible text, apart from the word "Deus" at the beginning of the one in four voices. Edward Lowinsky thought that the melody of this piece "brings to mind the sound and structure of the hymns attributed to St. Ambrose"—an appropriate fit for Augustine's study, given the close connection between the two saints—and speculatively underlaid the text of a particular hymn, "Deus creator omnium."[62] Had Augustine known this hymn, it would not have been in the modern mensural notation of the late Renaissance that Carpaccio has copied here. In

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[61] Ibid, 31.

[62] Lowinsky, "Epilogue: the Music in 'St. Jerome's Study,'" 300. Lowinsky transcribes both pieces on 299. On the two pieces in the painting, see also Cesari, "Le Origini del Madrigale Cinquecentesco." Gustave Reese briefly mentions the pieces as well in *Music of the Renaissance*, 167.

Figure 4.4: Vittore Carpaccio, *St. Augustine in His Study*, detail

this sense, the music in Augustine's study is like most of the other modern objects: simply one anachronism among many in Carpaccio's virtuosic manipulation of historical styles.

But the music may have more in common with the bronze statue of Christ than with the other artifacts whose fabrication was manifestly modern. In the first place, Lowinsky's reading has anachronic implications. If the painting's earliest viewers understood the music's origin to have been roughly coeval with the depicted historical scene, as would have been the case if they saw the four-voice piece as an authentic Ambrosian hymn, then the notation merely rendered legible to modern eyes a form far older than the medium of its transmission. Like the statue, its inscription here could have been deemed just as effective as the original. In its putative antiquity, the four-voice piece might thus have contrasted sharply with the three-voice piece: Lowinsky, like Gaetano Cesari before him, thought that the three-voice piece resembles the style of Italian vernacular song current around 1500. The "clash of temporalities" between the sacred timelessness of the one piece and the secular modernity of the other would point yet again to the anachronic dynamic at the heart of Nagel and Wood's reading of the painting,

with musical inscription as a cipher for its medium.

More significant than the surface-level differences on which Lowinsky's sacred-secular distinction turned is a general stylistic register the two pieces share (see Examples 4.3 and 4.4).[63] Both employ the kind of smoothly consonant homophony that was most often favored by those who sought modern analogues for the long-lost but celebrated musical practices of antiquity. Although neither appears to been derived directly from Monachus's rules for *fauxbourdon*, they share, like the *arie* and *strambotti* in Ottaviano Petrucci's fourth book of *frottole* (see Chapter 1), their idiom with music thus generated. Such music, as Giovanni Zanovello writes of Petrucci's repertory, "offered a cultural surplus through its roots in improvisation, which in turn allowed one to recontextualize it imaginatively with reference to the ancient world."[64] It was not difficult, in other words, for some of Carpaccio's contemporaries to imagine that music heard every day in the Italian peninsula around 1500—especially music of the kind represented here—supplied a plausible formal link back to Augustine's world. Like the bronze statue, the music in the foreground suggests the endurance of substitutional thinking, and hints that the power to fold time did not belong to images alone.

Throughout the *cinquecento* the *romanesca*, too, bore close association with a form of improvisation that similarly lent itself to substitutional conception. The logic of substitution still underpinned the way Vincenzo Galilei wrote about the *romanesca* toward the end of the century. Although Galilei's comments have played a role in debates about the identity of the *romanesca* since Claude Palisca drew attention to them more than fifty years ago, the full implications of the ontological position they assumed have not been sufficiently recognized.[65] Before

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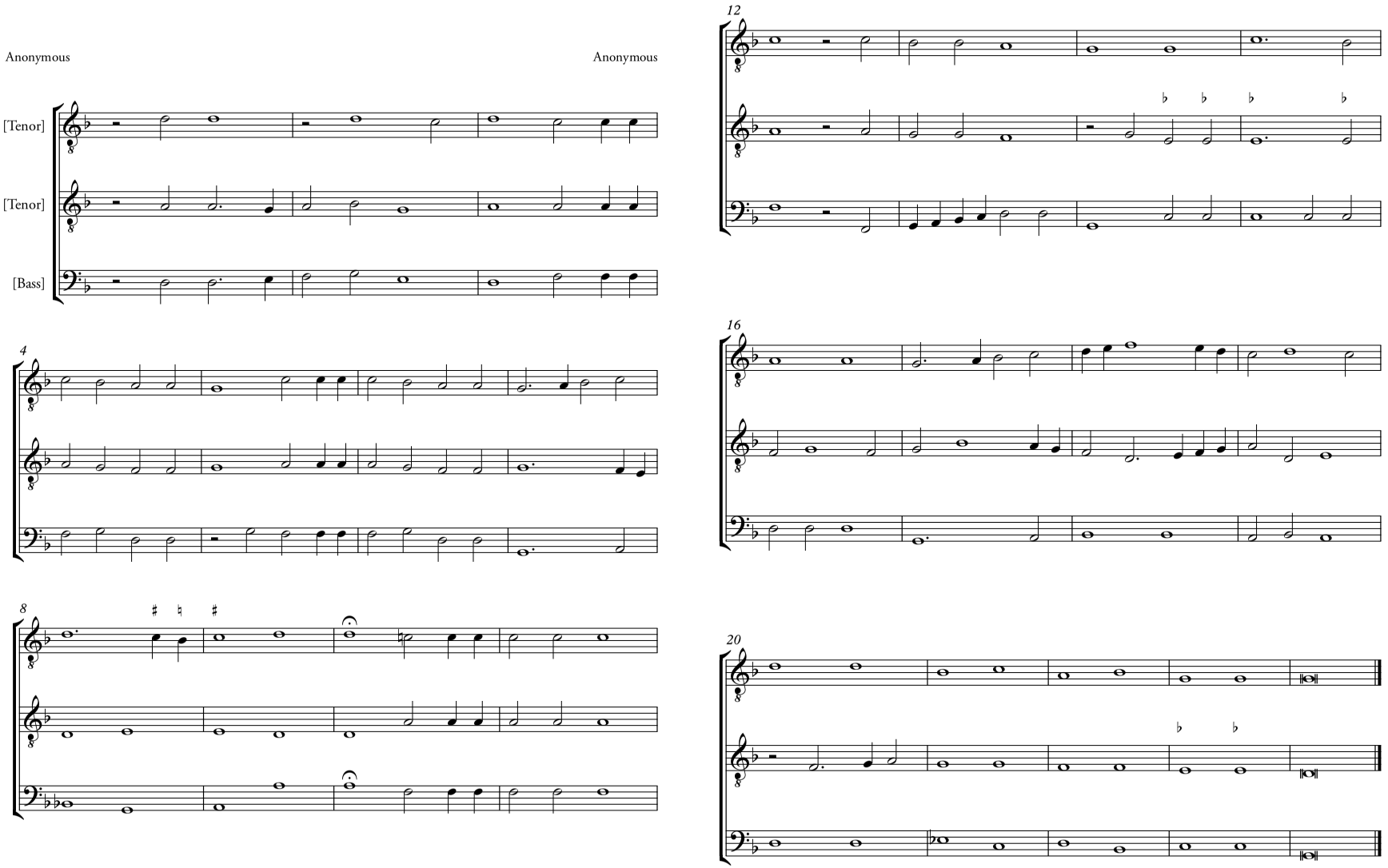
[63] The notation is not legible in digital reproductions of the painting. For my editions of these two items I have relied on the transcription prepared for Lowinsky's brief article by a Helen I. Roberts. For more details see Lowinsky's remarks in "Epilogue."

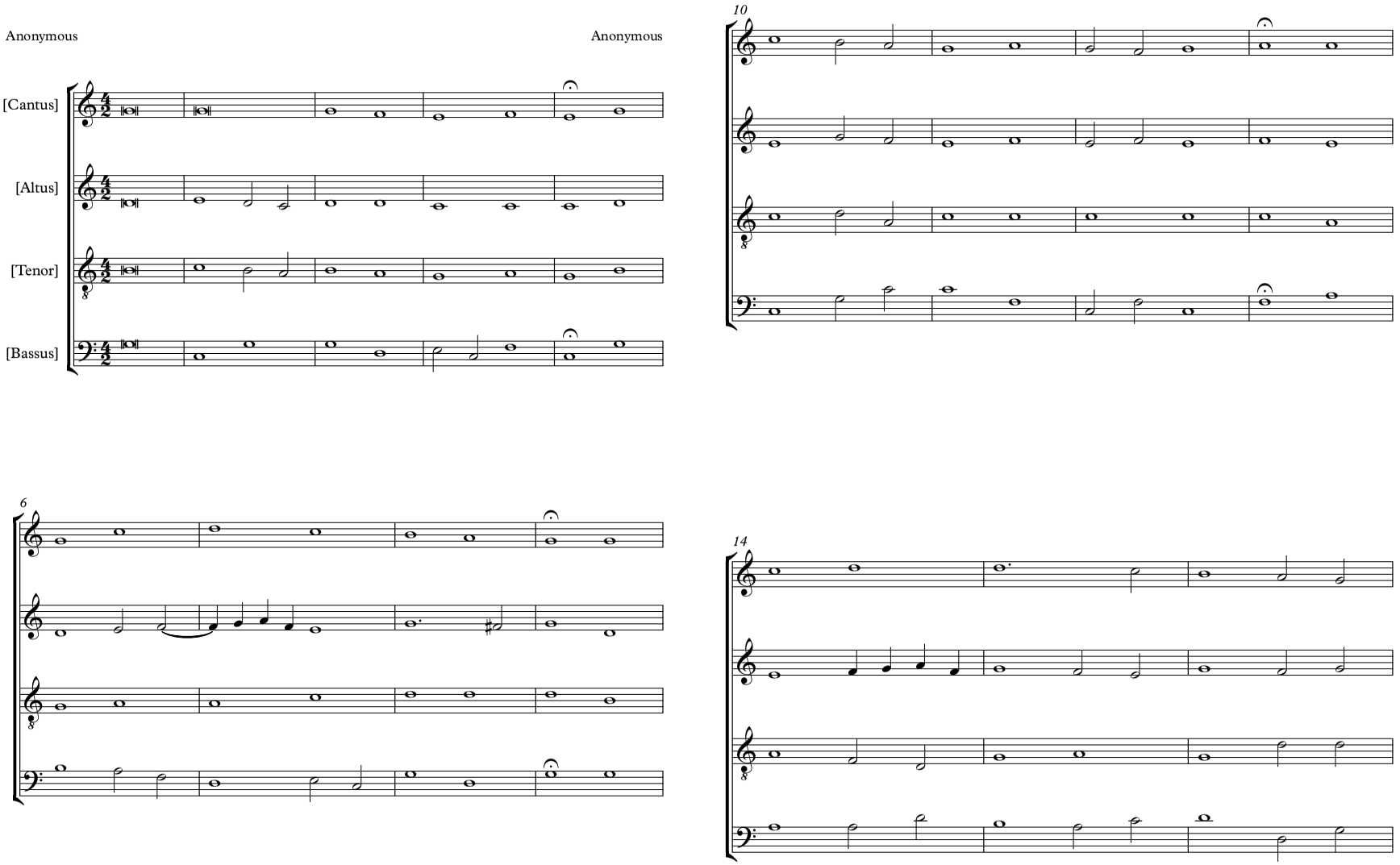
[64] Zanovello, "'You Will Take This Sacred Book': The musical strambotto as a learned gift," 25.

[65] Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody."

Example 4.3: Three-voice polyphony in Vittore Carpaccio's *St. Augustine in His Study*



Example 4.4: Untexted four-voice polyphony in Vittore Carpaccio's *St. Augustine in His Study*



his death in 1591, Galilei had been refining three essays that are preserved in the holograph manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MSS Galileiani, Anteriori a Galileo, Vols. I-III.[66] In the first two essays, Galilei elaborated on the harmonic principles he had advocated in his *Dialogo della Musica Antica et della Moderna* (1581), and demonstrated their practical application. The third essay, "Dubbi intorno a quanto io ho detto dell'uso dell'enharmonio con la solutione di essi," is a shorter supplement to the first and is chiefly devoted to the subject of melodic composition in the manner of the ancients.

In the third essay Galilei commented on the *romanesca*. Marveling at the efficacy of ancient song, despite what he believed to be the severe limitations of its basic musical means, Galilei cited the example of the singer Olympus the Mysian, a shadowy, quasi-mythical figure whom Aristoxenus and other ancient writers credited with various innovations, including the invention of the enharmonic genus.[67] The songs of Olympus possessed a compass of merely four notes, or so Galilei understood, yet they were no less powerful for this constraint. With anachronic dexterity, Galilei then observed that the principle of melodic composition within a limited range found abundant support in his own time:[68]

It is evident that still today many of [our] *arie* neither reach nor extend beyond

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[66] Modern editions of both essays are published in Rempp, ed., *Die Kontrapunkttraktate Vincenzo Galileis*.

[67] On Olympus, see Anderson and Mathieson, "Olympus the Mysian."

[68] The full passage, with the quoted passage italicized, reads: "Quanto poi che le dette suo arie non ricercassero piu di tre o quattro corde e voci, neanco questo repugnerà a quanto io ho detto sempre che la cosa sia intesa nel vero suo sentimento: *attesto che ancora hoggi molte delle mostrate arie o non aggiungono, o non trapassano la quantità di sei corde; come sarebbe per esempio la parte del soprano di Come t'haggio lasciato vita mia, ti parti cor mio caro, la brunettina mia, la pastorella si leva per tempo, l'aria commune della terza rima, quella della romanesca, et nelle altre; il soprano delle quali che è quello che dà principalmente loro l'aria, quando bene anco cantasse in consonanza con sei et otto altri*; non passa oltre la detta quantità di corde, et se cotali arie poggi, composte impensatamente senza veruna sorta di limitationi, ma secondo la voglia libera del compositore sono tali quali io dico; quanto ha del verisimile che fossero cosi fatte quelle degl'antichi composte da uomini di tanto valore et con tanto considerazioni, et di piu professori di fare, che quella parte la qual dava l'aria a tutta la cantilena, ricercasse pochissime corde." See Rempp, ed., *Die Kontrapunkttraktate Vincenzo Galileis*, 181-2. My translation takes some cues from Palisca's, in "Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody," but departs in a number of details.

> six [notes]; thus it is, for example, in the soprano part of "Come t' haggio lasciato vita mia," "Ti par cor mio caro," "La brunettini mia," "La pastorella si leva per tempo," and the common *aria* of *terza rima*, that of the *romanesca*, and in others; the soprano of which is what principally gives them their *aria*, even when sung in harmony with six or eight others.

Although he knew it was of his time, Galilei recognized in this potpourri of well-known, authorless music a residual formal quality from antiquity. Nagel and Wood suggest of Carpaccio's bronze statue that the resistance it has presented to attribution could well be a clue that authorlessness was "built into this work from the start, as part of its claim to antiquity."[69] Authorlessness similarly eased the substitution of the *arie* Galilei cited, because their modernity was ambiguous in a way that was unavailable to authored works, which were more securely anchored in time by the performances that made them. Even if they had not survived directly from antiquity, their resemblance to the songs of Olympus made them viable substitutes.

Palisca singled out this passage for the weight it lent to his argument that the *romanesca* was, at root, a formula defined by its melody ("the soprano is what principally gives them their *aria*"). Indeed when Galilei turned from melody to accompaniment in "Dubbi," he provided notated interpretations of the two kinds of harmonic accompaniment he read Plato as having endorsed in the *Laws*, *proschorda* and *synphonon*, or, as Galilei termed them, "Unisono" and "Consonanza."[70] These examples, as Palisca recognized, served to give the *arie* he prized an ancient genealogy.[71] But his assertion that Galilei had modeled his examples of "Unisono" and "Consonanza" after the homophonic style of the *arie* among his list was not quite right, as

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[69] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 43. Gerbino writes of this passage that "[the] memory of the authors of these songs seems to have already vanished by the end of the Cinquecento. For Galilei, they were simple 'arie' that everybody knew, tunes that did not belong to anybody." See *Music and the Myth of Arcadia in Renaissance Italy*, 95.

[70] Palisca recognized that Galilei's reading of the *Laws* was a highly idiosyncratic one, and that in fact Plato had rejected the second kind of accompaniment.

[71] "While Galilei's interpretation of Plato will hardly stand the test of historical research, he has translated the spirit of Plato into modern terms. What Plato rejected was not so much richness of sound as artifice and virtuosity, the excesses that Galilei too wanted to see barred from vocal music." Ibid, 356.

Fiorentino has demonstrated. Instead they were clearly derived from principles of *fauxbourdon* that antedated the *arie* (see Examples 4.5 and 4.6 and Tables 4.2 and 4.3).

This simplifies the causal relation that Palisca saw between Galilei's examples. The *arie* the theorist cited did not serve as models for his "Unisono" and "Consonanza" so much as they exemplified the same underlying principles. For this reason, Galilei's essay thus occupies a pivotal position in Fiorentino's overall argument, as it had done in Palisca's.[72] According to Fiorentino, Galilei's comments confirm the close relationship between *arie* as vocal melodies employed for the declamation of poetry, their harmonization according to the rules of Monachus, and a conceptual paradigm that encouraged hearing them as substitutes for ancient musical practices. Yet Galilei's perspective on the history of that relationship is more ambiguous than Fiorentino's, which, as I have explained above, would fix its point of origin in "the process of composition." Galilei must have recognized a relationship between the *arie* he cited and principles like those codified by Monachus. But in fact the principles themselves and the origin of that relationship were not evident concerns in his writing.

Why not? Salient to Galilei's choice of these *arie*, again, was their authorlessness, which meant that they had no discernible origin in the work of an author. They were shared by all and so well known that Galilei did not bother to represent them in notation but trusted rather that his readers knew them (and the principles that stood behind them) intimately. Perhaps there was also something else at work that kept Galilei from notating these *arie*: doing so would have

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[72] In "Dubbi" one finds explained the formation and evolution of the melodic-harmonic frameworks, the object of this chapter, from the application of polyphonic formulas to short themes of popular origin, to the emancipation of consonance. The rules of Monachus, the melodic-harmonic frameworks, and the repertory of oral and popular origin become, in the perspective of Galilei, a connecting link between the mythic classical past and the music of the 'future,' the central argument of the Florentine Camerata. The full passage reads: "En los *Dubbi* se encuentran explicadas la formación y la evolución de los esquemas armónico-melódicos, objeto de este capítulo, desde la aplicación de fórmulas polifónicas a breves temes de origen popular, hasta la emancipación de la consonancia. Las reglas de Guilielmus, los esquemas armónico-melódicos, y el repertorio de origen oral y popular llegan a ser, bajo la perspectivo de Galilei, un eslabón de unión entre el mítico pasado clásico revisado y la música del 'futuro,' argumento central de las elucubraciones de la Camareta florentina." Fiorentino, *La Folía*, 218.

Example 4.5: Galilei's example of "Unisono"

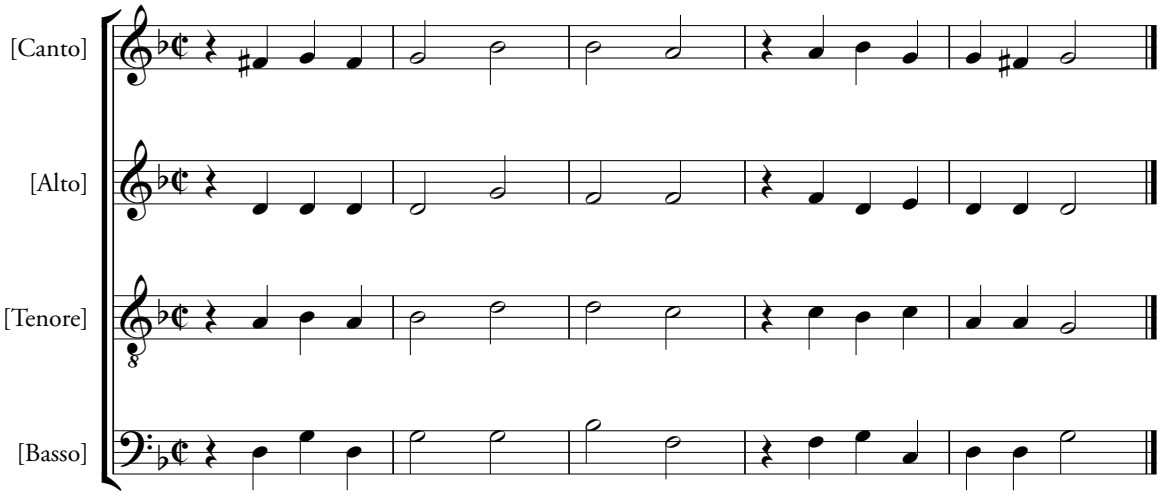


Table 4.2: Intervallic relationships in Galileo's "Unisono"

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Canto	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	8	5	7	6	8
Alto	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	3	3	4	4	5
Tenore													
Basso	5	3	5	3	5	3	5	5	3	8	5	5	1

Relationships are expressed as intervals (or their octave equivalents) above and below the reference pitch, respectively. In this example, the tenor provides the reference pitch. Each column represents a single vertical sonority.

meant reducing the multiple forms of each to a single instantiation, as if it could express their essential qualities. They were not merely reducible to the simple principles they were made to exemplify in this context. The absence of notated examples, in this hypothesis, relies on the common knowledge of *arie* whose historical persistence Galilei knew depended on repetition and replication. And the ontology implicit in his comments embraced the mediation of those traditions at least as much as their schematic reduction.

There were limits to the acceptability of that mediation. In one of the other essays preserved with "Dubbi," Galilei wrote approvingly of the pervasive consonance of the music he found in Petrucci's prints, and touched in passing on the *romanesca* and another common

Example 4.6: Galilei's example of "Consonanza"

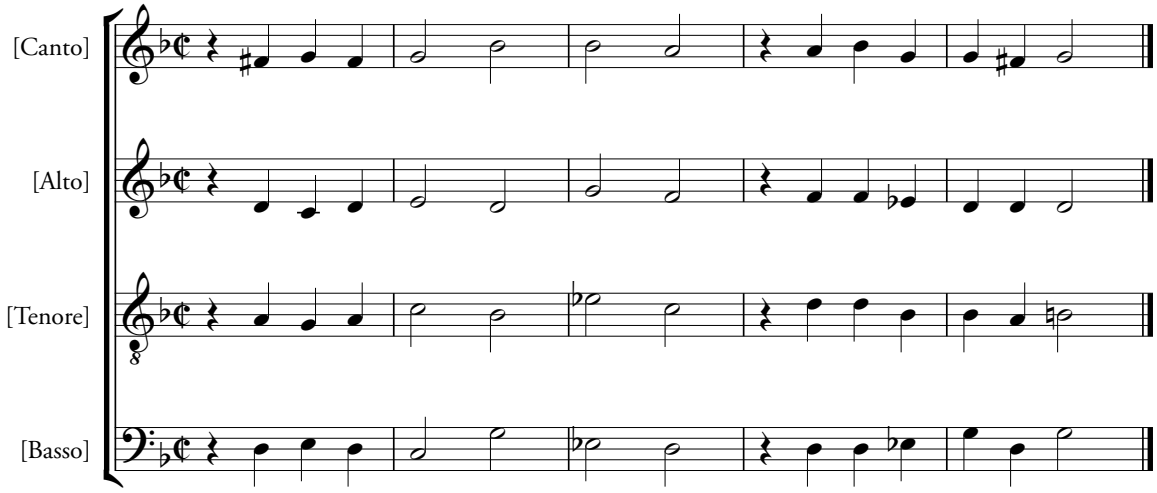


Table 4.2: Intervallic relationships in Galileo's "Unisono"

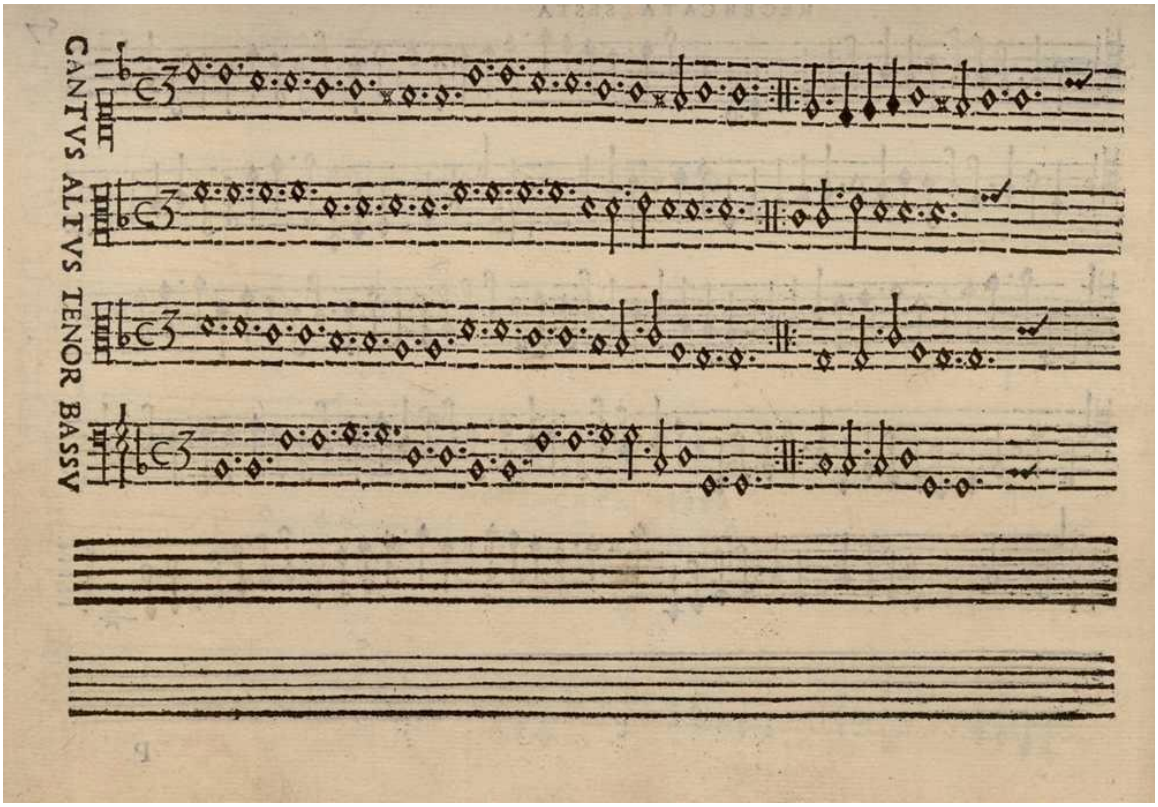
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Canto	6	8	6	5	8	5	6	5	6	6	6	6	6
Alto	4	5	4	3	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	4	3
Tenore													
Basso	5	3	5	8	3	8	5	8	8	5	3	5	3

Relationships are expressed as intervals (or their octave equivalents) above and below the reference pitch, respectively. In this example, the tenor provides the reference pitch. Each column represents a single vertical sonority.

aria, the *passamezzo*: "this truth one glimpses also in other *arie*, even older than those I named above, which are sounded daily, such as the *romanesca* and the *passamezzo*, considered however in their previous simplicity, and not according to the artifices of today."[73] On one hand, Galilei recognized that the historicity of the form passed through many substitutions: "sounded daily,"

[73] "[La] qual verità si scorge ancora in altre Arie pur' antiche delle sopra nominate che giornalmente si suonano: com'è la Romanesca, et il Passamezzo; considerate però nella loro prima semplicità, et non secondo gl'artifizii d'oggi." This passage appears in the essay "Discorso di Vincentio Galilei intorno all'uso delle Dissonanze." See Rempp, ed., *Die Kontrapunkttraktate Vincenzo Galileis*, pp. 137. Palisca drew attention to this passage in "Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody" (360) though he erroneously cited its place in the manuscript as f. 136r. In fact, the passage appears on f. 183r. I consulted with Palisca's translation, but mine departs from his in a number of details.

Figure 4.5: Diego Ortiz, four-part accompaniment for the "Recercada settima"



the *romanesca* and the *passamezzo* were decidedly old, yet ambiguously so. They were artifacts both of an indiscernibly extended tradition, and also of quotidian musicking in the present. On the other hand, he rejected encroachments upon their "previous simplicity" and thus proposed limits to their substitutability.

Examples of the "artifices" Galilei disliked are not hard to find in the sixteenth-century instrumental tradition. The distinction that he drew between simplicity and artifice seems especially evident in the oft-cited *recercadas* of Diego Ortiz's *Trattado de glosas* (1553), which present *arie*—Ortiz called them "tenores italianos"—in four-voice schemes across the page from their virtuosic embellishments for solo viol. As the title of Ortiz's collection indicates, such embellishments were "glosses," or annotations to the texts of the *arie* upon which they were based. Though Ortiz did not actually invoke the name of the *romanesca* in connection with his *recercada settima*, whose resemblance to the G-mollis scheme is unmistakable (see Ex-

ample 4.4), the term is telling nonetheless: in the middle of the sixteenth century, it seems, it was still possible to apprehend some of this elaboration of *arie* not as being external to the tradition, but as folding back into it, in all its substitutional flexibility. As they exceeded the space of the *aria* as traces of singular—that is, unrepeatable—performances by composers, glosses like Ortiz's came to seem more resolutely like artifacts in their own right. Embellishment in performance had surely always played a role in the sung tradition of the *romanesca*, of course, and in this light Galilei's preference for simplicity marks a liminal place: the moment of excess, written down by a composer, that would hereafter be a work.

Anachronic Song

After music printing grew commercially viable in the middle of the sixteenth century, a musical version of Nagel and Wood's substitutional model came into sharper focus as the proliferation of music prints created an ever-greater volume of authorless forms, including forms ostensibly far older. Paper was cheaper than parchment, and it provided a readier material support for what had once been too trivial to commit to notation but was now a potential commodity. Artifacts like the *romanesca*, whose iterability was always been important, lent themselves especially well to the multiplication of copies as the process of replication accelerated. It became easier to amass collections of texts of discrepant origin and to scrutinize them for resemblance. Only then did schematic representations of the *romanesca* emerge as a concern, as material differences between its many instantiations became more apparent and began to put pressure on the logic of substitution.

Well into the seventeenth century, dozens of composers published monodic settings of *ottave* identified as being "sopra la romanesca." Indeed the period after 1602 has always been the richest source of materials associating the *romanesca* with *ottava rima*, despite coming at the end of the long history that Galilei had traced as far back as Petrucci. The later settings,

however, were often highly original works, suggesting a strong turn toward an authorial paradigm that paradoxically conflicted with the declamatory tradition it sustained. These monodic settings incresingly drew attention not only to their singers, who were the focus of the older tradition, but to the composers whose authorial performances were captured as written works. Another way of putting this is that one kind of performance gradually asserted itself over another: the visceral immediacy of the singer-improviser ceded ground to the notional immediacy of the authorial work, which drew attention to its composer's intervention in the *romanesca* tradition. Caccini's "Ahi dispietato amor" pulls in this direction: though it does not stray far from the barebones outline of a formulaic harmonization of a melodic descent through the diapente, but the ornaments it exemplified, or so we are led to believe, were uniquely Caccini's.

In the following decades, what Galilei had called the "previous simplicity" of the *romanesca* yielded to ever more complex modes of compositional artifice. Nevertheless, a growing body of recent work has demonstrated the formal residue of many of the features of "Ahi dispietato amor," suggesting that they continued to act upon composers who set texts to the *romanesca*. Even settings that seem to bear little resemblance to "Ahi dispietato amor" can reveal these continuities. Among these are several of the six that Giulio's daughter Francesca Caccini published in *Il primo libro delle musiche* (1618). Introducing the book in a facsimile edition, Gary Tomlinson observed that "it is not clear why Caccini called all of these works Romanesche," because they bear little resemblance to any of the well-known schemes.[74] More recently, however, Suzanne Cusick has drawn productively upon the G-mollis scheme to demonstrate its analytical salience even in the songs ostensibly least *romanesca*-like, "Io veggio i campi verdeggiar fecondi" and "La pastorella mia tra i fiori è il giglio"—which, as she notes, are highly unusual in their D-mollis and G-durus tonal orientations.[75]

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[74] Tomlinson, ed. *Italian Secular Song, 1606-1636*, Vol. I, xv.

[75] Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court*, 141. It is a stretch to claim, as Cusick does, that these are "the only published examples of transposed romanescas known to exist." In fact, examples of "transposed" romanes-

Cusick reads the progression of *romanesca* settings in Francesca Caccini's book as guiding the reader through a series of lessons in finding one's voice. She finds the four secular settings especially to be concerned with the articulation of an authorial subject within and against received, patriarchal frameworks.[76] The *romanesca* was well suited to this task, in Cusick's account, because it was "endlessly elastic," highly accommodating despite its apparent normativity: to sing a *romanesca* was both to explore and to exploit the ontological "tension between being and doing that lies at the heart of the aria."[77] Its special power lay in the attention it could draw to the uniqueness of performative excess. This was a power, moreover, that Cusick argues is unique to music, which "is about doing something unrepeatable, about creating experiences that draw attention both to the richness of individual moments that seem to suspend time and to the inevitability of change and death."[78] It was no small irony, then, that this power was crucially invested in the *romanesca*, since repeatability had always characterized the *aria* in its application as a formula for poetic declamation. Authorial identity, associated with composer or singer or composer/singer, was now displacing substitutional identity.

But the paradoxical situation that took hold after the turn of the seventeenth century was this: as *romanesca* settings like Francesca Caccini's became more and more elaborate works that drew ever more radically away from their common ground, the principle of the schematic form came to seem more like the true identity of the *aria*. Like the bronze statute of Christ in

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cas abound in the sixteenth-century instrumental repertory.

[76] "In these lessons, Francesca first explores the implications of transposing romanesca, in relation to the construction of dramatic personae, and then shows how the full range of romanesca techniques, including transposition, could be used to move through new symbolic spaces that defied the rigidity of cultural rules. Separately and together, these lessons were crucial to knowing how not to fall back into either musical or allegorical anxiety of voice." Cusick, Ibid, 141. Cusick develops this argument especially in Ch. 6, "Voice Lessons: Introducing the *Primo libro delle musiche*" and Ch. 7, "Being, Doing, and the Allegories of Voice."

[77] Ibid, xxv.

[78] IbidIbid, xxiv-xxv.

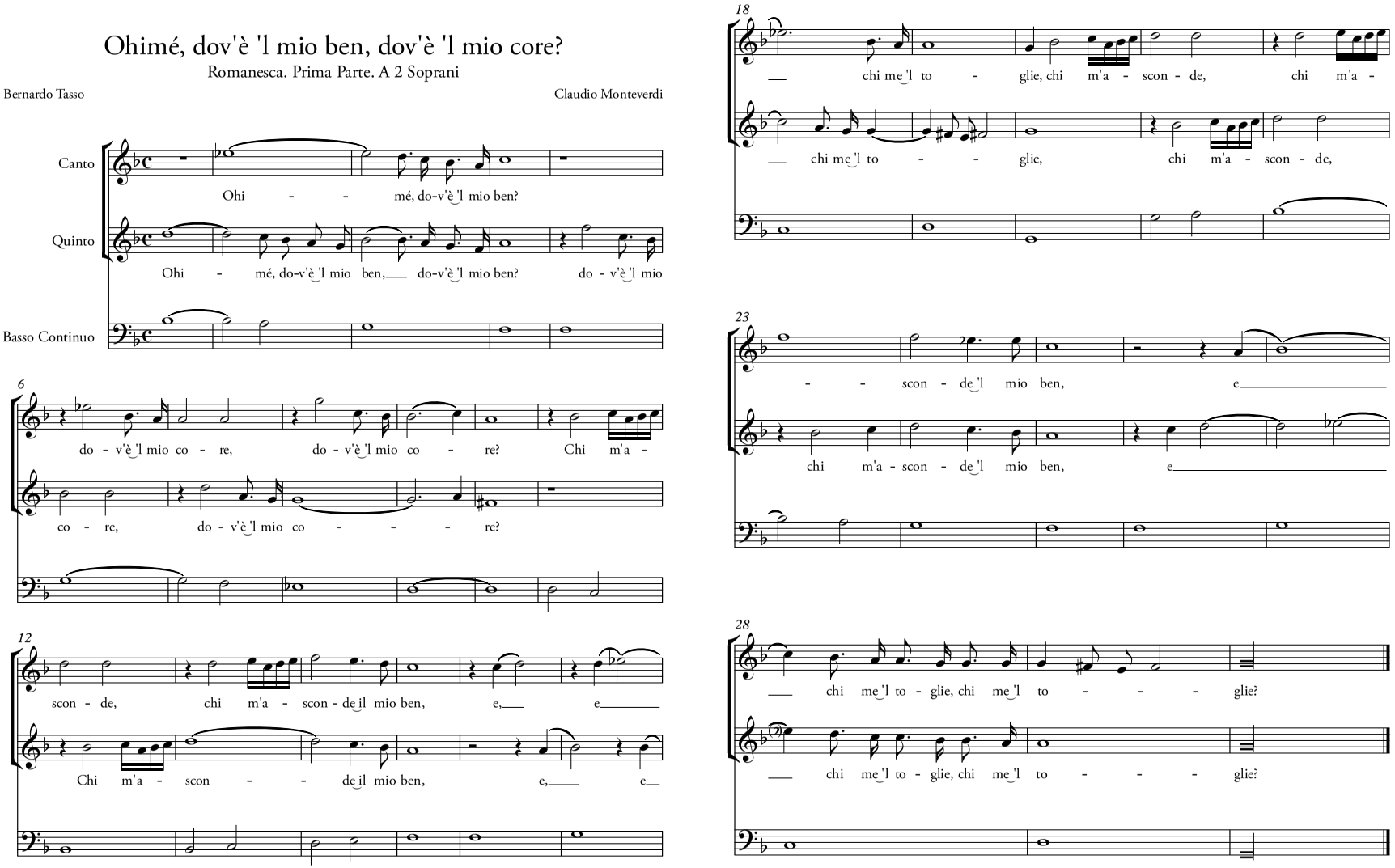
Augustine's study, the *romanesca* was now an artifact, cited in full-fledged works. It tapped a long musical tradition of improvised poetic declamation that had not yet disappeared entirely, but this version of the *romanesca* was gradually fading into the realm of anachronism. The historical resonance of its former nature threw musical authorship into greater relief, but also suggested that deeper and older principles lay behind even the most original performances of composerly virtuosity and produced the need for their articulation. For this reason many examples of the *romanesca* from the first decades of the seventeenth century lend themselves well to anachronic interpretation—that is, to a mode of interpretation that foregrounds the music's location between repetition and unrepeatability.

This is evident, for example, in Claudio Monteverdi's "Oimè, dov'è il mio ben?," a set of strophic variations on the *romanesca* for two voices setting an *ottava* by Bernardo Tasso (see Example 4.7). Tomlinson has observed that like the rest of the seventh book of madrigals in which this song was published, in 1619, "Oimè, dov'è il mio ben?" gives strong evidence of Monteverdi's attentiveness to the trends preoccupying a younger generation of composers in the 1610s.[79] In this case, the immediate model was likely Antonio Cifra, who published numerous *romanesca* duets beginning in 1613; but the poetic choices of both composers, Tomlinson writes, "reflect the heritage of such settings in sixteenth-century recitational traditions." Monteverdi's duet employs the principal formal elements of the received tradition in the G-mollis scheme, including its antecedent and consequent descents through the diapente in both the Canto and the Quinto, and the basso continuo's progression through interlocking falling fourths, now filled in with stepwise motion (a widely used form of the bass line that was common in *romanesca* settings and variations after 1600).

Just as clearly, however, Monteverdi has recombined these received elements in a way that asserts his authorial intervention, citing the *romanesca* in ways that compress and expand

[79] Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, 196.

Example 4.7: Claudio Monteverdi, “Ohimé, dov’è ’l mio ben, dov’è ’l mio core?” (Prima Parte)



upon the basic scheme. Witness his diffraction of the diapente descent into two voices: at the beginning, for example, the Quinto manages it in a mere four measures, whereas the Canto draws out the gesture through measure 10, by way of repeating its striking opening E-flat and reaching for a high G. Because the Quinto's descent occupies half the span of the continuo's they do not realign until the final cadence. Thus when the Quinto alights to rest on A in measure 4, it does so too early: at this point, we might expect the first line of text to have been sung to completion, punctuated by a cadence on D. Yet the words 'dov'è il mio ben" remain, and they echo back and forth between the two voices throughout the next four measures. When the Quinto makes another descent through the diapente at measure 13, now in the reduced span of three measures, and again at measure 24 in only two, it lands on A at the same "wrong" moment as before—above the continuo's F. But if the termination on A was premature before the end of the first line of text, now it has arrived too late. Monteverdi's virtuosic manipulations of the inherited material may recall the sixteenth-century tradition, but they reconstitute it in an altered, even distorted fashion.

In this sidelong glance at the historicity of its own form, "Oimè, dov'è il mio ben?" points up more general conditions of its status as a work. As the trace of Monteverdi's singular performance, it could not simply have been substituted for another work, yet it also manifestly shared formal features with many other songs, and drew attention to them by invoking the name of the *romanesca*. "Oimè, dov'è il mio ben?" was both highly original and an index of form looking back on an indiscernible history. Its status as a work was contingent upon prioritizing authorship over substitution. Nevertheless, as writing steadily replaced performance as the primary locus of musical authorship in the early modern era, the logic of substitution survived in the notional immediacy of the written work when it was encountered from copy to copy. For in its strongest articulations, the concept of the musical work would ultimately sanction seeing the written work—despite its all-too-apparent mediation—as affording immediate

access to the composer's performance.

The procedures of compression and expansion that characterized this final example were not Monteverdi's alone, but were in fact common among monodic settings of the *romanesca* around 1600. Such procedures measure a certain distance even from Galilei, writing in 1591, and not merely because they generally adorn the "previous simplicity" of the *aria* with virtuosic embellishments. The *romanesca* settings by Monteverdi and Francesca Caccini, as well as those by Giulio Caccini, Antonio Cifra, and others, were authored works, but they glance backwards at the authorlessness that was still evident to Galilei. They reveal a fleeting hesitation between the smoothly substitutional chain of replication that Galilei could still project backward into the past, and the unrepeatability of the moment that Cusick identifies as the province of song. In doing so they also suggest the uncanny persistence of a form that may no longer be as it had been, which is their anachronic dimension as musical works, caught between timelessness and contingency.

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