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Une fantaisie de la Renaissance: Compositional Process in the Renaissance Fantasia

Essays for Howard Mayer Brown, *in memoriam*

Studies by Dinko Fabris, John Griffiths, Robert Judd, Stefano Mengozzi, Piotr Pozniak & Jean-Michel Vaccaro

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

VOLUME XXIII

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Look for the next issue of the **Journal**, *with articles by Franco Pavan on Francesco da Milano, Gordon Callon on English theorbo songs, and Andrew Taylor on minstrelsy*

THIS ISSUE OF THE *JLSA* IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF *Howard Mayer Brown (1930-1993), Ferdinand Schevill Distinguished Professor of Music at the University of Chicago, and member of the Editorial Board of the* JLSA. *He was our leader and our friend, and during an amazingly productive and above all generous life, he displayed that primary quality of being a leader: he was accessible to all of those who sought his help. Moreover, at the same time that he shaped our understanding of Renaissance music and culture, he gave us the impression that he, in turn, was being helped by us.*

By "us" I mean those of us who play and write about the lute. Howard understood very well the importance of the lute in the history of music and the secrets it could reveal, and he returned time and time again to the lute repertory in order to demonstrate the logic behind his arguments about ornamentation, performance practice, musica ficta, iconography, cultural trends, imitation, compositional process, vocal styles, and countless other subjects. He loved the lute and hearing it played, and was eager to learn more about its music. Sadly, Howard's sudden death on a street in Venice came as he was on the verge of devoting more time to this subject, particularly to the lute music of Vincenzo Galilei and to the sixteenth-century intabulations of Josquin's music. He hoped that research into this important and wonderful repertory would be continued by the younger generation he helped nurture, and those of us vain enough to consider ourselves in that category shall make sure that Howard's hope is realized.

The present collection of essays was formed with Howard Brown as resident guru during three days in April, 1992, at the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours, France. This volume represents the results of the intense discussions that took place on the general theme of the Renaissance fantasia. Typically (and very guru-like), it was mostly due to the questions Howard posed to us (rather than by his answers—which nevertheless became questions eventually—to questions we posed to him) that the theme of compositional process began to emerge. Howard felt that we were on the verge of something important. It is hoped that this volume will invite new questions and warm the seat for others in the same spirit of inquiry and collegiality that Howard exemplified throughout his brilliant and thoroughly human career.

VC
Paris, 1994

Une fantaisie de la Renaissance: an Introduction

BY *JOHN GRIFFITHS*

THIS VOLUME OF THE *JOURNAL* is devoted to a single subject, the fantasia, and those compositions of cognate names such as the ricercar that constitute a vital part of lute and keyboard music of the Renaissance. The size of the repertory alone attests to the fantasia's significance, and the quality of the music confirms that it was the medium through which renaissance performer-composers made some of their most individual and original musical utterances. While most prevalent in Italy and Spain, it was not exclusively a southern affair. Fantasia sources show it to have been a pan-European phenomenon, although practised to varying degrees in different centers across the continent. The earliest fantasias are unquestionably Italian, but those that are found republished, for example, as *Priamels* in German lute books of the 1530s are early indication of the rapid transmission of the genre north of the Alps. It travelled as written pages of books and manuscripts, it was carried in the memory of musician travellers in both directions along the north-south axis, and was firmly implanted into northern culture by virtuosi of the stature of Alberto da Ripa who settled in the north and continued to cultivate their fantasia abroad. Fantasias and ricercars undoubtedly take pride of place in Italian and Spanish instrumental sources throughout the sixteenth century yet, even though representing a smaller proportion of total national repertories, the fantasias of composers outside Mediterranean Europe—Dowland, Bakfark and Sweelinck, for example—are among the most sophisticated works of their entire output.

Studies of the fantasia have tended to be confined by national boundaries. Key studies of the fantasia repertory are those that concentrate either on national repertories or the fantasias of individual composers. With the exception of Vaccaro's book on French lute music, more attention has been paid to the Italian and Spanish

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repertories than any other.[1] Prefaces to editions of individual composers have included substantial style studies and analytical essays, and there is a small body of similarly focussed journal articles.[2] Given this situation, the purpose of this issue of the *Journal* is to draw together material that looks at the common issues that faced instrumentalist-composers throughout Europe in the sixteenth century.

The genesis of this collection of essays was a small conference—*Une Fantaisie de la Renaissance*—convened by Jean-Michel Vaccaro and myself at the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours, France, from 13-16 April 1992. It was a direct response to the need for scholars working in the world of renaissance instrumental music, working with similar materials and confronting similar issues, to have the opportunity to exchange ideas and share the fruit of their labor in a colloquium that would provide immediate reaction and dialogue.

Eight scholars attended the conference. Papers read by five of them, debated and evaluated collegially by the assembled group, form the present collection. A subsequent month in Melbourne gave Victor Coelho and I the opportunity to shape the *Journal*, coordinate revision, and translate the papers read in Italian and French. Coelho's contribution to the conference will appear in a future volume of the *Journal*, and some of the underlying issues of my own contribution have been incorporated into this brief introductory essay. Also present at the conference was the late Howard Mayer Brown, scholarly

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[1] On French music see Jean-Michel Vaccaro, *La musique de luth en France au XVIe siècle*, (Paris, 1981). On Italian and Spanish fantasias see H. Colin Slim, "The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy, c.1500-1550, with Reference to Parallel Forms in European Lute Music of the Same Period," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960; James Meadors, "Italian Lute Fantasias and Ricercars Printed in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1984; John Ward, "The vihuela de mano and its music (1536-1576)," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953; John Griffiths, "The Vihuela Fantasia: A Comparative Study of Forms and Styles," Ph.D. diss., Monash University, 1983.

[2] Influential analytical studies include Otto Gombosi, *Der Lautenist Valentin Bakfark: Leben und Werke (1507-1576)* (Budapest, 1935/rpt. Kassel, 1967), and "A la recherche de la Forme dans la Musique de la Renaissance: Francesco da Milano," in *La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1955), pp. 165-76; Arthur J. Ness, *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543)* (Cambridge, MA., 1970); Jean-Michel Vaccaro, *Albert de Rippe: Œuvres Completes*, Vol. 1 Fantaisies (Paris, 1972); A. Howell, "Cabezón: An Essay in Structural Analysis," *The Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964), pp. 18ff, and "Paired Imitation in 16th-Century Spanish Keyboard Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 53 (1967), pp. 377-96.

godfather and friend to us all, who acted as moderator, discussant, and *provocateur*. Regrettably, it was to be one of the last conferences that Howard attended. Given the profound respect, admiration and affection that we all felt for him, it is fitting that this volume should be dedicated to his memory. It is a personal tribute from us all.

* * *

As music, fantasia is a living organism, ephemeral and amorphous; it is cellular substance shaped into matter by its creators, reconstituted—perhaps even reincarnated—in each successive performance, but always remaining malleable, always adaptable and able to change its physiognomy in response to new conditions, personalities and environments. Performers today as much as in the past revere the fantasia genre and can identify easily with descriptions like this one that exude fervor and a certain amount of passion. The same may be true for scholars too, especially those whose fingers are not alien to keyboard or fretted fingerboard. A description like the one I have offered also encapsulates the key issues of fantasia research. Jointly and severally, they are the issues of source and substance that pervade the articles herein, investigations of both the life-source from which the fantasia draws its breath, and the substance from which it is fleshed out.

The first of these issues concerns the nature and identity of the fantasia and, by extrapolation, leads to discussion of the significance of the genre both to musicians of the sixteenth century as well as to performers of our own time. From this arise further questions of definition and analysis. I have ventured on numerous occasions that the so-called "problem" of fantasia definition is obviated if one considers fantasia to be a process rather than a form.[3] It is impossible to define the fantasia in terms of a form because it has no archetype that is either described in any source contemporary with the repertory nor that can be derived from the extant repertory. At best, the search for an adequate definition of the fantasia invariably returns to be a description of a set of procedures found in a given set of fantasias. These broad features are reflected in the labels scholars have given various sub-categories of

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[3] See, for example, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Der Terminus'Ricercar'," *Archiv für Musikwißenschaft* 9 (1952), pp. 137-47.

fantasia to indicate whether they are monothematic or polythematic, or whether they are based on parody or any other definable procedure. Habitually, we encounter *description* rather than *definition* of the illusive but potent substance that is fantasia.

There is no need, however, for any linguistic alchemy to see the relationship between procedure and process. First and foremost, the fantasia is a process of invention achieved by imagination (*fantasia*), and made through investigation or research (*ricerca*) of both the resources of the instrument on which it is played and external materials or conceptual stimuli that might be brought to bear on the musical fabric. The variety of outcomes is innumerable: all that definition can achieve is to encircle the boundaries of the stylistic variables used in a given repertory and to describe its central tendencies. John Ward's definition of the fantasia repertory of the vihuela is a classic attempt to describe it with precision, yet is couched in language that suggests the great variety within the genre. He writes that the fantasia is "a relatively free, monothematic or polythematic, more or less polyphonic, two- or more-voiced, sometimes highly ornamented or toccata-like music of greatly varying length occasionally based on borrowed music (parody) but more often newly invented."[4] It is an admirable description of the stylistic elements of the fantasia but it stops a long way short of telling us what a fantasia really *is*. I have long preferred to call the fantasia an "instrumental motet"—or, in the way Ward refined this descriptor, "the result of the translation of a motet into instrumental terms."—for the reason that the fantasia, for all the amorphous quality of its form, does share with the motet the characteristic of being a musical discourse of variable formal shape whose process is linked to a dramatic or rhetorical conception.[5] The fantasia is directly analogous to the textual discourse with which the motet evolves in musical space, although its rhetoric is abstracted by the absence of text. Analysis of fantasia structure may illuminate this *dynamic* aspect of the process of music through time, or may take a more static approach and examine the fantasia in space, considering it from another viewpoint altogether, through the investigation of thematic or structural relationships, proportion and symmetry and other such facets.

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[4] Ward "The vihuela de mano," p. 211.

[5] John Ward, "The Use of Borrowed Material in 16th-Century Instrumental Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5 (1952), p. 98.

The main study in the present collection that deals directly with questions of identity is Pozniak's discussion of the ricercars of Spinacino and Bossinensis, although much of the focus is on questions of mode and function. These and the other ricercars of the early sixteenth-century preserved in the Petrucci prints, however, appear to have a different *modus operandi* to the repertory in sources dating from mid 1530s onwards, and sit least comfortably into the discussion above. Jean-Michel Vaccaro's study also addresses the issue, but from the more pointed focus of parody composition. At the other end of the historical spectrum, Victor Coelho's article to appear in a future volume of the *Journal* deals with the fantasias in the manuscript Como, Biblioteca Comunale (1601) which, like many anthologies of the time, contains fantasias of at least two generations of lutenists. He discusses the types of fantasias of earlier generations that the compiler of this source chose to copy alongside the current fantasias of Laurencini, the Cavalier of the Lute and others, in an environment of changing musical aesthetics. It thus offers a snapshot of the fantasia at the end of the sixteenth century and the incipient period of its transformation into the fugue.

The second issue concerns the materials used in fantasia composition. In this area, substantial new work has come to fulfil John Ward's prophecy first postulated some forty years ago that "beyond the acknowledged use of borrowed music... are the countless fantasias which, like many *canzoni francesi*, disclose no indebtedness in their titles but often betray gleanings from other composers."[6] In this and other articles, Ward drew our attention to the fact that much more borrowed material lies beneath the surface of many renaissance fantasias.[7] One of the methods of learning to play fantasia, as we learn from Bermudo and others, was through the assimilation of vocal music. It is not therefore surprising to find references to vocal music in fantasias "sine nomine" such as Stefano Mengozzi reveals in his article on parody in the fantasias of Francesco da Milano. Jean-Michel Vaccaro's study of Paladin's parody fantasias makes a similar comparison of vocal models and corresponding fantasias and leads him to hypothesize four levels at which composers worked, on an axis from

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6 Ward, "Borrowed Material," p. 97.

7 These are cited in Robert Judd's article below.

complete dependence to complete independence from vocal models, leading him to conclude that it was not so much the materials, but rather the structures created from them that are the most significant measure of creative genius.

Robert Judd's study of Cabezón's keyboard fantasia on *Malheur me bat* follows a similar line and makes clear the common conceptual basis of keyboard and lute music, while Dinko Fabris's article traces the use of the solmization theme from vocal beginnings in a Mass by Josquin through a century of instrumental versions, and uses it both to draw attention to the little-studied lutenist Fabrizio Dentice, as well as the basis for a study in sources and attributions that inverts traditional methodology with speculative, yet interesting outcomes.

What remains to be said concerns performance. Engaging interpretation of the fantasia repertory depends on the musician's capacity to absorb the unwritten codes of sixteenth-century instrumental language, and to reactivate sleeping relics of a musical past in a way that rekindles their spirit as much as their artifice. Each of the articles that follow presents case studies that offer pathways to this end. The close examination of deciphered parody material not only provides insight into that sub-stratum of fantasia that alludes to vocal works, but is also a means of comprehending the abstraction of non-referential works and their rhetorical and dramatic structure. In this way the two interdependent issues identified above, substance and form, can be reunited and reconciled. A more fundamental cogency and cohesion awaits the interpreter who researches the fantasia with a vigor equal to that of the composer-performers who created them, with the promise that its rewards to both listener and performer will be multiplied many times over.

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

"Is this Fantasia a Parody?": Vocal Models in the Free Compositions of Francesco da Milano

BY *STEFANO MENGOZZI*

ALTHOUGH IT IS KNOWN THAT sixteenth-century lutenists often borrowed the subjects of their works from motets, madrigals, and chansons, it is difficult to know whether or not actual parody procedure occurs in a given fantasia.[1] Obviously, the more closely the parody adheres to the original, the more convincing the identification, but it is well known that a great deal of flexibility can exist in how a parody relates to the original model. Occasionally, lutenists made their intentions clear by indicating the title of the vocal model next to the generic terms *Tiento, Fantasia,* or *Ricercare.* In general, these compositions are closely related to the original, as one could expect, though in different ways and by employing different techniques.[2]

In the great majority of cases, however, no model is mentioned in the title, and it is almost impossible to prove the presence of borrowed material. For modern scholars, this is precisely where the problem originates in defining parody procedure. On the one hand, many of the melodies found in the huge vocal repertory of the Renaissance resemble

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[1] In this article, I have used the term "parody" in a generic sense, to indicate a composition "involving the use of pre-existing material" (following the definition in the *New Grove.* For a discussion of parody in sixteenth-century instrumental music, see: John Ward, "The Use of Borrowed Material in 16th-Century Instrumental Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5 (1952), pp. 88-98; John Ward, "Parody Technique in 16th-Century Instrumental Music," in *The Commonwealth of Music, in Honor of Curt Sachs* (New York, 1965), pp. 208-29; and Paul Martell, "Parody versus Paraphrase in G. P. Paladino's Fantasia on 'Alcun non puo saper,'" this *Journal* 19 (1986), pp. 1-12; see also Lewis Lockwood, "On Parody as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: a Birthday Offering for Gustave Reese,* ed. Jan La Rue (New York, 1966), pp. 560-75; and Howard Mayer Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Journal of the American Muscological Society* 35 (1982), pp. 1-4.

[2] Various kinds of parodies are surveyed in Ward, "Parody Technique," esp. pp. 208-19.

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one another (vocal composers also knew very well the practice of borrowing musical ideas); on the other hand, lutenists generally treated their models freely in what are termed today as *free* compositions. In these works lutenists might borrow or quote only a phrase or section of the model; or, they mix borrowed with newly-created material; sometimes they even quote motives drawn from different vocal models, thus creating a type of musical quodlibet. Given the flexible techniques used by lutenists to manipulate borrowed material, any attempt to identify *a posteriori* the vocal structure hidden under the contrapuntal surface of fantasies, tientos, and ricercars is bound to be an arduous one. One can normally find as many reasons to endorse an identification of a model as to disregard it. These problems notwithstanding, such an investigation is well worth pursuing: it could, for instance, cast light on the musical background and preferences of lutenists, as well as on their technique of composing fantasies; further, it could yield precious information regarding specific pieces, their models, their dating, and their sources.

Occasionally, external evidence can support the parody hypothesis when this is questionable on the evidence of mere analytical observations. The case for asserting the intentional parody of a vocal work in an instrumental one is strengthened if the alleged vocal model was also chosen several times by various instrumentalists, either to create an intabulation or to compose fantasies on its subjects. It is known that a selected repertory of vocal pieces became particularly popular among instrumentalists, who rivalled each other by performing them with all sorts of variations and diminutions. In a forthcoming article on the vocal models of Alberto da Ripa's fantasies, I propose that the first section of his Fantasy II is a free invention on the opening subject of Arcadelt's madrigal *O felici occhi miei*.[3] The evidence supporting this claim lies primarily in the remarkable similarity of the motives used in the two pieces, but also in the fact that this particular madrigal was intabulated and parodied several times by a number of Italian and Spanish instrumentalists, such as Joan Maria da Crema, Diego Ortiz, and

[3] I adopt the numbering system used in *Œuvres d'Albert de Rippe*, vol. 1: Fantaisies, ed. J-M. Vaccaro (Paris, 1972). The article will appear in *Le Concert des Voix et des Instruments à la Renaissance*, ed. J-M. Vaccaro (Paris, forthcoming).

Melchior Neusidler in sources dating between 1546 and 1574.[4] Further evidence supporting the presence of parody may come from the parodist's knowledge of the original composer's works. This can be determined by looking at which pieces the lutenist has chosen to intabulate in the past. Obviously, the thesis that *x* fantasia is the parody of *z* vocal model is more convincing if the lutenist also set the model as an intabulation. This case applies to one of the pieces discussed later in this article.

Juan Bermudo and Tomás de Sancta María both suggest that performers should play vocal pieces and memorize a repertory of motives and points of imitation before playing fantasies.[5] This advice, which seems to describe a well-established sixteenth-century practice, implies that perhaps extant intabulations of vocal pieces are repositories of the subjects and points of imitation that lutenists selected when they composed their own fantasies. The impression is that a comparative study of free compositions and intabulations would significantly improve our knowledge of how fantasies were written during the sixteenth century. Needless to say, this task would be facilitated if we, like the lutenists of the Renaissance, had also memorized large sections of the vocal repertory.

* * *

Two fantasies by Francesco da Milano shall serve to illustrate what I believe is a crucial relationship between intabulations and free compositions. A short discussion of the *Fantasia de mon triste*, Francesco's well-known parody of Richafort's chanson, will lay the groundwork for the succeeding discussion, in which it will be argued

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[4] All of the printed instrumental settings of this madrigal are listed in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA, 1967).

[5] Juan Bermudo, *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales (1555), Libro segundo, "De algunos otros avisos para principiantes. Cap. XXXV,"* fol. xxixv. Facsimile edition edited by S. Kastner (Kassel, 1957); Tomás de Sancta Maria, *Libro llamado Arte de tañer Fantasia...*(Valladolid, 1565), *Segunda Parte*, Cap. LII, "De avisos necessarios para el nuevo tañedor," fols. 121-22. See the recent English edition, *The Art of Playing the Fantasia by Fray Thomas de Sancta Maria*, trans. Almonte C. Howell, Jr. and Warren Hultberg, (Pittsburgh, 1991), pp. 390-92. The excerpt from Bermudo is quoted from Ward, "The Use of Borrowed Material," p. 97, n69.

that Francesco's *Fantasia 22* is a hidden parody of an Arcadelt madrigal.[6] Significantly, Francesco made intabulations of both the chanson and the madrigal.

In his intabulation of *De mon triste desplaisir*, Francesco interprets the original vocal model rather freely.[7] Only the top line of the chanson appears in the intabulation without significant changes, beyond a few scattered diminutions added to the cadences. The three lower parts are more substantially reworked, and often depart from their original contours. The constant voice crossings of the lower parts in the vocal model constitute a problem for the lutenist since, for technical reasons, this kind of heavily interwoven polyphonic texture can only be evoked on the lute, not reproduced in detail. But Francesco does not modify the original lines only when he is forced to do so: he occasionally changes the harmonies (compare mm. 8-12 of the intabulation with mm. 4-6 of the model), and introduces diminutions which move up and down across the voices, with little respect for the identity of the individual lines. Examples of this technique, which brings to mind the practice of the *viola alla bastarda*, are found in mm. 13-17 and 24. In short, Francesco has created a personalized arrangement of *De mon triste desplaisir* by leaving the original harmonic and thematic materials largely unchanged, but at the same time modifying the details of the contrapuntal fabric, not always for purely technical reasons.

As could be expected, the *Fantasia de mon triste* involves a more lengthy departure from the original Richafort chanson, even though it employs motives and harmonic progressions that are also found in the model. Francesco is interested here in developing further the imitative play of the three lower voices, using more of the musical range available on the lute. In the first ten measures of his fantasia, for example, he sets the opening ascending motive of the chanson in three different octaves, first in the tenor, then in the bass, and finally in the cantus; next follows a brief episode in stretto (mm. 14-18). It can be seen that the top line of

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[6] I shall adopt the numbering of Francesco's works used in *The Lute Music of Francesco da Milano (1497-1543)*, ed. Arthur J. Ness (Cambridge, MA., 1970), hereafter referred to as *Ness*.

[7] A modern edition of the chanson is in *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (Cambridge, MA., 1963), pp. 45-47; Francesco's intabulation appears in *Ness*, pp. 354-55; the *Fantasia de mon triste* is found in *Ness*, pp. 114-15.

the chanson is largely absent; only its incipit is actually transferred to the fantasia, after which this motive, too, begins to interact with the others. The diminished tetrachord Bb-F#, which is derived from the upper voice of the chanson, is prominent in mm. 10-13 and 16-17. In mm. 8-18, Francesco's skill in combining the two main motives of the chanson into one is remarkable. The transitional episode of mm. 18-26 concludes the first section of the fantasia, echoing the melodic lines that have been presented up to that point.

The new motive beginning at the point of imitation in m. 26 is the retrograde of the motive that has dominated the first section (G-Bb-C-D becomes D-C-Bb-G). This essentially triadic retrograde motive is eventually transformed into one (m. 37) consisting of interlocking descending triads. One last point of imitation (mm. 51-57) brings the piece to an end.

The main conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that the *Fantasia de mon triste* actually parodies the vocal model only up to m. 18. After this point it gradually departs from the original fabric by introducing subjects which are not found in the chanson. At best, one can show that Francesco derives new motives from those found in the opening measures of the vocal model, although the thematic relationships tend to become increasingly diluted. In other words, had the piece come down to us without the opening section, say from m. 18 to the end, it could not have been identified as a parody of the Richafort chanson.[8]

Since even a composition such as the *Fantasia de mon triste*, which is intentionally based on a vocal model, can be so loosely related to the original, one should not expect to find literal borrowings or exact quotations of vocal subjects in the remaining fantasies by Francesco.

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[8] The *Fantasia de mon triste* is discussed in *Ness*, pp. 4-6. It is interesting to note that Richafort's original chanson *De mon triste desplaisir* is also a parody, since it clearly reworks the first episode of Josquin's motet *Praeter Rerum Seriem* (see *Josquin des Pres, Complete Works*, vol. II, 18 (Amsterdam, 1939), pp. 21-23. To compare these two pieces in detail is not one of the purposes of the present article. Let it suffice to point out a few unmistakable correspondences: 1) the relatively unusual polyphonic texture of the chanson—cantus with long note values plus three paired voices forming a dense counterpoint—recalls the six-voice motet, where two groups of three voices present the same pattern; 2) the top line of the chanson and the tenor of the motet have similar melodic contours, and share the same "question-answer" type of phrase structure; 3) the ascending dotted motive in the three lower voices in stretto imitation at the beginning of the chanson is literally drawn from the motet.

This does not mean, of course, that Francesco did not draw upon borrowed material in his free compositions;[9] on the contrary, we need to become familiar with Francesco's technique of thematic transformation and idiomatic writing. Once a possible vocal model has been identified, one should try to explain the discrepancies between that piece and the fantasia from a lutenist's perspective, rather than considering those discrepancies as a reason to disregard the vocal piece as a model. The point is that a well-composed fantasia-parody should *not* explicitly quote the original; rather, its purpose is to reveal the composer's ability to evoke the model without directly quoting from it. A most subtle and discreet piece of art, it aims to uncover only a few selected parts of a hidden object, constantly moving towards and away from it, and leaving to the listener the enjoyable task of guessing the entire shape.[10] For these reasons, I would venture that it is precisely at the point when we cannot find an ultimate answer to the question "is this fantasia a parody of this other piece?" that the author of that fantasia has reached his goal.

On the basis of the observations made above, I shall suggest that Francesco's *Fantasia 22* is built largely on melodic materials drawn from Arcadelt's madrigal *Quanta beltà*.[11] In this case, however, the particular relationship existing between the fantasia and the madrigal cannot be understood without taking into account Francesco's intabulation of the same madrigal.[12] Indeed, the following analysis will show that the intabulated version of the madrigal, and not the original vocal composition, is the real model for the fantasia.

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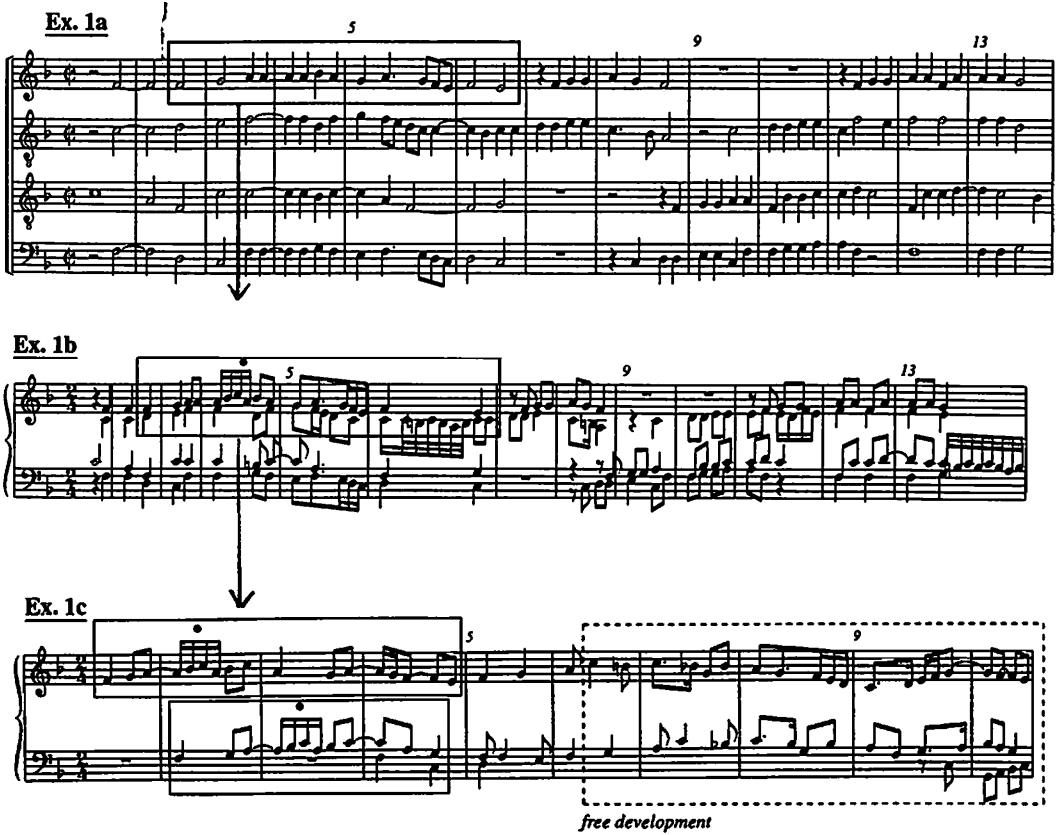
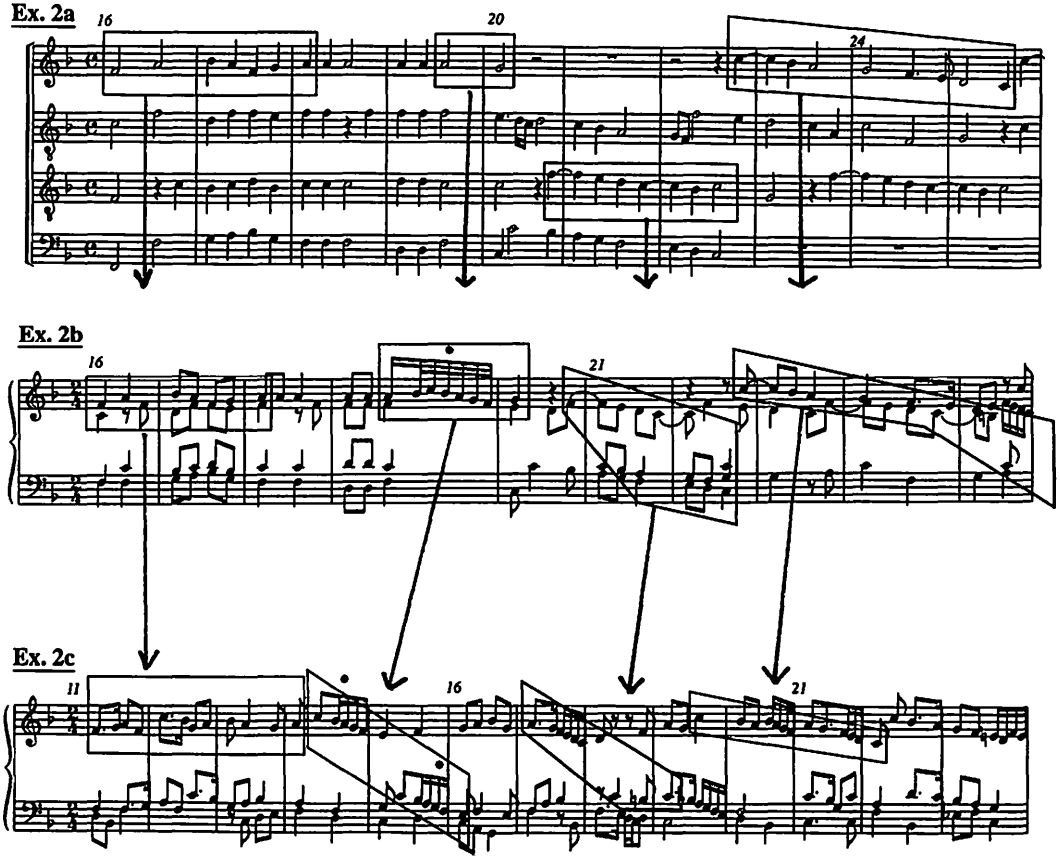
[9] Instances of parody of vocal models in Francesco's compositions are listed in *Ness*, p. 8.

[10] John Ward, in "Parody Technique," p. 223, expresses the same idea by claiming that "between each parody and its theme exists a clear if ambivalent relationship which encourages the informed listener to remember one musical passage while his ear is concerned with another." It goes without saying that the "informedness" and expertise of the listener are almost preconditions for the very existence of the fantasy-parody as a genre.

[11] Francesco's fantasy is found in *Ness*, pp. 79-80. For Arcadelt's madrigal, see J. Arcadelt, *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Seay, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicæ 31, vol. II (American Institute of Musicology, 1970), pp. 102-104.

[12] See *Ness*, pp. 356-57. Some of the questions of determining exactly what is borrowed from a model involving a similar repertory have been confronted in Paul Martell, "Parody versus Paraphrase," cited above.

EXAMPLE 1a: Jacob Arcadelt, *Quanta beltà*, mm. 1-13
EXAMPLE1b: Francesco da Milano's intabulation of *Quanta beltà*, mm. 1-13
EXAMPLE 1c: Francesco da Milano, *Fantasy 22*, mm. 1-10

EXAMPLE 2a: Jacob Arcadelt, *Quanta beltà*, mm. 16-25
EXAMPLE 2b: Francesco da Milano's intabulation of *Quanta beltà*, mm. 16-25
EXAMPLE 2c: Francesco da Milano, *Fantasy 22*, mm. 11-23



It is important to note that Francesco's intabulation of *Quanta beltà* is almost a literal transcription of the Arcadelt model (see Example 1a). The vocal ranges of the single parts and the largely predominant homophonic texture are particularly idiomatic to the lute, and there is no need for the lutenist to make any "technical" adjustments to the vocal parts. Even the diminutions added by Francesco are in most cases stereotyped, with the notable exception of the two graceful embellishments on A appearing in the top line at mm. 4 and 19 of the intabulation (see Examples 1b & 2b, where they have been marked with an asterisk[13]). The two melodic turns truly add extra *grazia* and *beltà* to the original vocal lines. Perhaps this is the reason that Francesco transfers them to the fantasia, resulting in two brief points of imitation. The first embellishment is found again in the opening phrase of the fantasia (mm. 1-5), which clearly recalls the incipit of the madrigal, though without any repetition of pitches. A slight modification of the original top line is necessary in order to accommodate the imitation at the octave in the bass voice. Francesco's transformation of the motion F-G in the original bass line (m. 4) into a complete imitation of the cantus is ingenious; the way he manipulates small melodic details reveals the delicacy of his style. Following the cadence in mm. 10-11 of the fantasia, the two-part stretto imitation continues with a new melodic figure corresponding to the repeated chords of mm. 12-13 in the madrigal. Francesco stretches the range of the top line up to c^1 and breaks the compact chordal writing of the vocal piece, which is evidently not suited to the kind of texture he desires in this fantasia. The episode of mm. 11-23 of the fantasia recalls mm. 16-25 of the vocal piece (see Examples 2a & 2c), and a dotted motive which spells out an F triad in the fantasia corresponds to the two F chords of m. 16 of the madrigal, a new manifestation of the technique of transforming repeated chords into brief points of imitation. The fantasia maintains the motion to the neighbor tone Bb found in the madrigal, accompanied by the motive G-A-Bb in the bass (compare m. 13 of the fantasia with m. 17 of the madrigal). At the end of this passage, Francesco introduces the second self-borrowing from his own intabulation: the descending stepwise

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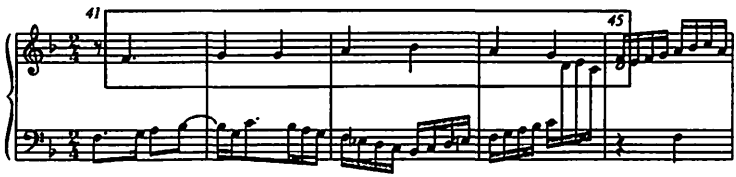
[13] In the musical examples of the intabulated madrigal, the placement of the barlines coincides with the original tablature; in the excerpts of the fantasy one bar of transcription corresponds to two bars of the original tablature. I have chosen different metrical conversions in order to make the examples more easily comparable.

motive from c to E, which appears once more in stretto imitation at the lower octave (mm. 14-15 in the fantasia; m. 19 in the intabulation). In the fantasia, the episode of mm. 18-23 closes the first large section. The descending melodic lines of this passage (mm. 19-22) echo the repeated octave descents (c-C & c^1-c) in the madrigal (mm. 20-25).

The alleged correspondences between *Fantasia 22* and *Quanta beltà* come to an end at this point. None of the melodic motives from the second part of the madrigal (m. 26 to the end) is found in the fantasia; in this respect it resembles the relationship between the *Fantasia de mon triste* and its model. However, the opening motive of the madrigal reappears once more in the fantasia; it is found in the stepwise motive F-Bb-F which functions as a *cantus firmus* to the long diminution of mm. 41-45 (see Example 3). Thus, this last passage reveals an example of *paraphrase* technique, in which the borrowed motive, now stated in a rhythmically augmented form, is set against another part moving in fast notes.[14]

EXAMPLE 3: Francesco da Milano, *Fantasia 22*, mm. 41-45
(compare with Ex. 1a, upper voice, mm. 1-6)

But when does *parody* in a proper sense occur in *Fantasia 22?* Even conceding that this piece is based on material borrowed from *Quanta beltà*, Francesco never reworks more than one part at a time, as shown in the examples above. Strictly speaking, then, *Fantasia 22* is a paraphrase, rather than a parody of Arcadelt's madrigal. On the other hand, it is also clear that Francesco intended to create an imitative piece out of a vocal model where imitation plays by and large a secondary role. In other words, Francesco *had to* use the borrowed material in a fundamentally different way, and did not really have the option of

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[14] See Martell, "Parody versus Paraphrase," p. 8, ex. 6 for an occurrence of the same technique in Paladino.

writing a *parody*—in a proper sense—of the madrigal. However, because almost all of the motives used in *Fantasia 22* are borrowed from *Quanta beltà*, and because Francesco has reworked them in the same order in which they occur in the Arcadelt piece, I would still maintain that the fantasia is a parody of the madrigal.

It is worth emphasizing again at this point that my consideration of *Fantasia 22* as a parody of *Quanta beltà* is primarily justified by the presence of Francesco's own intabulation of the same piece. In fact, without the mediation of the instrumental setting, the particular relationship existing between the two compositions would probably remain unnoticed. The case of *Fantasia 22*, then, suggests that the intabulated repertory of a sixteenth-century lutenist can determine the origins of some of the free compositions written by the same author.[15] At the same time, the identification of a *Fantasia quanta beltà* by Francesco da Milano further supports the thesis that free instrumental compositions of the Renaissance were to a significant extent modelled on the contemporary vocal repertory.[16]

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15 Arcadelt's madrigal was published in 1539, only three years after the *Intavolatura* by Casteliono, the original source of Francesco's *Fantasy 22*. I therefore assume that Francesco knew *Quanta beltà* from one of the manuscript sources of Arcadelt's madrigals which were circulating in the 1530s. In a recent paper, James Haar argues that stylistic features such as chordal texture, stepwise melodic motion, and pitch repetition—all abundantly present in *Quanta beltà*—are hallmarks of Arcadelt's early style, dating to the 1530s. See James Haar, "Towards a Chronology of the Madrigals of Arcadelt," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), pp. 28-54. Thus, the publication of *Fantasia 22* as early as 1536 confirms the date of composition of *Quanta beltà* in the years 1534-35. Francesco must have then intabulated the madrigal around 1535 as well, about a dozen years before it was included in his *Libro terzo* (1547), along with the two settings of *De mon triste*.

16 I would like to thank the late Howard Mayer Brown, Victor Coelho, and John Griffiths for their valuable suggestions and their more-than-just-technical editing of the text of this article.

The *Fantasia sopra...* in the Works of Jean-Paul Paladin

BY *JEAN-MICHEL VACCARO*

ONE MUST REMAIN CONVINCED of the fact that a large majority of sixteenth-century instrumental works are more or less elaborated versions of vocal models (Masses, motets, madrigals and chansons). Within the context of this statement, we might then agree that the *fantasia* and *ricercar* derive their originality by their independence from previously composed compositions, and that their names, which are more or less synonymous with *inventio,* promote this concept of originality. Thus, the fantasia would be the area in which the first completely autonomous instrumental works can be found.

Departing from this basic premise (which I now consider as too broad and imprecise to account for the diversity of approaches), I proposed some years ago, with regard to the fantasias of Albert de Rippe, to distinguish three types of elaborative procedures found in the fantasia:[1] 1) cantus firmus technique, 2) contrapuntal elaboration with point-of-imitation technique, and 3) free, using a technique of continuous development of materials. The second of these categories seemed "to refer implicitly to vocal music" and even to imply that it drew "its substance and structure from the polyphonic vocal tradition."[2] Remarking later that certain sources containing fantasias made explicit reference to vocal models (as we know from the works of Francesco da Milano and Enriquez de Valderrábano), I concluded: "We have not been able to discover borrowings of this nature in the fantasias of de Rippe. It seems likely that he reserved the technique of glossing *[glose]* only for motets and chansons, making his fantasias the area of total original invention."[3] This view has since become untenable. Indeed, Arthur Ness and, more recently, Stefano Mengozzi, have shown that de Rippe, among others, borrowed some of his motives from vocal

[1] See Jean-Michel Vaccaro, *La musique de luth en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1981), pp. 381-94.

[2] Vaccaro, *La musique de luth,* p. 389.

[3] Vaccaro, *La musique de luth,* p. 394.

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compositions, though without acknowledging these models in the title. The two scholars have argued that we must therefore recognize the much greater dependence of the fantasia on vocal models than has been hitherto assumed, and study more deeply the importance of this procedure in the development of instrumental music.[4] At the same time, the known examples of motives that have been borrowed from vocal works are characterized by the limited and fragmentary ways in which they are used, as in the case of Albert de Rippe's *Fantaisie IX*, in which the first section uses the beginning of the famous chanson *Faulte d'argent*, and only the beginning. In the case of J. P. Paladin, whose fantasias are the subject of the present study, the situation is rather different. It reveals the deliberate stance taken by a composer of instrumental fantasias in the face of what a vocal model can offer, and it thus testifies to the new and fertile rapport that emerged between voices and instruments during the Renaissance.

* * *

Twelve fantasias are known by the Italian-born lutenist Jean-Paul Paladin (Giovanni Paolo Paladino).[5] Two of them appear in the *Tabulature de lutz...* published in Lyon by Jacques Moderne (RISM c. 1549-50), and six others in the *Premier livre de tabulature de luth de M. Jean Paule Paladin...* published in Lyon by Simon Gorlier in 1560. The remaining four also appear in the 1560 print—a volume that was, in fact, first published in 1553 by Giovan Pullon de Trino "a l'instantia de M. Giovan Paulo Paladino"[6]—and are distinguished from the other fantasias by their titles, which associate them with arrangements of vocal

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[4] See Arthur J. Ness, "Domenico Bianchini: Some Recent Findings," in *Le luth et sa musique II*, ed. J-M. Vaccaro (Paris, 1984), pp. 97-111 and Stefano Mengozzi, "Vocal Styles and Improvisation in Alberto da Ripa's Lute Fantasies," in *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance*, ed. J-M. Vaccaro (Paris, forthcoming).

[5] See *Œuvres de Jean-Paul Paladin*, in Corpus des luthistes français (Paris, 1986). This edition, edited in collaboration with Michel Renault, contains along with a description of sources, a biographical sketch that is limited by the paucity of documentary evidence on the life of this composer, otherwise considered as one of the most brilliant lutenists of the sixteenth century. To this information, one must add the article by Laurent Guillo, "Giovanni Paolo Paladino à Lyon," *Revue de Musicologie* 73 (1987), pp. 249-53. In the present article the Gallicized form of the composer's name shall be used following the usage in his own publications.

[6] See Guillo, "Giovanni Paolo Paladino à Lyon."

works. The following list shows how the fantasias appear in the 1560 source, among intabulations of madrigals and motets:

ff. 10-11	*Qual anim' ignorante* (Nollet)
11v-12	*Anchor che col partir* (Rore)
12v	*Alcun' non po saper'* (Ruffo)
13-14	*Fantasia sopra al detto madrigal*
14v-15v	*Quand'io penso al martir'* (Arcadelt)
16-17	*Fantasia sopra al detto madrigal*
17v-18	*S'io credesse per morte essere scarcho* (de Reulx)
18v-19v	*Ver inferno al mio petto* (Arcadelt)
20-26	[settings of chansons]
26v-27	*Ave sanctissima* (Sermisy)
27v-29v	*Fantasia sopra al detto*
30-31	*Proba me domine*
31v-33	*Fantasia sopra al detto*

The print concludes with a set of six dances with variations.

I would like to examine here in some detail Paladin's *Fantasia sopra Quand'io penso al martir'*, which is found immediately following Paladin's intabulation of the vocal model. Arcadelt's original madrigal on this text by Petrarch was published for the first time in 1541 (RISM 1541-9) by A. Gardano in Venice, and it can be found in numerous other instrumental adaptations during the remainder of the sixteenth century.[7] The fantasia (see the complete transcription given as Example. 2) exploits three elements, or motives (designated in Example 1 as A, B & C), all of which are presented in the first measures of the madrigal. Motives A and B are vertically superimposed, one on top of the other, from the beginning of the madrigal on the words, "Quand'io pens'al martire"; motive C appears soon after, at the twelfth semibreve, on the words "corro per gir'a morte." These three motives borrowed from Arcadelt constitute the entire motivic material in the fantasia—motives that Paladin used to create an entirely new piece. These borrowings are easily noticeable in the fantasia: Motive A is present from the beginning to just after m. 50; motive B is employed from mm. 51-88, and again from mm. 95-99; finally, motive C is used from mm. 160-90. Between

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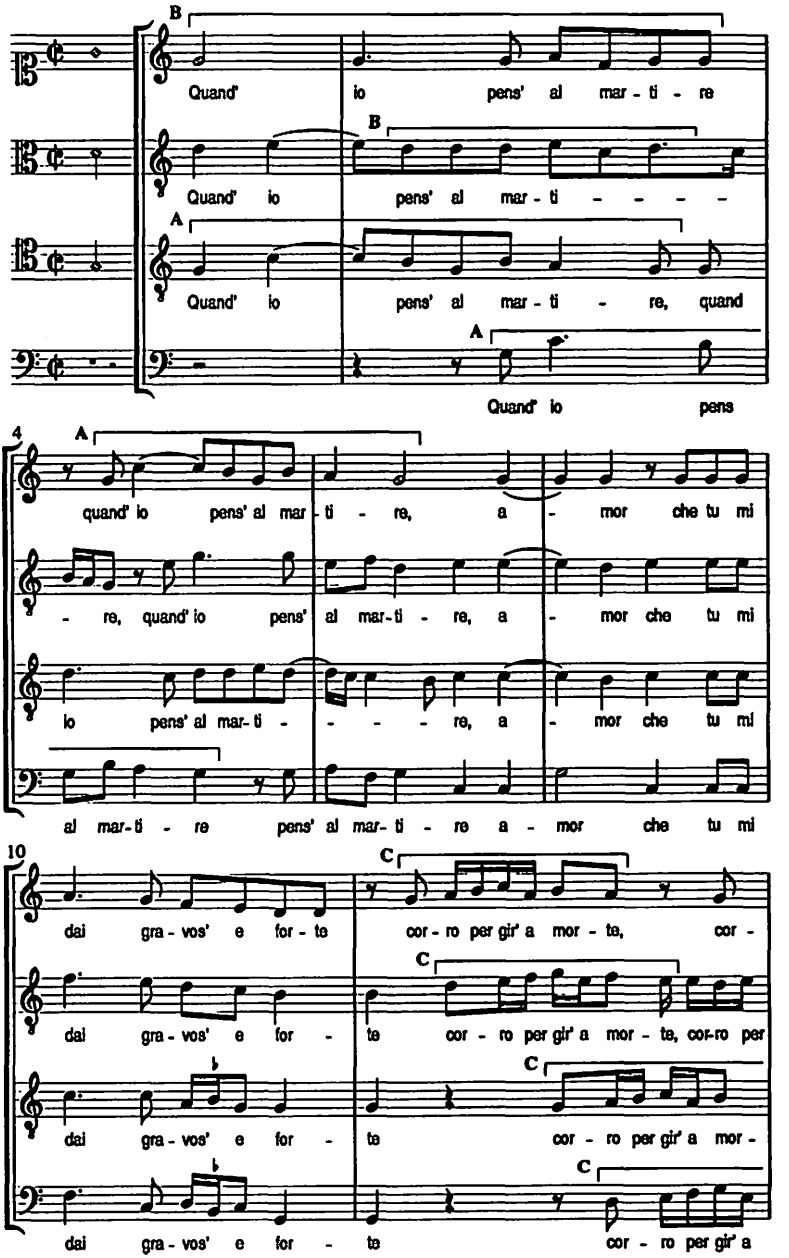
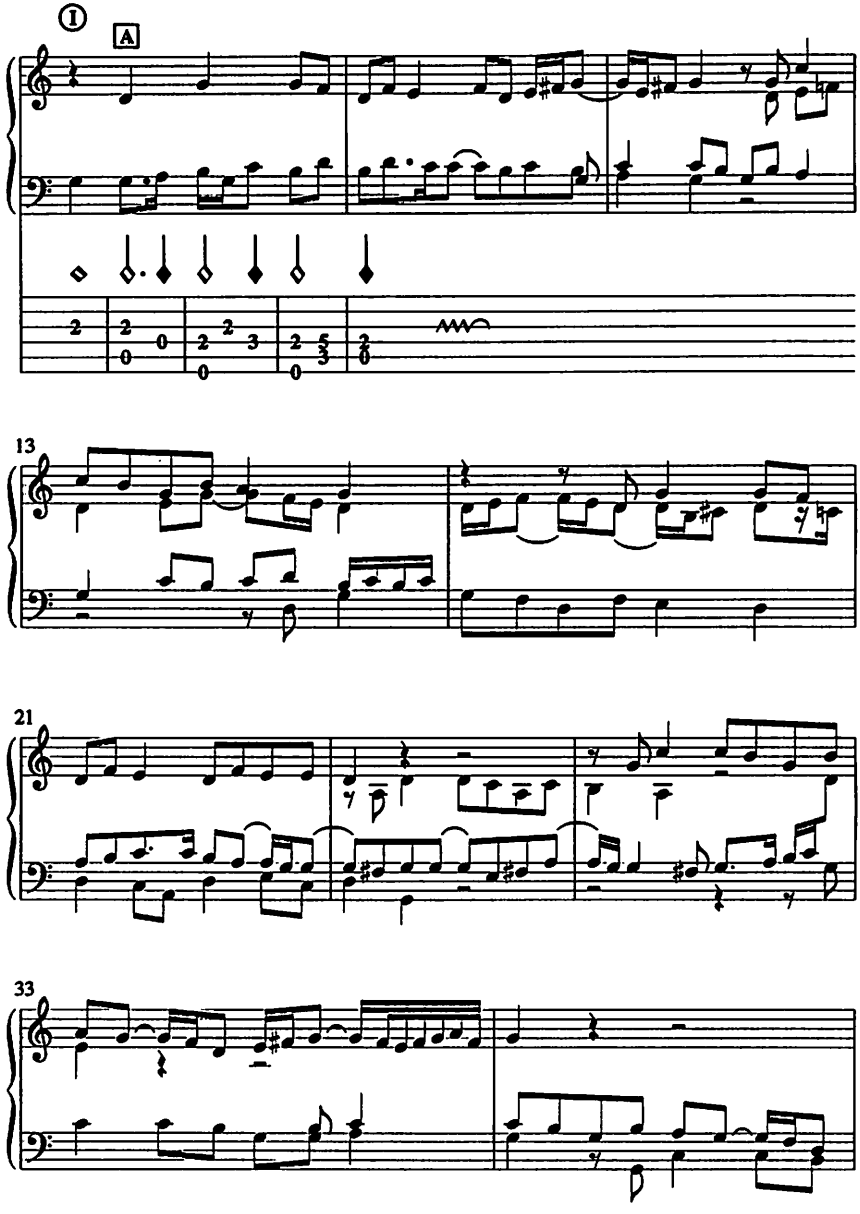
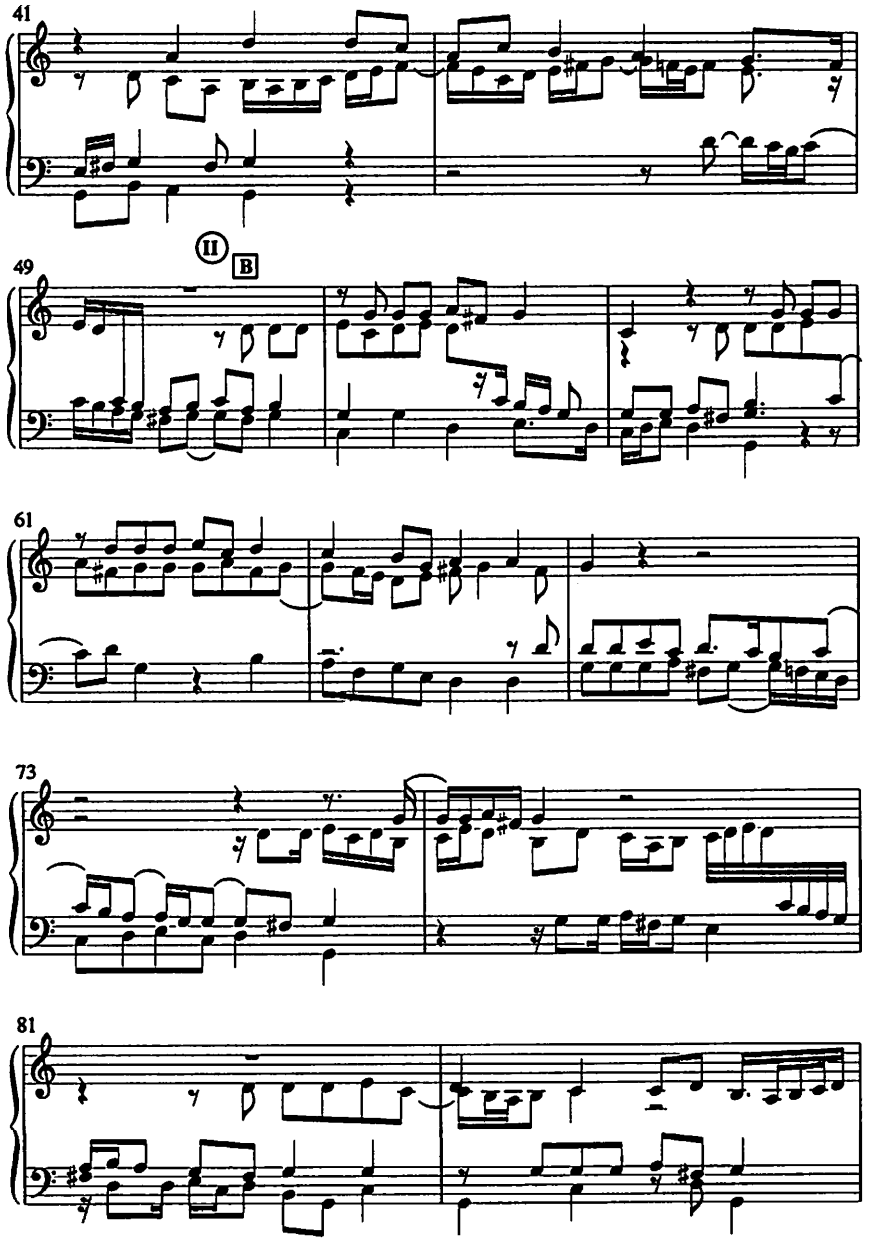
[7] See Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* (Cambridge, MA., 1965), p. 544.

these "thematic" areas freer passages are deployed; these can be designated as "episodes" for their similarity in function to episodes in a standard fugue.

EXAMPLE 1: J. Arcadelt, *Quand'io penso al martir* (Venice, 1541)

EXAMPLE 2: J.P. Paladin, *Fantasia sopra al detto madrigal* (Lyon, 1560)

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B
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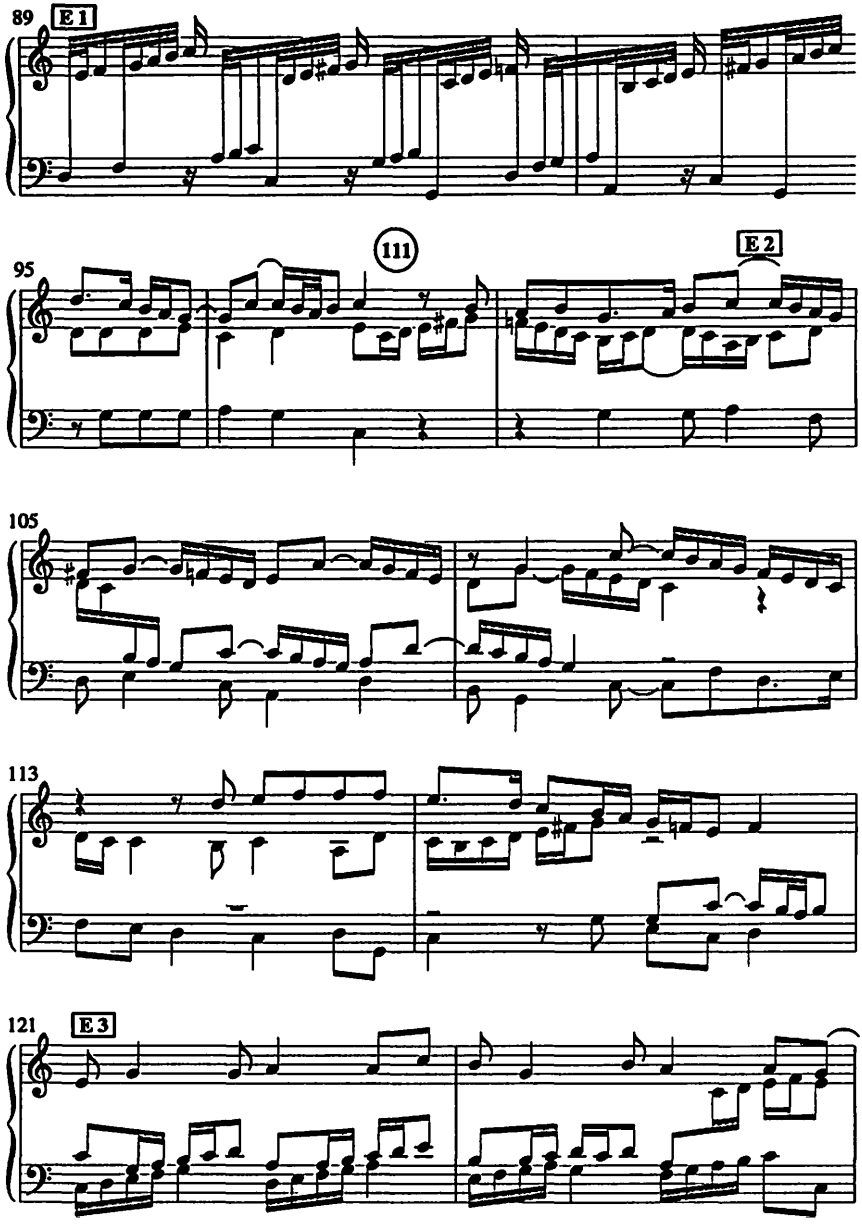
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E 1
95
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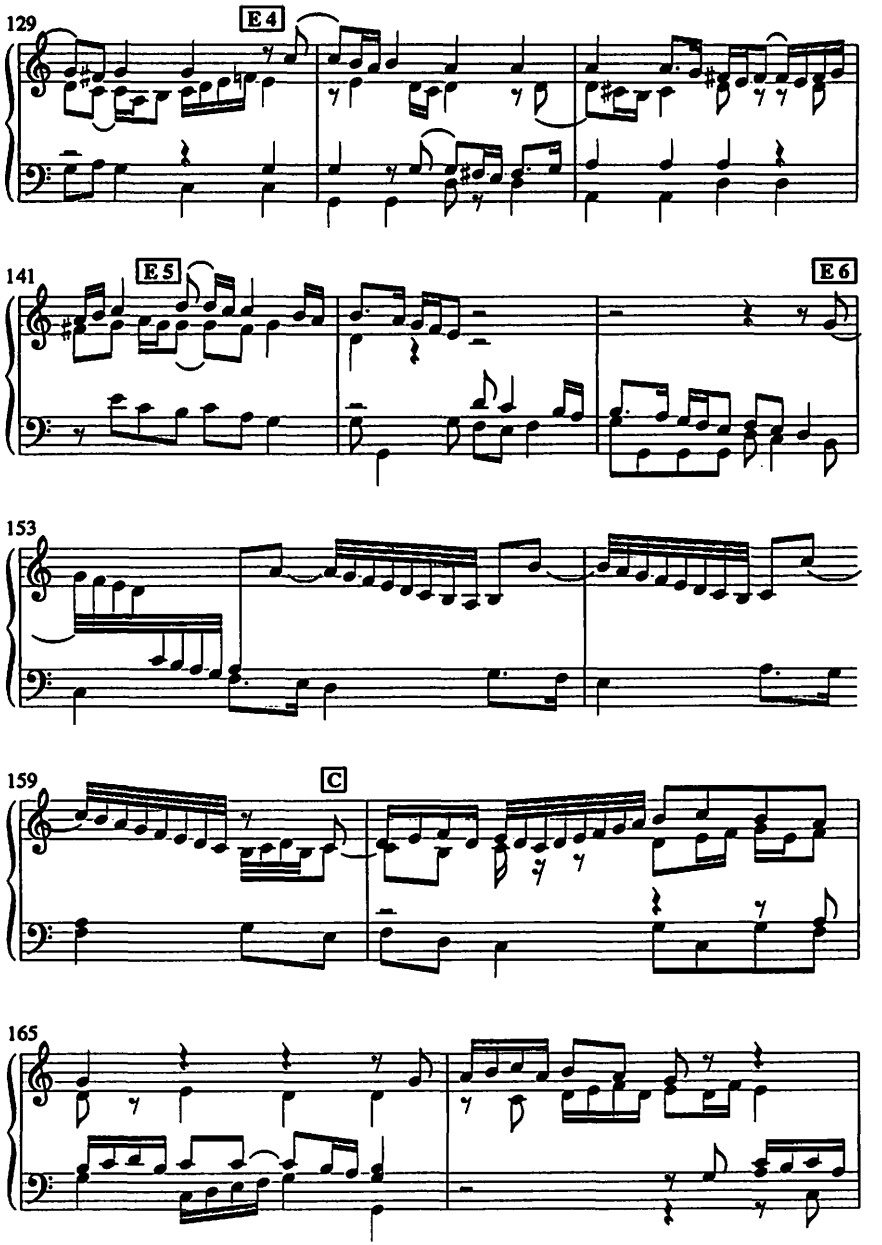
E 3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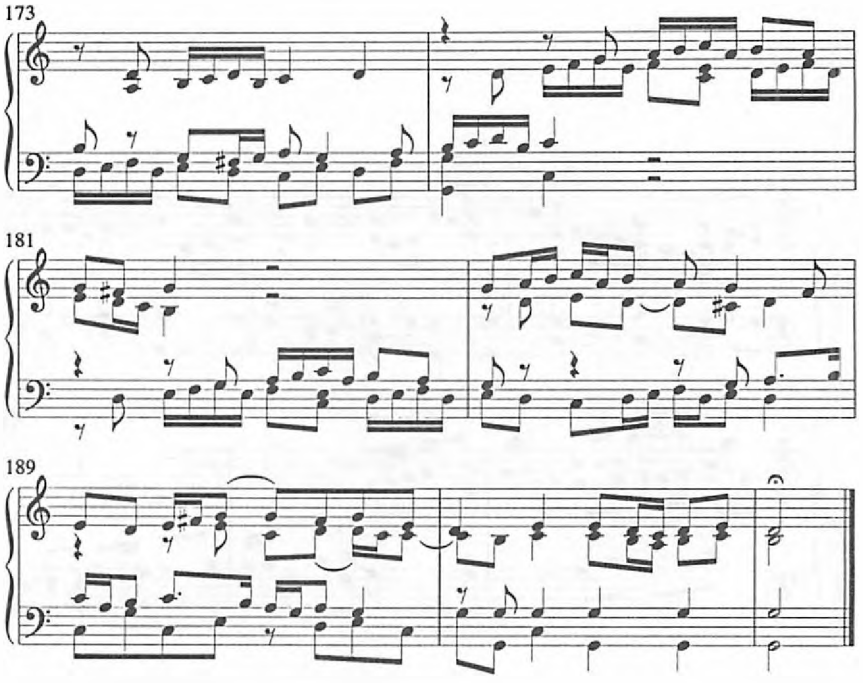

The sectionalization of the fantasia, from which emerges its basic form, might be expressed in the following manner (see Example 2):

Section I: mm. 1-51, on motive A, cadencing on G (first degree).

Section II: mm. 52-99, on motive B, cadencing on C (fourth degree), with an episode E1 from mm. 89-95.

Section III: from mm. 100 to the end, moving through episodes E2-E6, followed by the appearance of motive C and a brief coda, cadencing on G (first degree).

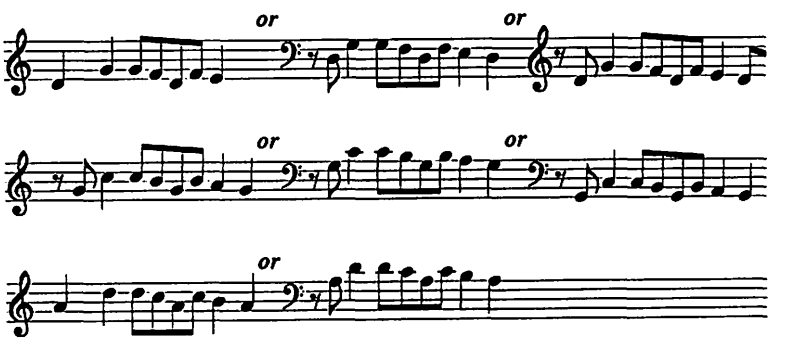
This clear and balanced scheme is articulated—and this is something that seems worthy of mention—within an even number of *modus* (50 x 4 semibreves), a plan that testifies to the mathematical rigor of Jean Paul Paladin in planning the formal construction of this fantasia.[8]

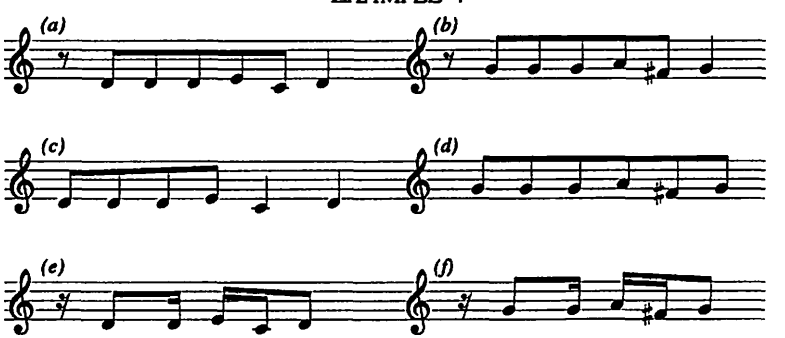
[8] This point had not yet been observed by the time of the 1986 Paladin edition, and it is for this reason that the transcription offered here (Ex. 2) differs from that published in the Corpus des luthistes français edition.

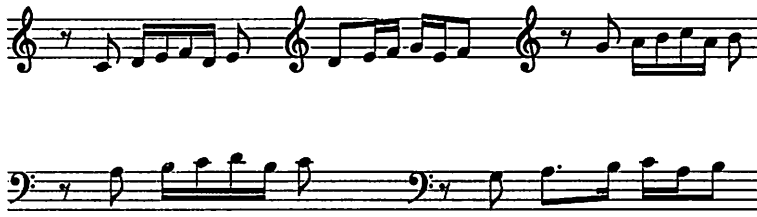
What is already clear from this overview of the formal outlines of the fantasia, is the considerable distance that separates Arcadelt and Paladin as well as the common bond that unites them. We are now in a better position to examine the autonomous compositional procedures of the lutenist Paladin. After examining his treatment of the three borrowed motives, I will turn to the nature and process of development of the episodes.

The Treatment of the Borrowed Motives A, B, & C

The first motive A is presented by Arcadelt always in the same fashion, whether in rhythm or pitch. It is an entirely different case with Paladin, who subjects this motive to numerous transformations while broadening the field of his own contrapuntal possibilities. Example 3 accounts for the different configurations of the motive as used by Paladin in section I of the fantasia: three transpositions on *D*, *G*, and *A*, with variable rhythmic beginnings. There is, therefore, a contrapuntal extension of the motive borrowed from Arcadelt.

EXAMPLE 3

Motive B, which appears only once in the madrigal, is manipulated both melodically and rhythmically by Paladin, and presented in six different forms (see Ex. 4); in Examples 4c and 4d the motives are asymmetrical with respect to meter, while in 4e and 4f the rhythmic values are diminished by half.

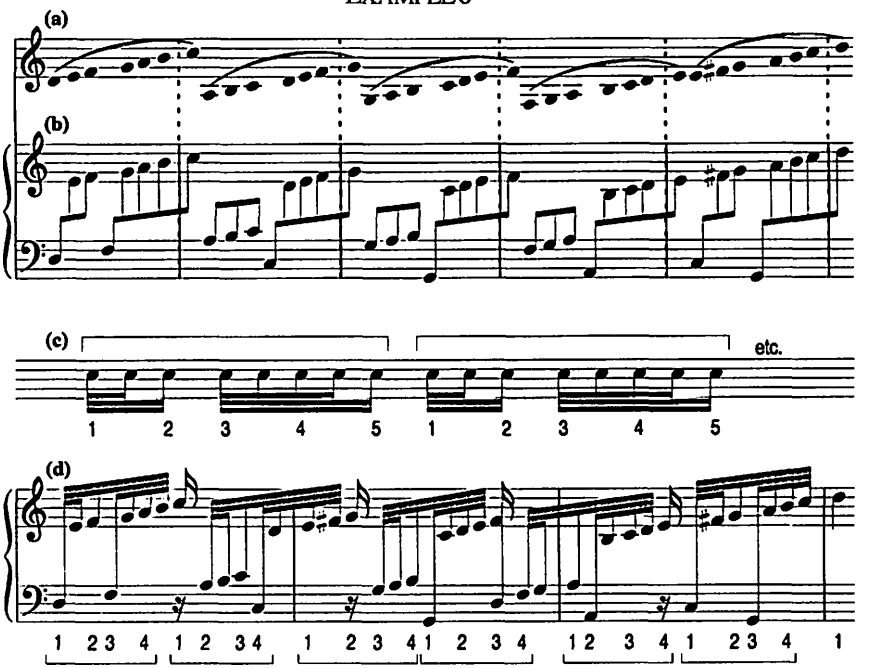
EXAMPLE 4

Example 5 shows the principal configurations of motive C, which, like the other two motives, testifies to Paladin's own contrapuntal efforts towards a new development of borrowed motives. This illustrates, if more proof is necessary, the competence of a lutenist who managed to enlarge a given vocal model as well as transform it in completely new ways. By extending the borrowings to transpositions beyond that of the fifth (motive C, in particular, is transposed to C, D, G, and A), as well as by the metric and rhythmic manipulation of motives, Paladin goes well beyond the traditional limits of vocal writing of the time, a procedure no doubt justified by the particular process of instrumental composition that is freed from the metrical and syntactical constraints demanded by a text. Here, Paladin gives equal emphasis to the use of materials that have not been borrowed from the vocal model, non-motivic material that become "episodes," and which are indigenous to the field of instrumental music.

EXAMPLE 5

The Episodes

Six episodes can be distinguished, designated in Example 2 above as E1 to E6. They reveal another type of writing, one dominated by ascending and descending sequences. The contrapuntal structure of voices in superimposed registers gives way to a more "diagonal" type of writing whose range extends from lowest to highest pitches—that is, an instrumental range. These episodes are made up of stereotypical elements commonly used by lutenists—scales, ready-made formulas, short motives in canon—none of which derive literally from Arcadelt's madrigal. Section III might be understood as a showcase for such formulas until m. 160, the point at which the model returns with the motive C.

But the banality of this material, along with the episodes, should not obscure the genius with which Paladin incorporates them into the work. Seen from this perspective, E1 merits greater attention. Melodically, it is

made up of scale fragments with octave displacements and transpositions of certain notes and sequences, respectively (see Examples 6a & 6b which align the basic melodic scheme of the episode with Paladin's realization to show the manner by which the lutenist avoids a perfunctory or stereotypical solution). To this melodic structure, the lutenist imposes a rhythmically-regular pattern equalling five sixteenth notes of transcription (see Example 6c). This is repeated five times for a total of twenty-five sixteenth notes—that is, 24 + 1—which conforms to the overall length of the duple-meter piece, or (6 x 4) + 1 (see Example 6d). This very original combination of melodic and rhythmic elements poses a number of problems for the transcriber, but is represented, as usual, with absolute simplicity in the tablature. This simplicity should not, however, hide the genius of the passage.

EXAMPLE 6

As concerns mode, Paladin respects the orientation of the model (8th mode, G plagal). To be sure, the ambitus of different voices is by no means easy to discern within the midst of instrumental counterpoint, but Paladin normally adheres to the proper cadences of the mode.

Paladin's three remaining fantasias of the same type can, unfortunately, be examined only in a more synoptic and rapid fashion. The *Fantasia sopra Alcun' non po saper*[9] uses only the initial contrapuntal structure of the model, a motive of four notes forming a descending sequence of two thirds, as seen in Example 7a-b. (The madrigal is conceived in mode 3 on E, but the examples taken from the tablature appear a tone lower, in D with two flats, assuming a lute tuned in G.) Paladin's entire fantasia is an elaboration of this unique idea of four notes. In the madrigal, the counterpoint developed on this motive extends only for the rather short duration of twelve semibreves. Paladin's composition, on the other hand, extends this motive for 125 semibreves in a coherent and homogeneous fashion. It is in every sense a "monothematic" development of counterpoint. To the three traditional transpositions of the motive presented in the vocal model, on the first, fourth, and seventh degrees of the mode, Paladin's fantasia adds two more, on the third and fifth degrees (Ex. 7c) and, more frequently than not, repeats the first note of the motive at the end to acheive a configuration of notes that is balanced within itself. Transpositions to the second and seventh degrees are without a doubt avoided in order to preserve the minor third in the first interval of the motive and to avoid alterations to the mode itself. Similar to the work studied earlier, the rhythmic movement of the motive is quite active (diminution, augmentation, syncopation). In Examples 7d-g, several significant fragments have been selected to show that the lutenist, free from the constraint imposed by any literary component, is dedicated towards evoking the contrapuntal potential of the initial musical cell; one which, in the end, is but a pretext serving as the composition's point of departure.

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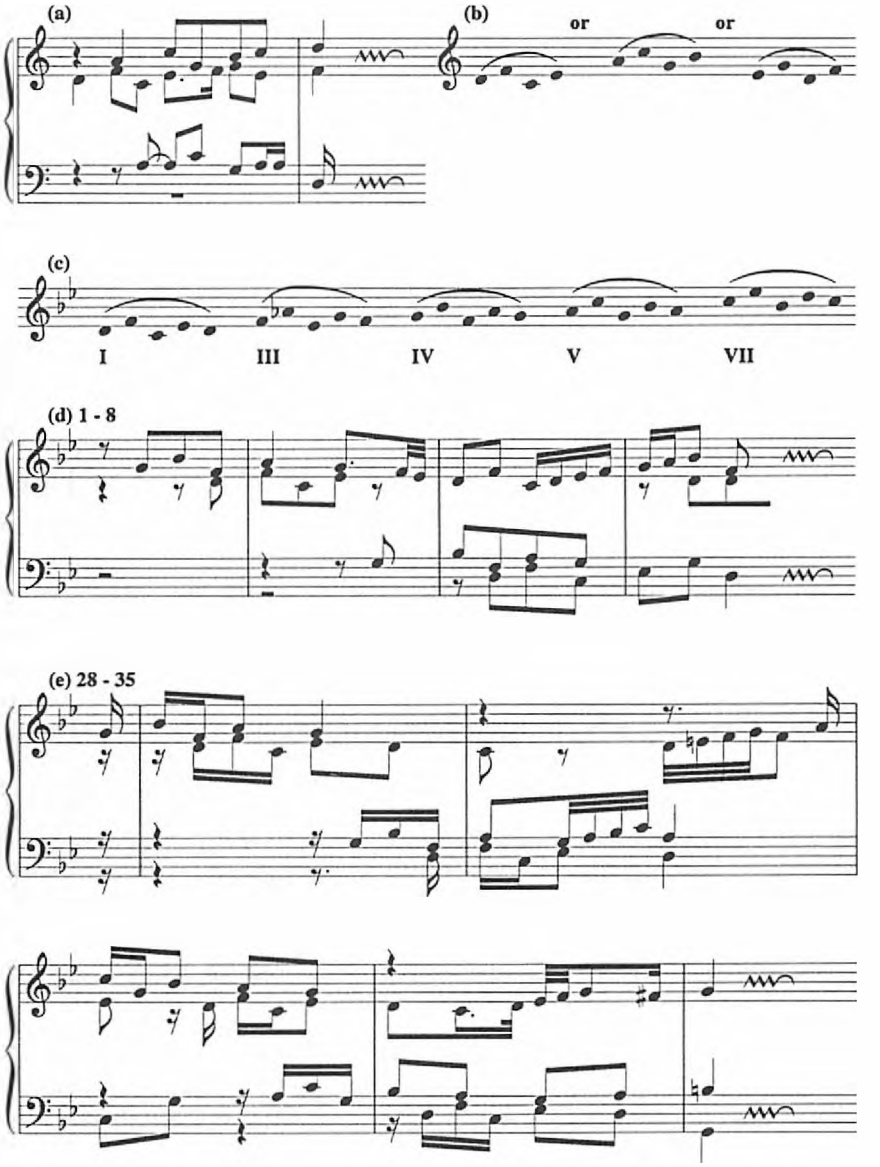
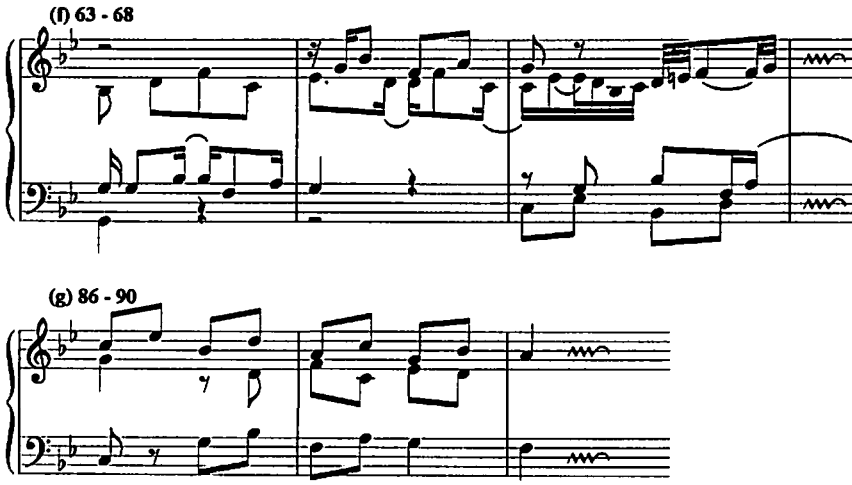
9 Fols. 13-14. See *Œuvres de Jean-Paul Paladin*, pp. 97-100. This work has been the subject of a similar investigation regarding parody procedure by Paul Martell, in "Parody versus Paraphrase in G. P. Paladino's Fantasia on 'Alcun non puo saper,'" this *Journal* 19 (1986), pp. 1-12.

EXAMPLE 7

In the two fantasias based on motets, the *Fantasia sopra Ave Sanctissima* (on a model of Sermisy) and the *Fantasia sopra Proba me Domine* (on a model by Jacotin), Paladin takes a different path.[10] Rather than work on a small number of borrowed motives, as in the case of the madrigal fantasias, he exploits the much larger diversity of motives that are contained in the motet models which results, in many ways, in a new motet—without text, of course, but with the same series of melodic ideas treated in successive contrapuntal sequences.

Consequently, it is possible to make a step-by-step comparison of the sequence of events between the motets and the corresponding fantasias. Example 8 delineates in two columns the common elements of Sermisy's three-voice work with Paladin's four-voice fantasia on *Ave Sanctissima*. The left column contains the motives, numbered I to X, used in Sermisy's motet. Above the first note is the number of the semibreve at which the respective motive first appears, and at the end of each staff, in parentheses, appears the number of semibreves used by the passage to develop this motive. In this manner we can compare what is given in the model with the analogous passages in the lute fantasia (presented in the column on the right). It is easy to verify that Paladin uses all of the original motives (except in the case of VI, VII, and VIII,

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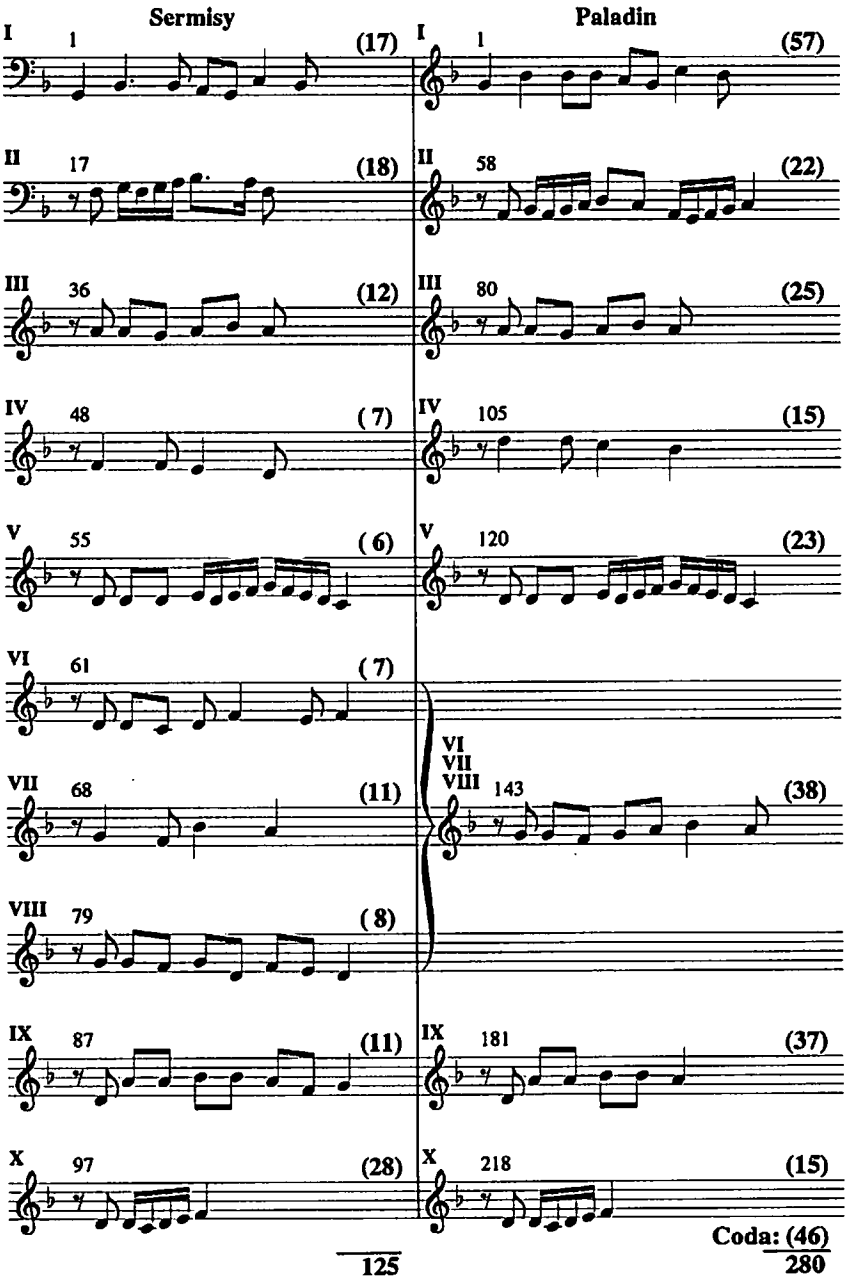
[10] The *Fantasia sopra Ave Sanctissima* and *Fantasia sopra Proba me Domine* are contained in *Œuvres de Jean-Paul Paladin*, pp. 42-56 & 57-68, respectively; their vocal models were printed in 1542 and 1535 by Pierre Attaingnant, respectively (see *Œuvres de Jean-Paul Paladin*, p. xiv).

EXAMPLE 8


Sermisy
Paladin
I 1 (17)
II 17 (18)
III 36 (12)
IV 48 (7)
V 55 (6)
VI 61 (7)
VII 68 (11)
VIII 79 (8)
IX 87 (11)
X 97 (28)
125
I 1 (57)
II 58 (22)
III 80 (25)
IV 105 (15)
V 120 (23)
VI VII VIII 143 (38)
IX 181 (37)
X 218 (15)
Coda: (46)
280

which are in some ways amalgamated into one motive in the fantasia); but he exploits them into longer contrapuntal sequences than does Sermisy, whose writing had to be more restrained in view of ensuring that the liturgical text would remain singable. With its 280 semibreves, the lute fantasia is twice as long as the model. The inclusion of episodes is limited to the end of the fantasia, as a large discourse where virtuosity is given a free rein.

The fantasia on *Proba me Domine* functions in exactly the same fashion, while introducing a characteristic that is germane to the present discussion. In his original motet, Jacotin inserts a short passage in triple time (amounting to four perfect semibreves) just before the final drive to the cadence on the fifth degree of the mode, for the apparent purpose of emphasizing this tone of the work prior to the return to duple meter and the closing passage. Paladin takes this triple-time idea and amplifies it to seven perfect semibreves. Thus, he borrows in this case not only a contrapuntal point, but a formal procedure of articulation.

* * *

This examination of Paladin's fantasias calls for some final remarks. First, it appears that we must admit a supplementary category to the typology of instrumental repertories of the sixteenth century. After having considered in an overly broad fashion that this consisted of two unrelated categories—pieces adapting and ornamenting vocal models, and compositions named *fantasia* and *ricercar* that were entirely free of any borrowed model—we must shade this picture to account for a more complex reality, for which Jean-Paul Paladin's book furnishes an excellent example. If one chose to classify the types of instrumental pieces on an "axis of invention," that is to say, by increasing degrees of freedom of imagination on the part of a composer/instrumentalist, we would have the following scale, from smallest to highest:

• *The strict setting of a vocal model,* just as it appeared in its own notation, corresponding to the first phase of intabulation on the lute, as described by Adrian Le Roy in his *Instruction.*[11]

• *The intabulation of a vocal model enriched* by a more or less dense and imaginative ornamentation, combining turns and passages in diminution—what Le Roy considers as a supreme goal, somewhat like the Art of Rhetoric.[12]

• The *fantasia sopra...* a madrigal, motet, or chanson in which the motivic material is borrowed but, as we have seen in the present essay, where the composer transforms this material into an entirely new polyphonic work. This category can also be diversified into more specific practices: the development of only a single motive, or many, or all, as seen in the Paladin fantasias just studied. Since what is being borrowed is usually not made obvious in the title of such a work, the investigation of vocal models is a long and complicated process that is exacerbated by the difficulty in identifying short and malleable motives of an often-stereotypical character.

• *The free fantasia or ricercar* in which all of the compositional elements are newly invented.

The category of the *fantasia sopra...* invites us to reflect on the actual level on which instrumentalists exercised their powers of invention. Unlike composers of vocal music, they were not guided by preexistent elements that made their compositions susceptible to a determined form. Rather, I believe that it is in the elaboration of new musical structures where one finds the true creative activity, not in the invention of motives. In Paladin's fantasias one can clearly see how models can be augmented to the point of being surpassed.

Paladin had nothing to be envious about the musical competence of composers of Masses, motets, and chansons; he ceased being a minstrel improviser and arranger, like the instrumentalist of the preceding century. Beyond these fantasias, he appears as a master of the

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[11] See *Œuvres d'Adrian Le Roy, Les Instructions pour le luth (1574),* ed. J. Jacquot, P. Y. Sordes & J-M. Vaccaro (Paris, 1977).

[12] *Œuvres d'Adrian Le Roy,* p. 13.

art of counterpoint and as a composer of the highest level. Because of the small handful of works that has come down to us from Paladin, his historical reputation is not yet as large among performers as it is among musicologists. It is hoped that this small study will draw further attention to him and that lutenists will heretofore venture to play his works, despite their well-known technical difficulties. In the eyes of those who know his music, Paladin is one of the greatest among the great masters of instrumental music of the Renaissance.

CENTRE D'ETUDES SUPÉRIEURES DE LA RENAISSANCE;
UNIVERSITÉ FRANÇOIS-RABELAIS
(TOURS)

Translated by V. Coelho

The Tradition of the *La sol fa re mi* Theme from Josquin to the Neapolitans through an Anonymous 4-part Ricercar (ca. 1567)

BY *DINKO FABRIS*

IN THIS STUDY I WOULD LIKE TO TRACE the history of an obsession. It is with the theme based on the notes *la sol fa re mi*, with which Josquin, according to Glareanus' perhaps apocryphal story, mocked the reassuring but insincere response of his patron, the Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, to his request for payment—"Lassa fare a mi," from which Josquin derived the tenor of the well-known *Missa la sol fa re mi*, published by Petrucci in 1502.[1] Somewhat less well-known is the *Capriccio sopra la, sol, fa, re, mi* by Girolamo Frescobaldi, published in 1624. After Frescobaldi, the subject was again employed by Giovanni Cavaccio in 1626 (his *Toccata III* is based on a transposed version of the subject, D-C-Bb-G-A) and in a toccata by Froberger.[2] In this study, an intermediate point between these two extremes will be examined, as represented by an anonymous 4-voice ricercar on the same subject that has lent itself to many diverse and interesting speculations.

The work is found among the anonymous ricercars contained in the so-called "Bourdeney" Codex, an enormous anthology in score format, probably copied in Parma after 1580.[3] Anthony Newcomb has

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[1] The anecdote regarding the derivation of the title is told by Heinrich Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547), p. 441 [*recte* 440]; see, among other transmissions of the story, Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954), p. 238. A more detailed study is in James Haar, "Remarks on the 'Missa La sol fa re mi'," in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival and Conference... New York, 1971*, ed. E. Lowinsky & B. Blackburn (Oxford, 1976), pp. 564-88.

[2] See *Girolamo Frescobaldi: Il primo libro di capricci*, in Monumenti Musicali Italiani viii: *Opere complete di Girolamo Frescobaldi* iv, ed. Etienne Darbelley (Milan, 1984), pp. vii, 28-36. For a catalogue of seventeenth-century instrumental prints, including Cavaccio's, see Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700* (Florence, 1952) and the *Volume secondo di aggiunte e correzioni...* (Florence, 1968). Froberger's 1649 book contains the *Fantasia IV Sopra Sol La Re*, which has as its second theme *Lascia fare mi;* see *Œuvres complètes pour clavecin* I, ed. Howard Schott (Paris, 1977), p. 40.

[3] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vma. Ms. 851. The manuscript is described in Oscar Mischiati, "Un' antologia manoscritta in partitura del secolo XVI: Il ms. Bourdeney della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 10 (1975), pp. 265-328. Even though the bulk of the manuscript was copied in the 1580s, the codex contains a repertory of some twenty years earlier. For a recent study on the Bourdeney manuscript, see Robert Judd, "The Use of Notational Formats at the

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attributed the anonymous ricercars to Giaches Brumel (d. 1564), on the basis of concordances between four of these works and fantasias attributed "di Giaches" in a Roman manuscript from the Chigi collection that also contains works by Luzzaschi and Frescobaldi.[4] Alternatively, I shall venture a new hypothesis on the origins of these ricercars based in part on a previously unstudied nineteenth-century copy of the Bourdeney Codex, in which these pieces are attributed to the lutenist and composer Fabrizio Dentice and dated to the year 1567.[5] In fact, it should be pointed out that only one of the ricercars in the Bourdeney manuscript is attributed to a composer and that composer is Dentice.[6] The Bourdeney "copy" was written by André Eler, the first professor of counterpoint and fugue at the Conservatoire Nationale in Paris, during the early nineteenth century. In my opinion, it is highly probable that Eler copied the name and the date from parts of the manuscript that have since been trimmed or lost.[7]

Of Neapolitan background, Fabrizio Dentice was held in the highest esteem by his contemporaries, both as a virtuoso lutenist and as a composer. Some twenty ricercars for lute are attributed to Dentice in extant tablatures, revealing a compositional skill towards writing dense, imitative textures that take the player to the limits of mid-sixteenth-century lute technique. Departing from the idea that the Bourdeney ricercar on *La sol fa re mi* is attributable to Dentice, I have constructed a tablature "transcription" for lute in G of the entire four-part composition—a procedure that runs rather contrary to the standard musicological practice of making a staff-notation transcription from tablature. The result, of which the opening appears in Example 1, demonstrates that this ricercar is perfectly playable on the lute, without

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Keyboard: A Study of Printed Sources of Keyboard Music in Spain and Italy, c. 1500-1700," 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1988, I, chap. 5.

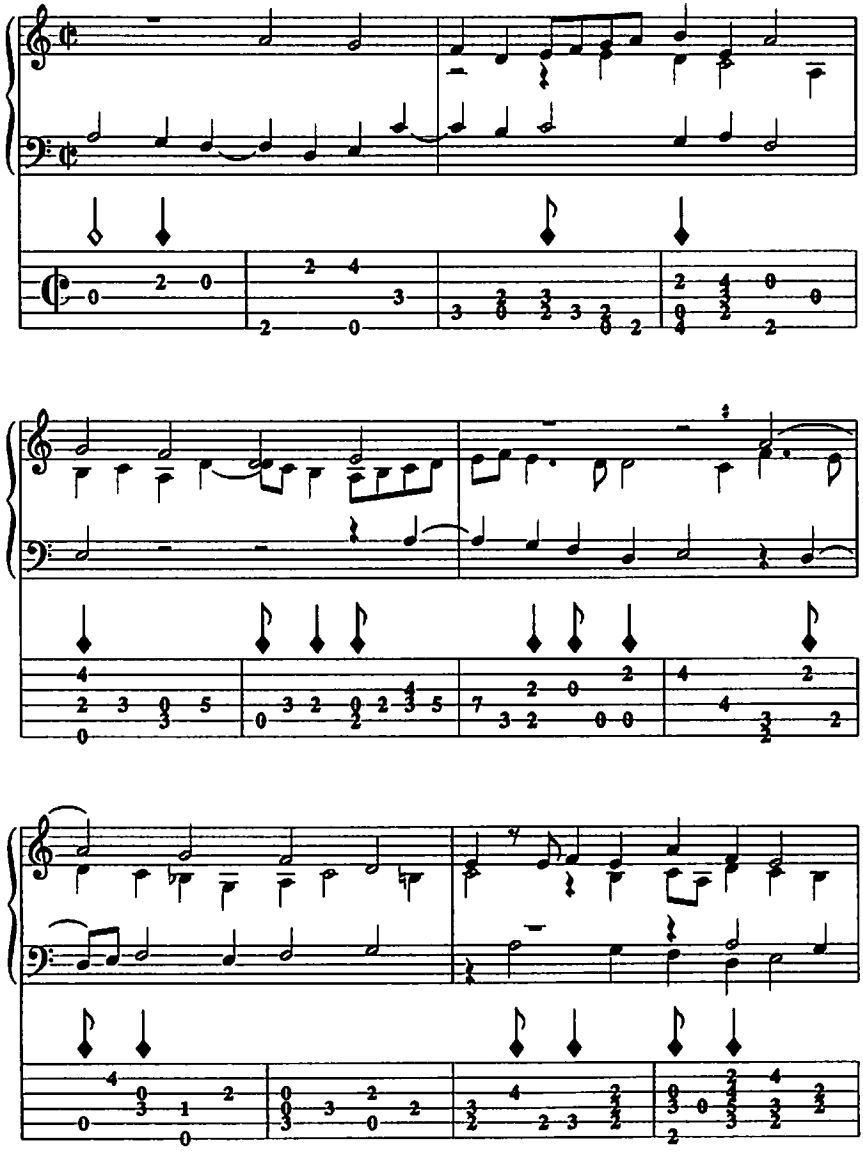
[4] See Anthony Newcomb, "The Anonymous Ricercars of the Bourdeney Codex," in *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. A. Silbiger (Durham, NC., 1987), pp. 97-123. A modern edition appears in *The Ricercars of the Bourdeney Codex: Giaches Brumel [?], Fabritio Dentice, Anonymous*, ed. A. Newcomb. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 89 (Madison, 1991), p. 89. The "Giaches" fantasias appear in the manuscripts Q.VIII 205-206 in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (facsimile reprint by Garland [New York, 1989]).

[5] Preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, "Collection Eler" [7 volumes], vol. V (Rés. 2163).

[6] Biographical information on Dentice as well as a list of his works appears in Dinko Fabris, "Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice, nobile napoletano, compositore del secondo Cinquecento," *Studi Musicali* 21 (1991), pp. 61-114.

[7] See Dinko Fabris, "Il ruolo di Napoli nella tradizione del ricercare in partitura: una sconosciuta raccolta di Fabrizio Dentice del 1567?" paper presented at the XVth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Madrid, 1992.

the alteration of even a single note, and it might well be considered to have been conceived for the instrument.

EXAMPLE 1: *Ricercare* [sopra *La sol fa re mi*], Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. 851 ("Bourdeney") and tablature reconstruction

In order to emphasize this point, I have decided to contrast this work with another ricercar based on *La sol fa re mi*, this time written originally in Italian tablature (see Example 2). The work appears in the manuscript Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotheket, vokalmusik i handskrift 87, which dates from the same period as the Bourdeney ricercar.[8] This work is attributed to "Giaches," a point to which I shall return later on. During the course of preparing a modern edition of this manuscript, the possibility has emerged that the compiler was a Spaniard, as suggested by the name "Enriquez," which appears twice in the manuscript hidden in a monogram on fols. 43 and 63.

It is not coincidental that following Josquin's original, most of the sixteenth-century settings of the *La sol fa re mi* subject appear, in fact, in Spanish sources for vihuela. These include Mudarra's *Glosa sobre un Benedictus de una Misa de Josquin que va sobre la sol fa re mi* (1546); Pisador's *Missa sobre la sol fa re mi* (incomplete) as well as the *Fantasia del quarto tono sobre la, sol, fa, re, mi* (1552; see Example 3a); and Fuenllana's *Segunda parte de la gloria de la Missa de la sol fa re mi a 4* for voice and vihuela (1554). A few composers who were active during these years in Italy instead used the subject for ricercars which were copied in parts, perhaps for instrumental ensemble, such as Tiburtino (*Fantasie e Recerchari a tre voci* [=1549$_7$, no. 12]) and Ruffo (1568, *Capricci in Musica a tre voci* [=1564$_8$, no. 1]), the latter of whose works are also represented in Uppsala 87. In 1549, Jaques Buus published a *Ricercar Terzo* based on the modified subject D-C-Bb-G-<Bb>-A, possibly in imitation of a ricercar by Giulio Segni from the *Musica Nova* of 1540, in which the subject appears in the bass as A-G-F-<E>-D-E.[9] The only other Mass settings based on the subject—all, presumably, in homage to Josquin—are by Jachet of Mantua (the

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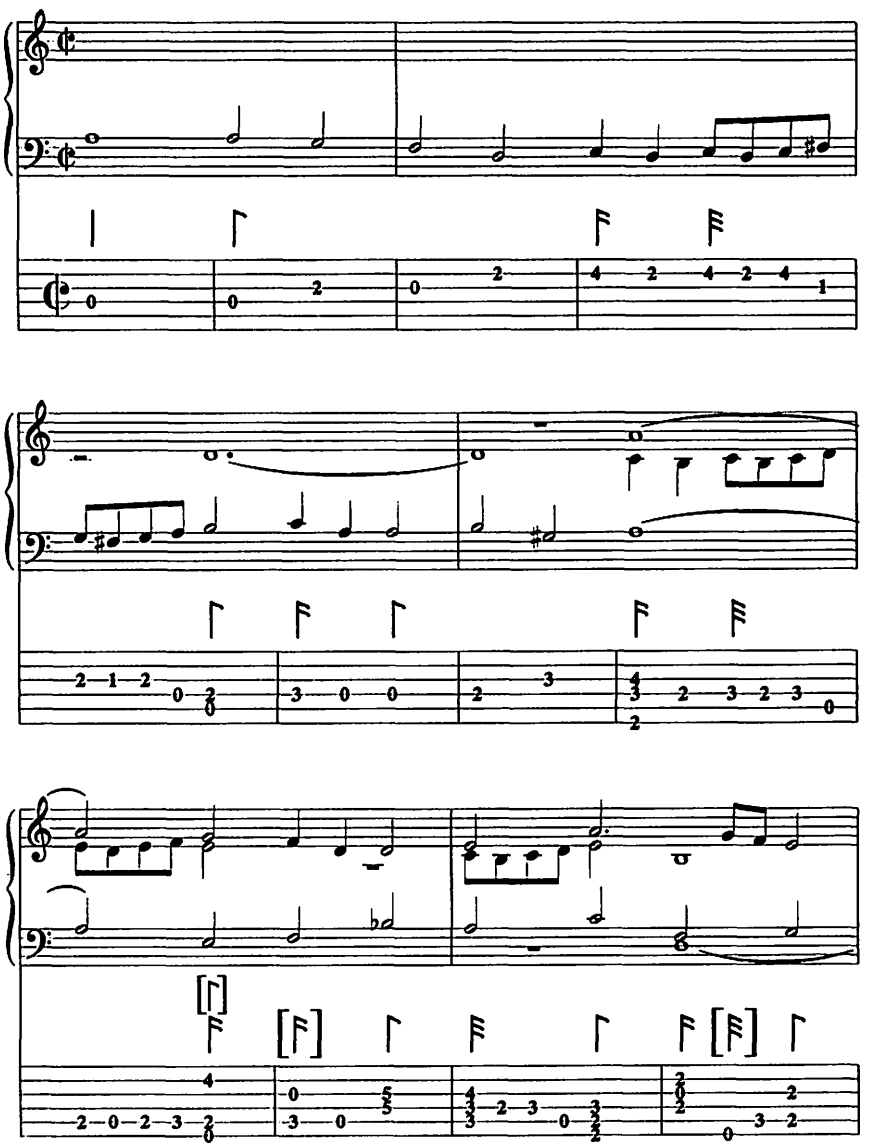
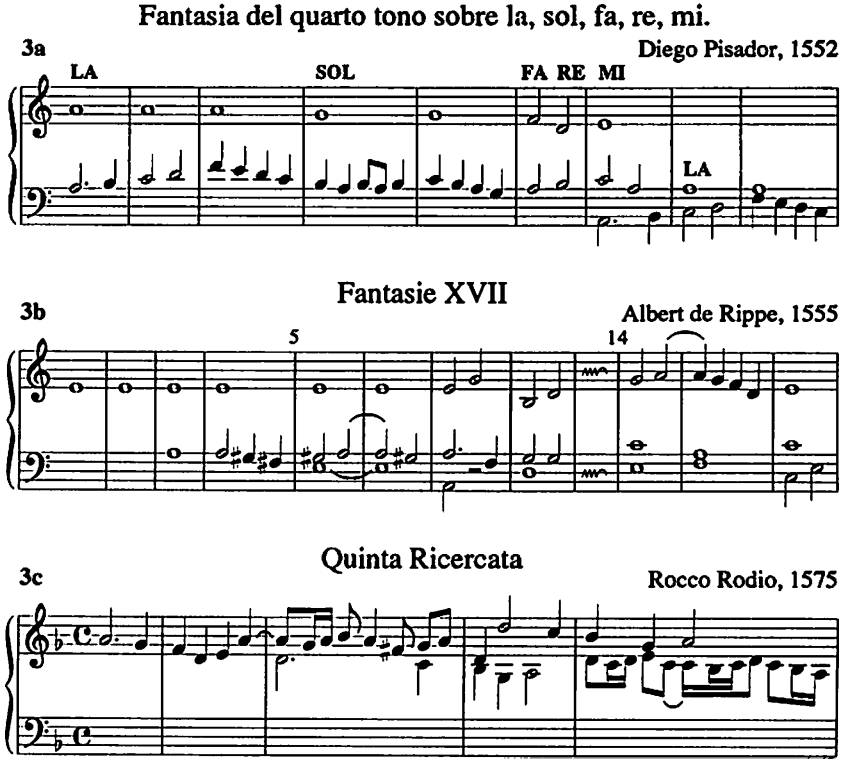
[8] Dating from the 1560s, the manuscript contains a large amount of both French and Italian vocal music as well as some ricercars. For a first study of the manuscript, see B. Hambreus, *Codex carminum gallicorum. Une étude sur le ms. mus. voc. 87 de la bibliothèque de l'Université d'Uppsala* (Uppsala, 1961). A modern, critical edition along with a facsimile of the entire manuscript is being prepared by Dinko Fabris and Jean-Michel Vaccaro under the auspices of the Société Française de Musicologie and the Società Italiana di Musicologia. As Vaccaro has shown, the manuscript was part of the collection of Guillaume Morlaye, the lutenist and publisher of the lute books of Albert de Rippe, who is represented in the Uppsala manuscript. See the introduction to *Guillaume Morlaye II. Œuvres pour le luth. Manuscrits d'Uppsala*, ed. J-M. & N. Vaccaro (Paris, 1989), pp. i-xxx.

[9] For the contents of and information about these prints, see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* (Cambridge, MA., 1965); on collections of ricercars, see H. Colin Slim, "The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy c. 1500-1550 with Reference to Parallel Forms in European Lute Music of the same Period," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1961, 2 vols.

EXAMPLE 2: *Ricercare sopra La sol fa re mi* [Giaches organista] from Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotheket, vokalmusik i handskrift 87, fol. 60v

Treviso versions are dated to 1543 and 1564)[10] and Constanzo Porta from 1578.[11] Both of these works have links to the Bourdeney manuscript. Jachet's Mass has further confounded the problem of identifying the many musicians named "Giaches" during this time, and someone who was apparently familiar with this work appended the title "di Giaches organista" to the Uppsala ricercar. As for Porta, there exist connections between him and the Bourdeney manuscript.[12]

EXAMPLES 3a-c

Of the great lutenists of the mid-sixteenth century, only one fantasia on *La sol fa re mi*, written by Albert de Rippe, has come down to us (see Example 3b). Though this particular work is not immediately

[10] This work is to be published in *Jachet of Mantua, Collected Works*, ed. P. Jackson & G. Nugent. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 54.

[11] An edition of this work edited by Oscar Mishiati appears in *Das Chorwerk* 93 (1965).

[12] See Oscar Mischiati, "Un antologia manoscritta in partitura," pp. 266 *et passim.*

relevant to the present discussion, it may eventually prove important in the as-yet unstudied but possible connection between the Mantuan lutenist and the music of the Iberian peninsula.[13] A characteristically long treatment—possibly an arrangement—of the *La sol fa re mi* theme is the anonymous *Fantasia* in Como, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 1.1.20, fols. 88v-91.[14] By far the most interesting use of the *La sol fa re mi* subject is in the *Quinta Ricercata* from the 1579 collection by the Neapolitan Rocco Rodio (see Example 3c).[15] Following more the style of the Uppsala rather than the Bourdeney ricercar, Rodio's 47-measure work restates the subject seven times in the soprano, five times in the tenor, and once in the bass, with an answer in the alto (and at times in other voices) appearing consistently at the fourth (D-C-Bb-G-A), rather than at the fifth, due to the work concluding in D.

It is of little importance that Josquin was not the first composer to use a subject based on *La sol fa re mi,* of which Torrefranca, Reese and Jeppesen had already found traces in a fifteenth-century villotta, as well as in a phrase from the Kyrie *Cunctipotens Genitor.*[16] Rather it is the brilliant polyphonic interplay acheived by Josquin through the obstinate repetition of the subject that so impressed composers of succeeding generations, particularly Spanish and Neapolitan.

Spanish and Neapolitan composers were the only ones to use yet another subject with similar "obstinance": the hymn *Ave Maris Stella,* on which is based both a Josquin Mass as well as an anonymous ricercar in the Bourdeney Codex. Once again, intabulations of Josquin's Mass appear exclusively in Spanish sources: Valderrábano (1547), Pisador (1552), Antonio and Hernando de Cabezón (1557, 1578), several versions in Venegas de Henestrosa (1557), and a rather interesting version in Rodio (1575), not to forget Bermudo's didactic setting in his

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[13] De Rippe's fantasia appeared in his *Cinquiesme Livre de Tablature de Leut* (Paris, 1555). A modern edition of the work appears as *Fantaisie XVII* in *Œuvres d'Albert de Rippe,* vol. I, ed. J-M. Vaccaro (Paris, 1972), pp. 108-13. Regarding the possible connection between Albert de Rippe and Spain, is is interesting to note the appearance of a paraphrased version of one of Albert's fantasies in Valderrábano's vihuela book of 1547 (*Fantasia en el segundo grado contrahecha a otra extrangera,* [fol. 68]), which appeared between the first Italian edition of Alberto's fantasies (in the "Casteliono Lute Book" [Milan, 1536]) and the first French edition published by Morlaye [Paris, 1552].

[14] I would like to thank Victor Coelho for drawing my attention to this piece. An introduction to the Como fantasias appears in Victor Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music* (New York, 1994).

[15] *Libro di ricercate a quattro voci di Rocco Rodio con alcune fantasie sopra varii canti fermi* (Naples, 1575). A partial modern edition of this print has been edited by M. S. Kastner (Padua, 1958); the *Quinta Ricercata* appears on pp. 28-29.

[16] See Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* p. 238 and James Haar, "Remarks on the 'Missa La sol fa re mi'," *et passim.*

Declaracion (fol. 114). Other than two other settings of the subject (by Cavazzoni and Paix), the remaining versions are Neapolitan, from Mayone's book of 1609 (which probably influenced Frescobaldi's choice of the hymn in his book of 1627) to the 1641 book of the Neapolitan Del Buono, entitled *Canoni, oblighi e sonate in varie maniere sopra l'Ave Maris Stella* (which reissued a celebrated Roman publication of 1610 by Francesco Soriano).[17]

The lute manuscript Cracow, Biblioteca Jagiellonska Mus. Ms. 40032 (formerly in Berlin, Preußischer Staatsbibliothek), copied at least partly in Naples at the close of the sixteenth century, confirms this Hispano-Neapolitan predilection in the appearance of four different ricercars on *Ave Maris Stella:* two anonymous; one by Castillo; and an embellished setting by Aguyles.[18]

Turning now to stylistic matters, the Uppsala and Bourdeney ricercars appear at first glance to be quite similar on many levels. Their overall lengths are almost identical (108 and 100 measures, respectively); both begin in the tenor voice; and they both make consistent use of quarter- and eighth-note motion. In a careful examination of the two versions, however, the differences that emerge are great enough that one must consider the two works as fundamentally different. The treatment of the subject in the Uppsala version, in contrast to all the other sources cited above, has a somewhat idealized prolongation of the theme that extends it into a closed progression in D: *La sol fa re mi - La sol fa mi re.* Moreover, as in Rodio's work, the subject is answered in most cases at the fourth (D) rather than at the fifth (E), as is characteristic of the Bourdeney ricercar. The Bourdeney work also contains a short triple-time section of fourteen measures that is more similar to Josquin's prototype than to the fantasias by Dentice and Albert de Rippe.[19] Finally, an element of the Bourdeney ricercar that is

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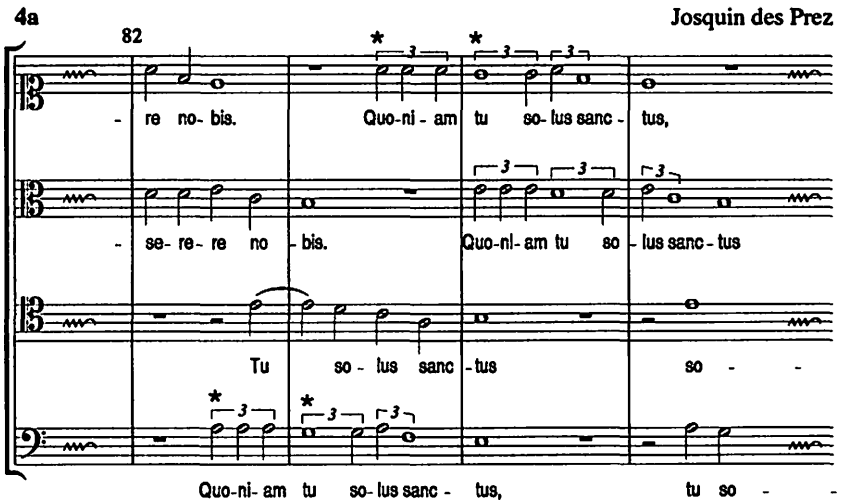
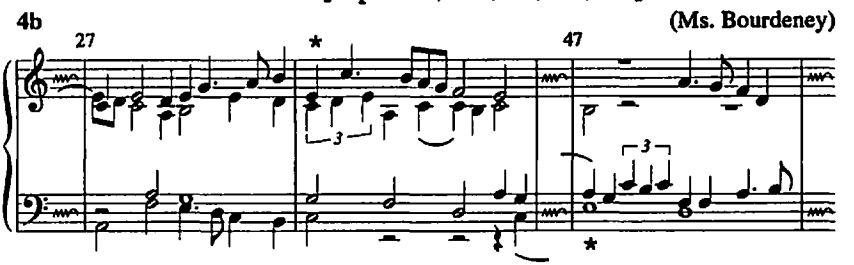
[17] See Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600;* also Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700.*

[18] For a brief summary of Cracow 40032, see John Griffiths, "Berlin Mus. Ms. 40032 y otros nuevos hallazagos en el repertorio para vihuela," in *España en la Música de Occidente*, ed. E. Casares, I. Fernández de la Cuesta & J. López-Calo (Madrid, 1988), pp. 323-325. A complete thematic inventory of the manuscript appears in *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau*, ed. D. Kirsch & L. Meierott (Mainz, 1992), pp. 1-53. A modern edition of this manuscript, including a facsimile and critical commentary, is being prepared by D. Fabris and J. Griffiths, to be published by the Sociedad General de Autores de España.

[19] In Albert's fantasia the triplet section of forty-four measures (104-48) is placed in the same location as in the Bourdeney ricercar. This work has basically the same length as the other two ricercars considered here (Bourdeney and Uppsala—roughly ninety measures in modern notation), but a contrapuntal structure that is decidedly different and divorced from Josquin's model: the subject enters only after a long introduction

even more closely allied to Josquin's Mass—and perhaps less idiomatic to the lute—is the appearance of the proportional triplets, as shown in Examples 4 a & b.

EXAMPLES 4a-b

Missa La Sol Fa Re Mi (Gloria)

Ricercare [sopra La, Sol, Fa, Re, Mi]

Concerning the Bourdeney ricercar on *La sol fa re mi,* I wish to make some further observations. The beginning, with the entrance of the theme in the tenor followed immediately in the soprano on the next beat, seems too hastily developed and awkward with respect to its succeeding development. The Uppsala ricercar is more coherently

(fourteen beats of the original) and the answer is at the fifth. The subject appears frequently, above all in ornamental passages in the soprano which are answered in the tenor and bass voices, but without producing an "obsessive" texture, indicating that the subject is used simply as a contrapuntal point and not as a direct reference to the model of the Mass.

executed. The tenor is given the space to explore the subject, to accomplish a rhythmic dimunition towards the phrase ending and, bypassing the alto entrance, brings the subject back later with the entrance of the soprano. (It is interesting to hear the Bourdeney ricercar with the Uppsala beginning.) Such a setting allows the tenor, similar to most of the movements in Josquin's original setting, to present the subject as an ostinato in *integer valor* or augmentation, but only rarely in diminution. The voice crossing of the theme is thus achieved in a serpentine manner. It moves fluidly from one voice to the next, leading up to the point of maximum density (stretto) in mm. 40-41, with the rapid repetition of the theme in stretto and its answer throughout all of the voices. This wonderful effect serves to demonstrate the indebtedness of the composition to Josquin's original (albeit only in isolated places), while remaining a work that sounds completely idiomatic on the lute. In the Uppsala ricercar, on the other hand, this kind of density is not sought; indeed, the entrances of the theme are more limited and distinct from one another. The instrumental character of the work is expressed in a more idiomatic manner by the many diminutions and embellished cadences (the application of *ficta* generally avoids Josquin's solutions)—elements that, however, one might like to add to some of the cadential passages in the Bourdeney ricercar. Finally, while the Uppsala tablature reveals many apparent mistakes both in rhythm and, above all, in the placement of ciphers on the correct line, the Bourdeney ricercar appears to be copied with care (apart from the beginning, as mentioned above) and free of mistakes.

In conclusion, it is not yet possible to answer the question of why the Bourdeney ricercar on *La sol fa re mi* is attributed to "Giaches" in the Chigi manuscript on which Anthony Newcomb bases his identification; I would tend to exclude Giaches Brumel's authorship on the basis of dates, let alone any other criteria. As indicated above, Brumel died in 1564, the Eler copy of the piece suggests 1567 as the date of composition, and internal evidence suggests a work of the second half of the century. If it could be proven that the name refers to the Flemish organist, Giachet Bontemps, as the owner of the manuscript and not the author of the ricercars, then I would be more confident in attributing the ricercar to Fabrizio Dentice on the basis of the attribution to Dentice in the nineteenth-century Eler copy of the Bourdeney manuscript. and, as I have said, because the former confusion between the names derived from the existence of another composition on the

same theme by a third Giaches, the Mass by Jachet of Mantua.[20] What remains important is that the composition is truly wonderful with respect to Josquin's model, and when intabulated for lute, constitutes one of the most succesful fantasias of the entire Italian tablature repertory. Who better than a lute virtuoso from the Hispano-Neapolitan tradition such as Dentice could possibly figure as worthy of being its author?

ISTITUTO DI STUDI RINASCIMENTALI,
FERRARA

Translated by V. Coelho & J. Griffiths

[20] See Dinko Fabris, "Il ruolo di Napoli nella tradizione del ricercare" (containing information on Giachet Bontemp).

Cabezón, *Malheur me bat,* and the Process of Musical Reference

BY *ROBERT JUDD*

THE USE OF PRE-EXISTENT MUSICAL IDEAS is axiomatic to composition, since composition is an art or craft that is both learned and taught. In this sense, all compositions refer to music of the past.[1] There are, however, thousands of instances of intentional reference to pre-existent musical works; the heyday of this practice was about 1450 to 1600, when many "cantus-firmus" or "parody" polyphonic settings of the Mass ordinary were composed. The process of a composer intentionally referring musically to the work of another may be viewed in three stages: first, the composer chooses a model. While it is impossible to generalize regarding the virtually limitless possible reasons for adopting previously composed material, we may at least assume that the composer has close familiarity with the model (and in some cases, knowledge of other pieces based on the original).[2] Second, the composer decides how to use the model, i.e., what material to use

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[1] This fact has proven troublesome for some contemporary composers: Joseph N. Straus summarizes much of the recent literature and invokes the literary topos "anxiety of influence" as an important musical phenomenon, in *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 1-20. It may be noted that the very act of denying reference to the past, or reacting against the past, is itself a reference to the past.

[2] One instance of this initial step has been explored by Richard Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'Homme armé* Tradition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1986), pp. 255-93. Lewis Lockwood proposed a convincing theory for the change from employing a single part of a polyphonic piece to employing more substantial parts of its entire texture in "A View of the Early Sixteenth-Century Parody Mass," *Queens College Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift* (1937-1962), ed. A. Mell (n.p., 1964), pp. 53-77 (see also *idem,* "On 'Parody' as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance music: a Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese,* ed. J. LaRue [New York, 1966], pp. 574-75). In this basic formulation I would like to set to one side the musical reference to a model which itself refers to a previous model (a "compound reference"), which can ultimately be reduced to the binary level of "model / later piece."

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and what not to use; and finally, the references together with his own original material are ordered, and the composer shapes a new work.[3]

Some forty years ago, John Ward examined a large number of references in instrumental music of the sixteenth century, and underscored the fundamental importance of music with previously composed material to the study of lute, vihuela, and keyboard music.[4] Ward categorized four levels of musical reference: simple intabulation (essentially transcription from one medium to another), *glosas* (like transcription, with the addition of embellishments), "quotation parody" (which employs much of the model, but with substantial additions by the later composer), and "paraphrase parody" (which has no extended direct quotation of the original, the composer making reference instead to themes or motives).[5] I would like to modify Ward's categories to the more generic "musical reference," and suggest that a continuum is most useful, for four categories alone cannot account for the multiplicity of types of reference.[6] In the study of such "reference" pieces, the further away from the original the later composer moves, the greater the insight into the process of musical reference that may be had; this is all the more useful since few primary documents show

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[3] The process falls into the general category of "imitation," which is most usefully viewed as a continuum of possibilities ranging from the student's imitation of the master to the musical contending of the likes of Busnoys and Ockeghem. See Howard Mayer Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), pp. 1-48. The three stages I have delineated are of course simpler to deal with in considering student work than that of masters. Brown showed the wide range of possibilities with regard to the use of pre-existent material in "The *Chanson Spirituelle*, Jacques Buus, and Parody Technique," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962), pp. 145-73, esp. pp. 160-67.

[4] Ward, "The Use of Borrowed Material in 16th-century Instrumental Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5 (1952), pp. 88-98; *idem*, "The Editorial Methods of Venegas de Henestrosa," *Musica Disciplina* 6 (1952), pp. 105-133; and *idem*, "Parody Technique in 16th-Century Instrumental Music," in *The Commonwealth of Music*, ed. G. Reese and R. Brandel (New York, 1965), pp. 208-28.

[5] Ward, "Borrowed Material," pp. 90-94.

[6] Ward's use of the term "parody" is sufficiently distinct from its usage in connection with the "parody Mass" that a better term may be employed; Lockwood has examined the etymology of the term and recommended against a too-broad usage ("On 'Parody' as Term," p. 573). I have also avoided the term "borrowed," because of its connotations both of implicit theft and reciprocity.

precisely how composers worked in the first half of the sixteenth century. Why did composers choose a certain model and how did they adapt it to their purposes? What in the original did composers choose to use or leave out of the secondary composition, and why? If we closely compare the original with its successor we can gain an understanding of the latter composer's musical decision-making, which is particularly interesting when the composer is an acknowledged master.

One such composer, Antonio de Cabezón (ca. 1510-1566), wrote musical reference-works across the continuum, from simple intabulations to sophisticated allusive pieces. His three tientos which refer to pre-existent pieces offer the most potential for insight into compositional process: the tiento *Quarto tono sobre Malheur me bat*, another *sobre Qui la dira*, and finally *sobre Cum Sancto Spiritu [de beata virgine de Jusquin]*.[7] Of these, the most intriguing is the tiento *sobre Malheur me bat*, and it is on this work and its model that I will concentrate. It is the only instrumental work based on this chanson after about 1500,[8] and thus the question of why Cabezón chose the model is especially interesting. Unlike the other two reference-works cited, which appear in the 1578 Cabezón anthology, the tiento on *Malheur me bat* is found in Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro* of 1557. It is further set apart in that its ratio of newly composed to reference material is greater than that of either of the other two reference-tientos, and thus it is the most

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[7] The tiento "sobre Malheur me bat" was first published in Luis Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (Alcala, 1557); see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: a Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA., 1965), 1557_2, for a complete table of contents (hereafter, all dates followed by a subscript number refer to Brown). The latter two were first published in Cabezón's *Obras de música para tecla arpa y vihuela* (Madrid, 1578) [1578_3]. Cabezón's works first printed in Venegas's volume are edited by Higinio Anglés: *La Música en la Corte de Carlos V* (Barcelona, 1944) (Monumentos de la Música Española, 2); his *Obras* are edited by Anglés (Barcelona, 1966) (Monumentos de la Música Española, 27-9) and M. A. Ester-Sala (Madrid, 1974). The complete tientos are edited by Charles Jacobs, *Collected Works*, vol. IV/2 (Brooklyn, 1972).

[8] Edgar H. Sparks discusses its use in Masses by Josquin and Obrecht in *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), pp. 260-5 and 346-51; Barton Hudson outlines its use by Obrecht in "Two Ferrarese Masses by Jacob Obrecht," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985-1986), pp. 276-302, and his edition, Jacob Obrecht, *Collected Works* vol. 7 (Utrecht, 1987), pp. xi-xxx. These and other mass settings by Agricola and Andreas de Silva (or Andreas Sylvanus) are quite different in purpose and scope from Cabezón's.

revealing of the three for evaluating the composer's use of a pre-existent composition.[9]

The *Libro de cifra nueva* of Venegas de Henestrosa was the first printed volume to employ the notation now known as Spanish keyboard tablature,[10] but in design and content it clearly follows the tradition of vihuela publications established by Luís Milán (1536_5), Luis de Narvaez (1538_1), Alonso Mudarra (1546_{14}), Enriquez de Valderrábano (1547_5), Diego Pisador (1552_7), and Miguel de Fuenllana (1554_3).[11] Like his predecessors, Venegas de Henestrosa compiled a sizeable anthology: 138 pieces, both sacred and secular, for a wide variety of users. He included fourteen tientos and a number of other works by Cabezón.

Although the chanson *Malheur me bat* has generated considerable interest due to its conflicting attributions and the Masses based on it,[12] a detailed analysis has never been published. The piece is generally acknowledged to be remarkable, but it is striking that Cabezón referred to it, since it is unique among the repertoire found in Venegas and his six predecessors: of about 750 compositions in the seven volumes, this is the only work which refers to a Burgundian-style chanson (the music of the Josquin / Mouton / Gombert generations is far more prominent). While we can never be certain of the reasons why Cabezón chose to set this fifteenth-century chanson, it is tempting to speculate about what in the chanson led him to pay more attention to it than any other

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9 See Ward, "Borrowed Material," p. 94, for a consideration of *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, and *idem*, "Parody Technique," p. 212, for *Qui la dira*.

10 See Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600* (Cambridge, MA., 1953), pp. 49-53.

11 These volumes have been considered extensively in John Ward, "The *Vihuela de Mano* and its Music (1536-1576)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953), and John Griffiths, "The Vihuela Fantasia: a Comparative Study of Forms and Styles" (Ph.D. diss., Monash University, 1983).

12 For discussion of the chanson's authorship see Allan W. Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C.G.XIII.27)* 2 vols (Brooklyn, 1975-76) (Musicological Studies 27), I, pp. 149-55; David Fallows, "Johannes Ockeghem: The Changing Image, the Songs and a New Source," *Early Music* 12 (1984), p. 221; Hudson, "Two Ferrarese Masses," pp. 280-83; and Reinhard Strohm, review of Obrecht, *Collected Works, 7: Missa Malheur me bat, MLA Notes* 47 (1990), pp. 552-54. One lute intabulation of the chanson exists in Francesco Spinacino, *Intabolatura de lauto libro 2* (Venice, 1507_2). For a complete listing of the nine extant sources of the chanson, see Obrecht, *Collected Works*, p. xiii.

composer of his day.[13] The chanson is noteworthy for its formal plan, imitation, hexachord references, and use of motive (see Examples 1 and 2). On the broadest level one finds a clear formal division at the center (cadence on E, m. 28).[14] The two halves begin similarly, with two voices imitating and the third accompanying (the accompaniment in the Tenor m. 28 is closely related to that of the Contra m. 1). Measures 1-11 may be viewed as an *exordium*, since the all motivic material of the chanson is stated there; it is counterbalanced with a *finis*, mm. 54-9. Imitation is evident, but neither strict nor pervasive. There are four points of imitation (numbered 1 to 4 in Example 1); subjects 1 and 3 are linked through solmization syllables (E and B are solmized with the syllable *mi* in the natural and hard hexachords, respectively).[15] Subjects 2 and 4 are likewise related, employing motive *e* prominently. The two halves of the chanson are roughly equivalent in proportion of space given to the subjects: subjects 1 and 3 have about twelve measures each, while subjects 2 and 4 have about eighteen each.

The descending *durum* hexachord is plainly stated three times (marked "x" in Example 1: Contra m. 1; Cantus m. 17; Tenor m. 17).[16] I have also bracketed the conspicuous near-repetition of material in the Contratenor (mm. 21-24, 24-28, and 51-54). The Contra is relatively independent of the upper parts both at the beginning and the conclusion until, four measures from the end, it joins in with the extended sequential duet in the Cantus and Tenor.

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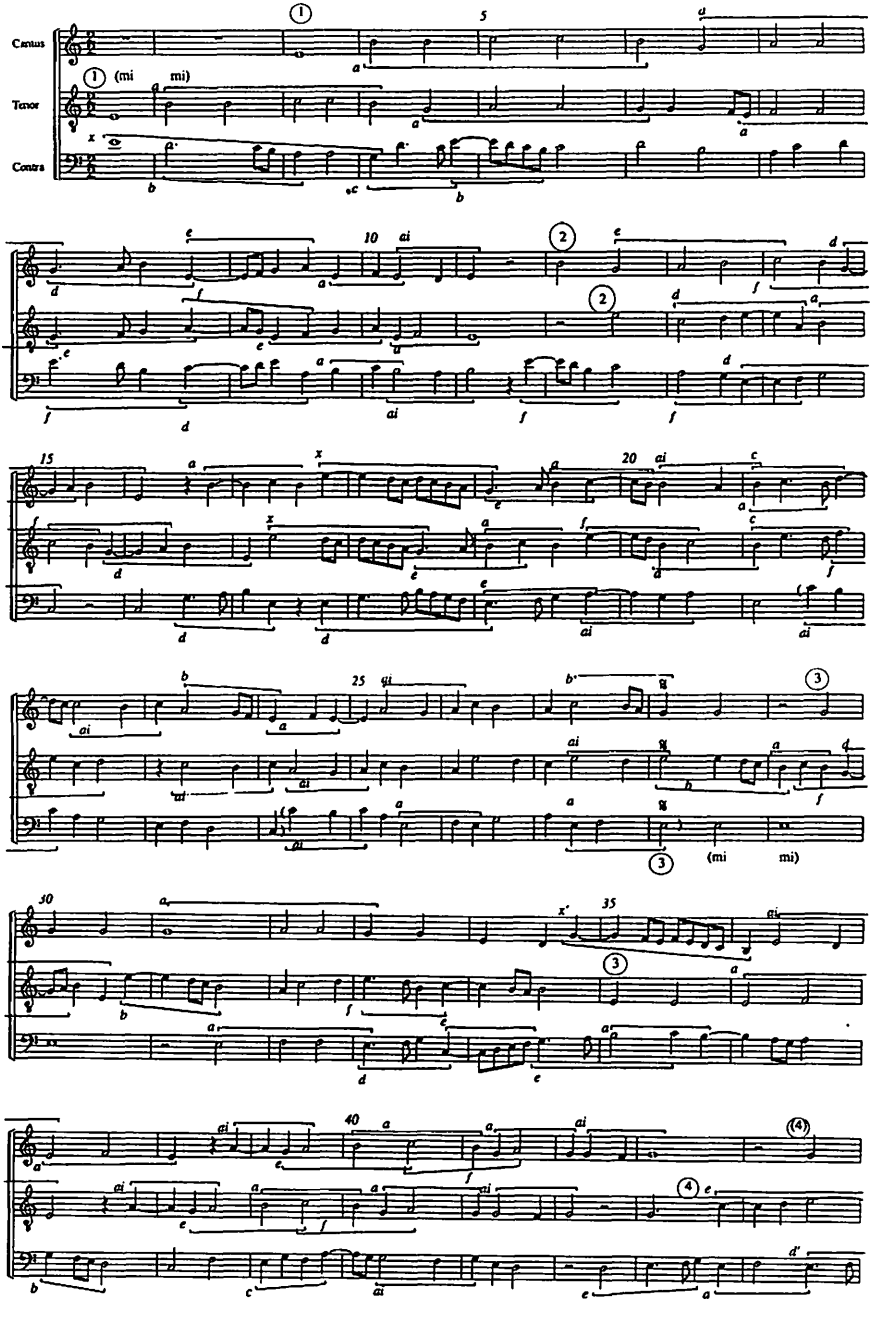
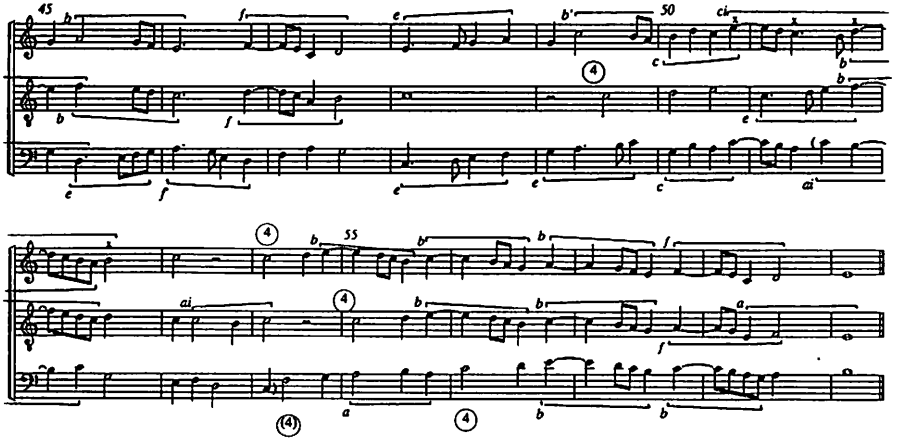
[13] By way of contrast, settings of Josquin's *Cum Sancto Spiritu* abound, by Mudarra, Valderrábano, Pisador, Palero, Newsidler, Ochsenkhun, Phalèse and De Rippe, in addition to two by Cabezón, the tiento and a *glosa*. See Ward, "Borrowed Material," pp. 90-91, 94, and *idem*, "Parody Technique," p. 222.

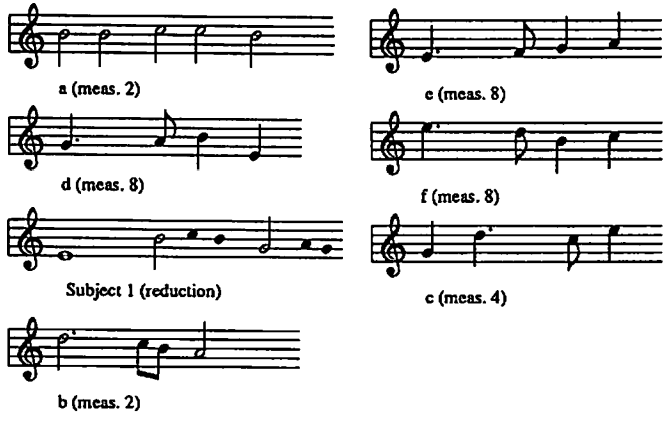
[14] This type of bi-partite form is common and should not be associated too closely with the French *rondeau* or any other *form fixe* (see Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505* [Oxford, 1984], p. 275).

[15] Change of theme based on change of hexachord is related to *inganno*, first discussed theoretically by Giovanni Maria Artusi *(Seconda Parte dell'Artusi*, Venice, 1603). See John Harper, "Inganno," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980), IX, p. 227.

[16] The statement in the Cantus m. 34, marked "x'," is related but not hexachordally based. Barton Hudson identified this as "common melodic stock found frequently in the music of a number of composers of the period, Agricola and Obrecht prominent among them" ("Two Ferrarese Masses," p. 280).

EXAMPLE 1. Malcort or Martini, *Malheur me bat*, after the version in Ottaviano Petrucci, publ., *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*, ed. Helen Hewitt (New York, 1942), pp. 353-54 (Key: points of imitation are identified with numbers in circles; motives are bracketed and identified with lower case letters. The letter "i" identifies the inversion of a motive; the prime sign indicates a significantly varied motive.)

The most salient aspect of the chanson is its treatment of motivic material, bracketed in Example 1 and shown in Example 2. Motive *d* is related to subject 1, and motives *b*, *e* and *f* similarly share limited material, the prominent fourth-outline. The melodic profile of motive *f* first occurs within subject 1 (Tenor mm. 3-5, Cantus mm. 5-7). The motivic density of the work is high: 120 motives in its fifty-nine measures.[17] Motives are evenly spread among the voices; motive *a* dominates the piece (forty-eight appearances), and motive *b* is prominent in the second half (fifteen appearances).

EXAMPLE 2. *Malheur me bat*, motives.



[17] My motive-count is as follows: a (48), b (19), c (7), d (11), e (18), f (17).

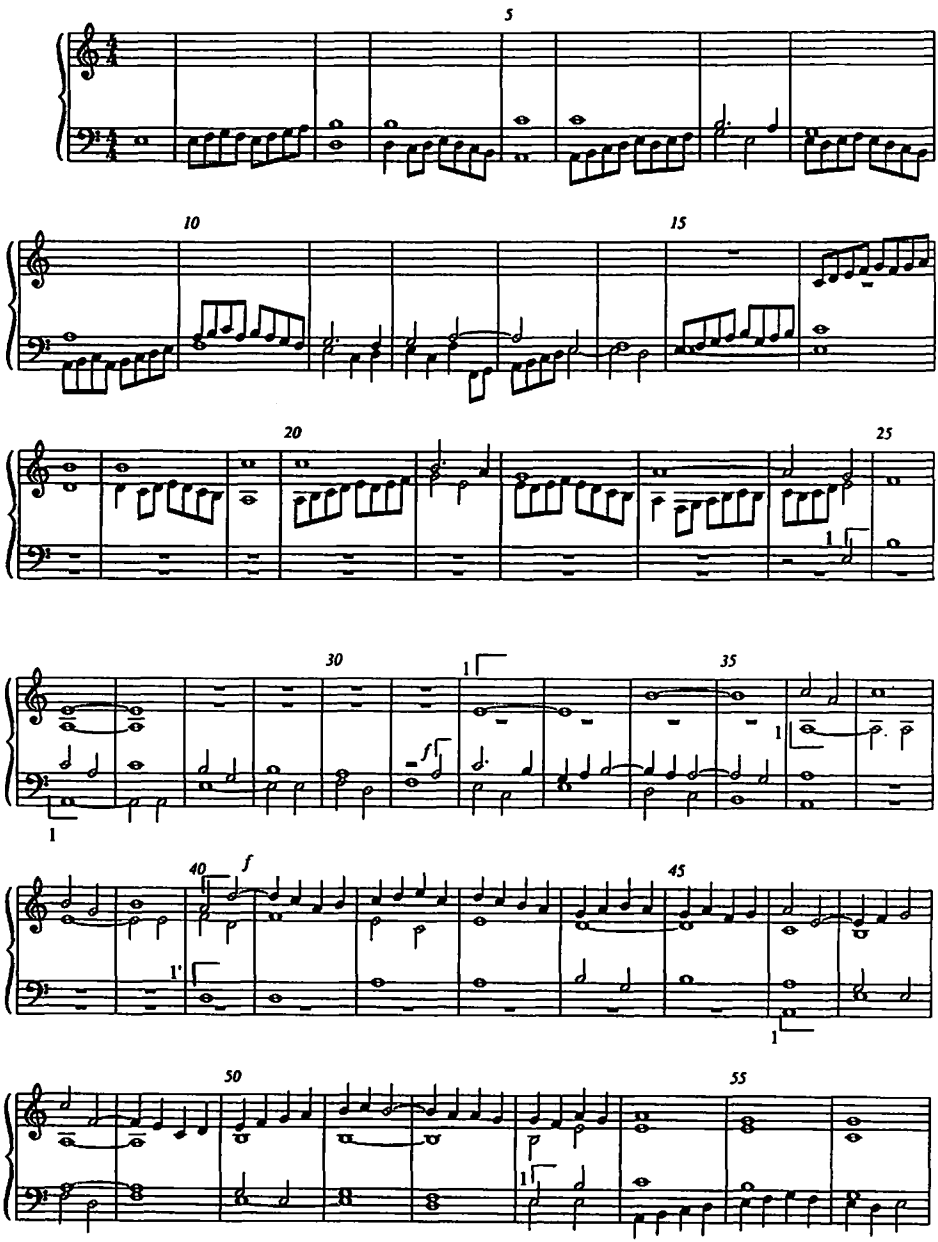
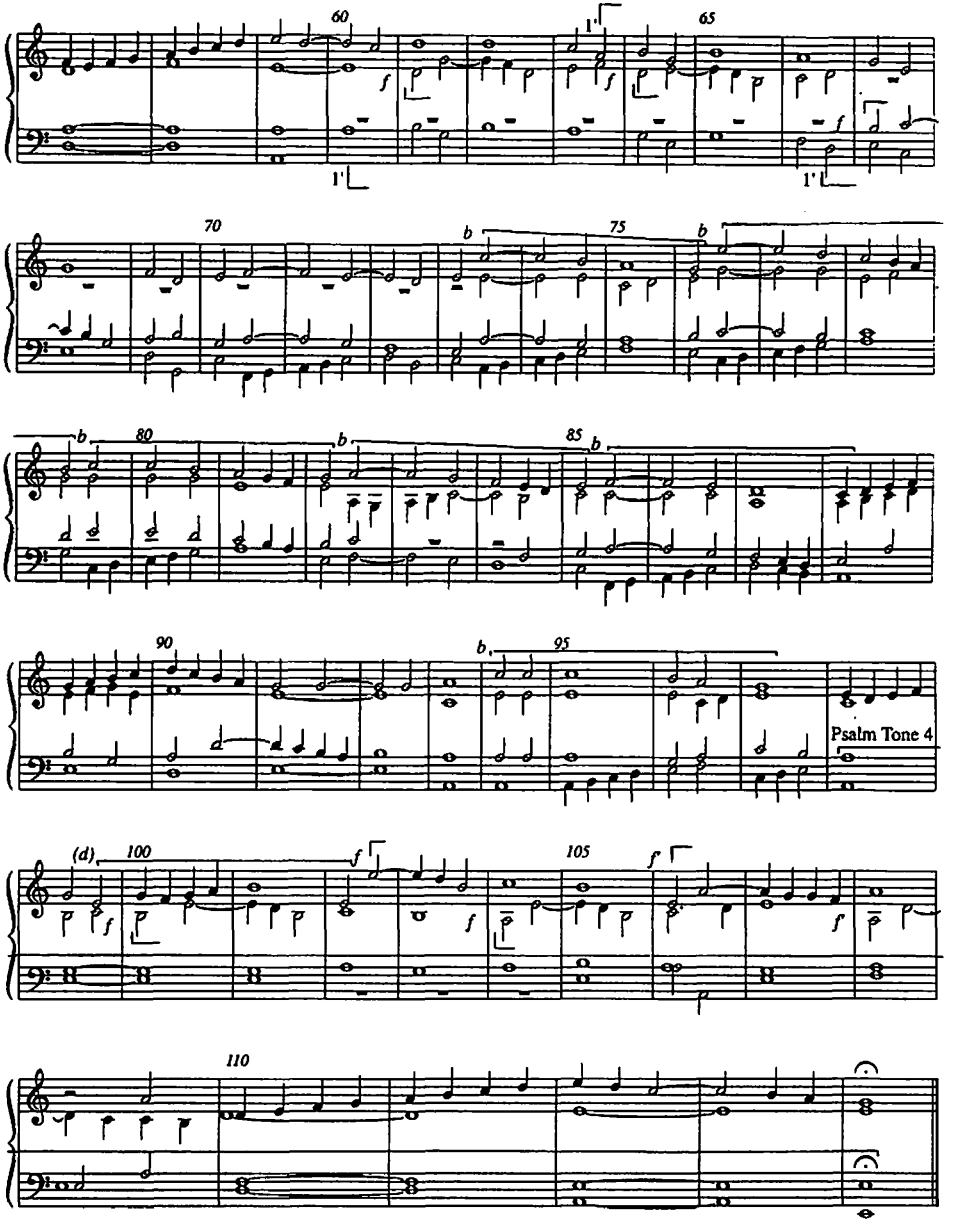
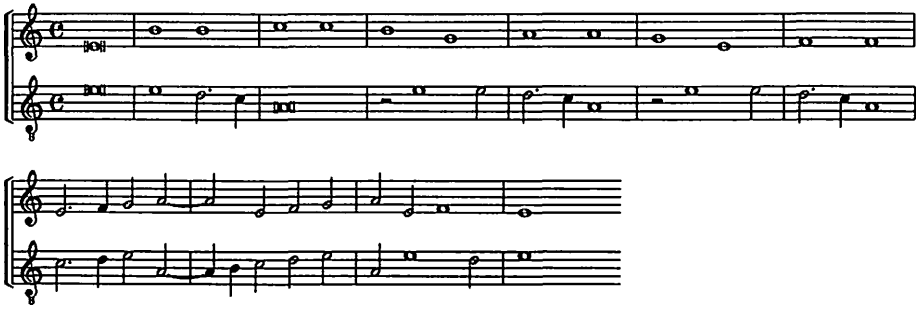
EXAMPLE 3: Antonio de Cabezón, "[Tiento] Quarto tono sobre Malheur me bat" (after Cabezón, ed. Jacobs, *Collected Works* IV/2, pp. 27-29)

60
65
70
75
80
85
90
95
Psalm Tone 4
(d)
100
105
110

TABLE 1
Formal plan of Cabezón, Tiento *sobre Malheur me bat*

Sections	**Description**
mm. 1-27	*Exordium: glosas*
24-73	Imitation based on chanson subject 1 and motive *f*
73-93	Homophonic treatment of motive *b*
94-114	*Finis:* setting of Psalm Tone 4

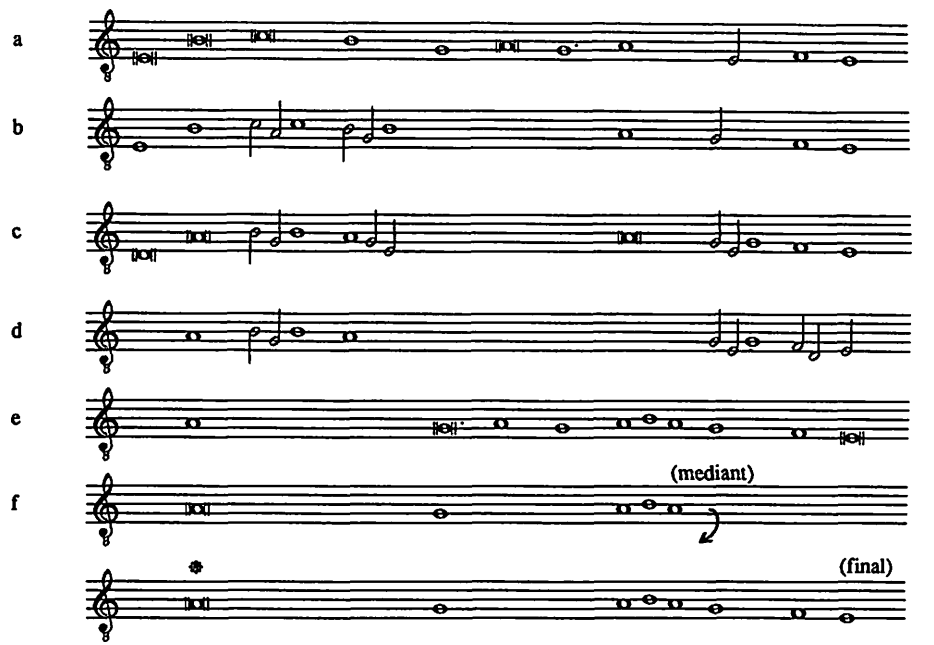
Cabezón's tiento on *Malheur me bat* is given as Example 3, and its formal plan shown in Table 1. The opening duet, immediately repeated in the upper register, refers to the Tenor and Contratenor of the chanson, mm. 1-11, with the significant difference that Cabezón inverts the parts; he may have had the first Kyrie of Josquin's *Missa Malheur me bat* in mind, for the two are closely related (see Example 4).[18] The Contra part is discernible in Cabezón's setting, but modified: the descending hexachord is lost in an octave transposition (m. 7), and thereafter the voice is freely composed.

EXAMPLE 4. Josquin, *Missa Malheur me bat*, Kyrie 1, mm. 1-10 (after Josquin Des Prés, *Werken*, ed. Albert Smijers, vol. 2:8 (Amsterdam, 1939), p. 39.

[18] But Cabezón might have referred to Josquin unintentionally: cf. the case of Petrarch, who "digested [the works of Virgil, Cicero, Horace, and Boethius] so thoroughly that they entered his marrow, not just his memory. They became so much a part of his mind that occasionally their phrases came to his pen without his recognizing the source or even that they came from someone else." G. W. Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980), p. 13.

The Tenor of Cabezón's setting, mm. 1-15, shown in Example 5a with *glosas* removed, is more clearly linked to the chanson:

EXAMPLE 5. Cabezón, *Tiento sobre Malheur me bat*, thematic material

a: Tenor mm. 1-15 (glosas removed)
b: Bass mm. 26-36 (transposed for ease of comparison)
c: Tenor mm. 40-53
d: Bass mm. 60-7
e: Tenor mm. 98-109
f: Psalm Tone 4



Cabezón modifies the subject for the main point of imitation of the work beginning in m. 24 (Example 5b). At m. 40 the first half of Cabezón's subject is transposed down a tone (Example 5c); at m. 60 it is varied, and this version completes reference to the chanson's subject 1 (Example 5d, marked 1' in Example 3). After the cadence at m. 73 five statements of the chanson's motive *b* in the *Tiple* bring the work to its only prominent internal cadence, m. 93. The *finis* begins with a single version of motive *b*, followed by a cantus firmus setting of Psalm Tone 4 in the Tenor. This line is given as Example 5e to demonstrate the relation between subject 1 of the chanson to the Psalm Tone setting

itself, given in its Bermudo version in Example 5f.[19] Example 5 is aligned vertically to facilitate seeing the transformation from Cabezón's first subject, closely related to the chanson's subject 1, to the Psalm Tone.

Two points are noteworthy about Cabezón's treatment of the chanson: first, he is interested in showing the thematic connections between the chanson's first subject and the Psalm Tone.[20] One can see that Cabezón's crucial modification of the chanson's subject 1 in Example 5a, the insertion of A four notes from the end, is a hint of things to come: that note heavily underscores the relatively little-emphasized A in the chanson Tenor mm. 8 and 10, and Cantus m. 9. With the striking idea of transposing half the subject down a tone, the emphasis on A is substantively confirmed.[21]

Second, Cabezón shows his fascination with the chanson's conclusion by taking material from the chanson mm. 54-57 and giving it pride of place at the climax of his work, increasing the melodic statements of motive *b* from three to five in the process. Most significantly, he fully exploits the rhythmic vitality of the chanson's ending, enhancing it dramatically by actually "changing meter": from the second half of m. 73 to m. 88 the work aurally changes to triple time (half-note pulse). The delightful *juissance* with which Cabezón makes the shift is unparalleled in the Masses based on the chanson.

What did Cabezón use of his model? First, he transformed the chanson *exordium* and set a version of subject 1 in four voices, with

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[19] Fray Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555/rpt. Kassel and Basel, 1957), fol. 23r [*recte* 24r]. Quoted in Almonte C. Howell, Jr., "Cabezón: An Essay in Structural Analysis," *The Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964), p. 30, and Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, "Compositional Theory and Practice in Mid-sixteenth-century Spanish Instrumental Music: The *Arte de Tañer Fantasia* by Tomas de Santa Maria and the Music of Antonio de Cabezón" (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1990), p. 173. Roig-Francolí identified twenty-one tientos to which Cabezón added Psalm Tone settings ("Compositional Theory," pp. 154-58), although some of his identifications are open to question.

[20] It is worth noting that Obrecht's Mass on the chanson is also based on A and mode 4. Ironically, Pietro Aron cited the chanson as a clear instance of mode 3 (*Trattato della natura e cognizione di tutti gli toni di canto figurato* [Venice, 1525], chapter 5; trans. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* [New York, 1950], p. 214).

[21] The prominent E-A species of fourth in the chanson's concluding sequence (Example 1, mm. 56-57) perhaps led Cabezón to the shift from mode 3 to mode 4.

imitation a higher priority than in the chanson. Yet the tiento is not as imitative as many of his others, and it is arguable that the lack of imitation in the model affected his decision to use relatively little imitation in the tiento.[22] His only other significant reference is to the chanson's concluding sequence and motive *b*, which plays an important role in the tiento. A few instances of the chanson's motive *f* are identified in Example 3, but Cabezón's treatment of it is not motivic and they probably stem from the prominence of the motive in subject 1.

Cabezón made significant changes to the chanson material he employed. He altered subject 1 of the chanson to orient the tiento to mode 4, and isolated and extended the subject, embellishing it and deploying it in a style quite different from the chanson. Likewise, the setting of motive *b* is rhythmically different from the chanson, and Cabezón's bass line mm. 73-88 is significantly different from the chanson's accompaniment to motive *b*. Cabezón chose not to set the motive in a *fauxbourdon* style as found at the end of the chanson.

Interestingly, Cabezón made no reference to the two most prominent features of the chanson: its motivic density and formal symmetry. Cabezón is expansive, allowing the thematic material which the chanson stated in eleven breves to be drawn out though voice-pairing and imitation to thirty-five, and the motivic writing which permeates the chanson is virtually absent in the tiento. Even the repetition of motive *b* at the climax is more melodic and sequential than motivic, since motive *b* does not appear in the lower three parts. The chanson's form is also reinterpreted by Cabezón. He clearly did not wish to imitate formally the two-part evenly balanced model: the tiento is asymmetrical and has only one major internal cadence (m. 93). Nor are the thematic subdivisions of the two halves of the chanson (two subjects per half, roughly symmetrically balanced) evident in Cabezón's setting. The lack of motivic density and formal symmetry support the hypothesis that the tiento was an improvised piece—Cabezón was blind—which reflects an aural impression or memory of the chanson rather than specific stylistic and formal reference. It is likely that Cabezón's formal plan was conceived with only the beginning and

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[22] On imitation in Cabezón's tientos see Howell, "Structural Analysis," p. 20, *idem*, "Paired Imitation in 16th-Century Spanish Keyboard Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 53 (1967), pp. 389-93, and Roig-Francolí, "Compositional Theory," p. 251.

conclusion of the chanson in mind, to be used thematically with the psalm tone.

What was the purpose of Cabezón's musical reference to *Malheur me bat?* Although only the text incipit to the chanson is extant, it is strongly suggestive of a lament; the presence of Psalm Tone 4 in the tiento invites a search of the Psalms for textual allusions to *Malheur me bat*, and two may be found: Ps. 119:143, "Trouble and anguish are come upon me," and Ps. 40:12, "For innumerable evils have compassed me about...." It seems plausible that the tiento was conceived for use at Vespers when these or other penitential Psalms were proper to the liturgy.[23] Whether or not that is the case, it is certain that Cabezón's reference to the chanson is extraordinary due to the latter's old style. It shows Cabezón to be less interested in musical fashion than compositional intent and the use of thematic material; he found the chanson's initial subject and concluding sequence stimulating enough to compose a masterly *fantasia* with them, while at the same time drawing a connection between *Malheur me bat* and Psalm Tone 4. But Cabezón's tiento also demonstrates several types of reference in addition to explicit citation of the chanson: compound reference, the unacknowledged (or unintentional) allusion to Josquin's *Missa Malheur me bat;* quotation of Psalm Tone 4 in cantus firmus style; and perhaps even textual allusion to a penitential Psalm. The complex interweaving of reference and new material amounts to a fine piece of craftsmanship. The adage common in Cabezón's time, "the chief point of art is to disguise art,"[24] is well exemplified in his tiento on *Malheur me bat.*

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FRESNO

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[23] Ps. 22, 51, and 130 seem particularly likely.

[24] Pigman, "Versions of Imitation," p. 10, quoting Erasmus. Cf. Seneca (also quoted in Pigman): "Let our mind hide all those things which have aided it and reveal only what it has produced" (*Epistulae morales* 84:7).

Problems of Tonality in the Ricercars of Spinacino and Bossinensis

BY *PIOTR POZNIAK*

THE FIRST RICERCARS FOR LUTE are found in the lutebooks of Francesco Spinacino published by Petrucci in 1507.[1] They are grouped together at the end of both the *Libro primo* and *Libro secondo*. Most of these ricercars are probably intended to be played as preludes, postludes, or both, to the intabulations that constitute the bulk of the contents of these volumes. The *Recercare de tous biens* and *Recercare a Juli amours* indicate by their titles that they are related to the two chansons—the first by Hayne and the second by Ghiselin—that appear in the first book as intabulations for two lutes, and the intabulations correspond to the ricercars in mode.

The setting of *De tous biens* and its *Recercare* are typical of the Dorian mode, beginning and ending in D (assuming a lute in A). The *Recercare a Juli amours*, however, is a good example of the flexible function of the ricercar (see Example 1). The intabulation of the same name begins with an octave consonance f' to f", and ends on a C-major chord. Consequently, the ricercar, beginning with a C and ending in F, can act either as a postlude or a prelude to the intabulation.

The function of the ricercars contained in the two books by Francesco Bossinensis is even clearer.[2] They too are grouped at the end of the *Libro I* and *Libro II*, following the larger section of frottola arrangements in which the highest voice of the frottola is sung, while the tenor and the bass voices are intabulated as an accompanying lute part. In the table of contents the title of each of the vocal works is accompanied by a letter—*Libro I* from A to G, *Libro II* from A to F—and it is indicated that the ricercars grouped under the corresponding letter in the back of the book are to be used for the frottolas with the

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[1] [Francesco Spinacino], *Intabolatura di Lauto Libro primo* (Venice, 1507/rpt. Geneva, 1978 [also includes the *Libro secondo* of 1507]).

[2] Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in cantofigurato [...] Libro primo* (Venice, 1509/rpt. Geneva, 1977); *[...] Libro secundo* (Fossombrone,1511/rpt. Geneva, 1982).

JLSA, XXIII (1990)
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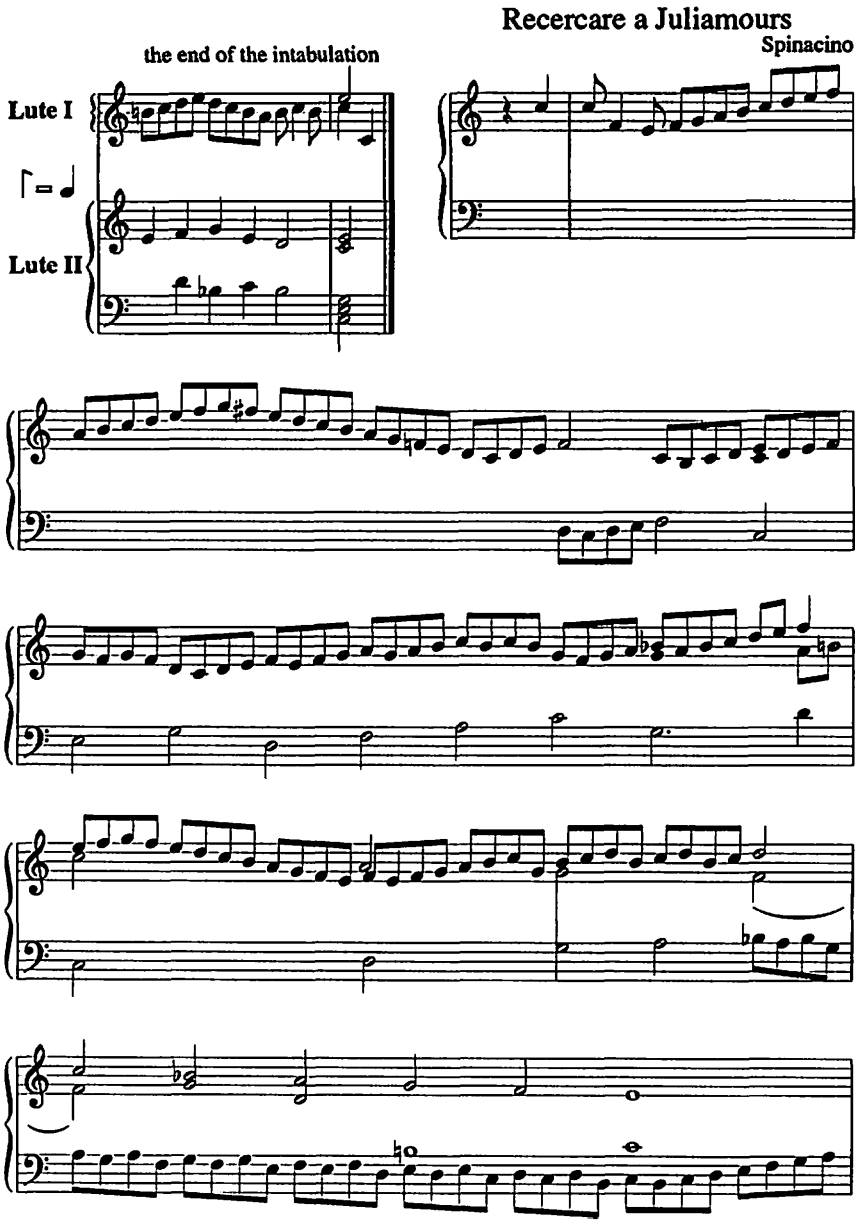
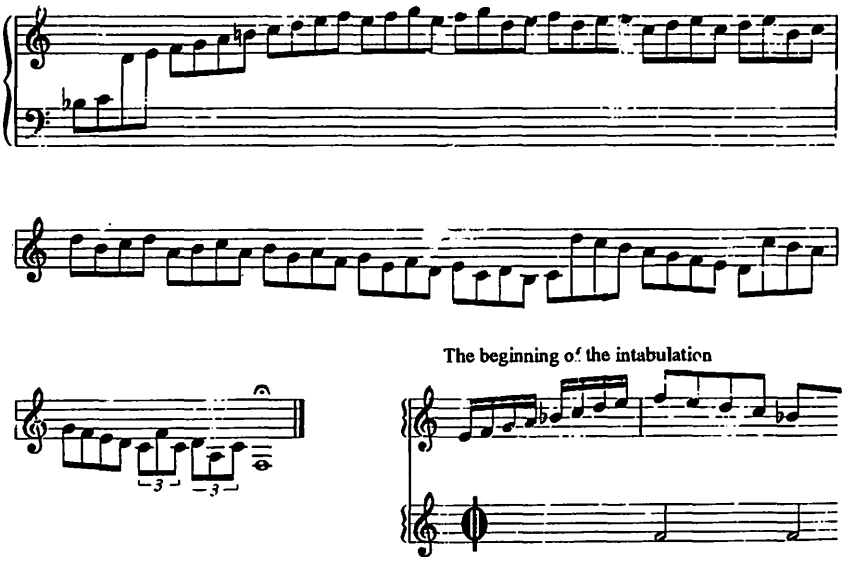
respective letter. For example, those frottolas accompanied by the letter A, are to be paired with one of the ricercars in the A category, or nos. 1, 5, 8, etc.; those with the letter B, may be paired with Ricercars 2, 4, 9, and so forth.

EXAMPLE 1: F. Spinacino, *Recercare a Juli Amours*



For pieces in strophic form, the correspondence between the end of the frottola and the beginning of the ricercar, and vice-versa, is especially important. The ricercar is useful particularly if the frottola begins on one degree of the mode and ends on the other or when the mode itself changes, since it assists in making a smooth return to the original mode of the beginning. But the modal correspondences between the ricercars and the frottolas in the two books of Bossinensis are not always explicable using this criterion. We have to begin the analysis of the problem with a question: how are the frottolas divided in groups? The finalis of each piece is the most stable element on which to base a division into groups, although not without exception. There are ten exceptions (8%) to this rule among 125 frottolas in both books.

A common finalis, however, does not mean a common mode. Groups 3 and 5 are homogeneous, representing the Dorian and the Lydian modes, respectively. The Ionian mode appears within the broad Group 2, but it is related to C Mixolydian in the *Libro I* and to C Lydian in the *Libro II*. The Aeolian mode (or Dorian transposed) dominates in Group 1, but one frottola is in A Mixolydian and one in A Phrygian. Thirty-four of the pieces in Group 4 are in G Dorian and thirty-one in the Mixolydian mode. Similarly, in Group 4a two pieces are in G Dorian and one in the Mixolydian mode. There are two pieces and two

different modes in Group 6 Phrygian and E Dorian or Aeolian (see Table 1).

TABLE 1[3]

Groupings of the Ricercars of Bossinensis

Group	Letter		Finalis			Beginning		
			Most frequent	Other		Most frequent	Other	
	Lib. I	Lib.II		Lib. I	Lib. II		Lib. I	Lib. II
1	A (6)	A (15)	A (19)	—	D (2)	A (19)	D (1)	G (1)
1a	E (1)		A (1)	—		D (1)	—	
2	B (7)	F (6)	C (9)	A (1)	A (1)	C (9)	A (1)	G (1)
				G (2)			F (1)	
							Bb (1)	
3	C (9)	E (1)	D (9)	G (1)	—	D (6)	G (4)	—
4	D (38)	B (30)	G (66)	—	C (1)	G (48)	C (6)	C (5)
					D? (1)		F (2)	D (4)
							Bb (2)	Bb (1)
4a	G (3)		G (3)	—		G (2)	C (1)	
5	F (5)	C (1)	F (6)	—	—	F (6)	—	—
6		D (3)	E (2)		A (1)	—		E (1)
								F (1)
								D (1)
	69	56	115	5.8%	10.7%	91	27.5%	26.7%
	125=100%		=92%	8%		72.8%	27.2%	

TABLE 2[4]

Group	Letter	Opening Chord		Final Chord	
		Most frequent	Other	Most frequent	Other
1	A (19)	A (7)	—	A (5)	D (2)
1a	E (1)	A (2)	—	—	D (1)
					E (1)
2	B (9)	C (4)	A (1)	C (4)	G (1)
3	C (9)	D (3)	—	D (2)	G (1)
4	D (66)	G (5)	C(1)	G (4)	C (2)
4a	G (3)	G (1)	—	G (1)	—
5	F (6)	F (1)	—	C (1)	—
	25 [=100%]	92%	8%	68%	32%

[3] The figures in brackets indicate the number of pieces.

[4] There are seemingly six ricercars but one is printed twice, as Ricercars 4 and 14.

Two groups in *Libro I* are superfluous, G and E. It is symptomatic there are no such groups in Libro *II*. Thus, in the two years separating the publication of the two books, Bossinensis decided that a classification of pieces which share the same tonal characteristics into different groups was inappropriate.

We shall now try to find common features of the ricercars included in one group. The two books have to be examined separately, since the division of all ricercars in *Libro I* is disjunctive. While only eleven pieces are divided in such manner in *Libro II*, each of the further nine is numbered in two and even three different groups. As opposed to the frottolas, it is not the final chord in the ricercars of *Libro I* but rather the initial one that constitutes the basic element unifying a group.

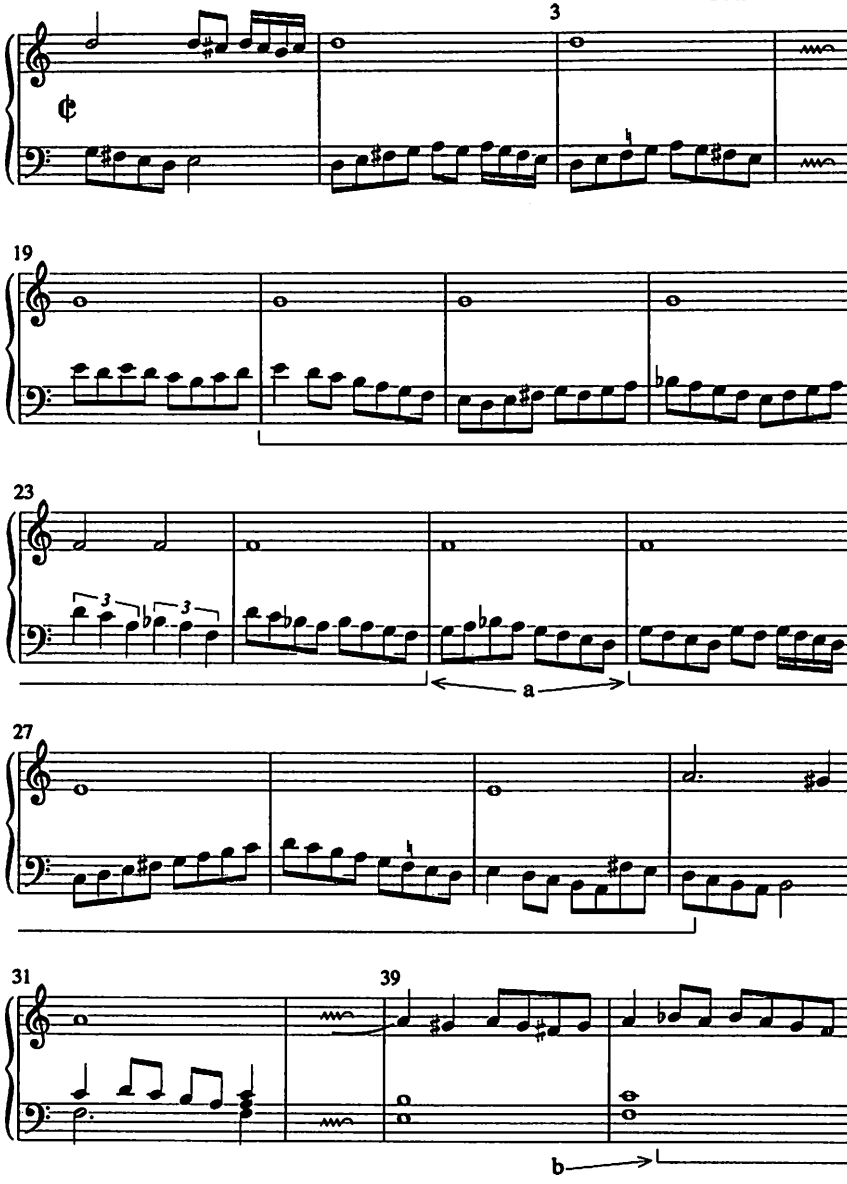
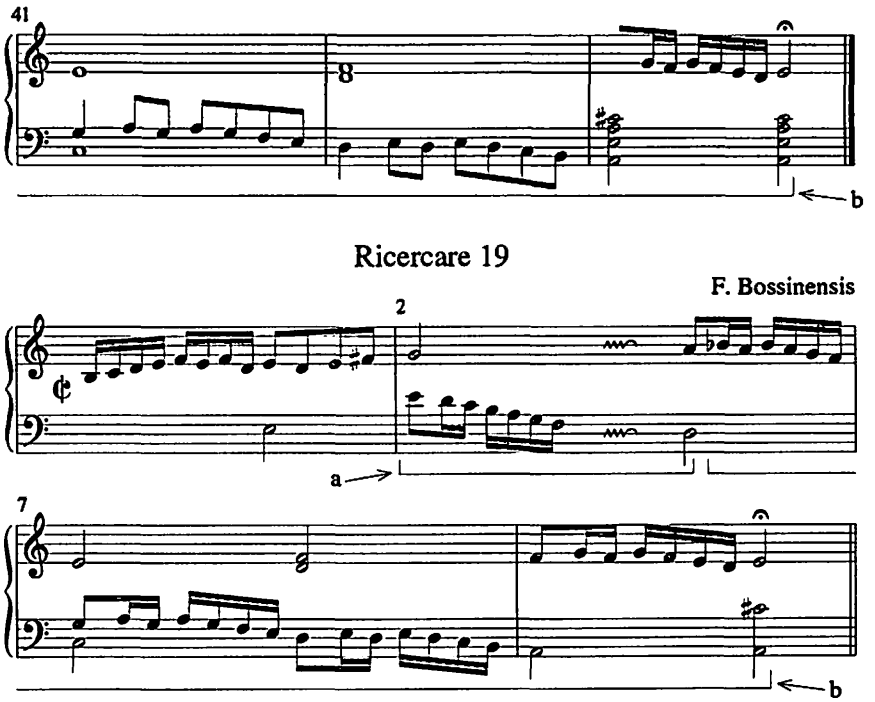
Table 2 shows that of those finals that appear in more than one piece only finalis A is contained entirely in one group. On the other hand, there is no group limited to one finalis (the groups 4a and 5 contain one piece each). This situation is confirmed by the classification of the ricercars from the *Libro II* that belong each to one group, the percentage of the exceptional final chords in the frottolas, and vice-versa.

The comparison of Ricercars 9 and 19 from *Libro II* also confirms the importance of the beginning of the piece. Ricercar 19 consists of two sections of Ricercar 9 (see Example 2). Consequently, the ends of both pieces are almost identical but the beginnings are different. This is why Ricercar 9 (beginning with the chord G) was intended for the frottolas with finalis D and G, while Ricercar 19 (starting with an octave spanning e to e') for the frottolas with final E. Taking into account very probable printing errors and possible mistakes (which could be caused by the complicated formal construction of a piece), or by an unusual tonal situation, the number of the exceptions can be reduced to three (see Table 1).

The clue to the organizational thinking of Bossinensis may be obtained by comparing the individual frottolas that comprise an entire class (letter group) in the book along with their corresponding ricercars. These are *Ho scoperto*, the only one marked with the letter E in the *Libro I; Ai ceco e crudo amore* with E; *Se'l partir m'increbbe e dolse* (anonymous), with the letters C and E in the *Libro II;* and *Ricercare 23*,

EXAMPLE 2

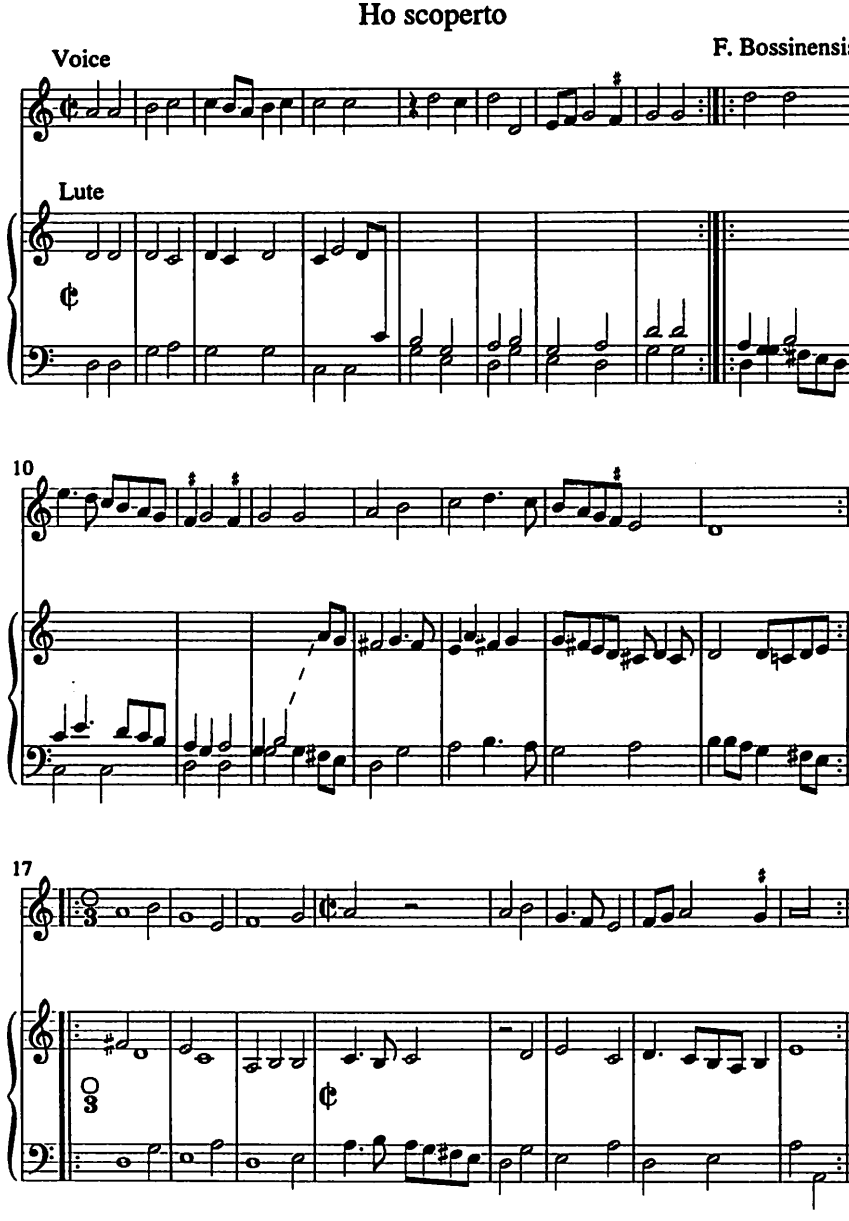
Ricercare 9

F. Bossinensis

the only one marked with the letter F in the *Libro I*.[5] These four examples will now be examined more closely:

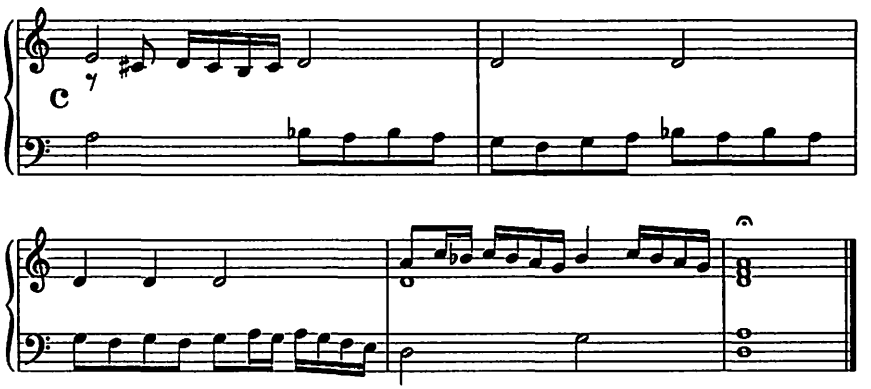
1) Two ricercars (nos. 18 and 20; see Examples 2b & 2c) are intended to be played with the frottola *Ho scoperto* (Example 2a) where the finalis of the main section is D but the true finalis, the one in the second part of the refrain, is A. Both begin with a full chord on A (in major and minor, respectively) which corresponds to the final note of the frottola. But *Ricercar 18* cadences on D—that is, the note on which the frottola begins—and it does not appear there was a problem with the fact that this ricercar shows the consistent use of F and, almost always, B-flat, while in the corresponding frottola we have exactly the opposite—B-naturals combined with F-sharps. Such contrasts, as we can see, were entirely possible, and they do not disrupt the tonal unity of the work. On the other hand, Ricercar 20 proceeds all the way in the 3rd (or 4th?)

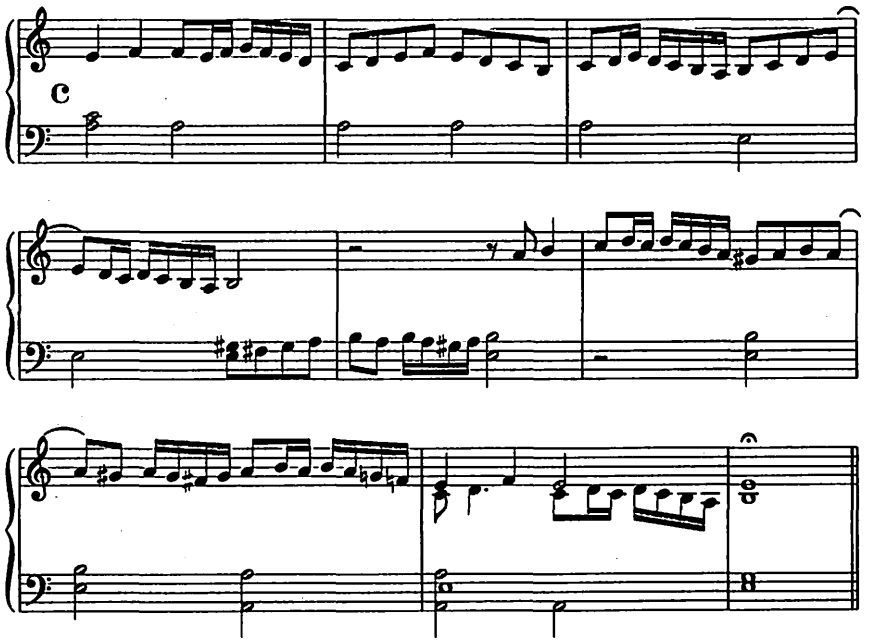
[5] Ricercare 26 is the only one in the *Libro I* marked with the letter G, but this class forms a unit with group D.

mode, which has no connection at all with the frottola. At first glance one might suspect a mistake on the part of the composer; perhaps Bossinensis omitted a frottola that was intended to correspond with Ricercar 20.

EXAMPLE 3a

EXAMPLES 3b-c

Ricercar 18

F. Bossinensis

Ricercare 20

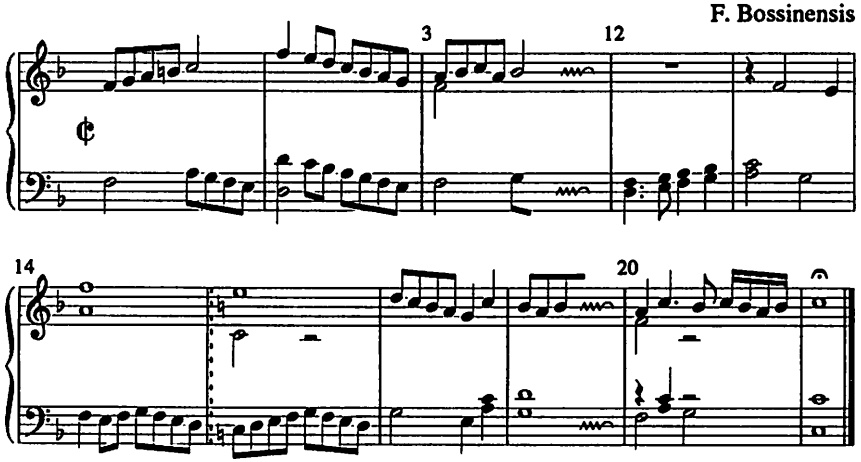
F. Bossinensis

2) The five frottolas of group F *(Libro I)* are Lydian; each of their sections begins with an F–chord or octave F. Ricercar 23 is in the Lydian mode as well (B-flats are common, while B-natural appears only twice) until m. 14, but after that the mode turns to the Ionian, always B-natural from this point on (see Example 4).

3) *Ai ceco* is also a typically Lydian piece. Only one ricercar in the *Libro II* is intended exclusively for this frottola, Ricercar 7, but it is clearly in the Dorian mode. The two modes are connected, but different. Is this an error on the part of Bossinensis? Class C is the only group possible to use for *Ai ceco* and this class includes besides Ricercar 7 four more ricercars that are included in other groups as well. These are Ricercars 6 and 11, which begin and end in D, Ricercar 8, which also begins on D but ends on G (and therefore with no connection to the frottola), and Ricercar 5, which begins on F but ends (with a Phrygian cadence) in A.

EXAMPLE 4

Ricercare 23

F. Bossinensis



4) *Se'l partir* is in the Dorian mode. Here, the lutenist has a choice of either Ricercars 3, 4, or 17 (which are linked exclusively to this piece), or Ricercars 6, 8, or 11, all of which begin on D. Of these six, four conclude in D while the remaining two finish on G. But in accordance with the designation, the lutenist can also choose Ricercar 9, which moves from G to A (see Example 2). Here, one might suspect an

error, even more so since the choice of seven ricercars for a single frottola is quite unusual for Bossinensis.

What conclusions can we draw from these observations? It seems clear that already in the *Libro I*, the ricercars were designed not only as simple introductions, postludes, or interludes between particular sections of a frottola, but that they were also conceived as connective material between two frottolas composed in different modes. This is why the beginnings of most of the ricercars correspond to the finals of the designated frottolas but that many ricercars end on new finals, different from those in the vocal pieces. Ricercar 20, and to some degree Ricercar 23 are good examples. Ricercar 23, however, was given as the only possibility for Group F. We can therefore draw a further conclusion. It appears that we have proof of the diminished capacity of sound being able to define a tonal center. Perhaps this is why seven measures in C can serve as an introduction to a work in F. We can presume that this tendency, which is reinforced in the *Libro II*, allows for Ricercar 7 (6, 8 and 11) in D to correspond with a frottola in F, and above all permits classification of these ricercars into different groups (see Table 3).

TABLE3
Libro II Ricercars classified into 2 or 3 groups

Ricercar	Beginning	End	Group & most frequent finals among the frottolas
13	D	A	1 (A) 2 (C)
5	F	A	1 (A) 5 (F)
15	G?C?	A	2 (C) 4 G)
2	A	A	2 (C) 6 (E)
9	G	A	3 (D) 4 (G)
18	G	G	4 (G) 6 (E)
11	D	D	3 (D) 5 (F)
6	D	D	3 (D) 5 (F) 1 (A)
8	D	G	3 (D) 5 (F)1 (A)

Table 3 lists seven ricercars each intended for two groups and two ricercars intended each for three groups, giving a total of twenty combinations. Among these twenty possibilities there are but seven instances in which the initial interval or chord of a ricercar agrees with the most frequent finalis of the frottolas. In five other cases it agrees with finals that are exceptional yet present in a given group. The remaining ricercars begin on the second degree (no. 13—D from C); third (no. 18—G from E); fourth (no. 9—G from D); fifth (no. 15—C from G); and sixth (no. 13—A from C and nos. 6, 8, & 11—D from F). There is therefore no precise rule guiding these combinations.

Returning to Spinacino, at least one of his ricercars, the *Recercare di tutti li toni*, does not appear destined to accompany either a vocal work or an intabulation (Example 5). How is one to interpret Spinacino's meaning of "in all the tones"? An answer is not easily formulated. In his discussion of Spinacino's book, H. L. Schmidt maintains, for example, that the ricercar does not proceed through all of the tones, and provides a complex succession of modes and transpositions and even diatonic keys.[6] His analysis is not at all convincing. First of all, it minimizes the importance of the presence of eight different sections, and even less convincingly, it makes exaggerated claims for the Aeolian and Ionian modes, transposed sometimes to bizarre regions such as E-flat. As to other modes, the analysis accounts for only eight measures of the Phrygian (always transposed), Lydian (seven measures), and Mixolydian (only a single measure). Spinacino could not have been ignorant to the point of introducing eight sections in a piece "in all the tones" without introducing eight modes. As a matter of fact, Spinacino treats the modes in a very specific manner. The division into sections actually appears not to coincide with the double bars in the tablature (these are faithfully copied in the transcription), but a significant cadence always appears within their proximity (see the signs ≠). The first two sections of the piece cadence, therefore, in D—that is, the cadence of the first and second modes; the third section cadences in E (third mode), the fifth and sixth sections in F (Lydian authentic and plagal), and the seventh in G (Mixolydian). Only in the fourth and eighth sections are the cadences

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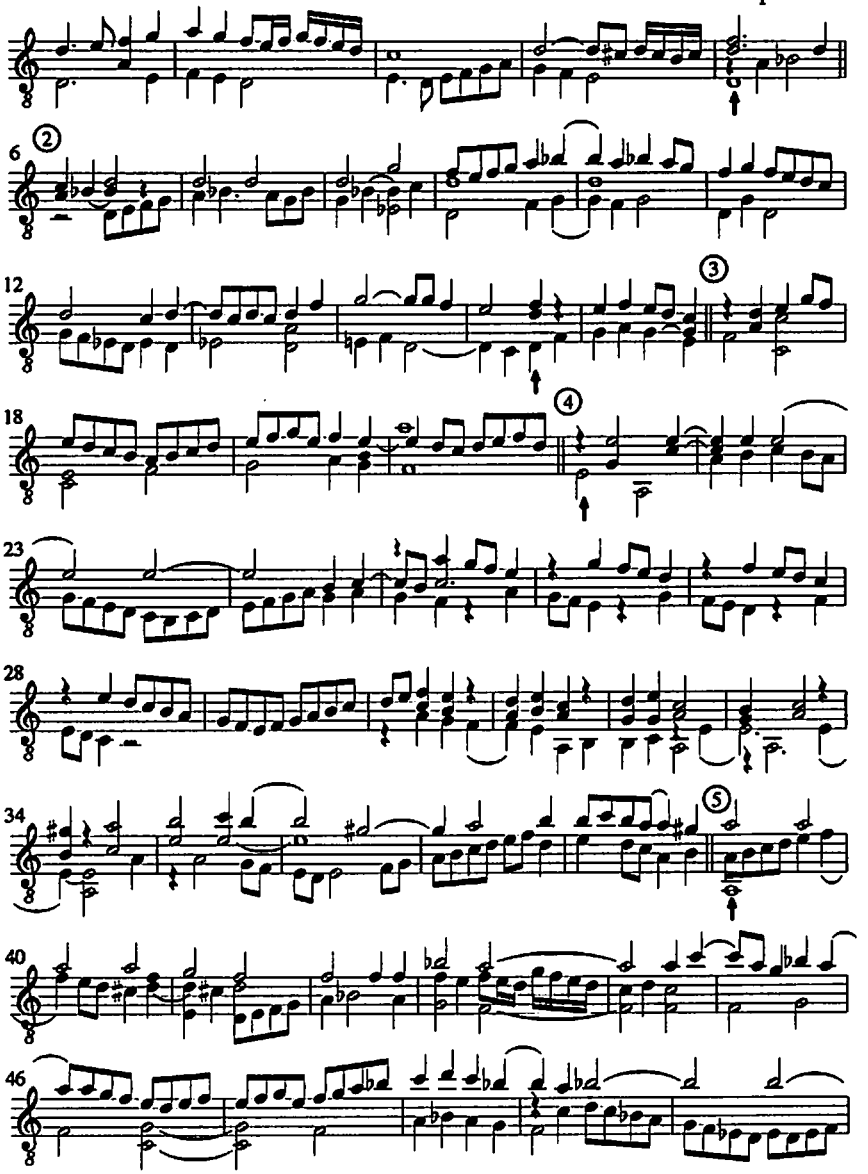
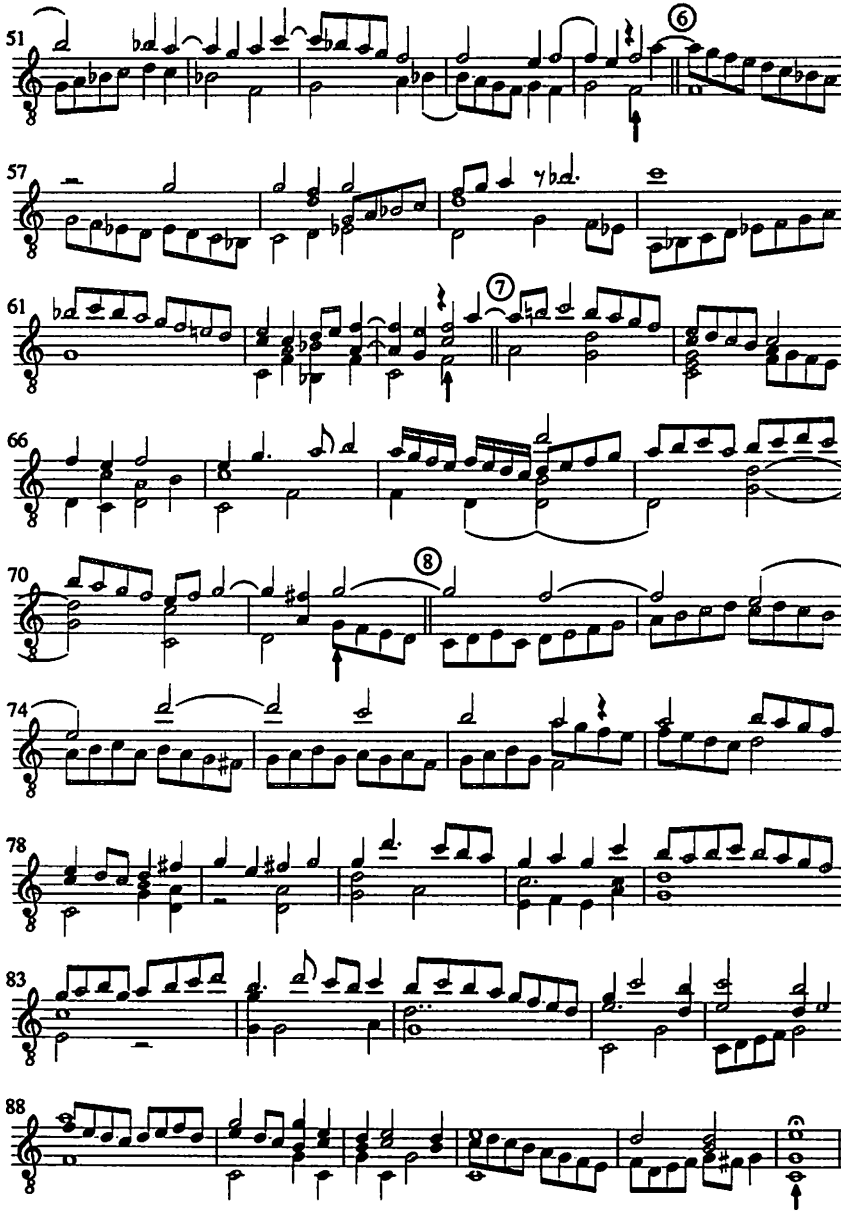
[6] Henry Louis Schmidt III, "The First Printed Lute Books: Francesco Spinacino's 'Intabolatura di Lauto, Libro primo' and 'Libro secondo'," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (1969), p. 64.

not on the real finals of the Hypophrygian and Hypomixolydian modes, but a fifth lower in relation to the finalis.

EXAMPLE 5

Recercare di tutti li toni

F. Spinacino

51
6
57
61
7
66
70
8
74
78
83
88

Let us now examine the scales used within the consecutive sections. In the Dorian mode the notes B and B-flat have the same value. At any rate, B-flat does not appear at all in the first section, and the note B-natural appears only once, at the cadence. Therefore, nothing invalidates the purity of the first mode. In the second section there is the consistent appearance of B-flat, but within the section (neither at the beginning nor end) E-flat is also present. The appearance of this note in the modal system clearly suggests a transposition of a fifth lower.[7] Since in the Lydian mode the appearance of the note B-flat is practically a rule, this note is present throughout the fifth section. But in the sixth section there is also the frequent appearance (in the middle, as before) of E-flat, representing once again a transposition of a fifth lower.

In the entire work, awareness of the relation between the authentic and plagal modes is very logical although, to be sure, atypical. It consists of the transposition to the fifth below, which in the Hypophrygian and Hypomixolydian is realized by the final cadences, and in the Hypodorian and Hypolydian by the transposition of the scale. The Ionian and Aeolian modes are not present in this piece as they do not exist in the system of eight modes. The Recercare *di tutti li toni* of Spinacino is therefore a sort of treatise showing the method for moving from one mode to another. This ability was indispensable for the technique of improvisation, so integral to the period.

Another ricercar by Spinacino presents an analogy with the piece just described, though the progression of modulations is not as systematic nor is the division into sections underscored by the notation (there is only one fermata at the end of the first section). The division is enacted nonetheless by distinct cadences and by the diversity of the scales used in the ricercar. The ricercar to which I am referring is the longest of the two books (334 semibreves) and is the last ricercar (XVII) in *Libro I* (ff. 53v-56r). It begins and ends in C but, startlingly enough, we find non-diatonic notes including B-flat, E-flat, A-flat, F-sharp, C-sharp, G-sharp, D-sharp, and A-sharp (!) through the course of the piece. In sum, we have a scale of 15 degrees.[8] This time the movement

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[7] It should be pointed out that the note D is emphasized not only at the end of this section but also at its beginning.

[8] The fact that the composer uses in this same piece B-flat and A-sharp, E-flat and D-sharp, A-flat and G-sharp gives us an important indication regarding the temperament of the lute at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

through the different tonal centers is based on a more modern principal and it would be perhaps more appropriate to understand it in terms of the categories of the major-minor system.

After the section in C major (with a weak Mixolydian coloring by way of the B-flat, which appears only twice), we move to A minor and then to E-Phrygian. From there we move to the flats by F major to B-flat major, then to E-flat major and C minor, where through G minor and A Phrygian the work arrives at D minor. After the cadence on the chord with a missing third, the lutenist introduces the F-sharp and we have a section in D major. By means of a B-major chord we pass to the E minor, and from there to F-sharp minor (mixed with D major and A major). The tonic, transformed into a major chord (F-sharp major!), leads us to the section in B minor. By using this same process, we pass with the help of B major to E minor, but then come back to the tonal center of the beginning in C major. It is quite significant that this return is situated at the exact center of the piece, the cadence being effected between semibreves 167-169. The piece stays in C major for 12 semibreves and then begins the new voyage. At the beginning, an oscillation: from A minor to F major to A Phrygian to F major to A minor, and then a move to G major. After eight semibreves the composer introduces a B-flat then cadences in D minor. The piece stays in D minor long enough, then moves to E Phrygian. Two sections in A minor follow and at the end we find ourselves where we began, in C major.

In this long piece there are textural and motivic changes, but the key to the piece lies in its explorations of tonality. Here, there is a similarity with the *Recercare di tutti li toni,* but in distinction from the latter piece there are only three tonalities, major, minor, and Phrygian, which follow each other according to the relation of the dominant, the mediant changed from minor to major, or the tonic.

There exist in the two books by Spinacino other ricercars where the problem of modulation seems to be important. However, most of the pieces are probably intended to accompany the intabulations of vocal models. We can find an ana'ogous situation in *Juli amours* and its ricercar, even though the relation is ignored by the editor. The intabulation of the chanson *Allez regrets,* by Agricola, begins with a motive that configures a C-major chord and finishes in B-flat major, and on f. 48r we find the third ricercar which begins in B-flat major and

finishes in C major. The ricercar's beginning corresponds, then, to the end of the chanson and its end corresponds with the beginning.

In summary, the situation with Spinacino is different from that of Bossinensis. First, many intabulations by Spinacino are not strophic pieces. As a result there does not exist the need to return to the beginning at the end of the piece. Secondly, and most importantly, these are not pieces to be sung. Consequently there is no need to "sing" in a given key.[9] Thirdly, the majority of intabulations (in two books there are 54) begin with the finalis (25 pieces) or with the dominant chord, or a motif representing the dominant chord (22 pieces); in five cases the piece begins with the chord a fifth higher than the dominant, which follows immediately (the piece begins with the dominant of the dominant followed by the dominant and the tonic). And it is interesting to note that the real beginning of the intabulation is often preceded by a similar motif from the dominant, inserted by Spinacino as an introduction in miniature.[10] This is why, perhaps, among the twenty-six ricercars by Spinacino,[11] nineteen finish with the same chord as they begin with (two finish a fifth higher, two, a fifth lower, one, two-fifths below). This tonal relationship is much more regular than in Bossinensis.

As we can see, the first ricercars for lute, being autonomous pieces neither based on vocal models nor on metro-rhythmical models such as those found in dance, are often subordinated in a certain way to other pieces. And even when they are completely independent, the tonal problems of these ricercars remain something to which lutenists obviously consecrated a great deal of attention in the process of their composition.

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Translated by V. Coelho and D. Fischlin

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9 We cannot exclude the fact that these first intabulations were seen as accompaniments for singers, but if this is the case, it is difficult to imagine in such a context the very quick tempo of the instrumental ornaments.

10 Such a dominant appears even when the piece is clearly Phrygian; cf., for example, the intabulation of *Nunquam fuit penamaior* by Juan Urrede (?), *Prima pars, Libro I,* f. 33v.

11 We are not including for consideration the *Ricercare di tutti li toni.*

Reviews of Books

Anthony Rooley. *Performance: Revealing the Orpheus Within.* Longmead: Element Books, 1990. x, 142 pp.

THIS AMBITIOUS BOOK BEGINS with the assumption that there is an Orpheus within "who" can, indeed, be revealed. Moreover, the function of such a revelation is to sing "*our very own song* ... so that our brief play may become more tuneful, and delight in its own re-sounding" (p. 4). Eight chapters devote attention to: sixteenth-century performance concepts; "contemporary" thoughts on art; the beginning, middle, and end; characterization; the Orpheus within; concepts at work; wit and will; and an outline for a future course of music study. The organization of the chapters as chapters is somewhat scattered. One wonders, for example, why the chapter on concepts at work occurs in the latter part of the book and why the chapter "contemporary thoughts on art" is not placed in proximity to the chapter on the future course of music study that Rooley outlines. The book also includes two appendices, a series of jejune notes, and an incomplete and out-of-date bibliography.

The concept behind the book poses serious problems for a reviewer partially because the book is written in an intimate anecdotal form, interspersed with distorted and sometimes specious scholarship, not to mention repeated (and unquestioned) quasi-mystical, New Age and speculative assumptions. Rooley is a devotee of Renaissance neoplatonism as espoused by such key figures as Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, and presents a number of ideas that form the basis of a quasi-speculative, quasi-pragmatic system applicable to performance generally, but specifically to the performance of the Elizabethan lute song. The problem in reviewing such a book, rooted both in the persona of "Renaissance man" that Rooley has developed over the years and in performance scholarship relating to the sixteenth century, is distinguishing Rooley's own personal agenda—mystical or performative—from the useful contributions to be derived from a close and considered exposition of sixteenth-century performance practices. The book attempts to present a synthesis of Rooley's substantial experience as a performer while also trying to integrate that experience with a scholarly reading of the sixteenth-century ethos relating to performance—as if sixteenth-century performance practice can be reduced to a coherent set of practices and attitudes embodied in the figure of Orpheus. Unfortunately the book "performs" neither task convincingly.

While Rooley has much to teach in terms of his passionately personal approach to Renaissance music there are serious concerns that must be voiced with regard to his reading of the Orphic presence in performance contexts. Orpheus is the lynch-pin on which Rooley's analysis depends, a strangely-tilted reading of a

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myth in which Eurydice figures at least as significantly if only for the fact that it is she—or her absence—who drives Orpheus's passion made manifest in his failed journey to redeem her from the Plutonic underworld. In the context of Rooley's book, Orpheus represents both the performer and sixteenth-century ideals of performance practice. The latter notion of Orphic performance will have particular resonances for lutenists familiar with the oft-cited reference to John Dowland in Robert Dowland's *A Varietie of Lute Lessons* (1610) as the "English Orpheus," not to mention Henry Purcell's claim to being "Orpheus Britannicus." From these scanty and oftentimes clichéd appelations for great performer-composers, as well as from the related title of "Il Divino" bestowed on Francesco da Milano, Rooley makes a case for Orpheus as a Renaissance embodiment of the power "to move the soul" through "divine inspiration" (p. 9).

However appealing such an idea is, and whatever it may mean to "move the soul," it must be remembered that in the Renaissance such language—the language of "ecstatic transport" into "some divine frenzy" (p. 8)—is a highly metaphorical language for the musical affects produced by great composers and performers. "Ecstatic transport," as a literary trope, is firmly anchored in the conventional rhetoric of the time, one that in England, moreover, was the product of suspect Italianate influences. Contemporary Renaissance scholarship has taught that students of the period must beware of over-investing too credulously in the import of such tropes. The experience of "ecstatic transport" is difficult to quantify at the most lucid of times, and to suggest that ecstatic transport is Orphic in nature is to articulate a conventional literary rendering of highly-stylized and complicated performance practices. The descriptions of those practices made use of a very particular form of encomiastic and conventional rhetoric in keeping with the often overblown nature of Renaissance courtly discourse.

To accept such a reading of Orphic presence in the limited and all-too-infrequent descriptions of sixteenth-century performance practices is perhaps equivalent to accepting the standard clichés associated with Petrarchan love rhetoric —somewhat tantamount to believing that "living deaths," "freezing fires" and "sweet despairs" represent anything but a conventional rhetoric associated with love. In other words, having called a love experience a "living death" or a performance "Orphic," are we really any closer to the spirit in which that "love" is expressed—if it is ever "love" and not a performative literary utterance made by the poet for the sake of a specific tradition or style—or that "performance" created? The answer is a very qualified no. The problem involves a form of literary interpretation, an awareness of the complex rhetorical and tropological constructions that give ambiguous voice to the Renaissance. Rooley's book often, and most unfortunately, leaves the impression that such interpretations have not been carefully thought through. All too often, as in Appendix 1, which provides a useful example of programming "on the theme [sic] of mutability and metamorphosis" (p. 125), the book says too little about the effect of words, a

crucial flaw in a book that takes Elizabethan art song as its primary example of the performative. To call Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* an "unfinished epic of renaissance courtly love" (p. 125), for example, is to make a crude over-determination of the complicated thematic content of that sprawling work.

In the case of "reading" Orpheus, Rooley leaps from knowledge of the rhetoric of a few isolated cases that associate Orpheus with performance to several assumptions, a practice that is maintained throughout the book. "[I]t was recognised by men of their own age that these performers [Francesco, Dowland, Purcell] carried the fabled power of Orpheus to move the soul" and "they ['these performers'] were able to communicate, fairly directly, the divine inspiration which had been symbolically granted to Orpheus" (p. 9). Such assumptions confuse rhetoric about performance with actual performance practices. Though no doubt rhetoric can be informative to a point, it must always be analyzed carefully in the contexts of the discursive traditions associated with its usage. The leap made by Rooley in a book aimed both at explicating sixteenth-century performance practices and at providing a guide for the (un)initiated to those practices, is dangerous and needs to be rethought. It is one thing to call yourself Orphic or to be called as such by others, whereas it is quite another thing actually to be Orpheus, whatever "being Orpheus" or having an "Orpheus within" may have meant in a Renaissance context.[1]

As a reviewer I have no wish to dispute Rooley's personal beliefs—he is free to them. The problem begins when those beliefs are passed off as having a scholarly basis that may be applied *universally* to performative situations in a particular historical context. Rooley, for example, makes the egregious claim that "[t]he present contemplation focusses on music and the soul, and is a fusion of material presented by [John] Warden *[Orpheus: The Metamorphosis of a Myth]* from Ficino's work, with Plato [sic] and Orphic fragments, added to which is my own position as a performing artist. It is, in other words, a synthesis of some of the most exciting material ever set down as a guide for the performer" (p. 82). Such a fulsome claim begs some obvious questions. In what way do neoplatonic philosophies aimed at transcending the sensual world to attain a spiritual/mystical union with the One of the immaterial world constitute a "guide for the performer," especially if the performer does not share in the far-from-homogeneous belief systems of the neoplatonists? How is music an expression of the soul? What constitutes the soul? Who has one? And what if "soul," when used figuratively in describing Renaissance performance practices, is merely a trope for the bodily experience of performance—its stresses, its moments of *ekstasis*, its failures, not to mention its social and its spatio-temporal contexts? In other words, what if

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[1] It may be noted that Rooley does not present a single Renaissance text in which either of these two phrases occurs.

"soul" is merely an effect of language, or a by-product of the effects of performance on the body?

The rather naïve self-aggrandization that is implicit in Rooley's linking of his own position as a performing artist with Ficino, Plato and mythic fragments relating to Orpheus is typical of the book. Throughout, there is an assumption that the reader will empathize with Rooley's often banal examples of the way in which Orphic insight is attained: through the preparation of a family meal (in a particularly self-indulgent passage entitled "Letting Go" pp. 40-43), or through performance situations in which difficulties are overcome (in a passage entitled "Temenos" pp. 88-97). No doubt insight is possible at any moment, culinary or performative. But to term such insight Orphic is to fall prey to a rhetoric that is perhaps conventional in Occidental Renaissance contexts, but not necessarily illuminating in terms of the "real" nature of sixteenth-century performance practices.

There is a sense throughout the book that Rooley is verging on useful insight as in his description of the aforementioned *temenos*, "a sacred space, often in the enclosure of a temple, in which sacred arts are performed with dignity and appropriate ritual" (p. 88). The concept, in relation to performance practice, is interesting and, perhaps, useful. At no point, however, does Rooley adequately historicize the concept for the reader, indicating whether such a concept had viability or presence in contemporary accounts of sixteenth-century performance practice. The result? A potentially confused reader who may assume that all sixteenth-century performance practice occurs in such a sacred space, as opposed to the, more often than not, very secular spaces in which lute performances, to cite but one example, took place. Furthermore, the complicated relationship between sacred and secular performance practice is elided in Rooley's Orphic analysis, a situation that also potentially misrepresents the way in which Renaissance performance practices actually evolved and were conceived.

The notion, for example, of an analogy to be made between Orpheus and the contemporary performer, though useful in the limited context of those who wish to adopt the same beliefs as Rooley/Orpheus, is, in this context, somewhat distressing. Rooley presents a classic (mis)reading or idealization of the myth, a revisionary understanding that suits the purposes of his notion of performance as a ritual expression of the classical values of clarity, reverie, sublimity, beauty, love, respect and harmony. At the beginning of chapter eight he states: "[w]hen Orpheus steps forward singing new songs of divine inspiration, then Euridice is enticed from out of the audience and the oldest reactions of the myth are re-enacted—Orpheus and Euridice are united in love and harmony" (p. 115). Besides wondering what or how the "oldest [unsubstantiated] reactions" to the myth are re-enacted—as if we can ever be privy to the exact historical resonances of the myth in its past contexts—one must also wonder when and if such an enticement is effected between the audience and the performer. The lines seem to read the myth as leading

to an aggregate harmony, a fulfillment of a binding love in the act of performance that is the simulacrum of the imagined unity to be read into Orpheus's and Eurydice's pairing.

This reading is in contradiction to the myth itself which proposes as its central experiences, disjunction, fragmentation, dismemberment (*sparagmos*) and the creative power of melancholy through separation, not to mention the painfully nostalgic and generative powers of memory instantiated in Orphic music. Such a reading, from a person who acknowledges his ties to neoplatonic philosophy, is all the more startling given its obvious ignorance of how the myth was treated in a Platonic context. Phaedrus, in an extended passage on love in the *Symposium*, argues that

> heaven itself has a peculiar regard for ardor and resolution in the cause of Love. And yet the gods sent Orpheus away from Hades empty-handed, and showed him the mere shadow of the woman he had come to seek. Eurydice herself they would not let him take, because he seemed, like the mere minstrel he was, to be a lukewarm lover, lacking the courage to die as Alcestis died for love, and choosing rather to scheme his way, living, into Hades. And it was for this that the gods doomed him, and doomed him justly, to meet his death at the hands of women.[2]

The passage is instructive in what it reveals about Orpheus insofar as he figures in Platonic versions of the myth: an incomplete lover who lacks passion and courage,

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[2] Plato, *Collected Dialogues*, eds. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton, 1980), pp. 533-34, 179d. Another Socratic/Platonic mention of Orpheus occurs in *The Apology*, 41a: "For if a man once goes over to the place of the dead, and takes leave of those who claim to be judges here, he will find the true judges who are said to sit in judgment there—Minos, Rhadamanthus, Aeacus, Triptolemus, and the other demigods and heroes who lived just lives. Would that journey be worthless? And again, to meet Orpheus and Musaeus, Hesiod and Homer—how much would any of you give? I at least would be willing to die many times over, if these things are true ... But the greatest thing, surely, would be to test and question there as I did here: Who among them is wise?" See *The Dialogues of Plato*, tr. R. E. Allen (New Haven, 1984), vol. 1, p. 103. Even Socrates condemned is prepared to question the putative wisdom of those in "the place of the dead." Orpheus's "manliness" is a site of considerable interpretive anxiety not only in Plato but in Euripides' *Antiope*, which "contained (frr. 184-88) a famous debate on this theme" (*Plato, Symposium*, ed. Kenneth Dover [Cambridge, 1980], p. 94). Søren Kierkegaard, in a well-known passage from *Fear and Trembling*, reiterates the Phaedric/Platonic and Euripidean notion, stating: "[h]e who will not work does not get bread, but will be deluded, as the Gods deluded Orpheus with an airy figure in place of the beloved, deluded him because he was tender-hearted, not courageous, deluded him because he was a lyre-player, not a man." See Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, tr. Alastair Hannay (Harmondsworth, 1985), p. 57.

scheming his way into Hades while alive, not having the capacity to die for his passion—someone who must die, ultimately, at the hands of the very forces he has failed in order to understand the nature of ardent love.

Such a reading, still compelling in a contemporary context, is distant from Rooley's own speculative (mis)reading of Orpheus as a signifier of harmony and spiritual fulfilment: "If every performer has an Orpheus within, then it seems fruitful to consider that every audience contains Euridice. The performance is itself the descent [to the underworld], where lovers meet and recognise each other, take hands and ascend, united, together. The culmination, the distilled silence at the end of the work, or recital, is heaven" (p. 78). Again, Rooley makes an interpetive leap from Orpheus as signifying the performer to Eurydice as signifying the audience, when, in fact, it may be more useful to consider the performer as a symbolic embodiment of the play between the descent and ascent represented by Orpheus and Eurydice—whatever such an interpretation ultimately contributes to the understanding of sixteenth-century performance practices. What if the performer must descend into his or her own underworld, rather than the underworld of the audience, in order to create? What if the lesson of the Orpheus myth for performers is one that has to do with confronting loss from within rather than projecting that loss onto the audience as symbolic of Euridyce? What if, to borrow from Maurice Blanchot, "for Orpheus everything collapses into the certainty of failure where there remains only, as compensation, the work's uncertainty, for is there ever a work?"[3] In the context of the Phaedric/Platonic reading given above, one wonders if Rooley would still wish to maintain his notion of Orpheus as the "archetypal performer" (p. 3), that is, one who lacks the courage to confront the compelling passions of love instantiated in musical expression? And yet the Phaedric/Platonic reading of the myth has, perhaps, significant lessons for the performer. Rather than

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[3] "Orpheus's Gaze," in *The Space of Literature*, tr. Ann Smock (Lincoln, 1982), p. 174. Blanchot's suggestive reading of the Orpheus myth is also not taken into account by Rooley, even though Blanchot makes direct connections with one of the important themes evident in Rooley's book, that of inspiration. Blanchot suggests that "[t]o look at Eurydice, without regard for the song, in the impatience and imprudence of desire which forgets the law: *that* is *inspiration*" (p. 173). Here impatient and imprudent desire that overturns the law is at the crux of the myth, a reading that would have interesting applications to a performance practice that enacted such desire. Blanchot also has interesting things to say about Orpheus's relation to song: "only in the song does Orpheus have power over Eurydice. But in the song too, Eurydice is already lost, and Orpheus himself is the dispersed Orpheus; the song immediately makes him 'infinitely dead.' He loses Eurydice because he desires her beyond the measured limits of the song, and he loses himself, but this desire, and Eurydice lost, and Orpheus dispersed are necessary to the song, just as the ordeal of eternal inertia is necessary to the work" (p. 173). Again, dispersal, loss and desire beyond the aesthetic limits of song figure in the myth, all of which contradict Rooley's reading of the myth as symbolic of the performer's harmonious union with the audience.

attempting to attain the illusion of unity with the "shadow" of the audience (as a type of Eurydice), the performer's energies are perhaps better expended in avoiding the vainglory and lukewarm passions that vitiate the affective powers of music—powers which, after all, are as much the result of the performer's ability to express disjunction, dissonance, fragmentation, and the pervasive melancholy of memory,[4] as they are the result of the expression of harmony, love and other so-called "positive" values.

There is a further troubling notion evident in the comments from Rooley that I have already cited, namely, that it is the performer's duty as Orpheus to generate experiences of unity and harmony, a duty that in any context implies an aesthetics of homogeneity that is not without its problems. How to explain this to a Gesualdo, a Bach, or a Stravinsky or any other innovator who dares to question assumptions about the homogeneity of the creative process, its structures and its affects? The presumption of such an aesthetics of homogeneity when read in context of Orpheus as a myth of dismemberment and failed union is problematic, to say the least. In this light, the reading of the Orpheus myth that Rooley offers is not fully developed or considered in terms of its relation to performance practice. Such a reading, combined with the often perfunctory and scattered treatments he gives of major Renaissance philosophical figures—Ficino, Pico, Castiglione, not to mention Plato—leaves the impression of a book whose metaphysics need more careful consideration in order to be as lucent as possible.

Rooley's treatment of Ficino's interpretation of Orpheus is also in need of rethinking. It is well-known that Ficino "expounded the hymns of Orpheus [after learning Greek literature], and it is said that he sang them to the lyre in the ancient style with remarkable sweetness."[5] We also know that "[b]y 1462 he [Ficino] was already producing his first Latin translations of Greek authors, which included the *Hymns* of Orpheus and the *Sayings* of Zoroaster."[6] Rooley seems to have confused Ficino's knowledge of the Orphic author of the *Hymns* with the mythic figure of Orpheus. In any event, Ficino clearly did not hold an idealized opinion of the mythic Orpheus as evidence from his letters demonstrates. In a letter "to Niccolo degli Albizzi" with "An exhortation to pursue knowledge [*Exhortatio ad scientiam*]," Ficino states: "You have also heard how Orpheus, when he looked back, lost Eurydice; in other words, his depth of judgment. Ineffective and empty-handed is the hunter who goes backwards rather than forwards."[7] In another letter

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[4] Melancholy, to paraphrase Robert Burton's well-known definition in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, is the awareness of one's own mortality.

[5] "'The Life of Marsilio Ficino' by Giovanni Corsi," in *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, tr. members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science (London, 1988), vol. 3, p. 138.

[6] *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, vol. 1, p. 21.

[7] Ibid., letter 22, p. 61.

"to Marco Aurelio, the illustrious orator," Ficino says: "At this moment I should like to address a few words to the Venetian Senate: 'O divine Senate, if ever you wish to stem the flow of rivers or to move rocks, you will not summon an Orpheus or an Amphion but rather Bernardo [Bembo]. For through a marvellous grace he is as persuasive by his silence as they are by their music.'"[8] Clearly, Ficino does not envision Orpheus in a necessarily positive light, the former letter condemning Orpheus for "go[ing] backwards" and the latter arguing for the natural human powers embodied in Bernardo Bembo's eloquent silence. Rooley's failure to mention these alternative readings while nonetheless co-opting Ficino's "extraordinarily pervasive" influence "throughout the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth" (p. 14) does serious damage to the argument of his book. For the book hinges on an understanding of Orpheus that is clearly in conflict with both Renaissance and platonic/neoplatonic readings of that mythic figure.

The book often posits transhistorical values associated with performance that are out of touch with the specific historical and social conditions of the performer of early music seeking to integrate or at the very least expose early performance practices within the postmodern contexts of the late twentieth century. For example, Rooley argues, rightly so, that the sixteenth century has ideas of "tremendous value" (p. 17) and, less rightly so, that "they [the ideas] actually have much that is timeless about them, and therefore, do not date at all" (p. 17). Besides the obvious circularity of the argument (they are timeless therefore they do not date), the assertion implies the rather dangerous notion that ideas transcend the historical and social conditions from which they emerge, as if to say that those historical and social conditions have no effect on the shaping of the idea, not to mention its effects as it is disseminated through time.

To suggest as much is to be blind to the very particular conditions out of which specific musical ideas emerge, an idea that has long lain at the heart of the early music movement with its persistent anxieties about the nature of performances shaped in historical conditions needing recuperation. This idea of transcendence is further linked in Rooley's argument to the so-called Renaissance notion of hierarchy, "a favoured view of creation in the Renaissance" (p. 27), as if to suggest that the Renaissance held uniform views on cosmological (and other) forms of hierarchy. Such a notion is associated with the long disabused claims of E. M. W. Tillyard who "was concerned to expound an idea of cosmic order 'so taken for granted, so much part of the collective mind of the people, that it is hardly mentioned except in explicitly didactic passages.'" Jonathan Dollimore has convincingly argued that "Tillyard's world picture, to the extent that it did still exist, was not shared by all; it was an ideological legitimation of an existing social order, one rendered the more necessary by the apparent instability, actual *and*

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8 *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, vol. 4, letter 37, pp. 51-52.

imagined, of that order."[9] Rooley handily dismisses the elitism associated with hierarchical schemes of ordering experience as so much "jargon," arguing that the "beauty and simplicity of the concepts presented ... are such that only the most die-hard anti-elitist will find it [sic] difficult" (pp. 27-28). The argument that these hierarchies are necessarily applicable to the "role of the performer as artist" (p. 27), especially in the contexts of the frequently-cited Elizabethan lute songs which themselves were often based on textual patternings that subvert hierarchy, is no longer tenable.

I would argue that what is needed is an awareness of the degree to which the performer locates moments of transgression against the hierarchies that stifle expression, while simultaneously working within the hierarchies that contingently define the performer's situation. Such a position shifts the ground considerably from Rooley's dubious notions of Renaissance hierarchies by allowing for an understanding of performance as a creative undermining of the hierarchies which nonetheless find their expression, often as a political necessity, in the varied forms of Renaissance art: the masque, theatre, music and the visual arts. That Rooley often resorts to ill-produced and fatuous diagrams to make his points also weakens the argument of the book. What does it mean in a book that posits experiences of "soul" and the "divine" to plot diagrammatically the supposed trajectories by which those concepts relate to performance practices? Is it possible to represent the soul or divinity in diagrammatic form?

Rooley never clearly articulates the conventional motif of Renaissance inexpressibility in relation to such diagrams, an omission that is particularly strange. The subversive power of inexpressibility—subversive because it is always suspicious of rhetorical or other discursive schema—lurks behind much of what is at stake in Renaissance poetics, not to mention, of course, Renaissance writings about music. That such a motif is present in the poetry of the time as well as in the metaphysical speculations on music and its performance seems to indicate an ethos that is at some variance with the neat hierarchical manner of thinking implied in Rooley's analyses. What does it mean to schematize the "Renaissance view of Man, in its barest essentials" (p. 102) as Rooley does in Figure 13, coming up with a neat list of human attributes ranging between soul and body, and including wit, will, fantasy, memory, apprehension and senses? To say that "[t]his generalised view would serve as a general picture, acknowledged as standard, throughout two and a half centuries, from the late fifteenth century onwards" (p. 103) is to generalize about the complex and differential nature of Renaissance views regarding the relationship between body and soul, as if such views, again, can be organized summarily into an homogeneous system.

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[9] Jonathan Dollimore, "Shakespeare, cultural materialism and the new historicism," in *Political Shakespeare*, eds. J. Dollimore and A. Sinfield (Ithaca, 1988), p. 5.

The questions that lie at the heart of Rooley's inquiry are important ones and need asking. And we must be grateful to Rooley for venturing into the speculative territory that is the nature of this particular beast. What state of mind is required to perform sixteenth-century music? Is it possible imaginatively to enter into such a state? What techniques will lead to the creation of such a state? What values, musical or otherwise, underlie the practice and ethos of sixteenth-century musicians? And ultimately, can the study of things other than the music be productively explored in order to approximate the elusive imaginative and historical context of these performers? Rooley's book is valuable for its articulation of these problems, but unconvincing, ultimately, in how it addresses what are fundamentally questions relating to the metaphysics of Renaissance musical performance. Ultimately, then, this book needs to be read carefully with an ear for what Rooley can teach us about passionate engagement with the musical imagination required to perform Renaissance music, as well as with an ear for when that passion dissolves into generalizations that lead the performer to ill-considered conclusions about the nature of that performance practice. As Rooley states, "consciousness rises at every step" (p. 114). This is a book that takes at least some of those necessary steps.

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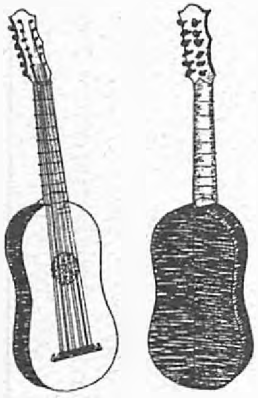

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