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Rinaldo Alessandrini

Performance practice in the *seconda prattica* madrigal

*Seconda prattica, de la quale è statto il primo rinovatore ne nostri caratteri il Divino Cipriano Rore ... seguitata, & ampliata ... dal Ingegneri, dal Marenzio, da Giaches Wert, dal Luzzasco, & parimente da Giacoppo Peri, da Giulio Caccini, & finalmente da li spiriti più elevati & intendenti de la vera arte, intende che sia quella che versa intorno alla perfetione de la melodia, cioè che considera l'armonia comandata, & non comandante, & per signora del armonia pone l'oratione.*¹

By Second Practice, which was first renewed in our notation by Cipriano de Rore ... was followed and amplified ... by Ingegneri, Marenzio, Giaches de Wert, Luzzasco, likewise by Jacopo Peri, Giulio Caccini, and finally by loftier spirits with a better understanding of true art, he understands the one that turns on the perfection of the melody, that is, the one that considers harmony not commanding, but commanded, and makes the words the mistress of the harmony.

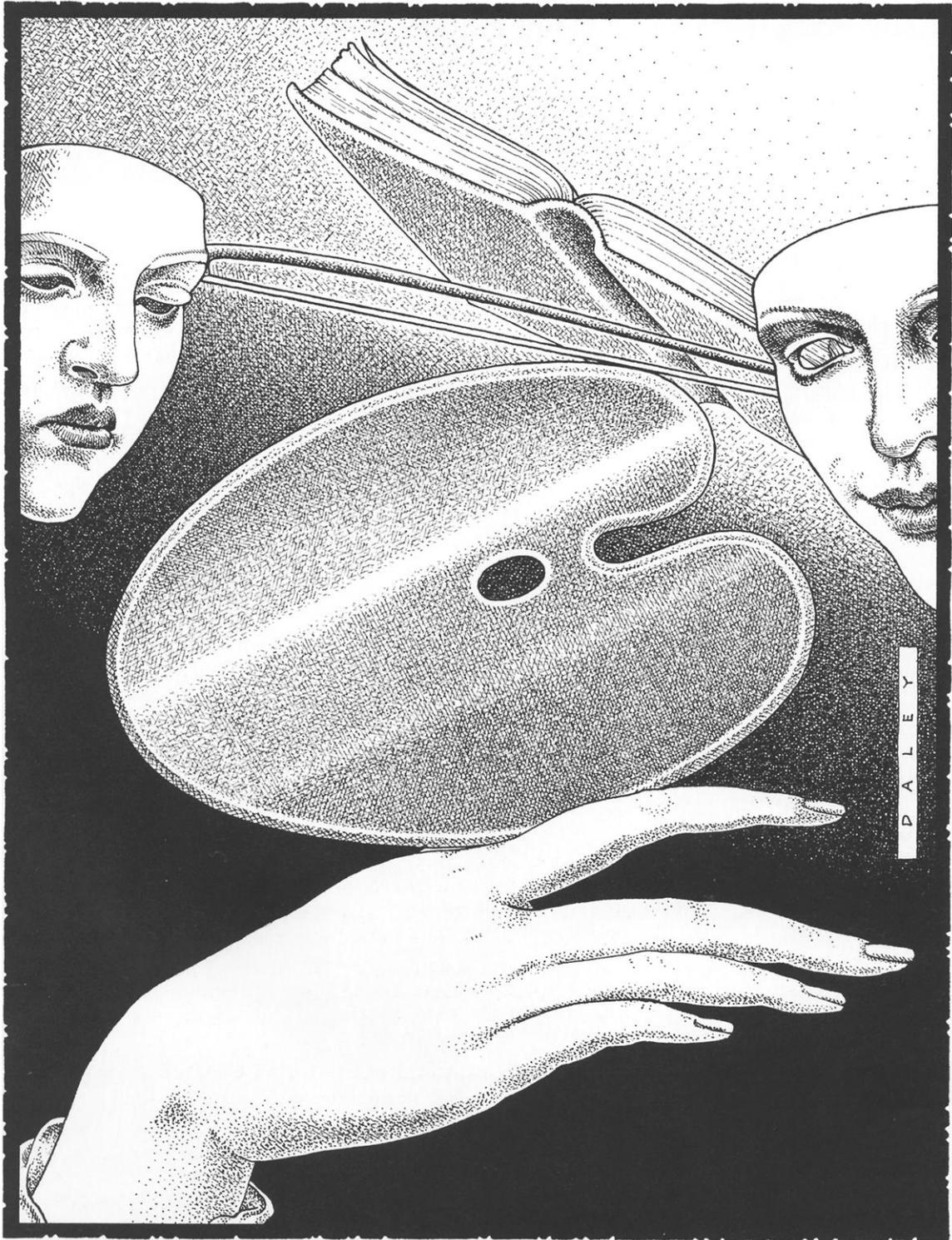
MONTEVERDI'S inclusion of Marenzio in his list of composers of the *seconda prattica* is recognition of his place among those who initiated a radical reform of musical language at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th. The *seconda prattica* expounded by Monteverdi (or, at least, his brother) favoured the primacy of *orazione* over *armonia*, reversing what he perceived as being the priorities of the *prima prattica*. The new claims of rhetoric and the importance granted to the poetic text not only transformed the madrigal but also had an impact on the younger generation of poets—Guarini, Chiabrera, Marino—who, resolving to meet the aspirations of these new aesthetic trends, set out to enchant and astonish the public with their virtuoso technique and use of surprise (*meraviglia*), audacious similes and paradox.

The changes in musical direction were accompanied by exploration of the emotional power of disso-

nance (Monteverdi, Marenzio), chromaticism and contrapuntal daring (Gesualdo), and the use of *basso continuo* and *obbligato* instruments (Monteverdi again). But these changes were not easily achieved. The Bolognese theorist Giovanni Maria Artusi castigated these novelties as offences against nature and reason.² And although Artusi ended up as an admirer of Monteverdi (if we are to believe the claim Monteverdi made in his letter of 22 October 1633 to Giovanni Battista Doni),³ the Artusi–Monteverdi controversy epitomized the same conflict between authority and empiricism as the period's most famous literary quarrel, the controversy regarding the stylistic propriety of Guarini's pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor fido*.⁴

This was the period when composers and performers took upon themselves the responsibility of continually renewing the rules and of creating a new and comprehensive artistic expression encompassing meaning, word and music. One of the most important changes was in fact the emergence of two distinct (though not necessarily opposed) spheres of competence, those of the composer and the performer, the first required to translate into music the contents of the poetic text, the second to translate that synthesis of text and music into sound and emotion. Nicola Vicentino emphasizes that the music should correspond to the mood and affects of the words: thus rapid note-values are equated with cheerfulness, while a slow pace, soft progressions (*gradi molli*) and minor 3rds and 6ths are associated with melancholy, and he complains that composers often introduce devices contrary to the meaning of the words.⁵ Luzzaschi (or rather Alessandro

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Guarini, ghost-writing for the composer) spells out in considerable detail the primacy of words over music in the dedication to his *Sesto libro de' madrigali a cinque voci* (Ferrara, 1596):

... se il Poeta inalza lo stile, solleva eziandio il Musico il tuono. Piagne, se il verso piagne, ride, se ride, se corre, se resta, se priega, se niega, se grida, se tace, se vive, se muore, tutti questi affetti, & effetti così vivamente da lui vengono espressi, che quella par quasi emulazione, che propriamente rasomiglianza dè dirsi. Quinci veggiamo la Musica de nostri tempi alquanto diversa da quella, che già fu ne' passati, percioche dalle passate, le Poesie moderni sono altresì diverse.

... if the poet raises his style, the musician also raises his tone. He cries if the verse cries, laughs if it laughs; if it runs, stops, implores, denies, screams, falls silent, lives, dies, all these affects and effects are so vividly expressed by music that what should properly be called resemblance seems almost competition. Therefore we see in our times a music somewhat different from that of the past, for modern poetic forms are similarly different from those of the past.⁶

As for the performer, it was no longer enough simply to convey, as pure sound, the melodic lines of a madrigal; there was also an obligation to demonstrate, if not display, technical and artistic expertise. Thus for Giovanni Maria Trabaci a performance of either vocal or instrumental music cannot succeed 'unless there is a very graceful hand, a mature and detailed study, and those touches of elegance and those *accenti* which this music requires'.⁷ And a much earlier source for the new style of singing, a passage from Nicola Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555), is worth quoting at length:

... & s'avvertirà che nel concertare le cose volgari a voler fare che gl'oditori restino satisfatti, si dè cantare le parole conformi all'opinione del Compositore; & con la voce esprimere, quelle intonationi accompagnate dalle parole, con quelle passioni. Hora allegre, hora meste, & quando soavi, & quando crudeli & con gli accenti adherire alla pronuntia delle parole & delle note, & qualche volta si usa un certo ordine di procedere, nelle compositioni, che non si può scrivere. [sic] come sono il dir piano, & forte, & il dir presto, & tardo, & secondo le parole, muovere la Misura, per dimostrare gli effetti delle passioni delle parole, & dell'armonia, & la esperienza, dell'Oratore l'insegna, che si vede il modo che tiene nell'Oratione, che hora dice forte, & hora piano, & più tardo, & più presto, & con questo muove assai gl'oditori, & questo modo di muovere la misura, fà effetto assai nell'animo, & per tal ragione si canterà la Musica alla mente per imitar gli accenti, & effetti delle parti dell'oratione ...

He is also advised that in coordinating vernacular works, he

should sing the words in keeping with the composer's intention, so as to leave the audience satisfied. He should express the melodic lines, matching the words to their passions—now joyful, now sad, now gentle, and now cruel—and adhere to the accents and pronunciation of the words and notes. Sometimes a composition is performed according to a certain method that cannot be written down, such as uttering softly and loudly or fast and slow, or changing the measure in keeping with the words, so as to show the effects of the passions and the harmony. The experience of the orator can be instructive, if you observe the technique he follows in his oration. For he speaks now loud and now soft, now slow and now fast, thus greatly moving his listeners. This technique of changing the measure has a powerful effect on the soul. For this reason music is sung from memory, so as to imitate the accents and effects of the parts of an oration.⁸

The early madrigal presented very few technical difficulties from the standpoint of performance. Rather, the focus was on the composer's subtle handling of counterpoint and texture, and performance seems to have had little or no bearing on how the work as such was assessed. Thus in 1592 Lodovico Zacconi contrasts the 'antichi' (Josquin, Gombert), who obtained their effects from 'points of imitation and other observations [of the rules]' ('fughe, & altre osservationi') with the 'new and graceful effects' ('nuovi, & vaghi effetti') of Willaert and Rore; likewise he observes that the singers of old 'sang their parts as they were written in the books, without adding a single *accento* or giving them any touch of grace, since they were intent only on pure and simple *modulatione*'.⁹

However, things were changing around 1600. The madrigal was the polyphonic vocal genre *par excellence* in this period. The market conditions for the genre were favourable, given that it could cater for all tastes and situations. Another important factor was the influence of singers on composers. With their expanded range of technical possibilities, singers were able to offer a wider range of vocal and expressive effects. At the beginning of the 17th century the level of expertise was continually rising: vocal ranges widened, especially those of sopranos, who gained at least a 4th in their upper register. In addition virtuoso techniques such as rapid and extended coloratura were developed, requiring a more economic use of breathing. These and other issues have a significant bearing on performance in the *seconda prattica*.

Vibrato

Christoph Bernhard was given the task of bringing from Italy to Germany singers for the *cappella* of the Elector of Dresden. Describing the various types of ornamentation in fashion in Rome at the beginning of the 17th century he says:

... *fermo*, or the maintenance of a steady sound, is required on all the notes except where a *trillo* or *ardire* is performed. This is to be considered a decoration [*Zierde*] of the *fermo*, because the *tremulo* is a vice (except on the organ, where all the voices can vibrate [*tremuliren*] at the same time and sound well together because of the [uniformity in the] change [of pitch]). It is used by older singers, but not as an artistic device; rather, they use it inadvertently, because they can no longer hold the note. If one were to seek further confirmation about the undesirability of *tremulo*, one should listen to an old person singing alone. Then he would understand why the most elegant singers do not use *tremulum* except when performing an *ardire* ... However, basses may use it from time to time, as long as it is not too frequent, and only on short notes.¹⁰

Italian organs were in fact equipped with a register at first known as a *fiffaro*, then, starting at the beginning of the 17th century, as a *voce humana*. It was a series of Principal-scaled reed pipes tuned slightly higher than the Principal 8'. Coupled with the Principal itself, the tuning discrepancy produces a regular beat the speed of which is proportional to the degree of discrepancy. The effect resembles an unobtrusive vibrato, and is especially atmospheric when the pulsation is slow and gentle. The fact that this register is called *voce humana* is obviously a reference to the vibrato characteristic of the human voice. In registration tables it is designated for use only with the Principal rather than, for example, the louder Ripieno registers,¹¹ being reserved for slow, particularly expressive pieces, mainly the *toccate per l'Elevazione* or, by extension, the slow, sustained pieces designated *Durezza e ligature*. These indications tend to limit the use of vibrato to special expressive situations and demonstrate that it had an expressive function.

Acoustically speaking, vibrato may be defined as an oscillation in pitch (of which a violinist's oscillating finger on the string of his instrument is the visible counterpart). It is therefore easy to imagine that the overall purity of an ensemble's intonation is

undermined if vibrato is used by four or more voices at the same time. This is an important consideration bearing in mind the tuning systems current in Italy during this period (and still used for organs until the beginning of the 19th century). The mean-tone system, commonly used in this period as a standard tuning system for polyphonic instruments and decisively preferred to the equal-tempered system (which was nevertheless known in theory), was characterized by the use of absolutely pure major 3rds. This greatly restricted the tonal space that it was possible to use, but it was a price composers were willing to pay, given that they were rewarded by the beauty and sweetness of chords with pure major 3rds and, in the case of a *cappella* vocal performances, with absolutely pure 5ths. So, as with the *voce humana* on the purest Principal of an Italian organ, with vocal ensembles it is better to keep the vibrato to a minimum in order not to impair the intonation. And it would be interesting for singers and teachers, once they had refined their ability to produce a sound without vibrato, to explore ways of using the device to expressive ends. This could lead them to reflect on the occasional need for a particular kind of vibrato (which seems in any case to have been somewhat different to the modern variety, to judge from the examples given in contemporary treatises), on the specific occasions where it might be used, and on how to control it, avoiding its indiscriminate or unconscious use.¹²

Pitch, range, vocal technique

Italian organs from the end of the 16th century and during the next two centuries give fairly clear indications of the pitches used. It is a safe generalization to say that in northern Italy a high pitch was used (about a semitone above modern pitch), and in southern Italy a low one (a semitone or a tone below modern pitch).¹³ Obviously, when the organ was used, these pitches were compulsory (unless the organist transposed), but with a *cappella* singing, whether in sacred or secular music, there was complete freedom of choice to choose a pitch which allowed the greatest convenience during performance. But the tessituras found in pieces requiring instrumental accompaniment suggest that it was the middle of the vocal range that was considered the

most convenient and suitable for sound production. Moreover, common sense would suggest that pieces notated in normal clefs and those written in *chiavette* would not have been placed side by side in the same prints if their ranges were so divergent. The written pitch of pieces in *chiavette* is very high (a 4th or 5th above the norm) and is totally ill-suited to the fluid expressive means of the madrigal. Confirmation of this practice comes indirectly from the rubric which Monteverdi places at the beginning of his madrigale *Dolcissimo uscignolo* (in his eighth book of madrigals of 1638):¹⁴ the first soprano is notated in the G₂ (not C₁) clef, whereas the other parts are all in *chiavi naturali*. Monteverdi therefore adds the instruction ‘Canto in tuono’ (‘at pitch’) in order to prevent the downward transposition by a 4th or 5th that the high clef would normally prescribe. Further, more incontrovertible confirmation comes from the organ bass part of the 1608 edition of Palestrina’s *Motetorum quinque vocibus liber quartus* (first printed in 1583)—published in Venice by Alessandro Raverii as *Motetorum ... addita parte infima pro pulsatoris organis comoditate*—where the organ part of the pieces notated in *chiavette* is transposed by a 4th when there is a signature of one flat or a 5th when there is no signature.

Nowadays, female voices seem the best possible choice for the soprano parts. To a greater degree than a falsettist, the female voice brings variety of timbre to the ensemble and provides a natural balance to the sound of the male voices. This voice can be soprano, or mezzo-soprano in cases where the range does not exceed *e*”. Often one finds genuine mezzo-soprano ranges in a second soprano part in which the ambitus is exactly a 3rd below that of the first soprano (as in Monteverdi’s fourth and sixth books of madrigals). The use of a falsetto for the parts in the medium range is always possible, if only for practical reasons, but it is interesting to note that Adriano Banchieri, in his *Festino nella sera del giovedì grasso* (1608), includes a *Vinata di brindesi, e ragioni* which prescribes the use of a ‘falsetto’ to sing the part of the second soprano (both soprano parts are notated in the C₁ clef) and not that of the alto.¹⁵ Usually the alto part is better suited to a male singer capable of reviving the old technique of the head-voice or the falsetto for notes above the ‘break’.

These alto parts normally extend down to *g* or *f* and upwards as far as (but never beyond) *b*’. In Monteverdi it is not rare to find *d* as the lowest note, which suggests a need to use a tenor rather than a female contralto or a falsettist who would too frequently be obliged to use the chest voice.

A relatively low register (or the use of low pitch in general) makes it easier for the voices to produce sounds in a range close to that used in speech.¹⁶ A vocal technique which allows for a delivery midway between speaking and singing (Peri’s *cosa mezzana* or ‘intermediate style’)¹⁷ or at any rate an articulation of the text and a way of enunciating the consonants that is close to spoken language—so long as it is sustained by a correct use of breath to guarantee stability of intonation—could contribute to the cultivation of a vocal sound more in keeping with the madrigal. The case for an excessively wide dynamic range is not supported by documentary evidence. Quite the contrary; as Zarlino observes, ‘one way of singing is used in churches and public chapels, and another way in private chambers: because in the first one sings with a full voice ... and in chambers one sings with a more subdued and soft voice, without making any loud sound’.¹⁸ In other words, secular music is sung in a fairly moderate dynamic range, where the sound can grow or diminish in accordance with the musical effect and the accentuation of the words.

The extreme flexibility and malleability of the resulting sound seems the perfect vehicle for the aesthetic ideas of the late Cinquecento. According to Vincenzo Giustiniani (c.1628), the famous female singers of Mantua and Ferrara

... facevano a gara non solo quanto al metallo et alla disposizione delle voci, ma nell’ornamento di esquisite passaggi tirati in opportuna congiuntura e non soverchi ... e di più col moderare e crescere la voce forte o piano, assottigliandola o ingrossandola, che secondo che veniva a’ tagli, ora con strascinarla, ora smezzarla, con l’accompagnamento d’un soave interrotto sospiro, ora tirando passaggi lunghi, seguiti bene, spiccati, ora gruppi, ora a salti, ora con trilli lunghi, ora con brevi, et or con passaggi soavi e cantati piano ...¹⁹

... vied with each other not only in regard to the timbre and disposition of their voices but also in the ornamentation of exquisite *passaggi* delivered at opportune moments, but not in excess ... Furthermore, they moderated or increased their voices, loud or soft, heavy or light, according to the demands

of the piece; now dragging, now breaking off with a gentle, interrupted sigh, now singing long *passaggi* legato or detached, now *gruppi*, now leaps, now with long *trilli*, now with short, and again with sweet *passaggi* sung softly ...

Likewise, Francesco Patrizi, in his description of the voice of Tarquinia Molza, gives a clear idea of the level of agility, elasticity and subtle flexibility which was considered the ideal:

La voce adunque sua è un soprano non fosco, non soppresso, non sforzato, ma chiarissimo, aperto, delicatissimo, piano, eguale, soavissimo; in somma se ei si potesse dire senza peccato, più che angelico; et quello che i musici sogliono appellare rotondo, che tanto vale di sotto, quanto di mezzo, e di sopra.

So her voice is a soprano not dark, not suppressed, not forced, but very clear, open, very delicate, soft, even, very sweet; in sum, if one may say it without sinning, more than angelic; and what musicians usually call round, of the same worth in the lower registers, as in the middle, and in the top, which is something very rarely found.²⁰

Powerful dynamic and extremes of pitch were not sought after. A modern technique, based on a kind of sound production needed to fill a modern 2,000-seat hall or theatre cannot be considered suitable for the delicacy and sense of detail required in the madrigal. The different relationship that existed between wind pressure and the passive contraction of the vocal chords is highlighted by the technique of throat articulation for rapid and light notes generally known as *gorgia*, which according to Camillo Maffei required a 'soft, flexible throat'.²¹ As Zacconi points out in his *Prattica di musica* (1592, f.58v), *petto* ('chest', i.e. powerful breath) and *gola* (i.e. a flexible, agile and relaxed 'throat') and *fianco* (i.e. strong 'hips', or diaphragm support) are the basis of good singing, without which *gorgia* would not be recognizable as such:

Due cose si ricercano à chi vuol far questa professione: petto, & gola; petto per poter una simil quantità, & un tanto numero di figure à giusto termine condurre; gola poi per poterle agevolmente sumministrare: perche molti non avendo ne petto ne fianco, in quattro over sei figure convengano i suoi disegni interrompere ... & altri per difetto di gola non spiccano si forte le figure, cioè non le pronuntiano si bene che per gorgia conosciuta sia.

Two things are required by whoever wishes to follow this profession: breath, and the throat: a breath powerful enough to sing such a quantity of notes right through to the end; and the throat to accomplish this in a comfortable way: because

many, having neither breath or diaphragm support, have to interrupt their phrases after four or six notes ... while others with a deficient throat do not sound the notes distinctly, that is, do not articulate them to the point where they can be distinguished as *gorgie*.

Tactus

Leaving aside the issue of the metrical or proportional relationship between the notes and the time signature, the most important evidence concerning tempo seems to indicate an extreme liberty in the treatment of rhythm, relating to the expressive essence of the text. Rhythmic flexibility became an element of virtuoso ensemble performance to the point where increased refinement made it necessary for someone to keep time in 'modern madrigals' by giving a beat, as Frescobaldi observes.²² The role of director need not be external to the group of singers but can be assumed by one of the singers themselves. However, the need for such a director seems to increase in proportion to the degree of subtlety aimed at in the performance.

Pronunciation

The vast majority of original madrigal prints reveals a notational procedure which suggests that the singer should make an obvious elision between words ending and beginning with a vowel—thus 'dolc'aure', not 'dolci aure'; a modern tendency towards presumed consistencies of pronunciation has misled singers into opting for the latter. The same tendency has also led them to neglect the practice—present in many dialects, including Tuscan, and useful for preventing semantic misunderstanding—of doubling the consonants at the beginnings of words. For example, the correct pronunciation of 'e se voi non havete' is 'e sse vvoi non havete'. However, this is not nearly so bad as the barbarisms of singers whose mother tongue is not Italian, who are often deluded into thinking that an indiscriminate doubling of consonants (especially the 'r' and the 'p') can re-create the sound of the Italian language. To my astonishment, I have often heard the word 'dolore' changed to 'dol-lore', also with both 'o' sounds open to the point of sounding ridiculous. (Both the 'o's in 'dolore' are dark, the second a shade more than the first.)

Ornamentation

Light ornamentation, which takes into consideration the use of a *ribattuta* (*trillo*) at cadences, or greater use of the rhetorical flourish usually known as *accento*,²³ changes significantly the conception and colour of a madrigal. A less appropriate form of ornamentation would seem to be the use of diminutions and long, rapid ornaments which detract from the clarity and transparency of the polyphonic web, as occur for instance in Luzzaschi's *Madrigali ... a uno, e doi, e tre soprani* (1601). Describing the Roman style, Bernhard refers to a repertory of small, rapid ornaments, often light *portamenti*, anticipations and delays of notes which, used in phrases where the melody unfolds in a narrow range, give the expression a sense of lively mobility and delicate casualness.²⁴

Unfortunately, except in rare cases such as Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (1601/2), we have few precise details of the smaller ornaments, and it is generally supposed that it is the large diminutions that provide the basis for ornamentation. In reality, especially in vocal music, ornamentation is inextricably bound up with minute alterations in sound, ranging from tiny, rapid *accenti* through brief *passaggi* to *trilli* and *groppi* of a certain length. We can also think of ornamentation as the *sprezzatura* described by Caccini in his *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (1614):

La sprezzatura è quella leggiadria la quale si dà al canto co'l trascorso di più crome, e simicrome sopra diverse corde co'l quale fatto à tempo, togliendosi al canto una certa terminata angustia, e secchezza, si rende piacevole, licenzioso, e arioso, si come nel parlar comune la eloquenza, e la fecondia rende agevoli, e dolci le cose di cui si favella.

Sprezzatura is that charm lent to a song by a few 'faulty' eighths and sixteenths [quavers and semiquavers] on various tones, together with those [similar 'faults'] made in the tempo. These relieve the song of a certain restricted narrowness and dryness and make it pleasant, free, and airy, just as in common speech eloquence and variety make pleasant and sweet the matters being spoken of.²⁵

The art of madrigal performance is a difficult combination of technical precision (intonation, minute dynamic shadings, timbre) and expressive mobility. The difficulty derives from this combination of technical and expressive elements, often in opposition to one another. The fact that madrigals were in essence destined to be sung in small chambers is a good indication of how subtle, and also how indispensable, was the expressive dimension of the madrigal. A complete understanding of the text and a flawless intonation are not in themselves sufficient to give justice to these compositions: only a total, artistic immersion in the emotional content of the poetry and words, combined with an extreme vocal fluidity, are capable of restoring that atmosphere of timelessness characteristic of a *cappella* vocal performance.

1 From Giulio Cesare Monteverdi's 'Dichiarazione' glossing his brother Claudio's postface to his *Quinto libro de' madrigali a cinque voci* (1605)—and responding to criticisms of Monteverdi's style by Giovanni Maria Artusi—published in Claudio Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali* (Venice, 1607); see *Claudio Monteverdi: Tutte le opere*, ed. G. F. Malipiero (2/Vienna, 1954–68), x, pp.69–72, at p.70. The translation is taken from *Source readings in music history: from Classical Antiquity through the Romantic era*, ed. O. Strunk (New York, 1950), pp.408–9.

2 In *L'Artusi, ovvero Delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (Venice, 1600) and *Seconda parte dell'Artusi ovvero*

Delle imperfettioni della moderna musica (Venice, 1603). For the former, see also the partial translation in *Source readings*, ed. Strunk, pp.393–404.

3 *Claudio Monteverdi: Lettere*, ed. E. Lax (Florence, 1994), pp.200–202, at p.201; *The letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, trans. D. Stevens (Oxford, 2/1995), pp.416–22, at p.421.

4 See G. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the end of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1987), pp.3–30, esp. pp.17–21.

5 Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555; R/ Kassel, 1959), ff.81r–81v; trans. as *Ancient music adapted to modern practice*, trans. M. R. Maniates (New Haven, CT, 1996), p.254.

6 For Alessandro Guarini's authorship of this dedication, see *Luzzasco Luzzaschi: Madrigali per cantare e sonare a uno, due e tre soprani* (1601), ed. A. Cavicchi (Brescia and Kassel, 1965), pp.12–13, which also includes a partial transcription (with some errors). The text given here is taken from the original, and the translation from T. Carter, *Music in late Renaissance and early Baroque Italy* (London, 1992), p.17.

7 G. M. Trabaci, *Il secondo libro de ricercate & altri varii capricci* (Naples, 1615; R/ Florence, 1984), preface: 'se non vi è una leggiadrissima mano, & un studio maturo, & particolare, & che si diano quei garbi, & quelli accenti che detta Musica ricerca'.

8 Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, ff.94r–94v; *Ancient music adapted to modern practice*, trans. Maniates, p.301.

9 Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (Venice, 1592; R/ Bologna, 1967), f.7v: 'cantavano le cantilene come le stavano scritte sopra de libri, senza porgerli poi un minimo accento, ò darli qualche poco di vaghezza: perche non erano intenti ad altro...che alla pura, & semplice modulatione'.

10 Translated from Christoph Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier* (1649), transcribed in *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard*, ed. J. M. Müller-Blattau (Kassel, 1926, 2/1963), pp.31–9, at pp.31–2.

11 See, for example, the registration tables in *Costanzo Antegnati: L'arte organica (1608)*, ed. R. Lunelli (Mainz, 1938), p.72; Girolamo Diruta, 'Discorso sopra il concertar li registri dell'organo', *Seconda parte del Transilvano: dialogo diviso in quattro libri* (Venice, 1622; R/Bologna, 1978), pp.22–3.

12 Compare Mozart's complaints about Joseph Nikolaus Meissner's excessive vibrato in a letter to his father dated 12 June 1778; *The letters of Mozart and his family*, trans. E. Anderson (3/London, 1985), pp.551–3.

13 See Giovan Battista Doni's findings reported in J. J. K. Rhodes and W. R. Thomas, 'Pitch', *New Grove*, xiv, p.783.

14 *Monteverdi: Tutte le opere*, ed. Malipiero, viii, pp.271–9.

15 Adriano Banchieri: *Festino nella sera del giovedì grasso avanti cena a 5 voci miste (1608)*, ed. B. Somma, *Capolavori Polifonici del Secolo XVI*, i (Rome, 1948), pp.68–70

16 See *Delle lettere del Signor Gio. Camillo Maffei da Solofra* (Naples, 1562): 'La settima [regola] è che tenga la bocca aperta, e giusta, non più di quello che si tiene quando si ragiona con gli amici'. Quoted in N. Bridgman, 'Giovanni Camillo Maffei et sa lettre sur le chant', *Revue de musicologie*, xxxviii (1956), pp.3–34, at p.20.

17 In his preface to *Euridice* (Florence, 1600), ed. H. M. Brown, Recent

Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, xxxvi–xxxvii (Madison, 1981), pp.xli–xlii.

18 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni armoniche* (Venice, 2/1573), p.240: 'ad altro modo si canta nelle Chiese & nelle Capelle publiche, & ad altro modo nelle private Camere: imperoche ivi si canta a piena voce ... e nelle camere si canta con voce più sommessa & soave, senza far alcun strepito'.

19 Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica (c.1628)*, in A. Solerti, *L'origini del melodramma* (Turin, 1903; R/Hildesheim, 1969), p.108.

20 F. Patrizi, *Amorosa filosofia (1577)*, ed. J. C. Nelson (Florence, 1963), p.39; trans. in L. Strás, 'Recording Tarquinia: imitation, parody and reportage in Ingegneri's "Hor che 'l ciel e la terra e 'l vento tace"', *Early music*, xxvii (1999), pp.358–77, at p.362.

21 See *Delle lettere del Signor Gio. Camillo Maffei (1562)*, given in Bridgman, 'Giovanni Camillo Maffei et sa lettre sur le chant', p.18: According to Maffei, the 'voce passeggiata' 'non è altro ch'un suono caggionato dalla minuta, et ordinata ripercossione dell'aere nella gola' ('is none other than a sound produced by the minute and ordered repercussion of the air in the throat') and cannot be produced without 'l'istromento pieghevole e molle' (i.e. a soft, flexible throat).

22 In the preface to his *Il primo libro di toccate d'intavolatura di cembalo e organo* (Rome, 1616), ed. E. Darbellay, *Monumenti Musicali Italiani*, iv (Milan, 1977), p.xxvii (rule 1). Compare the preface to *Paolo Quagliati: Il primo libro de' madrigali a quattro voci (1608)*, ed. J. Cohen, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, lxxix (Madison, WI, 1996), pp.lxxviii–lxxix, and Aquilino Coppini's letter to Hendrik van der Putten concerning madrigals from Monteverdi's third, fourth and fifth books, given in P. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. T. Carter (Cambridge, 1994), p.105: 'Those [madrigals] by Monteverdi require, during their performance, more flexible rests [respiri] and bars that are not strictly regular, now pressing forward or abandoning themselves to slowings down, now also hurrying. You yourself will

fix the tempo. In them there is a truly wondrous capacity for moving the affections.'

23 For descriptions and musical examples see Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, iii (Wolfenbuttel, 2/1619; R/Kassel, 1958), p.233. See also the details of ornaments in the preface to Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1601 [= 1602]; R/ Florence 1983).

24 Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier*; see *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens*, ed. Müller-Blattau, pp.31–9.

25 For the original and translation, see *Giulio Caccini: Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle (1614)*, ed. H. W. Hitchcock, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, xxviii (Madison, 1978), pp.xxxii–xxxiii.

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