'Passion and Persuasion'

The art of rhetoric and the performance of early seventeenth-century solo sonatas

Volume 1 (of 2)

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Abstract

Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century musical theorists frequently equated music with rhetoric, primarily because the two arts were seen to share the same goal – to move the passions of their listeners. This thesis explores rhetoric's influence upon music in the context of the wider influence which rhetoric exerted upon Renaissance and Baroque society. The concepts and methods discovered are applied to performance of solo sonatas of the early seventeenth century.

Chapter one reviews the development of the sonata from the *canzoni francese* of the late sixteenth century and examines the solo sonata in relation to the more common variety for instrumental ensemble. Chapter two discusses the importance of rhetoric in Renaissance and Baroque culture. Two examples of the uses of rhetoric are investigated: the discussion on writing and speaking contained in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* and the use of rhetoric within the Catholic Reformation, as epitomised by Jesuit order. In chapter three the relationship between rhetoric and music is explored. Chapter four studies the theories of the passions in circulation during the seventeenth century and chapter five shows how the passions were believed to be represented in both musical composition and performance. In chapters six to eight solo sonatas are analysed using musico-rhetorical methods and possible interpretations of the sonatas are suggested. These rhetorical studies shed some light on the possible functions of the solo sonata and chapter nine considers the ways in which the solo sonata is ideally suited to its rôle.

This thesis makes the following original contributions to the scholarship of seventeenth-century music: (1) It examines the rôle of solo instrumental music as distinct from music for ensembles. (2) It provides an overview of the theories of the passions current in Renaissance and early Baroque thought and examines both the relationships between them and how they influenced 'passionate' music, literature and visual art. (3) It adds to the body of enquiry into the correspondence between rhetoric and music by deriving a systematic method of analysing the rhetorical properties of solo sonatas and suggesting how these may be exploited to shape a convincing performance.

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Declaration

The material presented in this thesis is solely the work of the author and has not appeared in any publication, nor has it been submitted for examination for any other qualification.

The substance of chapters one and six were presented as papers at the Conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Urbana, April 1998 and at the Eighth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Exeter, July 1998.

A note on quotations and translations

Seeing that reliable translations exist for the vast majority of texts pertinent to this study, it was deemed unnecessary to 're-invent the wheel' and repeat this valuable work. All unacknowledged translations, however, are the work of the author. Where poetry has been quoted, or where the original words used are considered to be of consequence, the original language has been included together with the translation. In all other instances only the English translation is cited.

Chapter 1

From Song to Sounding

The Foundations of the Solo Sonata

Instrumental music in Renaissance Italy was undoubtedly considered to be the poor relation of its vocal equivalent. Music for voices dominated the discussion of theorists and the output of printers alike.[1] Although keyboard players and lutenists were equipped with a reasonably substantial repertoire of imitative ricercars, printed records may lead us to believe that the Italian instrumental ensemble led a rather meagre existence during the first three quarters of the sixteenth century.

This is not to suggest, however, that 'melody' instruments had no place in Renaissance culture, rather that their rôle was an improvisatory one, and that, if a printed repertoire exists, it is contained within the body of polyphonic music published primarily for singing. Indeed, the option of playing the parts of music for voices is frequently referred to on the title pages of vocal publications, and the practice is depicted on a woodcut illustrating Sylvestro Ganassi's *Opera Intitulata Fontegara* (1535), a treatise on the art of improvised ornamentation (fig.1).[2]

Figure 1: Illustration from *La Fontegara* by Sylvestro Ganassi (1535)

[1] Tim Carter records that, early in the sixteenth century, Italian music publishers showed little interest in printing music for instruments. Instrumental music seldom made up more (and often constituted less) than 9 per cent of their annual output. See *Music in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy,* London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1992, p.165.

[2] This image is taken from Sylvestro Ganassi, *Opera Intitulata Fontegara* (1535) trans. D Swainson, Berlin: Robert Licnau, 1956, p.7.

Ganassi's discourse, though clearly directed towards the instrumentalist, reminds the reader that 'all musical instruments, in comparison to the human voice, are inferior to it'. Players are instructed to take the human voice as their model:

> ... we should endeavour to learn from it and to imitate it. Just as a gifted painter can reproduce all the creations of nature by varying his colours, you can imitate the expression of the human voice on a wind and stringed instrument. The painter reproduces the works of nature in varied colours because these colours exist in nature. Even so with the human voice which also varies the sound with more or less boldness according to what it wishes to express. And just as a painter imitates natural effects by using various colours, an instrument can imitate the expression of the human voice by varying the pressure of the breath and shading the tone by means of suitable fingerings. In this matter I have had much experience and I have heard that it is possible with some players to perceive, as it were, words to their music; thus one may truly say that with this instrument only the form of the human body is absent, just as in a fine picture, only the breath is lacking.[3]

Uppermost in Ganassi's mind, it seems, is the requirement of 'natural' expression, which may be achieved by vocal imitation. Diruta's ornamentation manual, *Il Transilvano* (1593), opens with a comparison between human speech apparatus and the organ's method of sound production in which the bellows represent the heart and lungs, the pipes the throat, the keys the teeth and the hand of the player the tongue. Banchieri, commenting upon the analogy, explains that if the performer touches the instrument with 'graceful movements' he 'causes it to talk distinctly, almost like speech'.[4] Diruta's picture shows that instruments' inferiority is established not by the fact that the sound is generated by a mechanical device (since the involvement of a human being is required to give 'voice' to the mechanism) but because the voice can produce one thing which instruments cannot: words.

In a humanistic climate, words are of paramount importance. It is by the communication of ideas (*concetti*) expressed through speech (*parole*) that one is able to achieve the primary aim of music: to move the passions or affections of the soul. Thus Vincenzo Galilei accepted that, though instruments had the capacity to 'tickle

[3] Ganassi, *Opera Intitulata Fontegara*, trans. D Swainson, Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1956, p.9.
[4] Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino*, op.43 (1622), trans. Donald Earl Marcase, PhD. diss., Indiana University, 1970.

the ear', being 'without sense, movement, intellect, speech, discourse, reason or soul' they were unable to move the passions.[5] Hercole Bottrigari, whose treatise, *Il Desiderio*, is devoted to the tuning and temperament of instruments, was of the opinion that:

> ... no concert of instruments should ever be given without the addition of a human voice – always a voice well suited to the subject of the song. This is to avoid the music and the concert being called 'mute' by connoisseurs and intelligent listeners, or as Aristotle calls it, and Plato calls it more clearly and better in the *Laws*, the 'bare' sound of the Cithara or the Aulos, which they say resembles the sounds made by animals. This is because of the failure to express the *affetti* and because of the poor pronunciation of the words. From the words, especially when they are well mimed by a good musician, truly comes the greater part of the emotions aroused in the minds of the listeners.[6]

Concepts such as these can be seen to reach back as early as the fourteenth century. Dante, the inspiration of the word-obsessed humanist Pietro Bembo, defines the *canzone* 'as the action or passion itself of singing'.[7] The *canzone* is an action because the author has undertaken the *act* of composing the verse or the music. Having been composed it is performed, either by the author, or by somebody else, and at this point it becomes a passion, since it *acts upon* the listeners: the passions of the audience are affected by the poem, and for this reason, the poem itself can be considered to be a 'passion'.

Dante goes on to clarify his definition:

> We must discuss the question whether we call a *canzone* the composition of the words which are set to music, or the music itself; and, with regard to this, we say that no music [alone] is ever called a *canzone*, but a sound, or tone, or note, or melody. For no trumpeter, or organist, or lute-player calls his melody a *canzone*, except in so far as it has been wedded to some *canzone*; but those who write the words for music call their words *canzoni*.[8]

[5] Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* (Venice 1581), trans. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, London and New York: Norton, 1965, vol.2, p.123.
[6] Hercole Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio*, or *Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments* (1594), trans. Carol MacClintock, American Institute of Musicology, Musicological Studies and Documents, 9, 1962, p.23.
[7] Dante Alighieri, *De vulgare eloquentia* (1304), chapter VIII, translated in *The Latin Works of Dante Alighieri*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1969, p.95.
[8] Dante Alighieri, *De vulgare eloquentia*, chapter VIII, p.95.

Despite the separation of more than 200 years, Dante's definition of a *canzone* can be seen to shed some light on the rationale behind the sixteenth-century practice of performing instrumental versions of madrigals and French chansons. Music cannot act upon another's passions unless it has first been 'wedded' to words. Perhaps, then, instrumental music acquires some affective capacity if, like the early *canzoni*, it is based upon a vocal composition. The effect of the words is achieved through the music's association with the original text.[9]

The suggestion that a connection with text, however tentative, provides some form of meaning to otherwise 'passionless' music may explain the extent to which instrumental music paid homage to its vocal superior throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. Even composers of the most independent instrumental form, the ricercar, were wont to quote from well known vocal works[10] while the only original material of the earliest *canzoni francesi* was the embellishment added to a transcription of an existing French chanson.

Just over one hundred years after Ganassi's treatise was published, the French violist, André Maugars, expressed a very different attitude towards music for instruments. Writing to his patron from Rome in 1639 he declared:

> You would scarcely believe, Sir, how greatly the Italians esteem those who excel on the instruments and how much more they prize instrumental music than vocal music, saying that a single man can produce more beautiful inventions than four voices together, and that it has a charm and freedom which the vocal music does not have. ... To sustain their opinion they say it produces more powerful effects than the vocal, and that it is easy to prove from the ancient stories celebrating the power and influence of the lyre of Pythagoras 'who moved souls with his lyre'; also about the

[9] The existence of contrafacta (vocal works in which a pre-existing text is substituted for another) may suggest that the close alliance between words and music was considered more important theoretically than it was in practice. Contrafacta texts of the seventeenth-century may frequently be found to share similar passions with the song's original text – certainly in the case of Monteverdi's *Pianto della Madonna* it would appear that the passion of lamentation has simply been transferred from a secular to a sacred context. With earlier contrafacta it is not always clear whether the subject of the original text did inform the contrafactum setting. According to Robert Falck, even contrafacta composed before 1450 would be 'in some sense an adaptation of the meaning of the original poem', although it is not possible to be sure of this assertion. See R Falck and M Picker, 'Contrafactum' in S Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: Macmillan, 1980, vol.4, pp.700-1.

[10] See Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976, p.267.

> harp of Timotheus, who moved the passions of Alexander in whatever way he pleased, and several other tales also.[11]

Being an instrumentalist himself, Maugars may have greatly exaggerated the Italians' regard for instrumental music. Alternatively, if Maugars' report is faithful to the opinions he received, it suggests that a substantial change had taken place, amongst the Romans at least, in the value set upon instrumentalists' abilities to move the passions. Certainly a change in attitude is reflected in the development of instrumental style. Instrumental music of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century gradually became detached from its bindings to vocal music; the canzona, though for a while retaining its name and some of its stylistic heritage, was no longer based upon a pre-existing vocal model but became established as a composition in its own right.

It is possible to explain the emergence of independent canzoni in purely practical terms. It has been suggested by Tim Carter that the increased interest in instrumental composition was generated by composers of *stile antico* polyphony who, criticised by the advocates of the developing monodic style for failing to move the soul, resorted to a medium in which it was only necessary to delight the mind.[12] This is certainly a possibility, yet, judging by the aggressive nature of protagonists of polyphony such as Artusi and Bottrigari, monodists had no easy victory (if, indeed, they had a victory at all) and, with tradition on their side, there seems little need for composers of the contrapuntal style to retreat so readily to an inferior medium.

Another possible explanation of the appearance of independent instrumental canzoni can be found in the guidelines laid down for the practice of church music by the Council of Trent (1545-1563). One of the major stipulations to result from the sessions which were concerned with the rôle of music in Catholic worship was the insistence upon the elimination of anything with lascivious or profane associations which, it appears, frequently found its way into the Roman Rite. The Council ordered

[11] André Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le Sentiment de la Musique d'Italie, Ecrite à Rome le premier Octobre 1639*, Ernest Thanan, ed., (Paris, 1640), trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1979, pp.117-125.
[12] Carter, *Music in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy*, p.176.

that 'what is customarily rendered with musical rhythms and instruments should have intermingled with it nothing profane but only the divine phrases of hymnody' and that 'churchmen must reject musical compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or voice'.[13] Evidence suggests that the instrumental canzona was employed at various points of the mass such as after the Epistle and the Agnus Dei.[14] Undoubtedly their use would have fallen under the condemnation of the Tridentine bishops, since the original texts were profane and lascivious almost without exception. If the Council's dicta were taken seriously (as certainly they were by Vincenzo Ruffo and, later on, by Adriano Bancheiri[15]) then instrumental ensembles may have found themselves short of music to play. It is likely that organists would have been able to substitute secular melodies with improvisations upon plainchant, but, since this kind of improvisation is much more difficult to co-ordinate among ensembles, it is possible that the development of independent instrumental canzoni was necessitated by the requirement to banish lasciviousness from liturgical music. Certainly the earliest extant independent canzoni post-date the conciliar deliberations.

Practical considerations, then, can explain the development of the independent canzona, but they do not account for the change in attitude towards instrumental expression of the affections. Maugar's letter does not appear to be an isolated difference of opinion. In his *Itineratium exstaticum* (Rome, 1656), Athanasius Kircher also reported the astonishing effects of instrumental music:

> It happened not so long ago that I was invited to a demonstration in an Academy given by three incomparable musicians (whom I can without exaggeration call the Orpheuses of our age) which had been arranged in a private house.... They began the composition which was for two small violins and the kind of lute known as a theorbo with such agreeable harmony and extraordinary combinations of intervals, that I cannot recall having heard the like before, for when they combined diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic passages, it is hard to describe how moving these unusual

[13] Cited in K G Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', *Musical Quarterly*, 39, 1953, pp.576-7.
[14] See Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, New York: Dover, 1975 (R1994), p.23 and Stephen Bonta, 'The Uses of the Sonata da Chiesa', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 22, 1969, pp.54-84.
[15] See Lewis Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo*, Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1970. Banchieri's 1622 edition of *L'organo suonarino* reminds readers to respect the Council's orders.

> combinations were. And next, as they descended through the octave from high to low they became gradually more gentle, thus affecting the senses of the listeners with similar languor. Then they arose as from a deep sleep to arouse one to unimaginable heights ... and then sometimes, with low sounds of sorrowful disdain, they drew forth a mood of melancholy and sorrow, as if engaged in a tragic event ... Little by little, they began to pass into more rapid and urgent figurations, joyful and dancing, until I was close to becoming overwhelmed with the violence of my mood ... excited by thoughts of combat and battle. And finally, with a slackened impulse, I was brought to a calmer frame of mind inclined to compassion, divine love, and denial of worldly things, by such extraordinary grace and noble dignity that I am convinced that the heroes of old ... never attained such skill.[16]

Kircher describes an effect achieved by *music* and not by text and it is clear that he considered the music capable of arousing extreme affections without the assistance of words.

Further evidence that instrumental music was gaining an affective reputation is provided by the appearance of the marking *affetto* at certain points in instrumental compositions, and for the use of the term in the titles of instrumental works. Instrumental works are contained in Marc'Antonio Negri's 1611 publication, *Affetti amorosi*, and in Biagio Marini's opus 1, which, comprising entirely instrumental music, is, significantly, entitled *Affetti musicali* (1617).

The liberation of instrumental music from vocal models is, perhaps, a consequence of a new approach towards the understanding of the nature and function of language which is detectable in the writing of scholars around the turn of the seventeenth century. The developments are discussed in Michel Foucault's 'archaeology of the human sciences', *The Order of Things*.[17] Foucault's perception of Renaissance thought processes suggests that the relationship between a signifier and the signified depended upon the similitude, or resemblance, observed or discovered between them. This stems from the notion that in the first, God-given language with which Adam named the animals, each creature's nature was manifest in its own sign.[18] Just as the word 'horse' in any language, albeit blurred by the events at Babel, contained

[16] Quoted in Peter Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, p.57.
[17] Michel Foucault, London: Tavistock Publications, 1970, reprinted London: Routledge, 1989, chapters 1 and 2.

something of the essence of the animal it represented, so the words which signified or imitated the passions could be seen to encapsulate the nature of the emotions with which they were connected.

Although not mentioned in this context by Foucault, music may also be regarded as a system of signs, but only capable of resembling the passions if it first resembles the words which signify them. Such a notion explains not only the madrigalian obsession with word painting, but also the aims of the 'Florentine Camerata' – to resemble the nature of spoken words through monody. It also justifies the subordination of instrumental music, since a double resemblance was required to imitate the passions, the first to song, and the second, through song, to the words themselves. Thus Dante's use of the term 'wedded' to describe the connection between words and music is, perhaps, more than a metaphor. It highlights the belief that, once linked, music and words were inseparably joined. Perhaps Ganassi and his contemporaries could hear 'words' to their instrumental music because they believed the underlying 'text', expressed by the words of the original vocal version, was inextricable from the music.

According to Foucault, the 'new' conception of language abolishes the need for a resemblance between signified and signifier. It may be by chance that a sign has come to 'represent' the signified; the relationship is strengthened through repeated use and becomes established as a convention.

One seventeenth-century thinker to address these issues was the French quasi-scientist/philosopher Marin Mersenne (1588-1648). Mersenne began to question the scholastic-based notion that words always resembled the things they signified. After much correspondence with and considerable influence from René Descartes he concluded that 'since all words can indifferently signify whatever one wants them to, it is only will that can determine them to signify one thing rather than another'.[19] This deduction was rather disappointing for Mersenne. His wish was to discover whether

[18] Thomas Aquinas adhered to this doctrine. See *Summa Theologiae,* Q.94, Art. 3.
[19] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, (1636), 'De la Voix', p.12, translated by Dean T. Mace in 'Marin Mersenne on Language and Music', *Journal of Music Theory,* 49, 1979, p.7.

it would be possible to establish a language with which all nations could communicate. If words were merely random indicators of things, then the potential for universal communication cannot be found within the territory of spoken language. The same 'randomness' does not, however, appear to command the sounds expressed by those under the influence of a specific passion, such as shouts, sighs, weeping, and laughter (sounds which Mersenne describes as 'accents of the passions'). Such sounds are common to all races, independent of their native tongue, and music, Mersenne believed, could make use of them and so function as a 'universal language' which would be able both to express the affections and make 'the same impression on all its listeners'.[20]

Though slightly later chronologically, Mersenne's writings display many similarities with ideas expressed by Italians writing around the turn of the sixteenth century. A discussion of the effects of what Mersenne refers to as 'accent', or tone of voice, where changes in pitch betrays the speaker's passion[21] closely resembles Girolamo Mei's exposition on a similar topic:

> Height of pitch, therefore, being generated by the force and speed of motion ... of necessity cannot have the power to express and make felt but qualities of affection similar and corresponding to the nature of that [motion] and entirely different from low pitch, the mother of slowness and sluggishness.[22]

Mersenne's ideas concerning the physiological states stimulated by individual passions bear much similarity to the mechanics of the passions as described by Lorenzo Giacomini in an oration to the Florentine 'Alterati'. Mersenne mentions that while the heart expands and opens as a response to joy and hope, when sadness and fear strike the soul, the heart contracts. Giacomini explains that sadness causes a contraction in the face which affects the tone of voice and provokes 'cries of lamentation, expelled by Nature through a natural instinct without our awareness to remove thus the bad

[20] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De la Voix', p.69.
[21] 'Accent ... is an inflexion or modification of the voice or of the word. by which one expresses the passions and affections naturally or by art', *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De l'Art de bien chanter', p.366, trans. Dean T. Mace, 'Marin Mersenne on Language and Music', p.7.
[22] Girolamo Mei, *Della compositura della parole*, quoted in C V Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, p.351.

disposition that afflicts the sensitive part of the soul, contracting it and weighting it down and especially the heart, which, full of spirits and heat, suffers most'.[23]

It is interesting that much of Mersenne's thoughts on musical performance practice seem to be derived from Italian sources. Mersenne praises the Italians for their recitative 'because they represent as much as they can the passion and affections of the soul and spirit, as, for example, anger, furor, disdain, rage, the frailties of the heart, and many other passions, with a violence so strange that they are touched by the same emotions they are representing in the song'.[24] His information on embellishments is drawn from Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (which he highly esteems) and Sylvestro Ganassi's *Opera Intitulata Fontegara.* It may be more than coincidence that Mersenne's term 'accent' is essentially the same word as that used for an embellishment described in Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* under the name 'passionate exclamation'. The ornament was also known as an '*accento*'; it is referred to (interestingly, as an instrumental ornament) by Girolamo Diruta[25] and discussed by Michael Praetorius.[26] Mersenne's ideas concerning the relationship between the passions and particular intervals and modes seems to be drawn from Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558) and Nicola Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555).[27]

Mersenne also seems to share the Italian humanists' views on the nature of spoken language. He describes speech as the 'discourse of the mind', an idea suggested by Cesare Crispolti's in *Lezione del sonetto* (c.1592): 'nature gave us speech for no other purpose than to signify with it the ideas [*concetti*] of our mind'. [28] Mersenne draws a comparison between the words which form articulate speech and the 'accents' which express the passions. He believes that '.. the accents of which we speak here can be

[23] From Lorenzo Giacomini, *Orationi e discorsi* (Florence 1592), trans. Palisca, *Humanism,* p.406.
[24] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellissement des Chants', p.355, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.173.
[25] Diruta, *Il Transilvano* (Venice, 1593), see H Mayer Brown, *Embellishing 16th-Century Music,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976, p.4.
[26] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, III, Part. III, Chapter 9, translated in MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, pp.165-6.
[27] See D A Duncan, 'Persuading the Affections: Rhetorical Theory and Mersenne's Advice to Harmonic Orators', from G Cowart (ed.), *French Musical Thought, 1600-1800,* Ann Arbor and London: UMI Research Press, 1989, p.155.

called the word or speech of passion, just as the ordinary words and speech can be called the discourse of the mind'.[29] Just as Crispolti acknowledged the necessity for 'art' to transform words into verse or discourse,[30] so Mersenne explained how melody, too, depends upon 'art and instruction'.[31] This is the:

> Art of the Harmonic Orator, who must know all the degrees, times, movements, and proper accents to excite everything he wishes in his audiences.[32]

Perceiving the 'accents' of the passions as a form of language, it is natural for Mersenne to describe musicians as orators – eloquent utilisers of language. Mersenne is not saying that music resembles speech – indeed, he explains that 'it is not necessary to speak in order to make the accents'[33] – rather he suggests that music possesses the properties of a language in its own right. According to Mersenne, *it* is possible for musicians 'to imitate harangues in all their members, divisions, and periods, and to use all kinds of figures and harmonic embellishments, as does the orator, so that the art of composing melodies will concede nothing to rhetoric'.[34] Unlike grammar, rhetorical principles are not specific only to one language. It is possible to apply rhetorical techniques learned from Greek and Latin treatises to vernacular languages, an exercise which would have been familiar to and practised by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century academics. Mersenne extends the use of rhetorical instruction to the language of the passions.

Although the Italians themselves seldom make such explicit reference to the connections between rhetoric and music, Mersenne's apparent affinity with many aspects of Italian theory and practice provides some justification for the application of rhetorical procedures to the performance of Italian music. This is not to say that rhetorical principles were not commented upon by Italian writers at all. An early indication of rhetoric's importance to musical performance appears in Vicentino's

[28] Cited in Palisca, *Humanism*, p.367.
[29] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De l'Art de bien chanter', Partie III, Prop XII, p.368.
[30] '...if art discovered verse for this same purpose, it is clear that ideas are the end and consequently the form of discourse [*orazione*] and words and composition the material and the instrument'. Quoted in Palisca, *Humanism*, p.367.
[31] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, De l'Art de bien chanter', p.366.
[32] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De la Musique accentuelle', p.365.
[33] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De l'Art de bien chanter', p.367.
[34] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De la Musique accentuelle', p.365.

L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica. Vicentino urges the performer who wishes to move his/her audience to imitate the orator's mode of delivery:

> What effect would an orator have if he were to recite a fine oration without organizing accents, pronunciations, fast and slow rates of motion, and soft or loud levels of speaking? He would not move the audience. The same is true of music. If an orator moves listeners with the devices described above, how much greater and more powerful will be the effect of well co-ordinated music recited with the same devices, but now accompanied by harmony.[35]

Book III of Zarlino's *Istitutioni harmoniche* criticises Vicentino and his followers (the 'chromaticists') for using 'any interval whatsoever', regardless of the rules of proportion, in order to 'imitate ordinary speech in representing the words as orators do and ought'. However, he does not reject the principle of imitating the orator, explaining that 'it is one thing to speak normally, and another to speak in song'.[36] Perhaps Zarlino's objections did not rest solely on the grounds that chromatic music failed to comply with traditional rules – like Mersenne, he appears to recognise the difference between music as speech and music as language. After all, in book IV, Zarlino includes rhetoric among the other disciplines necessary for musicians since it enables them 'to express their ideas in an orderly way'.[37] Indeed, Brian Vickers suggests that Quintilian's rhetorical treatise, *Institutio oratoria*, was the inspiration for Zarlino's title.[38]

Eric Chafe considers the connections wrought between music and rhetoric to be the second 'great key to seventeenth-century music'.[39] This, he proposes, is evident in the thinking of Monteverdi through his polemic with Giovanni Artusi. Giulio Cesare Monteverdi's assertion, following Plato, that the 'words' be the 'mistress of the harmony'[40] has often been interpreted to imply that, since text is set to dominate the

[35] Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M R Maniates, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p.301.
[36] Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, Book III of *Istitutioni harmoniche*, trans. G A Marco and C V Palisca, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968, p.288.
[37] Zarlino, *On the Modes*, Book IV of *Istitutioni harmoniche*, trans.V Cohen, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, p.103.
[38] Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p.361.
[39] Eric Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, New York: Schirmer Books, 1992, p.6. The first 'great key' is the beginnings of a different approach to concepts of tonality.
[40] 'l'oratione sia padrona del armonia è non serva', trans. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, vol.3, p.47.

seconda prattica there can be no place within it for music for instruments. Indeed, Gary Tomlinson took this view in *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*:

> To composers like Monteverdi, musical expression without text must have seemed a contradiction in terms, if indeed they ever conceived of the subject in such terms at all. Instrumental music could astonish, like vocal music, in its virtuosity or fulfil its more usual function as courtly *Gebrauchsmusik*. But the formation of a meaningful, connotative syntax that could appeal to a variety of human passions – the goal of Ciceronian oratory that Monteverdi achieved time and time again in his vocal music – was implicitly beyond its means.[41]

When we consider, however, that the word from Plato's *Republic* (Monteverdi's source) which is today frequently translated as 'words' is, in fact, 'oratio' in Ficino's Latin translation of the *Republic*, (the edition quoted by Monteverdi), it is possible to interpret Monteverdi's use of it very differently. *Oratio* (meaning speech or discourse in the seventeenth century) is, according to Chafe, a term 'signifying vastly more than the setting of verbal texts and encompassing in fact the entire range of extra musical significance'.[42] 'In this respect,' Chafe continues:

> Monteverdi's proclaiming the existence of a second practice oriented toward a dominance of music by *oratio* rather than *harmonia* has the character of a manifesto that prefigures the main concerns of musical composition and theory for a century and a half. The categorisation of musical figures, affections, and styles accompanied the conjoining of music with rhetoric to create a musical surface whose countless patterned subdivisions were often explained through the thoroughgoing sense of analogy to verbal discourse.[43]

Chafe suggests that, once aspects of the passions were allowed to take precedence over the established rules of polyphony it was necessary to discuss the musical style in a new terminology, and *oratio* is 'the only available means of explaining the new tonal form'.[44] It appears that, as 'to move' became for music as important a goal as 'to delight', so the practices of classical rhetoric, a discipline whose goals were to teach, to delight, and, most importantly, to move, were seen to be applicable to the changing musical language. Mersenne, it seems, was struggling with the same concepts. The fact that speech is not a requirement of Mersenne's 'natural language' suggests that

[41] Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, p.29.
[42] Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, p.6.
[43] Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, p.6.
[44] Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, p.6.

his rhetorical ideas are valid for vocal or instrumental performance, since they concern the music rather than the declamation of the text, and this opens the way for instrumental music to stand its own ground as a worthwhile activity with powers approaching, if not equal to, those of music for voices.

What Mersenne postulates in theory, Monteverdi demonstrates in practice. Despite the fact that there is no extant example of pure instrumental music by Monteverdi, there is evidence to suggest that he considered instruments to possess affective powers. For example, the instruments are given the spondaic measure divided into sixteen semiquavers in *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorindi* (Eighth Book of Madrigals, 1638) to represent agitation. Jeffrey Kurtzman refers to this type of representation as 'iconic' or 'emblematic' – a symbol, not of the text itself, but of the text's 'significance'. Thus, according to Kurtzman, 'the *concitato* genus can be used not only for a wide variety of texts signifying emotional agitation, it can be recognised as symbolizing agitation *in the absence* of texts, i.e. in instrumental music'.[45]

The acknowledgement that words did not 'resemble' the passions which they signified not only brings validation to independent instrumental music, it also releases vocal music from its reliance upon the inflexion of the text as its melodic basis. Tim Carter, Jeffrey Kurtzman and Gary Tomlinson[46] all use Foucault's observations on the changing function of language to explain the gradual adoption of a more tuneful *arioso* style for especially emotive vocal music. The increasing use of *arioso* in climactic moments of 'representative' music such as *Lamento della ninfa* (from the Eighth Book of Madrigals, 1638) in the final moments of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in*

[45] Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'A Taxonomic and Affective Analysis of Monteverdi's 'Hor che'l ciel e la terra'', *Music Analysis*, 12:2, 1993, p.171.
[46] See Tim Carter, 'Resemblance and Representation: Towards a New Aesthetic in the Music of Monteverdi' in I Fenlon & T Carter (eds), *Con che soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance 1580-1740,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, pp.120-1. See also Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'A Taxonomic and Affective Analysis of Monteverdi's 'Hor che'l ciel e la terra'', and Gary Tomlinson *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp.229-46.

patria[47] is a move which, Tim Carter proposes, 'recovers the ground for music as music, rather than some spurious form of speech'.[48]

This concept is illustrated by an argument proposed in Gratioso Uberti's dialogue of 1630 entitled *Contrasto musico*. Apparently reacting against the insistance of monodists that music should imitate recited speech he draws the reader's attention to the fact that, though both are able to move the senses, sound and speech are experienced in very different ways:

> In the very beginning music was, according to some, invented by the water ... and it seems to me quite reasonable that men, even in their original primitive state, upon enjoying the burbling of the waves, the whispering of the winds, the chirping of the birds, happened upon the idea of imitating the waves, the birds, the winds with their voice, and hollow wooden and metal instruments, and strings, and their breath; at a time, that poetry had not yet been invented. ... If someone is tired from travel, if he sits by a stream, he is without a doubt comforted by its murmuring; if he rests in a shady place, he is sweetened by the whispering of the breeze: and still no words are heard, no stories are understood, no fables are comprehended. It is thus not a reprehensible thing, that, when many sing together, the words (which are characteristic of poetry) not be understood precisely; because it suffices to hear the melody, which is characteristic of music. ... He who wishes to hear words well, should listen to one who is speaking or reading, because in those cases the voice is continuous; but the singer's voice stops, and changes, and is now high, now low, now fast, now slow ... sweetness in song does not consist of presenting words and letting them be understood; but in the beauty of the voice, in the variety of sound, now low, now high, now slow, now fast.[49]

Sound, according to Uberti, not only has a power over the soul which is different from the effect of speech, its power even predates speech. The major difference between speech and melody consists in the degree of variation attributed to each. The spoken voice is continuous, but the voice of a singer is more disjointed – now high, now low, now fast, now slow. Perhaps more than identifying the differences between speech and song, Uberti's comments relate contemporary preferences for musical style. Vincenzo Giustiniani, whose *Discorso sopra la musica* predates *Contrasto*

[47] See Tim Carter, ''In Love's harmonious consort?' Penelope and the interpretation of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 5:1, 1993, pp.1-16.
[48] Carter 'In Love's harmonious consort?', p.127. Also Carter '*Possente spirto*: On Taming the Power of Music', *Early Music*, November 1993, pp.517-23.
[49] Gratioso Uberti, *Contrasto musico*, 1630, pp.81-5. Translated in Dell'Antonio, 'Hearing the Seconda Pratica', unpublished paper presented at the Sixth Annual Conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Urbana, April 1998, p.8.

musico perhaps by only two years, admits that, devoid of a 'variety of consonances and ornaments', recitative was rather wearying such that 'if the ennui that was felt had not been mitigated by the presence of such performers the audience would have left their seats and the room quite empty'.[50] It is surely significant that the variety which both Uberti and Giustiniani praise in music is, in fact, a feature of rhetorical delivery. In his treatise of 1555 Vicentino urged performers to imitate the style of the orator, who 'speaks now loud and now soft, now slow and now fast, thus greatly moving his listeners'.[51] Vicentino's authority is Cicero, who expresses the opinion that 'the superior orator will therefore vary and modulate his voice; now raising and now lowering it, he will run through the whole scale of tones'.[52]

It appears, therefore, that, as the seventeenth century progressed, and music, both vocal and instrumental, began to acquire significance less because of its direct resemblance to recited speech, and more through the representational relationships drawn between subject and icon, its connection with language, and thereby with rhetoric, actually grew stronger. Music was allowed to function, not within the confines of a system which it is not (speech), but inside (and sometimes, for rhetorical effect, without) the boundaries (grammar) of itself.

It was around the time that independent instrumental music was gaining a foothold that the word 'sonata' became established as a title for instrumental pieces. The word is the feminine past participle of the Italian verb *sonare*, meaning to sound, which was often used to describe the action of playing an instrument.[53] The title pages of countless musical publications of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contain some variation of the direction '*sonare et cantare*' – to sound and to sing. Until the development of independent instrumental music, the term *canzona,* or song, was perfectly adequate to describe instrumental versions of chansons, but the use of *canzona* to refer to an instrumental composition with no connection to an original

[50] Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica*, trans. MacClintock, American Institute of Musicology, Musicological Studies and Documents 9, 1962, p.77.
[51] Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, trans. Maniates, p.301.
[52] Cicero, *Orator*, xviii.59, translated by H M Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1962.
[53] For a detailed etymology see William Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959, pp.3-5.

chanson or madrigal is something of an anomaly. The use of the word 'sonata' emphasises the significance of the development of independent instrumental works – their new title contains no homage to their vocal predecessors. The gradual adoption of the term is demonstrated by Banchieri – his 1612 publication, *Moderna armonia*, includes four independent canzoni which later appear in the 1622 edition of *L'organo suonarino* with the title *Sonata*.[54]

The separation of music and text detectable in early seventeenth-century vocal music is unavoidable in contemporary independent instrumental forms. Rather than reduce its affective capacity, this separation was considered, by some writers at least, to heighten the music's effect, since far more skill is required on the part of the performer in order to communicate a passion to the audience. Galileo Galilei (the son of Vincenzo Galilei) explains this effect in a letter to Lodovico Cogoli in June 1612:

> ... the farther removed the means by which one imitates are from the thing to be imitated, the more worthy of wonder the imitation will be. ... Will we not admire a musician who moves us to sympathy with a lover by representing his sorrows and passions in song much more than if he were to do it by sobs? And this we do because song is a medium not only different from but opposite to the [natural] expression of pain while tears and sobs are very similar to it. And we would admire him even much more if he were to do it silently, with an instrument only, by means of dissonances and passionate musical accents; for the inanimate strings are [of themselves] less capable of awakening the hidden passions of our soul than is the voice that narrates them.[55]

The reduction of instrumental forces

The emancipation of instrumental music from vocal models and the growing acknowledgement of its abilities to move the passions coincide with an additional development. As the printing of instrumental music became more attractive to publishers, the size of the instrumental ensembles required for the music they printed grew considerably smaller. Gradually scoring reduced from the eights and twelves employed by composers such as Giovanni Gabrieli in the late sixteenth century to the twos, threes and fours required in the music of the early decades of the seventeenth.

[54] See Donald Earl Marcase, 'Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino*: Translation, Transcription and Commentary', PhD diss., Indiana University, 1970, p.122.
[55] Quoted in K Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th-Century Italy*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981, p.153.

There are plenty of practical explanations for this transition, not the least being of a financial nature. The publishers' increased interest in instrumental music would suggest that it commanded a sizeable market, yet only the most wealthy patrons, sacred or secular, were able to afford to maintain the size of ensemble at Gabrieli's disposal. An example of sacred musical activity outside Venice may be seen in the records of S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo, which Jerome Roche describes as representative of the 'normal musical establishment at a typical large parish church in the provinces of northern Italy'.[56] These records indicate that between 1614 and 1643 (with the exception of 1616, when an unusually large number of seven string and wind players were involved in services) the maximum number of instrumentalists employed (excluding continuo) was five, the more usual being two or three. Perhaps the new smaller scale writing catered for the instrumental musical needs of establishments such as this. Indeed, there is evidence that Gabrieli made provision for his music to be played by fewer instrumentalists; in his *Sacrae symphoniae* of 1597 the composer suggests an instrumentation of two cornetti and organ to replace the ten parts scored for the *Canzon in echo*.[57]

Equally possible is that the move towards smaller instrumental ensembles was simply a reflection of similar trends detectable in vocal music, since the new instrumental music has much in common with the popular *concertato* vocal style. This idiom, consisting of one, two or three solo voices supported by a continuo accompaniment was favoured for the ease with which one could discern its text, and for the emotive power afforded to less rigidly structured melodic lines. It also demonstrates a reduced dependence on polyphony – according to Jerome Roche – 'polyphony is no longer the essence of the music as in Palestrina; it is a means of developing self-sufficient solo melodies'.[58]

The break from polyphony has often been explained with reference to the objections raised by members of the so-called 'Florentine Camerata' that elaborate counterpoint obscured the communication of the text. Although this is certainly true, it was by no

[56] Jerome Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984. p.17.
[57] See Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, p.5.

means their only objection to polyphonic music. Of much more importance was the consideration that, if pitch and rhythm were signifiers of a particular passion, then the combination of different pitches and opposing rhythms would confuse the listener's passions. In effect, the passion represented by the high pitch of the soprano 'cancelled out' the effect generated by the low pitch of the bass. It was the opinion of Girolamo Mei that the soul cannot possibly be moved by multi-pitched music, since:

> ... the soul of the listener, distracted and at the same time moved in almost a single instant in diverse and contrary directions by the mixture of diverse signs that properly represent to him simultaneously diverse and contrary effects, cannot be pushed more to this or to that [affection] by the force of one of them, and while one of them pulls him with a certain fury, the other draws him back with equal force.[59]

Since specific passions are signified, according to Mei, by certain metrical feet, a similar blurring of the imitation is effected when the rhythm of polyphonic music 'differs haphazardly from one part to the other, since often the soprano hardly moves, while the tenor flies, and the bass goes strolling in slipper socks, or, indeed, the other way round'.[60]

Mei's comments (paraphrased, or even repeated verbatim by both Giovanni Bardi and Vincenzo Galilei) suggest that adherents to his views would be equally unhappy with instrumental polyphony as they were with the vocal variety. Although the influence of the Florentine Camerata's strict philosophical precepts was certainly smaller than that of their musical 'innovations' – which itself was probably less comprehensive than we tend to assume – the fact that instrumentalists, like composers of vocal music, allied themselves with the new *concertato* style suggests that they showed an equal concern for the clarity of the expression of the passions. The title page of Castello's first publication of sonatas for small ensembles (1621) classifies the pieces as *Sonate concertate in stil moderno* – clearly Castello believed that his music was not simply a smaller-scale version of an older idiom but a contribution to a new genre.

[58] Roche, *North Italian Church Music*, p.63.
[59] Girolamo Mei's Letter to Vincenzo Galilei, 8th May, 1572, trans. C V Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, p.61.
[60] Mei's Letter to Galilei, 8th May, 1572, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata,* p.63.

However, the preface to the second edition of Castello's publication (1629) shows that he did not associate the *stil moderno* with clarity and simplicity celebrated by composers of the vocal *concertato* style. Castello writes:

> To give satisfaction to those who take pleasure in playing these sonatas of mine, it has occurred to me to advise them that although at first sight they may appear difficult, their spirit will not be destroyed by playing them more than once; and in so doing they will become practised and this will render them very easy, since nothing is difficult when pleasure is derived. I declare that having observed the modern style, I could not have made them easier.[61]

It is not surprising that Castello's public found his sonatas difficult to play, since they are replete with sections of intricate passage work, known as *passaggi.* This musical style, which developed from the sixteenth-century practice of embellishing a pre-existing melodic line, became something of a 'hot potato' at the turn of the *seicento.* Repeated requests for performers to exercise restraint in their approach to embellishment are evidence of the war waged between composers, who required the expressive power of their own music to feature more strongly, and performers, whose credentials, it seems, were proven by their vocal or instrumental agility. Vicentino explains that singers capable of using many vocal techniques will be 'considered by the audience to be men of judgement and masters of many styles of singing. They will also demonstrate the abundance and richness of their many singing techniques with their talent for *gorgia,* or diminution, matched to the appropriate passages in the composition'.[62] Giovanni Paolo Cima, however, requests performers of his *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1610) to limit their improvisations to *accenti* and *trilli*[63] and Caccini was convinced that the inclusion of *passaggi* destroyed the expression of the passions:

> Divisions have been invented, not because they are necessary unto a good fashion of singing, but rather for a certain tickling of the ears of those who do not well understand what it is to sing passionately; for if they did, undoubtedly divisions would have been abhorred, there being nothing more contrary to passion than they are.[64]

[61] Cited in Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, p.33.
[62] Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* , trans. Maniates, p.300.
[63] See Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata*, p.44.
[64] 'Ma percedi sopraicho detto essere malamente adoperati quei lunghi giri da voce, è d'avvertire, che i passaggi non sono stati ritrovati per che siano necessary alla buona maneria di cantare, ma credo io più tost per una certa titillatione à gli orecchi di quelli, che meno intendono, che cosa sia cantare con affetto, che se ciò sa pessero indubitatamente i passaggi sarebbono abborriti, non essendo cosa più contraria di loro a' l'affetto', Giulio Caccini *Le nuove musiche,* 1602, trans. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, vol.3, pp.17-20.

The cacophony resulting from musicians' incessant desire for improvised ornamentation is criticised by Hercole Bottrigari. He complained that

> because of the presumptuous audacity of performers who try to invent *passaggi*, I will not say sometimes but almost continuously, all trying to move at the same time as if in a passage-making contest, and sometimes showing their own virtuosity so far from the counterpoint of the musical composition they have before them, that they become entangled in their dissonance, it is inevitable that an insupportable confusion should occur.[65]

Embellishment within smaller ensembles risks the opposite problem, that of 'losing' important harmony notes when performers improvise outside the notes in their own parts.[66] Missing harmonies may always be replaced by the use of continuo, but this solution cannot prevent the kind of 'insupportable confusion' which troubled Bottrigari. The use of solo passages, or entire pieces for solo instrument and continuo, however, provide for ornamentation the 'best of both worlds'. The soloist may be as virtuosic as s/he chooses, or is able, while unimpeded harmonic support is supplied by the continuo instrument.

Neither Cima nor Caccini exclude the use of ornamentation outright. Both the motets of *Concerti ecclesiastici* and the monodies of *Le nuove musiche* contain substantial amounts of notated *passaggi*. It appears that their objection was to inappropriate *improvised* ornamentation, which had the potential to veer far away not only from the melodic, or even harmonic, outline provided in the part books, but also from the passion signified by the composers' own version of the music. In the case of solo instrumental music the composer/performer conflict ceases to be such a contentious issue, since the composer and the original performer were often one and the same. Perhaps, then, the inclusion of notated passage work in the published editions of sonatas of well known virtuosi, such as Castello, Fontana and Marini are not so much directions as to what to play, rather an indication of what has been played. What little we know of instrumental composers of the early seventeenth century indicates that it was for their performances that they were renowned. Fontana, for example, one of

[65] Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio*, or *Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments* (1594), trans. Carol MacClintock, p.34.

[66] Vicentino identified this problem in his *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* of 1555. He suggested that, if singers wish to ornament, their parts should be doubled by non-improvising instrumentalists. That way, listeners would hear the harmonies as written by the composer. See Howard Mayer Brown, *Embellishing 16th-Century Music*, p.57.

two 'Virtuosissimi Signori' who were the dedicatees of a collection of sonatas published by Cesario Gussaghi in 1608, is referred to as *dal violino.* It is not improbable that the printed editions of their music were as much a tribute to the author's skill as a player as they were to his abilities as a composer. Perhaps Castello's preface may be interpreted as a subtle boast of his own prowess, informing the reader that it will be a long time before s/he is able to reach the standard of the great Castello.

It is possible, however, that the difficulties which Castello warns may be encountered in the performance of his sonatas, in fact have nothing whatever to do with the technical problems posed by elaborate *passaggi.* After all, such figuration had existed for at least a century before the publication of Castello's sonatas, so it could hardly be described as 'new'. Although some of the passage work featured in Castello's sonatas is certainly tricky, even for higly accomplished instrumentalists, it is no more difficult than the more flamboyant examples of *passaggi* provided in the ornamentation treatises of Ortiz or Ganassi. Perhaps, then, it is a different problem which Castello foresees in the performance of his music. It is interesting that Castello's Roman contemporary, Girolamo Frescobaldi, includes a similar caveat in the preface to his first book of capricci published in 1624. Frescobaldi explains that the style of these works is more difficult than that employed in his ricercari, but encourages the performer with the words: 'one should not, however, judge of their difficulty before having essayed them well on the instrument, where one will find, by study, the *affetto* [passion] which ought to prevail'.[67] Frescobaldi, it appears, is discussing the difficulties in deciding upon the manner of interpretation appropriate for the music's delivery rather than any technical obstacles which the performer may encounter. Perhaps Castello's preface is concerned with a similar issue. What *is* new about his music is the diversity of musical styles contained within a single work, and, particularly, those sections which recall the passionate *concertato* vocal style. Perhaps it is the interpretation and delivery of these which Castello predicts will be troublesome to those unused to the style. This is particularly significant for an examination of solo sonatas, since it is the combination of soloist plus continuo, as

[67] Frescabaldi, Preface to the *Capricci* of 1624, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.135.

shown in the remainder of this thesis, which offers the most potential for the exposition of this new, highly expressive instrumental style.

The use of a solo instrument with lute or keyboard accompaniment was not new to the seventeenth century. Diego Ortiz's *Tratado de glosas sobre clausulas* (1553) contains pieces for solo viol and keyboard, and later writers of ornamentation manuals, such as Dalla Casa and Bassano, include instrumental versions of French chansons and madrigals with only the superius part decorated, the implication being that the remaining parts were to be performed by a continuo instrument.[68]

The licence to embellish without restraint, coupled with the freedom from pre-existing vocal models, provided the potential for the solo 'sonata' to develop in new directions, often very different from those taken by music for two or three 'melodic' parts. Claude Palisca recognises a 'new idiom' in the solo sinfonias contained in Marini's *Affetti musicali* (1617).[69] Similar conclusions are reached by Neils Martin Jensen, who addresses the difficulties which arise when late seventeenth-century definitions such as 'solo' and 'trio' sonata are applied to much earlier music.[70] The problem pertains mainly to the presence of a melody bass instrument. In the Corellian sonata the term 'trio' is taken to apply to the three melody instruments involved, the inclusion of a continuo part is assumed but not counted. Earlier in the seventeenth century, however, a greater distinction is made between works requiring a melody bass in addition to the continuo and those in which continuo is the only support for a combination of treble instruments. Jensen suggests that Corellian definitions are not appropriate for early seventeenth-century music since it is rather ambiguous as to whether a work for, say, two violins and continuo should be classed as a duo or a trio sonata, and he proposes the adoption of different terminology. Jensen prefers the use of the terms 'one-voiced', 'two-voiced' and 'three-voiced' sonatas, where the numerical prefix refers to the number of melody instruments required, irrespective of

[68] See Girolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti di fiato, e corda, e di voce humana* (Bk. II), Venice: Angelo Gardane, 1584 and Giovanni Bassano *Motetti, madrigali et canzoni francesce di diversi eccellentissimi auttori quattro cinque & sei voci diminutiti per sonare con ogni sorte di stromenti, & anco per cantata con sempli voce,* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591.
[69] C V Palisca, *Baroque Music*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991, p.147.

whether they are treble or bass instruments. This system not only relates more accurately to the typology used by contemporary composers and publishers, but also allows the categorisation to be extended to include the four, six and eight voiced sonatas still in production during the early years of the seventeenth century. The specific instrumentation may be codified by the letters S (for a solo treble instrument), B (for a melody bass instrument) and bc (for basso continuo). Thus a sonata for two violins and continuo could be represented as SS/bc, while the inclusion of a melody bass would be shown by SSB/bc.

Sonatas for one treble instrument also fall into two categories: SB/bc and S/bc. Jensen argues against the use of the term 'solo' sonata for the SB/bc category. Not only is the piece scored for two melody instruments, but, rather than simply provide additional weight to the continuo's bass line, the melody bass takes an active rôle in the thematic development of the music. Consequently the SB/bc variety of sonata is more closely related to the SS/bc type than the S/bc.

Jensen's study demonstrates that, in relation to the many varieties of sonata, from a stylistic point of view, the S/bc type stands apart. This discovery leads him to conclude that 'this is not properly chamber music, understood as an interplay of two or more voices' rather it is music 'in which the emphasis is on the technical accomplishment and virtuosic solo playing of the instrument'.[71]

Similar rationale governs Andrew Dell'Antonio's decision to exclude solo examples from his discussion of early seventeenth-century sonatas and canzonas:

> Through my preliminary work with the instrumental repertory of the early seventeenth century as a whole I came to the conclusion that the musical language of the solo sonata is indeed separate from that of the à2/à3 family.[72]

[70] Neils Martin Jensen, 'Solo Sonata, Duo Sonata and Trio Sonata: Some Problems of Terminology and Genre in 17th-Century Italian Instrumental Music' in *Festskrift Jens Peter Larsen*, Denmark: Musikvidenskabelight Institut, 1972, pp.73-101.
[71] Jensen, 'Solo Sonata, Duo Sonata and Trio Sonata', p.86-7.
[72] Andrew Dell'Antonio, 'Syntax, Form and Genre in Sonatas and Canzonas, 1621-1635', PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991, p.4.

One important difference between the two 'genres' lies in the compositional method. With specific reference to Marini, Palisca identifies imitation to be the fundamental compositional technique governing the structure of pieces for more than one melody instrument. An example of this technique may be seen in Castello's third sonata from the first volume of *Sonata concertate in stil moderno* (1621). Not only are small-scale motives passed between the two treble parts, but an entire twelve bar section, marked 'solo' is given first to one instrument and repeated, note for note, in the second treble part. In works for a solo instrument, however, imitation plays a far less important rôle. The basso's function is primarily to provide harmonic support and, although imitative figures may be passed between treble instrument and bass, this type of writing in no way dominates the musical texture. Instead, the music is constructed from a combination of declamatory-like phrases over a largely static or slowly moving bass line, reminiscent of contemporary recitative, and sections of flamboyant passage-work coupled with slightly faster harmonic progression. Jensen shows that this difference is maintained even if the second melody instrument is a viol da gamba, 'cello or trombone. He provides an example from Riccio's *Terzo libro delle divine lodi* of 1620 which includes an S/bc sonata and a canzona scored for SB/bc. The rôle of the bass markedly differs between the two. While in the SB/bc canzona the bass line takes part in imitative interplay with the treble instrument, in the S/bc sonata it simply provides harmonic support, often with sustained semibreves, over which are written intricate figures of quavers and semiquavers for the treble instrument.

The structure of early sonatas tends towards the exploitation of stark contrast and rapid changes of mood (the limited use of imitation makes this feature even more prominent in the S/bc sonata than in other varieties of the genre), and has led musicologists to refer to this type of composition as a 'patchwork' sonata. This term, however, suggests that there is no sense of structural unity within these sonatas, an argument which is contested by Andrew Dell'Antonio:

> I am not satisfied with the opinion that instrumental compositions of the time are a formless patchwork of unconnected sections, obsessively punctuated by cadences. The style of the first half of the seventeenth century, rife as it is with dramatic surface contrasts, might lead us to the conclusion that formal considerations are left aside for the sake of

> expression of various *affetti*. Still, surface contrast does not necessarily entail structural incoherence.[73]

Contrast was clearly established in the decorated chansons of late sixteenth-century 'embellishers' such as Dalla Casa, Bassano and Rogniono. Unlike their predecessors, these composers did not add a uniform amount of embellishment to the superius part, but, filling some sections of the song with extremely elaborate diminution, they left other passages completely free of ornamentation, just as they were in the original chanson. Similar principles, it seems, were employed within the independent solo sonatas of the early seventeenth century. In the case of the decorated *canzona francese*, underlying structural unity is provided by the chanson itself, the contrasts are merely surface additions, and any listener familiar with the original song would not, surely, consider the piece to be a patchwork of unconnected ideas. Although it has no vocal model, it is not impossible that a comparable constructive process lies behind the independent instrumental work, in which the unifying factor is not a song, but a discourse: the articulation of an 'idea' or 'passion'. Just as the unadorned passages of an embellished chanson enable the listener to identify the original model, it is possible that the declamatory sections of independent sonatas set the mood, or passion of the entire work. If we consider a sonata to follow the principles governing a rhetorical speech, it is not surprising that, on the surface, it is rife with contrasting material. Variety in expression was an essential constituent of a speech, through which the listener was transfixed and his/her passions moved. In *De oratore* Cicero poses the question: 'what is better suited to please our ears and secure an agreeable delivery than alteration, variation and change?'[74]

Another very noticeable difference between solo and ensemble music is its appearance on the printed page. While each voice of music for two or more instruments and continuo is usually printed separately in part books, the continuo player provided with nothing more than his/her own line, possibly with the addition of occasional figures and cues, the basso parts for music à1 frequently include the melody line printed above the continuo part (fig. 2). If the continuo player is able to read the soloist's

[73] Dell'Antonio, 'Syntax, Form and Genre in Sonatas and Canzonas', p.4.
[74] Cicero, *De oratore*, III.lx.224, trans. W Sutton and H Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1942.

part as well as his/her own, the soloist may take more liberties with the tempo without the fear that his/her accompanist will become lost. The use of a 'nobly negligent' approach to the tempo is a feature often prescribed by monodists as necessary in order to move the passions of the audience. Caccini describes it as 'the noble manner of singing which is used without tying a man's self to the ordinary measure of time'.[75] The different styles of singing required for solo and duo passages is clearly highlighted by Severo Bonini; his advice on the performance of his collection of sacred motets, *Affetti spirituali a due voci*, (Venice, 1615), includes the following instruction: 'When the singer sometimes sings alone ... he will be able to beat time by himself, so that he can, according to the needs of the words, sing quickly or slowly, now sustaining, now quickening the beat, for thus demands the Florentine style. And when the two sing together, the beat should be taken up by the first [of the two, who again starts] to beat time'.[76]

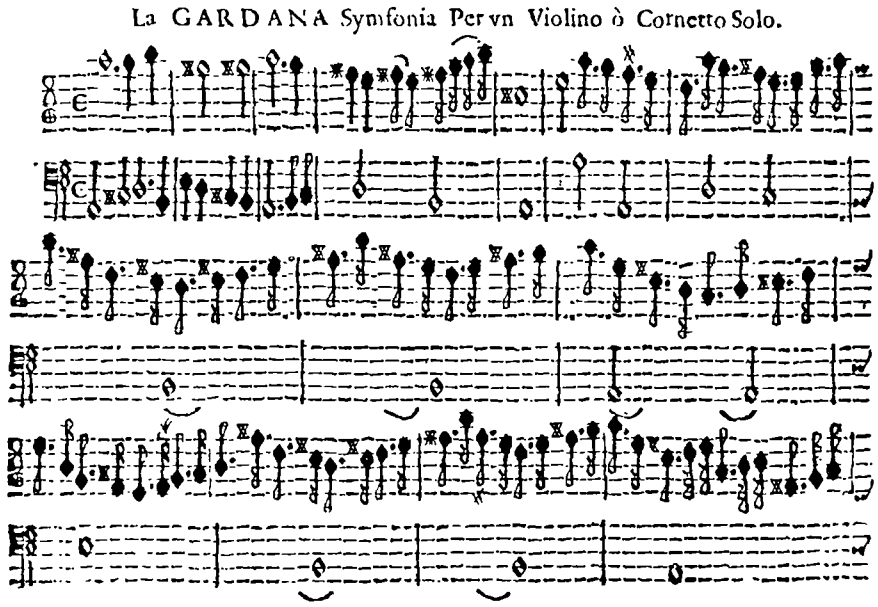


Figure 2: Opening bars of basso part of 'La Gardana' from Marini, *Affetti Musicali* (1617)

Flexibility of tempo is frequently connected by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musicians to the movement of the passions. According to Vicentino, this is a manner of performance 'that cannot be written down'. It involves 'uttering softly and loudly

[75] 'che nobile maneria sia così appellata da me quella, che va sata, senza sottoporsi à misura ordinata' Giulio Caccini, Preface to *Le nuove musiche*, trans. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, vol.3. p.31.
[76] Cited in R Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, London: Faber & Faber, 1963, R1974, p.641.

or fast and slow, or changing the measure in keeping with the words, so as to show all the effects of the passions and the harmony'.[77] a technique which, we are told, must be learned from the orator.

The solo instrumentalist is thus able to imitate the orator in his/her delivery of the music. The fact that alteration in tempo needs to be co-ordinated between only two musicians, at least one of whom is likely to be able to follow the line of the other, offers great potential for the movement of listeners' passions.

It appears that the differences which exist between solo and ensemble '*sonatas*' of the early seventeenth century show solo instrumental music to be a highly rhetorical medium. While ensemble pieces undoubtedly contain rhetorical influences and most certainly imitate passions, solo sonatas may be seen to have a rather more tangible connection with oratory. The very fact that the melodic line is in the control of one performer facilitates a direct connection between the performer and the orator. This connection is even stronger than the link between vocal music and rhetoric, since, as is the case with published speeches, the existing music is likely to be a record of what the composer had initially performed. As is the case with vocal monody, the absence of additional like-sounding voices prompts the composer towards passages less dependent upon imitation, a more expansive style, freer from structural constraints, and thus reminiscent of a continuous declamation. The solo presentation of a passion prevents any confusion between the rhythmic or melodic movement of different parts, yet the freedom from text and the imitation of words granted to instrumental music early in the seventeenth century enables it to take advantage of musical devices most suitable for instrumental performance. The instrumentalist is to imitate not the sound of the human voice, but the expression of human passions.

Since matters of performance style were compared to the art of the orator by theorists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it is, perhaps, reasonable to look to rhetorical theory to gain an understanding of the principles of contemporary musical performance. Because of its overt connections with oratory, music for one

[77] Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, trans. Maniates, p.301.

instrument and continuo is an ideal genre to subject to experiments in rhetorical performance. To do this we must have a firm grasp of the rules of rhetorical composition and delivery. Practical knowledge alone, however, is not sufficient to appreciate fully the application of an orator's art to musical performance. The orator as a *character* had a complex and highly significant part to play in Renaissance and early Baroque culture. The comparison between performer and orator would, to a contemporary musician, undoubtedly signify far more than the application of a set of well-known rules. It would raise important considerations concerning the instrumentalist's rôle during performance and places an interesting slant on the player's relationship with the audience. Knowledge of the character of the Renaissance orator, therefore, is as informative to an instrumentalist *intent upon* historically informed performance as are the rules which he was instructed to follow. The orator and the rôle of his art are the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter 2

The Rhetorical Culture of Renaissance and Early Baroque Europe

Figure 1: 'Hic Hercules est Gallicus' from Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum ... Libri quinque* (Bologna, 1574) book 2, symbol 43

Hic Hercules est Gallicus: Intellegat, qui aures habeat
(Here is Hercules Gallicus: Let him understand who has ears).[1]

So reads the caption of the symbol depicting Hercules Gallicus in Achille Bocchi's emblem book, *Symbolicarum quaestionum* (1574). According to Wayne Rebhorn, this image (figure 1) may be seen to capture 'with dramatic force the exact notion of rhetoric ... as defined by Renaissance rhetoric texts'.[2] Hercules Gallicus is the image of strength, represented in a lion skin (the prize of his own conquest) and carrying a wooden club. His might, however, is derived not from his physical attributes, but

[1] This image is taken from Wayne Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds: Literature and the Renaissance Discourse of Rhetoric*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. 1995. p.71.
[2] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*. p.72.

from the power of his tongue, from which extend many chains, attached to the ears of his obedient subjects.

The Gallic Hercules became associated with rhetoric once a complete edition of Lucian's *Herakles,* in which Hercules was identified with Mercury, the god of eloquence, was introduced to western Europe through a Florentine publication of 1496. Its dissemination increased when Latin translations of the text appeared, by Erasmus in 1506 and by Guillaume Budé in 1508, and the character of an eloquent Hercules became widely known in all European countries.[3] The Herculean emblem represents the authoritative nature of rhetoric as it was perceived throughout the Renaissance and into the early decades of the seventeenth century. Rhetoric was an instrument of rule. Its extensive powers, once mastered, could be employed by political leaders in order to govern their subjects. Bocchi's Hercules is shown to be a successful leader, borne aloft in triumphant procession by the subjects whose minds and wills he has conquered. As Thomas Wilson remarked, '... his witte was so great, his tongue so eloquent, and his experience such, that no man was able to withstande his reason, but every one was rather driven to doe that which he would, and to will that which he did'.[4]

The Renaissance obsession with rhetoric's power to command and rule, as represented by Hercules, had its roots in the popular myth of the orator-civilizer. Authors on rhetoric from Petrarch to Puttenham, from every major European country and tradition, cited the tale as evidence of the primacy of rhetorical speech. The most frequently paraphrased version of the myth is found in Cicero's *De inventione*. The treatise opens with Cicero's observations that 'many cities have been founded, that the flames of a multitude of wars have been extinguished, and that the strongest of alliances and most sacred friendships have been formed, not only by the use of reason (*ratio*) but also more easily by the help of eloquence (*oratio*)'.[5] In fact, rhetoric's first task was to instigate a civilized society. Before rhetoric flourished, 'there was a time when men wandered at large in the fields like animals and lived on wild fare; they did

[3] See Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.66.
[4] Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1560), vii[r], cited in Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.66.
[5] Cicero, *De inventione*, trans. H M Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1949, I.i.1.

nothing by the guidance of reason, but relied chiefly on physical strength; there was as yet no ordered system of religious worship nor of social duties; no one had seen legitimate marriage nor had anyone looked upon children whom he knew to be his own; nor had they learned the advantages of an equitable code of law'.[6] With the world in such a dishevelled state, Cicero describes how a great and wise man, inspired by his perception of the latent abilities of mankind, set out to improve the sorry situation of the community. 'Men were scattered in the fields and hidden in sylvan retreats when he assembled and gathered them in accordance with a plan; he introduced them to every useful and honourable occupation, though they cried out against it at first because of its novelty, and then when through reason and eloquence they had listened with greater attention, he transformed them from wild savages into a kind and gentle folk'.[7]

Eloquence was held up to be powerful (*gravi*) and entrancing (*suavi*), more powerful, in fact, than physical force, which, as the orator-civilizer myth demonstrates, voluntarily submitted to rhetoric's authority. This belief was situated at the core of Renaissance rhetorical thought. As Wayne Rebhorn explains, 'Renaissance rhetoric is animated by a fantasy of power in which the orator, wielding words more deadly than swords, takes on the world and emerges victorious in every encounter'.[8] Indeed, the rise of rhetoric during the Renaissance may be interpreted as a reaction to the devastation caused by armed conflict. As Thomas Conley indicates, the period of the Renaissance was marked as much by war as it was by learning and discovery. This was equally true of the seventeenth century. In fact, according to Conley, while sixteenth-century Europe saw a mere five years free from military contention, the seventeenth century experienced only four. When the primary occupation of an uneducated Renaissance male was not husbandry but fighting, it is hardly surprising that a pressing need was felt for an alternative to military action.[9]

[6] Cicero, *De inventione*, I,ii,2.
[7] Cicero, *De inventione*, I,ii,2.
[8] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.15.
[9] Thomas Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. p.110.

De inventione shows eloquence to be a bloodless replacement for war, and Frederico Cerutus s preface to the 1589 edition of Soarez's *De arte rhetorica*, like many other Renaissance rhetorics, echoes this concept: 'What wise men know is that whatever can be accomplished with hostile steel can be accomplished with eloquence, because it is more proper to man'.[10] Writing in the throes of the Italian wars (1494-1516), which brought no substantial benefit but great numbers of casualties to all combatants, Castiglione through the voice of Count Lodovico) announces his disagreement with the French that arms are more important than letters. The count's reasoning revolves around he fac that the glory achieved through the composition of great works of litera ure ou lives that won through successful military campaigning. His argument is supported by the recent experience of France's largely fruitless attempts to conquer Naples and Milan, despite the Italians' 'lack of valour on the battlefield'.[11] As Ariosto wro e in *Orlando Furioso*: 'All of those who later will hold the sceptre of France will see their armies destroyed either by steel or by hunger or by pestilence and will bring back from Italy brie joys and long sorrows, little gain and boundless damage, because the lily is no permitted to take root in that land'.[12] For the Italian at least, eloquence was defini ely the way forward Giangaleazzo Visconti declared that the letters written by Coluccio Salutati as Florentine chancellor were 'worth more to Florence than a thousand horsemen'.[13]

When considering the connections developed between rhetoric and music in the late Renaissance it is important to remember that music was not being grafted into an unbroken tradition stretching back to antiquity. The attitudes which governed rhetoric in the Renaissance were also relatively 'recent' doctrines, differing substantially from their medieval counterparts. One of the most important differences concerned the status commanded by the discipline within academic circles. During the Middle Ages oratory experienced what Brian Vickers describes as a

Trans Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p 41.

[1] Baldesar Castiglione *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), trans. George Bull. London: Penguin, 1967 p 90.

Ariosto *Orlando Furioso* canto xxxiii 10. translated by Allan Gilbert. New York: S F Vanni, 9 4 p 57 *'i ferlin gl fe veder che quasi tutti gli altri che poi di Francia scettro avranno, o di ferr gl eserciti distrutti, o d fame o di peste si vedranno; e che brevi allegrezze e lunghi lutti, poco guadagno et infinitio danno riporteran d'Italia; che non liche che 'l Giglio in quel terreno abbia radice '*

Cited in Brian Vickers *In Defence of Rhetoric*. Oxford· Clarendon Press. 1988. p.275.

'fragmentation'.[14] Under the influence of Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*, rhetoric came to be considered an inferior species of dialectic. While dialectical topics deal with universal truths, rhetorical topics concern themselves with the mundane, the specific and the circumstantial and it is for this reason that rhetoric was often subordinated to dialectic.[15] Grammar also claimed parts of rhetoric for her own, including the figures of speech, which, according to Vickers, resulted in the loss of a great deal of their persuasive power:

> Divorced from a connection with the overall structure of a poem [or speech], unconnected with plot or character, and hence cut off from the passions, they became mere forms, patterns of word-formation or collocation without the literary function they had in antiquity and would have again in the Renaissance.[16]

In the Renaissance, the slightly precarious existence which had characterised rhetoric in the Middle Ages is completely reversed. Renaissance thinkers, perhaps with the exception of the Ramists, placed rhetoric on a plain not only higher than dialectic, but above every other liberal art or academic discipline. Humanists ridiculed the prose style of Medieval Latin. In reply to his son, Niccolò, who had discovered some clumsy Latin prose written by his father as a young man, Guarino Guarini of Verona (1374-1460) wrote:

> you are fortunate to have grown up in these blessed new times. For until our times humanistic studies lay prostrate in a dark night, and writing had lost every splendor of elegance. Italy did not have Cicero, 'the greatest authority on the Latin language', as a mirror and example for its discourse. But now, the admiration and imitation of Ciceronian language by itself constitutes a notable cause of progress.[17]

Guarini, who himself was an influential eduactionalist, explained that humanists valued Cicero for 'a certain easy and very clear way of speaking which, enticing the reader, may be useful and delightful by its very agreeable order of words and gentle weight of the sentences'.[18] According to Thomas Conley, rhetoric in the Renaissance 'achieved

[14] Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, p.214.
[15] See Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, p.79.
[16] Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, p.221.
[17] Letter of 1452, cited in Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, p.123.
[18] Guarini's inaugural lecture of 1419 delivered at the founding of his Veronese independent school, cited in Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p.123.

an importance that is difficult to overestimate'.[19] The art of rhetoric was the most essential component of humanistic training for a life in society. Humanists frequently referred to themselves as 'orators' and Wayne Rebhorn explains that 'in a sense ... almost everyone in Renaissance society could have been dubbed an orator, and, what is more important, Renaissance people knew it'.[20]

The prestige afforded to rhetoric throughout the Renaissance may be seen to have arisen from another important difference between medieval and Renaissance attitudes towards the art. This was the approach taken to the *vita activa* (the active life). While the scholastics admired Cicero primarily for his contribution to philosophy, and for the time he spent in contemplation during his enforced exile from Rome, for humanists he was acclaimed a hero for his active involvement in political affairs. A Renaissance orator had a duty first to his country, then to his fellow-citizens, his family and friends, and finally to himself. Cicero's *De officiis* informed its Renaissance readers that *ratio* and *oratio* were to be applied to public life. Reason and speech form 'the most comprehensive bond that unites together men as men and all to all'[21] and 'much speaking (if only it contain wisdom) is better than speculation never so profound without speech, for mere speculation is self-centred, while speech extends its benefits to those with whom we are united by the bonds of society'.[22] Silence and solitude were deprecated in the Renaissance – one only need consider the Society of Jesus, founded under humanistic influence during the Counter-Reformation to see that the *vita activa* extended even to the governance of religious orders.

While rhetorical principles possessed practical outlets in the high Middle Ages through the *artes dictaminis*, *poetriae*, and *praedicandi*, in an age where illiteracy was not uncommon among the aristocracy and high ranking church officials, these were usually practised by 'professionals'– notaries, chancellors and secretaries – who received training to carry out their task but otherwise remained outside any substantial academic influence. Academic rhetoric was largely an intellectual discipline; *De*

[19] Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, p.109.
[20] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.6.
[21] Cicero, *De officiis*, trans. Walter Miller, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1913, I.xvi.51.
[22] Cicero, *De officiis.*, I.xliv.156.

inventione, the major academic text of medieval rhetoric, does not deal with the parts of rhetoric concerned with presentation – the employment of figures of speech, memory and delivery – but concentrates on the formation and arrangement of argumentation.[23] Renaissance rhetoric, however, occupied the unique position of being considered a pursuit which was not only highly learned but also highly practical, the occupation of academics who were also courtiers and kings. Guarino Guarini of Verona demonstrates how rhetoric was to be used in civic life. In a letter of 1419 to Gian Nicola Salerno, the *podestà* of Bologna, he reminds his friend of how a humanist education, which culminated in rhetorical excellence, equipped him for the tribulations of public life:

> I understand that when civil disorder recently aroused the people of Bologna to armed conflict you showed the bravery and eloquence of a soldier as well as you had previously meted out the sentence of a judge. ... You therefore owe no small thanks to the Muses with whom you have been on intimate terms since boyhood, and by whom you were brought up. They taught you how to carry out your tasks in society. ... Hence you are living proof that the Muses rule not only musical instruments but public affairs. ... How much then must we prize this learning and praise those arts with which one educates the future ruler of the state. And if he possesses justice, benevolence, prudence, and modesty, all will be able to enjoy the fruit, and the benefit, as usual, will be spread among all. But if these philosophic studies train a private citizen, it is not the same thing, for they dry up and help only him alone.[24]

Scholars have cited many reasons for the rise of rhetoric during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One such is the interest in antiquity which led to the search for, and discovery of, a substantial number of rhetorical texts lost or little known throughout the Middle Ages. This is undoubtedly true. The discovery of Cicero's *De oratore*, *Orator, Brutus* and a number of his own letters and speeches, together with the unearthing of a complete copy of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, coupled with the increasing interest in the orators of ancient Greece, engendered an enormous change in the approach to classical rhetoric. This virtually undisputed fact has, however, often led scholars to imply that classical rhetorical culture was somehow restored wholesale to its former glory. Although a commitment to classical rhetoric was, as Thomas Conley describes,

[23] See Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, p.224.

one of the 'common denominators' of the humanist Renaissance, the principles to which it adhered were revived into a very different culture from the one in which they had been formed, and this fact makes Renaissance rhetoric a different animal not only from its immediate predecessor, but also from its ancient model – a difference of which humanist scholars were very aware.[25]

Probably the most important contrasting feature is concerned with the audience envisioned by classical and Renaissance writers. Renaissance rhetoric was not perceived as operating within a democratic environment. While classical rhetoric is set within the atmosphere of an open forum, presided over by a judge, in which orators pit their wits and their skills against their equally qualified contemporaries, Renaissance rhetoric sees a single orator confront an entire audience, whose members are both opponent and judge. Although republics (such as Venice, Florence and Amsterdam) did exist in Renaissance Europe, and the flourishing of rhetoric in those cities has sometimes been attributed to their 'democratic' style of government,[26] Wayne Rebhorn shows that 'Renaissance culture was, for the most part, hierarchical and monarchical or oligarchical, and the period is generally marked by the gradual centralization of states under single rulers who increasingly controlled them in absolutist fashion'.[27] In 1580, Marc Antoine Muret, in the inaugural lecture of his course on Tacitus at the *Sapienza* in Rome remarked that 'One must observe that today, republics are no longer very numerous: there are hardly any more peoples who are not dependent on the orders and the will of a single man, who don't obey a single man, who are not governed by a single man'.[28] Indeed, republicanism cannot have been the sole deciding factor for the development of Renaissance rhetoric since Bologna, Ferrara, Milan and Padua, all important humanist centres throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were what Rebhorn terms 'signorial despotisms' when not under the control of external authorities.[29] According to Rebhorn, Renaissance rulers styled themselves as victors, staging entries into their cities on

[24] Cited in Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p.119.
[25] See Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, p.109 and Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.11.
[26] See Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, p.113.
[27] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.15.
[28] Cited in Marc Fumaroli, 'Rhetoric, Politics and Society' in J.J. Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, p.257.

triumphal carts in imitation of the Herculean image.[30] This concept both extended and intensified during the seventeenth century. Quoting A Hauser, José Maravall insists that 'Baroque culture ... becomes more and more an authoritarian court culture' – a culture which is 'to such a great extent, constructed with the technique of rhetoric' – and that 'this authoritarianism was none other than that of monarchical absolutism'.[31] This assertion is demonstrated by the fact that the court of Louis XIV, surely the pre-eminent absolutist monarchy of the century, was, for Eurpoean potentates, the envy of the age.

Further distinctions between ancient and Renaissance rhetoric were created by religious differences. Christianity, according to Rebhorn, gave Renaissance rhetoricians a rather more pessimistic view of human nature.[32] In Cicero's version of the orator-civilizer myth, savages who have learned from the orator the precepts of civilized behaviour are then able to rule themselves in something approaching a democratic environment. As a result of the fall of mankind, Renaissance savages are considered deviant by nature, rebels who will take every opportunity to return to their old ways if not kept strictly in check by their orator-ruler. Thus the listeners of Renaissance rhetoric remain very much as the subjects of the orator, their naturally base nature prevents them from ever rising to equal their leader. It also makes the role of the orator a permanent necessity in civilized society. This doctrine, whether or not its truth was borne out by reality, must have given practitioners of rhetoric some sense of security in politically turbulent times.

In many respects, the influence of rhetoric over the mind and will of a man was believed to be stronger during the Renaissance than ever it was throughout antiquity. One reason for this was the different interpretation placed upon ancient tales of the power of oratory such as that of Hegesias, reported in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*. Hegesias spoke so powerfully about how death could bring welcome relief from the many evils of life that those who heard him began to commit suicide,

[29] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.45.
[30] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.72.
[31] José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. T. Cochran, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, pp.71 and 74.
[32] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.27.

and King Ptolemy was forced to stop him from speaking. To a Roman orator with decidedly stoical leanings, the force of persuasion required to incite men to self-harm would probably not seem all that great, but, for the humanist lovers of life, Hegesias' power was immense.

Reports such as that of Hegesias confirmed for Renaissance orators what they discovered in Cicero, that rhetoric's power lay in its appeal to the passions, or *pathos*, and, to quote Wayne Rebhorn, 'the manipulation of *pathos*, is the main preoccupation of Renaissance rhetoric'.[33] Coluccio Salutati, an early humanist and Chancellor of Florence, believed it was essential for leadership:

> For how [can one] dominate more than by means of the emotions, bend the listener where you might wish and lead him off with grace and desire where you would move him? Unless I am deceived, this is the force of eloquence; this its effort; to this goal all the force and power of rhetors labor.[34]

Interest in the power of the passions in oratory increased throughout the Renaissance and was particularly strong in the early decades of the seventeenth century, when *pathologia*, the study of the passions became what Brian Vickers terms a 'new sub-discipline of rhetorical psychology'[35] and led to the publication of whole treatises on the passions, such as Descartes' *Le Passions de l'âme* (1649). John Milton, alluding in the mid seventeenth century to the Hercules Gallicus symbol, makes it clear that it is by the passions that men are controlled:

> [The supreme power of rhetoric, which] so ensnares men's minds and so sweetly lures them with her chains that at one moment she can move them to pity, at another she can drive them to hatred, at another she can fire them with warlike passion, and at another lift them up to contempt of death itself.[36]

Thomas Conley maintains that Renaissance, and more particularly, seventeenth-century, obsession with persuasion via the emotions was generated by the ecclesiastical upheaval generated by the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. The power to win and hold supporters was essential for reformers and reactionaries

[33] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.84.
[34] Coluccio Salutatui. *Epistolario* 3:15. cited in Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.33.
[35] Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, p.278.
[36] John Milton, *Third Prolusion*, cited in Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.73.

alike, and it is no coincidence that the Jesuits, the champions of the Counter-Reformation, not only brought to bear the 'most significant influence on the history of rhetoric in the seventeenth century' but also promoted the kind of rhetoric which placed the art of persuasion firmly in the court of the emotions.[37] Cyprian Soarez's *De arte rhetorica,* a standard rhetorical textbook of all Jesuit educational establishments, is largely a digest of the speeches and rhetorical writings of Cicero, together with the treatises of Quintilian and Aristotle. Detectable in Soarez's work, however, is, according to Conley, a 'different agenda'. While the classical texts discuss a balanced method of formulating an argument, Soraez places a greater emphasis on the need to convince a listener through an appeal to his or her emotions. José Maravall widens the impetus of contention to include all areas of anxiety – scientific, geographical and religious – with which early modern society was presented:

> All experience of social and geographic mobility – however limited it might be – accumulated by the individuals of the Renaissance had been sufficient to make them understand that in the general crisis situation taking place in Europe during those two centuries, it was not possible to think about the omnipotence of truth (or what the dominant groups in the culture considered as such). It could not be expected that furnishing the masses of individuals with some intellectual notions about morality, religion, politics would guarantee, by the weight of presumed truth, that they would faithfully follow them. From the outset, ensuring that kind of reception was less than impossible.[38]

If truth alone lacked the power to control and guide, rulers must resort to alternative measures to further their cause. Instead, what the rulers (or rebels) perceive as truth must be presented to the people in such a way that they will be enticed into consenting to it, and this involved an appeal to the passions. To quote Maravall: 'the Baroque set out to stir and impress, directly and immediately, by effectively intervening in the motivation of the passions'.[39]

The high status afforded to rhetoric during the humanist years and throughout the seventeenth century sheds light on its sister art. To compare music with an art held in such esteem, and which pervaded nearly every aspect of civil and cultural life, is to

[37] Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition*, p.154.
[38] Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, pp.67-8.
[39] Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p.75.

honour it with high status and vast influence. Wayne Rebhorn explains that rhetoric as it was perceived in the Renaissance, 'is no language game; it is a serious business that aims to affect people's basic beliefs and produce real action in the world'.[40] The sheer volume of reports attesting to the real power of rhetoric, not only in theory, but through the activities of orator-leaders and statesmen, suggests by comparison that, although it may be difficult to detect, or even hard to believe by today's listeners, music, too, was really capable of moving souls to devotion and hearts to love, anger, fear, or any other passion.

The rôle of the Renaissance and early Baroque orator as a skilled and powerful master of men's passions suggests that the instruction issued to musicians by theorists such as Vicentino, Praetorius and Mersenne to imitate the orator in their performance represents something of a tall order. Like the rhetor, a performer is to have complete control over the passions of his or her listeners, s/he must be able to move them at will and to achieve this s/he must match the skill of the best orators. Rhetorical mastery, the climax of humanist education, was achieved only by years of diligent study, it appears that a similar amount of effort was required of a performer. We can be almost certain that any singer or instrumentalist accredited with the power to move the affections was a highly accomplished musician.

That music, like rhetoric, was considered to be a 'controlling force' is demonstrated by the number of parallels between popular mythical tales of the power of both arts. In the legends of Orpheus and Amphion – both variants of the orator-civilizer myth – the power of the civilizer is situated, not in his or her words but in his or her music. In fact, George Puttenham, on the pretext of illustrating the taming power of '*Poesie*' relates the myths of both Amphion (who 'builded up cities, and reared walles with the stones that came in heapes to the sound of his harpe') and Orpheus (who 'assembled the wilde beasts to come in heards to hearken to his musicke, and by that meanes made them tame') without any implication that either 'civilizer' uttered a word.[41] The importance of these myths to Renaissance and early Baroque musicians is attested to

[40] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.4.
[41] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, Willcock and Walker (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, p.6.

not only by the number of early 'operas' and 'imitations' (such as Monteverdi's *Orfeo*) which retell the Orpheus fable, but also by the fact that highly respected musicians (such as John Dowland) were awarded the title of Orpheus in recognition of their musical prowess.

Although civilizer myths were regarded as fiction, there also existed a number of reports of incidents illustrating music's persuasive power in which, like the Hegesias tale, the characters involved were historical figures. These include the story of Pythagoras, who prevented youths, driven wild by the effects of the phrygian mode, from invading and deflowering a respectable female citizen by instructing the performers to play a calming spondaic measure. Another popular tale was that of Timotheus the aulos player, whose music enticed Alexander the Great to arm himself for battle, and then, by playing music of a different style, calmed his spirits. There were even reports of contemporary musicians having a remarkable affect over their listeners. Claude Le Jeune, a member of Bäif's Académie de Poésie et Musique (founded in 1570), was reputed to have excited and mollified the passions of his audience at the celebrations of the marriage of the half-sister of the queen of France to the Duc de Joyeuse in 1581. These accounts, especially the stories from antiquity were repeated time and again by musical theorists. They promote musical performance as having the kind of influence also attributed to rhetoric. The source of the tale of Pythagoras is none other than Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, cited to support the argument that musical training is essential for a successful orator and Vincenzo Galilei, citing the tale of Timotheus as evidence, insists that 'if the musician has not the power to direct the minds of his listeners to their benefit, his science and knowledge are to be reputed null and vain, since the art of music was instituted and numbered among the liberal arts for no other purpose'.[42]

It was very difficult to escape from rhetoric during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. J. J. Murphy's bibliography of Renaissance rhetorical writings lists works by 600 authors. Brian Vickers estimates from Murphy's figures that there were about two thousand rhetoric books published between 1400 and 1700. Each edition could

[42] Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antic e della moderna*, trans. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, New York and London: Norton, 1965, Vol 2. p.129.

comprise anything between 250 and 1000 copies, and, in the case of school texts, each copy is likely to have been used by a large number of students. Vickers concludes that:

> There must have been several millions Europeans with a working knowledge of rhetoric. These included many of the kings, princes, and the counsellors; popes, bishops, ordinary clergymen (whether Catholic, Jesuit, Protestant, Calvinist), all the professors, school teachers, lawyers, historians; all the poets and dramatists, including the women, who were otherwise not granted much education.[43]

Verbal rhetoric would thus have formed an important part of the lives of many musicians, especially the *maestri di cappella*, whose church background often provided them with a more privileged education. Even if instrumentalists had not received the educational advantages of higher ranking composers, they would none the less have been exposed to the practical application of rhetoric through sermons and public declamations. It appears that Renaissance orators took every opportunity to practise their art. Large numbers of humanist speeches survive today, including congratulatory addresses to a new prince, pope or bishop, speeches given at school prize-givings, or to mark the beginning of a new term, orations in praise of a notable historical figure such as Saint Augustine or Thomas Aquinas, public disputations, speeches praising one or more liberal arts delivered by university professors at the start of a new course, and orations directed towards newly appointed civil servants or judicial officials.[44] It would be safe to say that nearly every musician, if not all, would have on many occasions been a member of the audience of a rhetorical discourse, and it is likely that a substantial number (certainly all those who became members of an 'academy') would have had opportunities to compose and deliver their own orations: 'in very few periods of history were citizens treated to a greater opportunity to play earwitness to divers creations of formal public discourse'.[45] For Renaissance and early Baroque musicians, then, the likening of music with rhetoric evoked no woolly abstraction but a highly respected, extremely familiar discipline with its own well defined rules and concepts. Renaissance rhetoric was 'valued for its plasticity, its ability to flow into and through every area of experience, to disregard and cross

[43] Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, p.256.
[44] See Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture' in J J Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence*, p.13.

inherited boundaries as though they had no real existence, and to create new but always malleable structures of its own'.[46] It can be seen to have crossed the boundary from words to music, and to have exercised considerable influence in the development of the new musical structures, both vocal and instrumental, of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Surely, then, it may also exercise considerable influence over the music's performance.

In a society in which musicians are often seen as little more than the servants of their ecclesiastical or secular employers it may appear incongruous to depict the performer as a powerful ruler. It must be remembered, however, that the orator rules not by force, but by persuasion. The audience is not a passive body whose collective will may be manipulated at ease, but a gathering of individuals who have to be prepared to listen to the orator-performer in the first place. To quote Maravall: 'those who guide possess a consciousness of the necessity to persuade: to this corresponds an attitude on the part of the public in which they allow themselves to be persuaded'. Maravall believes that Baroque audiences possessed 'a cultivated predisposition to be persuaded' which was capitalised upon by the persuader.[47] In the visual arts, which, like music, were frequently compared with rhetoric, this concept is represented by the technique wide-spread in the Baroque of conspiring to include the spectator in the work. A superlative example is Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (1656). *Las Meninas* (figure 2), regarded by Foucault as 'the representation of representation',[48] is essentially a portrait of the Infanta Margarita Teresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain, surrounded by her maids of honour. The scene is laid out, however, to represent the Infanta herself as a spectator – of the royal couple (whose reflection is visible in the mirror on the rear wall of the painting) posing for a portrait in progress – and the artist (on the left hand side of the picture) is none other than Velázquez himself.[49]

[45] Dominic Larusso, 'Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance' in Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence*, p.50.
[46] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.6.
[47] Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p.74.
[48] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1970, reprinted London: Routledge. 1989.
[49] This image is taken from Sister Wendy Beckett, *Sister Wendy's Story of Painting*, London: Dorling Kindersley, 1994, p.194.

Figure 2: Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656

The painting is composed such that, to view it, we must position ourselves, not only in the implied situation of the most highly ranking individuals depicted, but also in the *actual* location at which the artist would have been standing in order to paint it. It thus neatly presents a commentary on the relationship between patron, artist and audience. In effect, all three are required to have an equal involvement for the representation to work. Perhaps a similar relationship exists in the phenomenon of late Renaissance and Baroque music. The music may have been capable of achieving such remarkable effects because the listeners who reported them were as much involved in the process of persuasion as were the musicians who created it, and for that matter, the patron who commissioned it. Maravall believes that in the seventeenth century, 'more than in any previous historical moment, ... regardless of the specific relation of authority – from the playwright's authority to that of a prince – its shaping effect required a degree of acceptance and incorporation of the public'.[50]

In the substance of seventeenth-century rhetoric there may be seen a fascinating paradox. Despite the fact that it is an observation seldom made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in many ways the image of the Gallic Hercules shows the orator to be as much restricted by the chains protruding from his mouth as his subjects are guided by them. The constraining aspects of authoritarian rhetorical society are, perhaps, more apparent to an observer from outside the era and the culture. Nevertheless, it may be possible to interpret the theorists' continual emphasis of the power of a successful orator-ruler as a, possibly subconscious, attempt to avoid having to acknowledge that, to a large extent, the power of an orator only really exists within a culture prepared to accept it. For all their civilizing myths, it cannot have escaped the rhetoricians' attention that the orator walks a tightrope between authority and rebellion. One author to recognise the restrictions of the rhetorical art was Cesare Ripa. He illustrates this element of rhetoric by his emblem of 'Persuasione' in *Iconologia* (figure 3). Lady Rhetoric is typically pictured restraining her subjects (the three headed beast) on a leash, but at the same time she is herself bound by 'many cords and laces of gold'. According to Ripa, the cords 'show that persuasion is nothing other than a being captured by others, and bound with the

[50] Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, pp.73-4.

dexterity and sweetness of eloquent speech'.[51] The orator is confined by the rules of his art and by the participation of his audience, just as the listener is controlled by his use of it. This is a condition of absolutist rule: the orator-ruler who relies upon persuasion rather than mandate is dependent upon the co-operation of his subjects. As Louis XIV advised his son: 'Whatever you propose to do or order, you must not consider only if the matter is pleasing to you or if it is useful, but you must examine what effect it will be able to produce in the world for or against your reputation'.[52] Like the orator, the musician also leads a precarious existence – s/he must consider carefully his or her relationship with the audience, and present himself or herself and his or her music accordingly.

Figure 3: 'Persuasione' from *Iconologia*. Cesare Ripa. Padua. 1611

The former part of this chapter elucidates the rôle of the orator in quite general terms. Equally useful for the performer is an understanding of how the art was applied within more specific aspects of Renaissance life. Obviously this is a topic too broad for comprehensive treatment in a study of this size. It is possible, however, to concentrate on the operation of rhetoric in the areas of life in which we know music to have played an important part, namely, within the society of a ruler's court and in the life of the church. This may be achieved by looking at two 'case studies': Castiglione's description of the courtier's need for eloquence and the rhetoric

[51] Cited in Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.75.

promoted by the Jesuit order, whose influence upon the development of the art has been mentioned briefly already.

The rhetoric of the perfect courtier

The subject of writing and speaking features prominently in Count Lodovico's description of the perfect courtier. The count is of the opinion that '... in addition to goodness, ... for all of us the true and principal adornment of the mind is letters' and Giuliano de' Medici, the conversant known as Il Magnifico, declares that 'there is no doubt that so excellent and perfect a courtier must know both how to write and how to speak well, and without these two abilities surely all the rest would scarcely deserve praise'.[53] Eloquence is necessary for the courtier so that he may be understood by all who hear him – lucidity, according to the count, may go hand in hand with elegance.

Despite the emphasis placed on speaking and writing in the vernacular, particularly in Tuscan, the accomplishments required by Lodovico of the courtier-orator are distinctly reminiscent of the virtues described by classical rhetorical treatises. The courtier's speech should be filled with dignity and emphasis (the *gravitas* of *De inventione*) such that he is able to arouse in his hearers the 'deepest emotions'. Additionally he should have the ability to 'speak with such simple candour that it seems like Nature herself softening and, as it were, drugging our emotions with sweetness'[54] – a paraphrase, surely, of Cicero's *suavis*.

Not only are the aims of the courtly orator similar to those required by Cicero, they are also to be achieved in very much the same way. Lodovico provides a concise account of the method of rhetorical composition, beginning with *inventio* (the formulation of the arguments to be included in the discourse), and continuing with *dispositio* (arrangement of the parts of the speech) and *elocutio* (the choice of particular words and figures):

[52] *Supplément au Mémoire de 1667*, cited in Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.75.
[53] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, pp.73-4.
[54] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, p.78.

> What the courtier especially requires in order to speak and write well, therefore, is knowledge, because the man who lacks knowledge and has nothing in his mind worth hearing has nothing worth writing or speaking. Then it is necessary to arrange what is to be said or written in its logical order, and after that to express it well in words that, if I am not mistaken, should be appropriate, carefully chosen, clear and well formed, but above all that are still in popular use.[55]

The count then moves on to *pronunciatio*, or delivery, in which he states that the courtier must speak with a strong voice, not hard and rough, but sonorous, resonant and well articulated. He must also accompany his speech with suitable gestures. These are 'certain movements of the entire body, not affected or violent but tempered by an agreeable expression of the face and movement of the eyes giving grace and emphasis to what is said, together with gestures to make as plain as possible the meaning and sentiments of the orator'.[56]

Of all the elements of rhetoric, Lodovico places emphasis on the choice of words. It is the words themselves, he declares, 'which give an oration its greatness and magnificence' – and for this reason the orator should exercise judgement and care to choose those which best express his meaning. Additionally, he must know how 'to enhance them, shaping them to his purpose like wax and arranging them in relation to one another so well that their clarity and worth are immediately evident, as if they were paintings hung in good and natural light'[57] This is a reference to the figures of speech, rhetorical devices which were employed so as to present the ideas of a speech in the most persuasive possible manner. By comparing the use of figures to the clarity of well displayed paintings Castiglione alludes to the concept of *evidentio*, or *enargeia*, the process of speaking in such a way that the words effectively conjure images in the mind's eye. ' Cicero uses a very similar image in his *Brutus*: rhetorical figures are 'not so important in heightening the colour of words, as in throwing ideas into a stronger light'.[58] This demonstrates the count's obsession with lucidity. The use of rhetorical figures is not to adorn one's speech with language which is beautiful but unintelligible, but to make the ideas behind the words all the more plain to the

[55] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, p.77.
[56] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, p.77.
[57] Castiglione. *The Book of the Courtier*, p.77.
[58] Cicero, *Brutus*, xxxvii.141, trans. G.L. Hendrickson, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heineman. 1962.

listener. Castiglione was by no means the only writer to explore the concept of *enargeia* and to stress the importance of clarity. Torquato Tasso also compares speech to wax in his *Discourses on the Heroic Poem*. The poet's duty lies in 'putting things before our very eyes', and *enargeia*[59] is defined as 'the power that makes us almost behold the things narrated'.[60]

Castiglione reveals that the art of rhetoric was not reserved only for formal Latin declamations, but was to be employed just as strictly in vernacular social conversations. By learning to speak eloquently and to employ appropriate gestures the courtier is able to make his meaning clearly understood, and to excite and mollify the passions of his listeners. Spoken or written eloquence, then, was a means to win favour and social betterment. According to Marc Antoine Muret's lecture on Cicero of 1582:

> [those] who are in a position to write letters well, that is to say eloquently, with prudence, and taking into account things, persons, and circumstances may easily reach the intimacy of Princes, be entrusted with the most important affairs, and grow from honor to honor. It is by this path that, among so many others, Jacques Sadolet and Pierre Bembo have raised themselves to a high position close to the papal tiara.[61]

Eloquence served Castiglione very well indeed, his skill at diplomacy earned him the post of Mantuan ambassador to Rome and, having impressed Pope Clement VII, he was appointed papal nuncio to Spain. On his death, Emperor Charles V announced 'Yo vos digo que es muerto uno de los mejores caballeros del mundo' – 'I tell you, one of the finest gentlemen in the world is dead'.[62]

The Rhetoric of the Jesuit Order

Given papal approbation by Paul III in September 1540, the Society of Jesus was the largest and most influential of the religious orders founded around the time of the Catholic Reformation. The vision of its founder, Saint Ignatius Loyola, a former

[59] In fact, Tasso confuses *enargeia* (vividness) with *energeia* (energy). His description of the concept reveals that *enargeia* is the term he really means.
[60] Torquato Tasso. *Discorso del poema eroico*. Naples, 1594. trans. Mariella Cavalchini and Irene Samuel, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, pp.51 and 198.
[61] Cited in Marc Fumaroli, 'Rhetoric, Politics and Society' in J J Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence*. p.257.

soldier and student of the University of Paris, was for a community of individuals dedicated to the service of God and at the disposal of the pope. Initially, their desire was to convert the infidels (Muslims) who held Jerusalem, but when this proved difficult, they became equally committed to the rehabilitation of Protestant 'heretics' and the conversion of 'heathens' in foreign lands. Their work was to involve preaching, teaching the catechism, hearing confession, administering sacraments, and serving the poor and disadvantaged. Ignatius and his original nine companions set up their headquarters in Rome; as the society expanded at an astonishing rate its members travelled, not only all over Europe, but to distant parts of the known world, including South America, India and China.

The Jesuit order was vastly different from older monastic traditions. 'Jesuits were neither monks nor friars but something new, namely, 'clerks regular' dedicated to an active life of service in and to the world'.[63] It has already been mentioned how the life of a Jesuit is comparable in ethos with the humanist *vita activa*. Jesuits were advised against lengthy fasts or vigils and were not required to carry out the daily divine office observed by monks. Frequent attendance at high mass was not compulsory, nor was the wearing of a monastic habit. *Laborare est orare* (to work is to pray) became a Jesuit soundbite. Ignatius himself rarely attended mass, and taught that formal prayer was not a necessity, since one should be able to find God in all things. Any individual who showed a tendency towards a contemplative life was expelled from the society.[64] Members of the Society were exemplars of the new Catholic fervour stirred up by the Counter-Reformation. They were 'zealous, chaste and informed', the 'living embodiment of the Council of Trent's reform programme, orthodox, and loyal to Rome',[65] bringing revival to wavering provincial Catholic clerics as well as promoting a return to the faith abandoned by Protestants.

The importance of persuasive speaking to a Jesuit may be deduced from the above description of his lifestyle. Rather like their Lutheran opponents, preaching was a

[62] Cited in Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Introduction (by George Bull), p.9.
[63] J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Jesuits and the Catholic Reformation*, London: The Historical Association, 1988, p.7.
[64] See Scarisbrick, *The Jesuits and the Catholic Reformation*, p.7.
[65] Scarisbrick, *The Jesuits and the Catholic Reformation*, pp.13-14.

fundamental ministry of the society. The content of Jesuit sermons, however, differed quite substantially from their Protestant counterparts. While Lutheran preachers concentrated heavily on the 'gospel' and upon justification by faith alone, the Jesuits used the sermon as a tool to promote righteous living in a far more general sense. Although teaching is important, more necessary is the need to persuade listeners to repentance: 'of the three traditional aims of preaching – to teach, to move, to please – the early Jesuits saw the second as most proper to it'.[66]

The Jesuits favoured sermons which were highly charged with emotion. According to John O'Malley, Jesuit preachers 'welcomed an occasional swoon and found consolation and confirmation in sighs, moans, and especially tears, whether of sadness or joy. They were sometimes so overcome that they wept themselves'.[67] This impressible style of preaching was particularly prevalent in Italy, as is shown by the Englishman Gregory Martin's vivid account of the sermons he heard on a visit to Rome (1576-78):

> And to heare the maner of the Italian preacher, with what a spirit he toucheth the hart, and moveth to compunction (for to that end they employ their talke and not in disputinge matters of controversie which, god be thanked, there needeth not) that is a singular joy and a merveilous edifying to a good Christian man ... what shal a man heare but rebuking of vice, and exhorting to vertue, the feare of gods justice, the hope of his mercie, the love of his benefites? These things are so handled with such a grace coming from the preachers mouth, that it calleth of al sortes great multitudes, and worketh in their hartes marvelous effectes.[68]

Jesuits did not confine their preaching to ecclesiastical establishments, but frequently addressed passers-by from windows or street corners. Gregory Martin also reported on this phenomenon:

> And these be commonly jesuites, which desire leave of their superiours so to be occupied, and then going every one with his felow, and deviding them selves into these forsaid assembles, make the verie stal or bulke of some window their pulpet, and without al other ceremonies, only a Crucifixe in their hand or ready aboute them, they beginne some good matter of edification, agreable to their audience, with ful streame of the plainest scriptures, and pike sentences of auncient fathers, and notable examples of former time, most sweetly exhorting to good life, and most

[66] John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993, p.96.
[67] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p.97.
[68] Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581), translated in O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p.97.

> terribly dehorting from al sinne and wickednesse, often setting before them the paines of hel, and the joyes of Heaven. As sone as they either heare his voice, or see him in the place, as many as are within that compasse and vew, gather rounde about him with great silence and attention, and (I doubte not, for it must needes be so) with great fruite.[69]

Although no Jesuit preaching treatise was available during the early years of the society, the *Constitutions* of the order prescribe that Jesuit preachers were not to deliver 'sacred lectures' in 'the scholastic manner'.[70] According to Jerónimo Nadal, a humanist rhetorician, and one of the earliest recruits of the society, this was stipulated because the scholastic style of the *artes praedicandi* was speculative and dry.[71]

By all accounts, the Jesuit method of preaching was highly successful. In 1549 Silvestro Landini, one of the early society's most famous preachers, induced a number of women from central Italy openly to discard their perfumes, cosmetics and other 'vanities', and in 1550 Cristóforo de Madrid persuaded eleven priests of the diocese of Trani to give up their concubines and to refrain from wearing military uniform, clothing themselves in more appropriate apparel. Jesuits even influenced the running of civil affairs. As a result of a sermon of Diego Laínez in 1554 the Genoese city officials examined contracts to guard against any parties making exorbitant or extortionate profits.[72]

Thus the Jesuit approach to preaching may be seen to reflect the humanist preoccupation with persuasion via an appeal to the emotions. In fact, the power and influence of the movement is one of the success stories of the rhetorical Renaissance. According to John O'Malley, the first Jesuits soon came to be considered among the leadership of Renaissance Europe:

> They were, however, leaders who belonged to a voluntary association that had no direct power, ecclesiastical or civil, to coerce. They were sometimes able to force their ministrations upon the reluctant and recalcitrant by having powerful friends apply pressure. But, generally speaking, whatever authority they enjoyed derived from their own ability

[69] Martin, *Roma Sancta* (1581), translated in O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp.97-8.
[70] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p.98.
[71] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p.100.
[72] See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p.96.

> to persuade others and to present to their 'clientele' options more attractive than the alternatives.[73]

It appears that late sixteenth-century writers could have cited the Jesuits as an example of the power of eloquence just as well as the myth of Hercules Gallicus. It is surely no coincidence that, with the emphasis on obedience to the pope and to the society's general, the order itself was effectively a microcosm of the autocratic style of government which Renaissance rhetoric reflected and supported. In fact, rather than merely mirroring the trends of secular rhetoric, it is perhaps more accurate to regard the Jesuits as having actually furthered its cause and developed its scope. Jesuit rhetorical treatises emphasise the importance of moving the affections and refine its practice. Previously discussed was the pro-passions agenda of Soarez's *De arte rhetorica*. The power of rhetoric to move the passions was emphasised even more strongly in Jesuit rhetorics of the seventeenth century. The seventeenth-century French Jesuit orator Nicholas Caussin devotes an entire book of over 100 pages to the movement of the affections in his *De eloquentia sacra et humana* (1619) and in 1641 another Jesuit, Senault, published a treatise entitled *De l'usage des passions* Perhaps it is no surprise that investigators of the passions in poetics, music and philosophy – Tasso, Mersenne and Descartes – all received a Jesuit education.

The fascination of Jesuit rhetoricians with the movement of the affections may, perhaps, be attributed to the fact that the operation of the passions lay at the core of Jesuit spirituality. St Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, a four-week course of guided meditations which, according to J J Scarisbrick, became 'one of the spiritual masterworks of the Catholic Reformation'[74] fulfils the function of 'preparing and disposing our soul to rid itself of all its disordered affections and then, after their removal, of seeking and finding God's will in the ordering of our life for the salvation of our soul'.[75] Designed for the Catholic public at large as well as the members of the society, the aim of the *Exercises* was to assist the participant in finding 'consolation' and turning from its satanically inspired opposite, 'desolation'. Consolation, or

[73] O'Malley. *The First Jesuits*. p 21.
[74] Scarisbrick. *The Jesuits and the Catholic Reformation*, p.11.
[75] Ignatius Loyola. *Spiritual Exercises*, § 1, trans. T Corbishley, Wheathampstead. A Clarke. 1973

devotion, is described by Loyola in terms highly reminiscent of secular treaties on the passions, it is:

> Any interior movement experienced by the soul, causing it to glow with love for its Creator and Lord, the effect of which is that it can no longer love any earthly creature in itself, but only in the Creator of them all. The name also applies to the shedding of tears leading to love of God, either out of sorrow for sin or the sufferings of Christ our Lord, or for other reasons directly concerned with His service and praise. Lastly [consolation] is the name given to any growth in faith, hope or charity, or to any inward joy which summons or draws a man to the things of the next world, to the saving of his own soul, bringing the soul to peace and tranquillity in its Creator and Lord.[76]

Desolation is the opposite of the former: 'darkness of soul, disquiet of mind, ... all restlessness proceeding from different temptations and disturbance, ... the condition in which the soul finds itself listless, apathetic, melancholy, like one cut off from its Creator and Lord.[77] We may recognise consolation by a 'genuine lightness of heart and spiritual joy, eliminating all sadness engendered by the enemy'.[78] Intellectual understanding, the goal of scholastic theology, is replaced by an emotion-driven spiritual experience, something no longer reserved for mystics but available for any devout Catholic. Consolation was obtained as the meditator used his or her imagination to picture various images relating to his or her faith, such as the depravity of his or her own sin, the suffering of Christ and his call upon our lives. The participant is encouraged to consider sights, sounds and even smells so as vividly to picture the subject of his or her meditation and provoke an impassioned spiritual response. One particularly graphic exercise is the meditation on hell which occurs at the end of the first week. The meditator is prompted by his or her counsellor to:

> See in imagination those enormous fires, and the souls, as it were, with bodies on fire.
>
> Hear in imagination the shrieks and groans and the blasphemous shouts against Christ our Lord and all the saints.
>
> Smell in imagination the flames of sulphur and the stench and filth of corruption.
>
> Taste in imagination all the bitterness of tears and melancholy and a gnawing conscience.

[76] Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, § 316.
[77] Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, § 317.
[78] Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, § 329.

> Feel in imagination the heat of the flames that play on and burn the souls.[79]

Having experienced in his or her mind's eye the torments of hell, the meditator, responding as one might to the cathartic experience of tragedy, is expected to give thanks to his or her creator for the mercy that has kept him from death long enough to turn to repentance and so avoid such agonies. As John O'Malley explains, the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* 'manifests that the engaging of powerful emotions like grief, fear, horror, compunction, compassion, contentment, admiration, gratitude, wonder, joy, and especially love is the final and foreseen outcome of its various meditations and contemplations, especially the more climactic ones'.[80]

The parallels with rhetorical *enargeia* in the *Spiritual Exercises* are obvious. These exercises, especially those from the first week, were, according to John O'Malley, popular subjects for Jesuit sermons. It is easy to see how, following a similar approach, the preachers could evoke powerful emotions. Moving the listeners to devotion was the goal of preaching as it was of meditating. This is exemplified by an engraving depicting the preaching of St Ignatius (figure 4)[81] in which the expressions of his listeners bear a striking resemblance to Ripa's emblem of devotion – described as a woman kneeling, with her eyes turned up towards heaven, holding a bright light – and that of love directed towards God (figure 5).

[79] Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, § 66–70.
[80] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p.41.
[81] This image is taken from O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p.34.

Figure 4: Engraving of St Igatius preaching,
from *Vita beata patris Ignati*, Rome, 1609

Figure 5: 'Amore verso Iddio' from Ripa *Iconologia*, Padua, 1611

The rhetorical aspect of Jesuit ministry was a fundamental principle of the society and pervaded, not only preaching, but many other aspects of Jesuit life. In this respect, the Jesuits may be seen, as José Maravall terms it, as 'a pure expression of Baroque mentality'.[82] The profound influence of the Society of Jesus is undoubtedly a result of what was to become one of their most prolific ministries: education. Although teaching was never part of Ignatius's initial vision, with the renewed enthusiasm for a learned clergy spawned by the Catholic Reformation, it soon became apparent that the Jesuits were ideally suited to provide the education required by future men of the cloth. Within eight years of their foundation, at the request of the city officials, the Jesuits had opened the Collegio di San Nicolò in Messina. Further pleas for colleges came flooding in, and at the time of the death of Ignatius in 1556 the society had founded 35 colleges, nineteen of which were in Italy. By 1565 the number of Italian colleges had grown to 30. These included establishments in Rome, Venice, Bologna, Naples, Perugia and Modena. By 1616 there were 372 colleges, some 13,000 students – situated all over Europe. In 1626 Paris alone had 14 colleges and a total roll-call of 12,000. At the dissolution of the order in 1773 there were 800 Jesuit educational establishments; seminaries, universities, and, predominantly, colleges, each of which had on average 1000 pupils. Perhaps because tuition was free, and of high quality, Jesuit colleges were highly popular among the laity, even those of Protestant backgrounds – not for long did they remain training centres for future priests but became 'secondary' schools in which the primary occupation was the *studia humanitatis*.

In 1599 the society drew up the *Ratio studiorum*, a standardised curriculum which was followed with relatively few deviations in all seventeenth-century colleges. The curriculum spanned approximately six years of a boy's education. He was expected to be able to read and write, preferably knowing a little Latin, before enrolling in the college at the age of 10 or 11. Although pupils were required to reach a prescribed standard before promotion to a higher class, an average student spent a year in each of the three grammar classes (lower, middle and upper), usually two years in the

[82] Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p.77.

humanities class, and he concluded the course with a year in the rhetoric class, leaving the college, possibly to go on to further education, at the age of sixteen. Despite the classes' titles, pupils were exposed to rhetoric from the moment of enrollment, since grammatical principles were learned through the study of Virgil, Cicero and other authors. Rhetoric proper was begun in the humanities class, where the standard textbook was Soarez's *De arte rhetorica*. The rhetoric class, therefore, was an opportunity to refine and put into practice the principles of eloquence which a student had learnt already. Pupils were required not only to analyse the composition of Ciceronian letters and speeches but to compose and deliver their own Latin and Greek orations, sometimes to the rest of their class, and, for the more promising students, to gatherings of parents, dignitaries and civic officials.[83]

Whether a musician moved in ecclesiastical or courtly circles, the art of rhetoric was a discipline he could not have failed to encounter. If s/he had received the equivalent of a secondary school education, it may be one with which s/he would be thoroughly conversant. Certainly s/he would have been familiar with its cultural significance.

These facts suggest that the application of rhetorical principles to music would have been much easier and more natural for late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century musicians than it would appear to be for performers of today. It is unlikely that, when instructed to perform in a rhetorical fashion, performers would have needed to resort to rhetorical treatises. They would either have the information committed to memory already, or they would be able to imitate the kind of rhetorical delivery witnessed in church and at public declamations. Modern performers, however, are not so fortunate. No longer are they familiar with the techniques of composition and delivery employed by an orator. If, then, we wish to approach the kind of performance styles which were expected and revered by musical theorists of

[83] See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp.377-9 and Allan P. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorium*, Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1938.

the seventeenth century, it is necessary to discover in what ways rhetorical principles may be applied to the interpretation of early Baroque music. This involves a close examination of rhetorical practices and their possible musical equivalents – such an examination forms the substance of the following chapter.

Chapter 3

Rhetoric in Action

The body of contemporary literature commenting upon the phenomenon known as the *seconda prattica* is markedly different from the majority of that concerning sixteenth-century polyphony. As Andrew Dell'Antonio, among others, has indicated, the vast amount of writing concerning this 'new style' was not penned by professional musicians but by *poligrafti*,[1] learned gentlemen who were either amateur performers or simply 'music lovers'. Unlike the authors of technical treatises on sixteenth-century counterpoint, the *poligrafti* frequently approached their discussions from the perspective of the listener.[2]

It is, perhaps, not all that surprising that little information exists on the method of composition of the new style, since, by virtue of its novelty, the principles of counterpoint were deemed incompatible and few, if any, new compositional 'rules' had been established. Indeed, it appears that commentators had great difficulty in describing the operation of the *stile moderno*. Though largely in favour of the new style, the theorist and composer Severo Bonini ridicules the protagonists who are unable to define it. Relating his conversations with anonymous performers, Bonini is critical of the fact that the musicians are able to say nothing more of the new music than that 'there is a certain something which I cannot explain' and that 'the *stile moderno* is just what it is'.[3] Likewise, Pietro Della Valle admits that the modern style of playing adopted by Frescobaldi is 'more gallant' but 'less scientific'.[4] Writing in 1614, Adriano Banchieri informs his readers: 'I do not believe it [the new style] has yet been written about by anyone, for (in my judgement) it has no rules, other than

[1] See Maria Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979. p.89.
[2] Dell 'Antonio, 'Hearing the *Seconda Pratica*', unpublished paper presented at the Sixth Annual Conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Urbana, April 1998, p.1.
[3] Severo Bonini, 'Discorsi e regole sopra la musica', translated in Dell'Antonio, 'Hearing the *Seconda Pratica*', 1998, p.10.
[4] Pietro Della Valle, 'Della Musica dell'età nostra, che non è punto inferiore, anzi è migliore di quella dell'età passata. Al S. Lelio Guidiccioni', 1640, translated in Dell'Antonio, 'Hearing the *Seconda Pratica*', p.4.

that the sense of hearing [must] be pleased by it'.[5] Rather, the composer must 'seek to imitate a perfect orator who wishes to set forth a learned and well considered oration'.[6]

Perhaps, then, rhetorical terminology was adopted for the *stile moderno* in the absence of any suitable *musical* vocabulary. Certainly this is a possibility. However, musical alliances with rhetoric are not unique to the second practice. Joachim Burmeister's famous *Musica poetica* of 1606 is strongly dependent upon rhetorical terminology, yet is based almost exclusively upon earlier contrapuntal procedures. Similarly the treatise by the Spanish theorist Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos* (1555) – its debt to rhetoric apparent by its title – is concerned with musical theory, playing keyboard instruments and the vihuela and the composition of plainsong and polyphony.[7] Perhaps it would be more appropriate, therefore, to suggest that rhetorical terminology was employed in musical discourse because it opened up the discussion to those with experience of music but with little musical training – whether this be a learned musician such as Burmeister imparting his knowledge of counterpoint to a less 'musically-literate' readership, or an educated gentlemen sharing his impressions of music with friends or junior relations. Brian Vickers believes that 'instead of granting ... monody a monopoly over rhetorical *movere*, we should see music theory in the whole period as sharing a common debt to rhetoric and its concern with expressivity'.[8]

Unlike theorists of the eighteenth century, the majority of early seventeenth-century commentators did not take the trouble to draw comparisons between every aspect of rhetorical and musical composition. Most references simply connect the two disciplines, leaving the niceties to the composer or performer. This poses something of a problem to today's interpreters of early seventeenth-century music. How close was the similarity between the two arts perceived to be, and how much rhetorical

[5] Clifford Alan Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's, *Cartella Musicale* (1614): Translation and Commentary', Stanford University, PhD diss., 1981, p.348.
[6] Banchieri, *Cartella Musicale*, trans. Cranna, p.349.
[7] See Jo-Ann Reif, 'Music and Grammar: Imitation and Analogy in Morales and the Spanish Humanists' in *Early Music History*, 6, 1986, pp.227-375.

theory can we adapt and adopt in performance? Opinion amongst musicologists and performers varies, from those who would prefer not to admit the orator into the concert hall at all, to those who look to ally every musical pattern to a rhetorical gesture. It is my intention to arbitrate between these two extremes. Clearly rhetorical principles cannot be applied to music, particularly instrumental music, without some, however slight, revision of their definition. But if such revision alters the musico-rhetorical issue to the point that its musical application no longer has the same effect as its rhetorical original, this is stretching the analogy too far, and, in any case, is likely to be of no use to the performer. Hence, practicality must be our guiding principle. If a feature of oratory may be applied to music in such a way that it illuminates its interpretation or assists its performance, we certainly have historical precedents to justify its use. There is little point in employing rhetorical principles out of context, whether or not this is akin to contemporary practice. In an article on the correspondence between rhetoric and music, Maria Rika Maniates advises that ...

> ... analogies between music and rhetoric require careful evaluation; it cannot be assumed that they always implied a systematic symbiosis of the two disciplines. Caution must be exercized before attributing far-reaching implications to every passing reference in primary documents.[9]

The Sources

The enormous number of rhetorical treatises, ancient and early modern, makes it impossible to carry out a comprehensive survey of the contents of them all. For the purposes of gleaning principles for the performance practice of early seventeenth-century solo sonatas it is necessary, therefore, to select texts which would have been readily available to the original performers of this music. Granted that some players may have been exceedingly well read and others almost illiterate, it is possible that at least some would have had the opportunity of a Latin school education, and, thus the texts most frequently taught in school will form the basis of our inquiry. The most widely read rhetorician was, of course, Cicero. Both his treatises on the principles of

[8] Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p.371.
[9] M R Maniates, 'Music and Rhetoric: Facets of Cultural History in the Renaissance and the Baroque', *Israel Studies in Musicology*, 3, 1983, p.53.

rhetoric and his letters and speeches were thoroughly studied across Europe. According to Paul F. Grendler it was actually the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* which dominated Latin school education.[10] Although scholars had determined by the late fifteenth century that Cicero was not the author of this text it nevertheless remained popular because it teaches the fundamentals of rhetoric succinctly and, unlike Cicero's mature works such as *De oratore* and *Orator*, assumes no prior knowledge of the subject. The similarity between *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's earliest treatise, *De inventione* suggests that both writers were the product of the same rhetorical tradition.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* provided insight into a Grecian analysis of the subject. Though a clear influence on Cicero, Aristotle's work takes a more balanced approach towards all three *genera* of oratory, while Roman rhetoric is heavily weighted towards the composition and delivery of judicial speeches. In addition, Aristotle's analysis of the passions differs substantially from Ciceronian passions-theory. Because of the highly psychological nature of large portions of the work, in the Middle Ages it was usually classed with, and taught alongside, the works on moral philosophy. The adoption of the treatise into the rhetorical canon is often regarded as a factor which inspired the Renaissance emphasis upon the duty of an orator to move his hearers.[11]

School boys did not learn solely from classical texts, they were also presented with contemporary works elucidating the principles of the art. According to Wayne Rebhorn, the composition of an *Ars Rhetorica*, as they were usually titled, was 'something of a growth industry in the Renaissance' since it benefited the author as much as it did the reader:

> ... there was a good market for such books; the process could be simple, merely involving translating or adapting someone else's work or the notes one had taken in the rhetoric course at the university; and the resulting tome gave one status as an intellectual, a credential for a future career as a

[10] Paul F Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, p.213.
[11] See Lawrence Green, 'Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Renaissance Views of the Emotions', in Peter Mack (ed.), *Renaissance Rhetoric*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1994, pp.1-26.

> teacher or secretary, and, through an artfully crafted dedication, the means to make a bid for patronage from the rich and powerful.[12]

Perhaps the most widely read contemporary rhetoric book was the standard text of Jesuit colleges, Soarez's *De Arte Rhetorica*: it ran to at least 134 editions in 45 different European cities; Brian Vickers estimates that by the end of the seventeenth-century approximately five million pupils would have been taught from its contents.[13] Like the majority of Renaissance rhetorics, Soarez's is heavily based upon classical authors, primarily Cicero, Quintilian and Aristotle. Soarez was concerned that no single classical text provided the student of rhetoric with all the tuition he needed. Cicero's pedagogical work, *Partitiones oratoriae*, was too simplistic, his more advanced works too complex. His objective was to collate all the elements of rhetoric, together with examples, into one book, where possible using the very words found in his sources. Any student who had studied the treatise would have a solid understanding of the major principles of the art as discussed by the most popular classical authors. The work is little known today primarily because it successfully achieves its goals Although a distinct 'Renaissance slant' is detectable in Soarez's work, the rhetorical method is not his own, but Cicero's, Aristotle's and Quintilian's.

The twelve books which comprised Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (*The Teaching of Oratory*) were far too involved to be imparted in full to a student orator. The work had a profound impact upon humanist education, nonetheless, since it was intended by Quintilian to constitute a cradle-to-the-grave guide to the training of the perfect orator. The *Institutes* deal with such broad topics as the moral education of the pupil, the subjects he should study in order to widen his knowledge and the age at which an orator should retire. Together with Cicero's *De oratore* and *Orator*, the work was highly influential in placing rhetoric at the centre of the humanist curriculum and in establishing the concept of an 'holistic' approach to rhetorical education. It was favoured above Cicero by the pedagogue Lorenzo Valla and, though it was rarely

[12] Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995, p.7.
[13] See Lawrence J. Flynn S.J., 'The *De Arte Rhetorica* (1568) by Cyprian Soarez, S.J.: A Translation with Introduction and Notes', PhD diss., University of Florida, 1955 and Vickers, 'Some Reflections on the Rhetoric Textbook', in Mack (ed.), *Renaissance Rhetoric*, p.84.

read by school pupils, it would have been a familiar tool of any competent teacher of the rhetorical art and a standard text of university rhetoric courses.

The varying types of speech

The rhetoric of antiquity fell into three relatively broad categories: forensic or judicial rhetoric was the type employed when prosecuting or defending in court; deliberative rhetoric involved giving advice regarding a course of action, and was largely political; epideictic rhetoric, known variously as embellishment (*exornatio*) or declamation, usually consists in the praise or blame of an individual or of an accomplishment, such as learning. While by far the largest proportion of classical rhetorical instruction is concerned with judicial rhetoric, both the deliberative and the judicial were virtually ignored in Renaissance rhetorical training. As Soarez's treatise demonstrates, the trainee's energies are to be devoted to declamation.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* defines each type of speech according to the nature of the judgement required of the audience. If judgement is to be made concerning a past event, the speech is judicial, if the audience is to judge the merits of a proposed future action, the speech is deliberative, if no judgement is required, save that of the quality the speech and the skill of the speaker, then the speech is epideictic. From this definition it is possible to see that music is most closely allied with the epideictic species of rhetoric, and the fact that it was this type of speech which was most frequently practised in Renaissance education and society must have strengthened the perceived bond between the two arts.

The Five Parts of Rhetoric

Roman rhetoric and its Renaissance counterpart were divided into five parts. According to Cicero, these were so involved that each could be considered to be an art in itself.[14] Of these, the first three, *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* were

[14] See Cicero, *Brutus*, trans. G L Hendrickson, London: William Heinemann, Loeb Classical Library, 1962, vi.25.

concerned with the composition of a speech; *memoria* encompassed methods of committing the words and arguments to memory and *pronuntiatio*, or *actio* as it was sometimes known, covered issues of delivery or performance.

Although delivery is certainly the part of rhetoric most explicitly informative for the instrumental performer, the interpretation of the music may also be assisted by knowledge of the compositional process. A 'rhetorical' analysis of the music may bring to light issues regarding the subject and construction of the work which have an affect upon its performance. An orator would have applied himself to composing and remembering his speech before reaching the point of delivery. Despite the fact that, for the most part, the performer of a solo sonata is not actively involved in the compositional stage of the work's creation, if s/he does not have some understanding of its operation, s/he cannot expect to give an effective delivery.

Inventio

In verbal rhetoric, *inventio* is the discovery of the arguments pertinent to the subject of the speech. Of all the parts of rhetoric, this is the only one with no obvious musical parallel. As Maria Rika Maniates asserts:

> In the field of rhetoric studies, the first part (*inventio*) constitutes the most recalcitrant and elusive area of investigation, impinging as it does on matters of creativity and the epigenetic powers of the intellect. In the field of music studies this area is even more troublesome since discursive topics and their logical traits seem foreign to musical composition.[15]

In fact, it is much easier to see a correspondence in the composition of counterpoint than it is in the field of more freely-formed music for one dominant voice. Zarlino refers to invention in book three of *Istitutione harmoniche*. It is derived from the subject of the work, which may take as many forms as the 'loftiness' of the composer's imagination allows. Exactly what Zarlino means by invention is unclear, but it appears to refer, like its rhetorical counterpart, to the 'building blocks' of a

[15] Maniates, 'Music and Rhetoric: Facets of Cultural History in the Renaissance and the Baroque', p.49.

work: the manipulation of an initial musical idea by such processes as transposition and imitation to form the basis of a complete composition.[16]

An orator devised his arguments with the help of 'topics', defined in *De partitione oratoria* as 'pigeonholes in which arguments are stored'.[17] Quintilian gives a summary of the topics, or places of argument, which the orator should investigate in order to complete a thorough analysis of his case.

> Arguments are drawn from persons, causes, place and time (which we have divided into preceding, contemporary and subsequent), from resources (under which we include instruments), from manner (that is, how a thing has been done), from definition, genus, species, difference, property, elimination, division, beginnings, increase, consummation, likes, unlikes, contradictions, consequents, efficients, effects, results, and comparison, which is divided into several species.[18]

Topics are not the subject of a speech, rather a method of discovering how to present the subject as persuasively as possible. Soarez explains and provides examples of twenty-two topics. For the topic of comparison, for example, he shows that there are three types, the comparison of something greater to something less, something less to something greater, and that of equals. The second type is described as follows:

> We form a proof from less to greater in this manner: If that which seems less harmonious harmonizes; nevertheless, that, then, which seems more harmonious will do so.[19]

Soarez quotes Ovid by way of illustration:

> To rescue your body you suffer sword and flames, nor in your thirst will you bathe your parched lips. To be strong of soul is there anything you will not endure? But this part is more precious than the body.[20]

Comparison, like the other topics, appropriately used, serves to strengthen the orator's case. According to Soarez 'once you have fenced off each topic in your own thoughts, nothing is going to escape you, so long as you are skilful in handling the

[16] See Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint: Part Three of* Le Istitutione Harmoniche, *1558*, trans. Guy Marco and C.V. Palisca, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968, p.52.
[17] Cicero, *De partitione oratoria,* trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1942, ii.5.
[18] Cicero, *Istitutio oratoria*, trans. H.E Butler, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1921, V.x.94.
[19] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.162.
[20] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.162.

matter. Every relevant point will fall into place'.[21] Perhaps the closest musical parallel would be the application of the rules of counterpoint – certainly the term *inventio* has maintained a connection with contrapuntal practice throughout the Baroque. However, the word was also used in Italian publications of the early seventeenth century, often in connection with the presentation of original ideas. Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* of 1602 is described as '*nova inventione commoda per ogni sorte de cantori, e per gli organisti*' and Cesare Negri's 1604 publication is entitled *Nuove inventione di balli*. Significantly, the term appears upon a collection of instrumental works by Biagio Marini: *Sonate, symphonie ... con altre curiose e moderne inventioni* (Op.8 Venice 1629). Perhaps it is more than coincidence that these publications, claiming to explore new avenues of music, should be implicitly allied with rhetorical procedures.

Dispositio

Dispositio, or 'arrangement' is the part of rhetoric which concerns the organisation of the arguments already discovered and their incorporation into a coherent structure along with details of the case and appeals to the emotions. Arrangement is hugely important; 'a speech which lacks this quality,' warns Soarez, 'will inevitably be confusing'.

> Without a director it will waver, lacking coherence. It will repeat many points and skip others like a traveller astray at night in unfamiliar regions. Since neither beginning nor ending has been fixed, it will follow chance rather than design.[22]

Dispositio involves the ordering of a speech by its constituent parts. Reacting against the trend to partition a speech into what he considers to be a ridiculous number of divisions, Aristotle asserts that there are only two essential parts of a speech. These are the *prothesis*, or statement of the proposition, and the *pistis*, the proof of the statement. At the most, according to Aristotle, there should be four parts: the prooemium; *prothesis*; *pistis*; and epilogue.[23]

[21] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica,* trans. Flynn, pp.166-7.
[22] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.210.
[23] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 3.13.4 (1414b).

Soarez also adopts a four-fold division; he uses the Latin terms of *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, and *peroratio*. Roman rhetoricians, however, usually opt for a division of six parts. They place a *propositio* or a *partitio* after the *narratio* and a *refutatio* after the *confirmatio*. The difference between a four and six part speech is essentially academic; the *propositio* and *partitio* are effectively optional additions to the *narratio* and, although the *refutatio* is a necessary part of any speech, Soarez and Aristotle incorporate it into the main body of the *confirmatio* rather than consider it to be a division in its own right. The *dispositio* is not an inflexible scheme. Sometimes digressions from the subject require further division of a speech; similarly, a familiar or inconsequential subject may render one or more parts unnecessary. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* even suggests that the parts of a speech may be re-ordered 'in accordance with the speaker's judgement' if the nature of the case demands it.[24]

The *exordium* is the introduction of a speech and its function is to introduce the orator as much as the subject. All rhetoricians agree that the purpose of the *exordium* is to prepare the audience for the remainder of the speech, making its members well disposed to the speaker, attentive to his words and receptive – ready to receive instruction.[25]

Making the listener favourably disposed depends upon his/her perception of the speaker's character. This may be achieved in a number of ways. Cicero's *De inventione* suggests that the speaker presents himself humbly before the listeners, expanding upon his own misfortunes or apprehensions so as to awaken their sympathy. Carefully disguised flattery of the listeners is also effective, as is appearing to consider them with respect and showing enthusiasm to hear their judgement on the matter.[26]

[24] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. H. Caplan, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1954. III.ix.17.
[25] See Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, trans. H E Butler, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1921, IV.i.5.
[26] Cicero, *De inventione*, trans. H M Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1949, I.xvi.22.

The listeners' attention is grasped if the orator emphasises the importance, novelty, or incredibility of the subject. It also helps if he promises to be brief and to explain the points of the case. A clear explanation of the points also renders the listener receptive. Attentiveness and receptiveness go hand in hand: 'for he who is most receptive is prepared to listen most attentively'.[27]

Roman orators, with their bent towards judicial rhetoric, insist that the *exordium* must be appropriate to the case in point 'for the opening passage contains the first impression and the introduction of the speech, and this ought to charm and attract the hearer straight away'.[28] Aristotle, however, prefers a freer exordium, particularly in epideictic speeches. The reader is informed that the prooemion is to a speech what a *proaulion* (or prelude) is to flute playing. Each are 'beginnings and, as it were, pathmakers for one who is continuing on'.[29]

> The *proaulion* is like the prooemion of epideictic speeches; for the flute-players, first playing whatever they play well, lead into the opening note of the theme, and this is the way to write in epideictic speeches: after saying whatever one wants, to introduce the keynote [or theme] and join the parts together as all [epideictic writers] do.[30]

Quintilian suggests that the term 'prooemion' has its etymological roots in the flute-player's prelude, and this has led scholars past and present to connect the *exordium* with an instrumental prelude.[31] The improvisatory nature of the *exordium*, however, also extends into Roman oratory. In *De inventione* Cicero insists that the *exordium* should 'contain very little brilliance, vivacity, or finish of style, because these give rise to a suspicion of preparation and excessive ingenuity'.[32] Apparent over-preparation causes the entire speech to lose its conviction and the speaker his authority. Quintilian suggests that a quasi-improvised *exordium* has the effect of making the entire speech appear extempore, 'even although the rest of the speech has been

[27] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.xvi.23.
[28] Cicero, *De oratore*, II.lxxviii.315, trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinneman, 1942.
[29] Aristotle. *Rhetoric* 3.14.1 (1414b).
[30] Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.14.1 (1414b).
[31] See Warren Kirkendale 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the *Ricercar* as Exordium from Bembo to Bach' *Journal of American Musicological Society*, 1979, 32, pp.1-44 and Cathryn Dew 'Actions, Manners and Passions: The Rhetoric of the Baroque Suite', unpublished M.A. diss., University of York. 1994.

committed to writing and carefully elaborated'.[33] For this reason 'a certain simplicity in the thoughts, style, voice and look of the speaker will often produce so pleasing an effect in the *exordium* that even in a case where there is no room for doubt the confidence of the speaker should not reveal itself too openly'.[34] Simplicity of style prohibits unusual or ancient words, overbold metaphors and poetic licence. It is necessary because the speaker is in a precarious position: 'the attention of the audience is still fresh and imposes restraint upon us: as soon as we have won their good-will and kindled their interest, they will tolerate such freedom, more especially when we have reached topics whose natural richness prevents any licence of expression being noticed in the midst of the prevailing splendour of the passage'.[35]

Despite the fact that the *exordium* should *appear* not to be premeditated, it actually demands a vast amount of skill. As Quintilian explains: 'to avoid all display of art in itself requires consummate art'.[36] Any mistake or memory loss is disastrous, 'for a faulty *exordium* is like a face seamed with scars; and he who runs his ship ashore while leaving port is certainly the least efficient of pilots'.[37] Quintilian criticises modern orators who 'imagine that their art is wasted unless it obtrudes itself, whereas, as a matter of fact, the moment it is detected it ceases to be art'.[38] It is more than likely that Castiglione drew upon these concepts in formulating his notion of *sprezzatura*, or 'nonchalance'. True art, says Count Lodovico, 'is what does not seem to be art; and the most important thing is to conceal it, because if it is revealed this discredits a man completely and ruins his reputation'.[39] The count even provides a rhetorical example:

> I remember once having read of certain outstanding orators of the ancient world who, among the other things they did, tried hard to make everyone believe that they were ignorant of letters; and, dissembling their knowledge, they made their speeches appear to have been composed very simply and according to the promptings of Nature and truth rather than

[32] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.xviii.25.
[33] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.i.54.
[34] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.i.55.
[35] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.i.59.
[36] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.i.57.
[37] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.i.61.
[38] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.127.
[39] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), trans. George Bull, London: Penguin, 1967, p.67.

> effort and artifice. For if the people had known of their skills, they would have been frightened of being deceived. So you see that to reveal intense application and skill robs everything of grace.[40]

It is advantageous to take a nonchalant attitude towards one's art because this 'not only reveals the skill of the person doing it but also very often causes it to be considered far greater than it really is'.[41] Thus its employment in the *exordium* is particularly important since it may win the orator not only the good-will but also the admiration of the listeners.

Castiglione applies the principles of nonchalance to every aspect of the life of a courtier, including musical composition and performance, and they were adopted by Caccini in relation to approaches to tempo and voice quality in his treatise on monody, *Le nuove musiche* (1602). This fact demonstrates another correspondence between musical and rhetorical performance and suggests that the advice to orators concerning the importance of concealing one's art should be heeded by performers of rhetorically-inspired music.

All theorists agree that it is essential to appeal to the emotions in the *exordium*. Although an orator should endeavour to move the emotions of his audience throughout his speech, it is in the *exordium* and the *peroratio* that the appeals should be the strongest. On this matter Soarez writes:

> *Exordiums* should always be both exact, pointed, full of aphorisms, appropriate in expression, and characteristic of their causes. We make our first acquaintance and impression with a speaker, so to say, in the *exordium*. This impression should continue to mollify and attract the hearer. Besides, the greatest source of *exordiums*, calculated either for delighting or stimulating the hearer, is derived from those topics which a cause will contain with respect to producing emotions.[42]

Aphorisms, or *sententia*, are defined by Quintilian as 'striking reflexions'. The term *sententia* means 'meaning' or 'feeling' and demonstrates that the expression of aphorism is connected with the movement of the passions. Quintilian defines them as

[40] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, p.67.
[41] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, p.70.
[42] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.218.

the 'eyes of eloquence',[43] implying that they are equally expressive. However, a body composed entirely of eyes is grotesque – and the same applies to a speech riddled with aphorisms. The orator, therefore, is to use them sparingly. Perhaps the musical equivalent of an aphorism is the 'icon' discussed in chapter 1 – a musical figure which suggests an idea or passion by virtue of its frequent use in similar contexts. It would appear that the *exordium* is an appropriate place in which to make use of them.

Occasionally the subject of a speech is so unsavoury that it is difficult to commend it and, by extension, the speaker, to the audience. In such cases it is necessary to use a different kind of *exordium* – an *insinuatio* – which 'steals into the mind unawares' and obtains the listeners' approval before they have knowingly granted it. Such *exordia* may begin by expressing issues which the orator knows to be favoured by the audience and, little by little, turning the matter around so that the listeners find themselves agreeing with the orator's 'odious' subject. Alternatively, he may distract their attention from the difficulties of the case by telling a joke or speaking in a manner to arouse their astonishment.

In the second part of the speech, the *narratio*, the orator relates the facts of the case to his audience. According to Soarez the *narratio* 'is an exposition and a sort of basis and foundation for producing belief'.[44] In judicial rhetoric the orator leads the judge through everything pertinent to his cause. For deliberative speeches, a *narratio* is not always necessary, since it is not possible to narrate facts which are yet to happen. However, sometimes it is helpful to describe related events which may serve as a precedent for the situation under consideration. In epideictic rhetoric, the *narratio* is to be full of interest and excitement:

> This form of narrative should possess great vivacity, resulting from fluctuation of fortune, contrast of characters, severity, gentleness, hope, fear, suspicion, desire, dissimulation, delusion, pity, sudden change of fortune, unexpected disaster, sudden pleasure, a happy ending to the story.[45]

[43] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, VIII.v.34.
[44] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.223.
[45] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.xix.27.

Although the main function of the *narratio* is to set up the case ready for the *confirmatio* it is advantageous also to present the facts in a persuasive manner.[46] A good *narratio* will be lucid, brief and plausible, enabling the listener to understand, remember and believe.[47] Lucidity is achieved by the use of simple words which are 'appropriate, significant and free from any taint of meanness but not, on the other hand, farfetched or unusual'.[48] According to Quintilian, it requires a use of language as close to natural speech as possible. By 'brevity' orators mean not that one should say too little, but that one should not say too much. Brevity 'must not be devoid of elegance'.[49] A *narratio* is rendered plausible both by a clear representation of the facts of the case, and by the person of the speaker, who is to present himself as honest and reliable.

Stirring the emotions is not completely out of place in the *narratio*, although the speaker should take care to keep appeals to the emotions brief and on a relatively small scale. In fact, if the speaker recounts horrific events and fails to stir the emotions of his audience he may have dashed his chances of using the same events to move the hearers later in the speech; 'once the habit of mind is formed,' writes Quintilian, 'it is hard to change it'.[50] According to Cicero, appeals to the emotions often take the form of 'digressions' during or just after the *narratio*. We should take care to keep all appeals to the emotions relatively low-key. Quintilian explains that we must awake horror or pity 'in such a way as not to exhaust our stock of emotions on the spot, but merely to indicate our harrowing story in outline so that it may at once be clear what the completed picture is like to be'.[51] Appeals to the passions should, therefore, hint at stronger emotions yet to appear.

Though not excessively elaborate, the *narratio*, more than any other portion of the speech, should be adorned with what Quintilian terms 'the utmost grace and charm'.[52]

[46] See Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.21.
[47] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.222.
[48] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.36.
[49] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.46.
[50] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.115.
[51] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.120.
[52] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.116.

This is in order to relieve the tedium of long portions of narrative and also to give pleasure to the listeners. 'For some reason or other,' writes Quintilian, 'the judge is ... all the more ready to accept what charms his ear and is lured by pleasure to belief'.[53] The rhythm employed should be unobtrusive, but as attractive as possible and the orator should avoid poetic language, but the figures 'should be frequently changed to relax the strain of attention'.[54] Quintilian informs the reader that 'the statement of facts lacks all the other allurements of style and, unless it is characterised by this kind of charm, will necessarily fall flat'.[55]

Following the *narratio* some rhetoricians allow for a *partitio* or a *propositio*. These parts are only necessary when the case is complicated, and the listeners need to be reminded of the main points upon which it rests. The *propositio* is used primarily in forensic rhetoric, usually taking the form of a charge or accusation. A *partitio* may take two forms. The orator either indicates points of agreement and disagreement with the opposition, such that 'some definite problem is set for the auditor on which he ought to have his attention fixed'[56] or he lays out in a methodical fashion all the issues he intends to discuss. Like the *narratio* this section should be brief, complete and concise. The listener should be attracted by the issues involved and not by 'any extraneous embellishments of style'.[57] However, as always, it may be useful to make some appeal to the listeners' passions.

The *confirmatio*, or proof, is the part of an oration which 'lends credit, authority, and support to our case'.[58] This is achieved by bringing together and arranging the arguments devised through the *inventio*. There are two types of proof, artistic and nonartistic. Non-artistic arguments are derived from the facts of the case, while artistic, or artificial, arguments are formulated by the orator's own ingenuity.

[53] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.119.
[54] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.118.
[55] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IV.ii.118.
[56] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.xxii.31.
[57] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.xxii.32.
[58] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.xxiv.34.

Artificial proofs have the effect of 'fleshing out' one's argument. According to Quintilian they 'produce the appearance of superinducing a body upon the sinews'.[59]

There are several ways in which to present a proof. An orator may use syllogisms, inductions, enthymemes and examples. A syllogism is the result of dialectical reasoning. It has five parts, a major premise which is justified by an example, a minor premise followed by its justification and a conclusion. The combination of the two premises proves a third. Soarez provides an example:

MAJOR PREMISE	Operations conducted according to a plan succeed better than those conducted without a plan.
REASON	An army with a wise commander is governed in all respects more satisfactorily than one commanded by a stupid person.
MINOR PREMISE	Nothing is better governed than the world as a whole.
REASON	The rise and fall of constellations have patterns, yearly changes occur in the same manner and are adapted to the well-being of all creation.
CONCLUSION	The world is directed according to a plan.[60]

Induction is the style of reasoning made famous through Plato's Socratic dialogues. Through a series of cleverly directed questions it results in the questioner compelling the questioned to assent to something he would initially have denied. Cicero relates an example from a dialogue by Aeschines Socraticus. Aspasia reasons with the wife of Xenophon:

> 'Please tell me, madam, if your neighbour had a better gold ornament than you have, would you prefer that one or your own?' 'That one,' she replied. 'Now, if she had dresses and other feminine finery more expensive than you have, would you prefer yours or hers?' 'Hers, of course,' she replied. 'Well now, if she had a better husband than you have, would you prefer your husband or hers?' At this the woman blushed.[61]

[59] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, V.viii.2.
[60] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.241.
[61] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.xxxi.51.

The enthymeme is also known as the rhetorical syllogism. It proves by the same method as the syllogism, but is of a less rigid structure. One may omit a reason or one of the premises if they are not necessary for the argument. In an example provided by Soarez, 'all arts should be cultivated, therefore eloquence should be cultivated',[62] the minor premise (eloquence is an art) is understood, and does not need to be stated.

An example, or paradigm, as Aristotle terms it, is described by Quintilian as the 'adducing of some past action real or assumed which may serve to persuade the audience of the truth of the point which we are trying to make'.[63] If the correct judgement on the matter in hand is not clear to the listeners, the orator may allude to a similar situation in which the right course of action is more obvious. Aristotle suggests that, if the listeners doubted the folly of selecting statesmen by a random lottery, the orator may convince them by invoking the lunacy of randomly choosing athletes.[64]

The presentation of arguments is highly important. One must reserve the most powerful arguments for the beginning and ending of the speech, since the listener is most likely to remember what s/he hears first and last. Orators should vary the type of argumentation used, Soarez warns against the use of too many syllogisms and enthymemes, since an abundance of these produces monotony. The argument is made convincing by the way in which it is embellished. As Cicero indicates in *De inventione*, 'if the bare statement of the argument were the only object, and it were of no consequence how the thought is developed and expanded, we should certainly not think that there is such a difference between the greatest orators and the ordinary ones'.[65] The *confirmatio*, therefore, must be replete with eloquent language. This, according to Soarez, will not be attained if the speech is noticeably fragmentary or unnecessary prolix. It will evoke either 'scorn for its lowly style, disdain for its

[62] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.242.
[63] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, V.xi.6.
[64] Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.20.2 (1393b).
[65] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.xli.75.

servility, disgust with the grandeur of its style, or boredom from its abundance'.[66] Rather, the *confirmatio* should be ...

> ... carried, not along narrow paths, but over open fields. Let it move, not as small springs are funnelled by water-pipes, but let it overflow whole valleys like broad rivers. And if, sometimes, it does not find a channel, let it make one.[67]

The *confirmatio* must be decorated with figures of speech and rhetorical ornament, since, 'to the degree that the proof is richer and more pleasing it will also be more likely to be accepted'.[68]

Often it is advantageous to aim to move the listeners' emotions during the *confirmatio*. Citing the examples set by famous orators, Cicero concludes that 'of the two chief qualities which the orator must possess, accurate argument looking to proof and impressive appeal to the emotions of the listener, the orator who inflames the court accomplishes far more than the one who merely instructs it'.[69] Since 'men decide far more problems by hate, or love, or lust, or rage, or sorrow, or joy, or hope, or fear, or illusion, or some other inward emotion, than by reality, or authority, or any legal standard, or judicial precedent, or statute',[70] the orator should grasp every opportunity to move the audience both by his grandiloquent language and by the representation of the passions which are pertinent to the case.

The *refutatio* is the part of a speech in which the orator counters the arguments of his opponents. Clearly this section has the most relevance for rhetoric of the forum or the court room, where more than one speaker has the opportunity to make his case. In epideictic rhetoric the *refutatio* involves meeting the objections which may form in the mind of the listener. It may be a result of his preoccupation with epideictic rhetoric that, like Aristotle, Soarez considers refutation to be a part of the *confirmatio* and not a part of the speech in its own right. He maintains that 'you cannot refute contradictory arguments unless you strengthen your own arguments, nor can you

[66] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.257.
[67] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.257.
[68] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.258.
[69] Cicero. *Brutus*, xxii.89.
[70] Cicero, *De oratore*, IIxlii.178.

strengthen your own without refuting contradictories, for these reasons these methods of argumentation are connected by their nature, treatment and usefulness'.[71] Even rhetoricians who treat the *refutatio* as a separate section believe it to be closely connected to the *confirmatio* and to employ the same methods of argumentation.

The *peroratio*, or conclusion, of the speech provides the orator with his last chance to move the emotions of his hearers. Quoting Cicero, Soarez informs the reader that 'here, if anywhere, is the place for releasing floods of eloquence':

> Here, in a word, the orator must succeed not only in stirring the hearers who surrender to him of their own accord and are inclined, disposed, and thoroughly aroused toward what he urges, but we must also be able to stir the indifferent and the listless. In doing this, and if there is more labor, eloquence, which a superb poet has called 'soul-bending queen of all the world' still has so much influence that not only can she strengthen one who is favourably disposed or favourably dispose one who stands his ground, but like an able and brave commander she can also take captive, one who is firm in his opposition and resistance.[72]

The *peroratio*, according to Cicero's *De inventione*, has three parts. The *enumeratio* is a summing-up of the important points of the speech. 'Matters which have been discussed in different places here and there throughout the speech are brought together in one place and arranged so as to be seen at a glance'.[73] This is to assist the memory of the listener, it must be brief, or it will risk becoming another speech in itself. The *indignatio* involves inciting the indignation of the audience, or moving its members to ill-will against the opponent. *Conquestio* is the part of the *peroratio* which seeks to arouse the pity of the audience.

Although the more simple rhetorical treatises restrict their discussion of the rôle of the emotions to the excitement of pity and indignation – the passions most relevant to judicial rhetoric – more advanced works, such as *De oratore, Institutio oratoria* and Aristotle's *Rhetoric* consider the use of a much wider range of passions. In *De oratore*, for example, Cicero considers the function of passions such as love, hate, wrath, jealousy, compassion, hope, joy, fear, and vexation. These passions have their

[71] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.226.
[72] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.258.

place in deliberative and judicial rhetoric, but they may be used to great effect in epideictic speaking, since listeners derive pleasure from the experience of passions.[74]

An ability to move the emotions is the mark of an accomplished orator. Quintilian remarks that 'even a slight and limited talent may, with the assistance of practice and learning, perhaps succeed in giving life to other departments of oratory, and in developing them to a serviceable extent,' but 'few indeed are those orators who can sweep the judge with them, lead him to adopt that attitude of mind which they desire, and compel him to weep with them or share their anger'.[75] Nevertheless, power over the emotions is the 'life and soul of oratory'.[76]

Passions are roused by the employment of amplification. Soarez includes several topics from which amplification may be derived in the portion of his treatise dealing with *inventio,* which suggests that the orator must have prepared the ways in which he intends to arouse the emotions even before he begins to compose his speech. Quintilian lists four main methods of amplification. The first, *augmentation,* 'lends grandeur even to comparative insignificance'.[77] It is achieved by creating the implication that an event or deed is too astonishing for words. He provides an example from a speech of Cicero:

> It is a sin to bind a Roman citizen, a crime to scourge him, little short of the most unnatural murder to put him to death; what then shall I call of his crucifixion?[78]

By failing to attribute an epithet to the crucifixion of a Roman citizen, Cicero leaves his audience with the impression that it is a deed so terrible it cannot be described.

The second form of amplification is the *comparison* of something great with something small. If a deed is terrible on a small scale, how much more appalling will it be when the circumstances surrounding it are of more importance? For example:

[73] Cicero, *De inventione*, I.lii.98.
[74] As exemplified by the notion of catharsis (see chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of the subject).
[75] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VI.ii.3.
[76] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VI.ii.7.
[77] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII.iv.3.

> If this had befallen you at the dinner-table in the midst of your amazing potations, who would not have thought it unseemly? But it occurred at an assembly of the Roman people.[79]

Amplification by *reasoning* 'produces its effect at a point other than that where it is actually introduced'.[80] Thus a description of the size and weight of the weapons of the heroes of old actually amplifies the extraordinary stature of the heroes themselves.

The fourth kind of amplification is *accumulation* and its opposite, *attenuation*. Amplification is achieved by 'a piling up' of words of the same meaning. This may achieve its effect either by the collection of words pertaining to the same issue, or it may operate through the use of climax, where each word, or group of words is more astonishing than that which precedes it. Following is an example of the first type:

> What was that sword of yours doing, Tubero, the sword you drew on the field of Pharsalus? Against whose body did you aim its point? What meant those arms you bore? Whither were your thoughts, your eyes, your hand, your fiery courage directed on that day? What passion, what desires were yours?[81]

The second kind of *accumulation*, involving climax, is achieved by the words:

> There stood the porter of the prison, the praetor's executioner, the death and terror of the citizens and the allies of Rome, the lictor Sextius.[82]

Attenuation is effected by the opposite process, where words are used to understate an event or character, and each phrase is less significant than the last.

The process of amplification has a number of musical parallels. The repetition of musical figures on the same, rising, or falling pitches may be interpreted as species of *augmentation, accumulation* and *attenuation*. The effect achieved by *comparison* is similar to that of the repetition of a figure with augmented intervals, and amplification by *reasoning* may be compared to the development of a musical theme throughout the course of a section or movement. It is possible, then, that musical devices such as these serve to enhance the emotional significance of the music.

[78] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII.iv.3.
[79] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII.iv.9.
[80] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII.iv.15.
[81] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII.iv.27.
[82] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII.iv.27.

The stirring of the emotions in the *peroratio* is not only desirable, but essential if the speech is to have its full effect. If we try, but fail, to move the emotions we generate an anti-climax – 'if the pleader is a feeble speaker he would have been wiser to leave the pathos of the situation to the imagination of the judges'.[83] In *Brutus*, Cicero explains how an orator 'plays upon' his listeners in the way that a harpist touches the strings of his instrument. Just as the skill of a musician is recognised by the sound s/he produces, so the ability of an orator is measured by 'what skill the orator has in playing on the minds of his audience'.[84] This is discovered by the emotion he produces in his listeners. An intelligent critic has no need to listen to the speech to identify a successful orator, s/he need only observe the speaker's audience – if s/he can find signs in the listeners' countenances that they are affected by powerful passions, s/he will 'recognise inevitably that an orator is present in that court'.[85]

Theorists past and present have applied the principles of rhetorical *dispositio* to musical composition.[86] Indeed, the practice may be traced back to the sixteenth century. Citing book seven of Aristotle's *Poetics*, Nicola Vicentino asserts that a composition must consist of a beginning, a middle and an ending and he explains how one should go about composing each of the three sections of a polyphonic work. The beginning of the work is characterised by moderation. The pitches should be chosen so that the singers produce a secure intonation. Entries at a unison, 4th, 5th octave, 10th, 12th and 15th are all recommended, but the composer is advised against introducing voices at a 2nd, 6th, 7th or 9th. This, it appears, is in order to win the favour of the listener, since Vicentino adds that dissonant entries are more appropriate for the middle portion of a piece, when the listeners's ears have become more attuned. Similarly the composer should avoid beginning a piece on notes at either extreme of the singer's range. It is best to begin with tenors or contraltos, but if basses and

[83] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VI.i.44.
[84] Cicero, *Brutus*, liv.199.
[85] Cicero, *Brutus*, liv.200.
[86] In the late Baroque, Johann Mattheson deliniated a musical version of the *dispositio* in his *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* of 1739. Probably the most famous twentieth-century exercise in the application of *dispositio* is the article by Ursula Kirkendale. 'The source for Bach's *Musical*

sopranos are employed to sing the opening notes, these should be 'in a medium range, so as to avoid extremes that sound strange to the ear'.[87] The composer should not begin a piece with rapid note values, rather, 'in a graceful way he should gradually persuade his audience by his elegant and fine beginning'.[88] The connection with the rhetorical *exordium* is very clear.

The middle of the piece, according to Vicentino, is in every respect more adventurous than the opening. Vicentino recommends varying the texture by introducing duets and trios, dovetailing entries, including passages outside the mode and using pitches further towards the extremes of the singers' ranges. Audiences 'always expect something new', he writes, and above all the composer ought to 'strive to please the listener'.[89] Like the rhetorical *narratio*, the middle of the work needs to be adapted to its subject: 'it is the subject matter and the words that lead to an understanding of how the entire composition should be written' and thus it is not possible to provide comprehensive instructions for the composition of the middle of a work.[90]

The ending is the 'perfection of the thing initiated'.[91] Thus composers should consider the ending of the piece before starting to write the beginning or the middle. In this way 'the direction of the subject easily leads to its own direct and perfect ending'.[92] Vicentino criticises old-fashioned composers for making many rules about the opening of the piece without considering the ending:

> They do not realise that the perfection of a thing consists of a good, elegant and perfect ending. If every composition had an elegant beginning, a bad middle and a worse ending, it would not be pleasing. But a composition in which the beginning is not too good, the middle an improvement, and the ending remains elegant, good and perfect to the ear would gratify everyone. However, when the beginning is good, the middle better, and the ending best and perfect, the entire composition is

Offering' (*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Spring 1980, 33, pp.88-141) which proposes an ordering of the movements based on the *dispositio* of Quintilian.

[87] Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M.R. Maniates, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p.246.

[88] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M.R. Maniates, p.246.

[89] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M.R. Maniates, p.247.

[90] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M.R. Maniates, p.247.

[91] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M.R. Maniates, p.248.

[92] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M.R. Maniates, p.248.

> then most pleasing. As a consequence, it is not a grave error to begin a composition on an imperfect consonance in order to arrive subseqently at the perfect ending. For the beginning of an oration is not so important as the ending.[93]

While Vicentino's parallels with oratory are largely implicit, the later theorist, Joachim Burmeister, makes every effort to apply a rhetorical analogy to his discussion of musical structure. Like Vicentino's, Burmeister's discourse, contained in *Musica poetica* of 1606, is concerned with the structure of polyphonic music. His work, however, differs from Vicentino's in one significant way. Burmeister's use of rhetorical *dispositio* is for the purpose of analysis, not as a basis for original composition.

Burmeister defines five areas of analysis of which rhetorical structure is the fifth. It involves dividing a piece into what he calls 'affections' or 'periods'. A 'musical affection' is defined as 'a period in a melody or in a harmonic piece, terminated by a cadence, which moves and stirs the hearts of men'.[94] Like Vicentino, Burmeister believes a piece to be made up of three parts, each of which contains one or more affections. The first section he calls the *exordium*. In it, 'the ears and mind of the listener are rendered attentive to the song, and his good will is won over;' this may be achieved through the use of fugue.[95] Alternatively the section may contain homophonic passages (Burmeister gives them the rhetorically-linked name *noëma*). These he connects with the *sententia*. Although Burmeister is less than clear on why this should be the case, it appears that he considered the inclusion of homophony within a contrapuntal texture to have a similar effect to the rhetorical use of aphorisms.

The middle of the piece (its 'body' according to Burmeister) is made up of 'the series of affections or periods between the exordium and the ending'.[96] In this section 'textual passages similar to the various arguments of the confirmation in rhetoric are

[93] Vicentino. *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M R Maniates, p.248.
[94] Joachim Burmeister. *Musical Poetics*, trans. B V Rivera, Cambridge, MA: Yale University Press, 1993. p.xlix.
[95] Burmeister. *Musical Poetics*, p.203.
[96] Burmeister. *Musical Poetics*. p.203.

instilled in the listener's mind in order that the *sententia* [in this case, probably meaning 'feeling'] be more clearly grasped and considered'.[97] This should not be too long – lengthy middle sections are likely to arouse the displeasure of the listener.

Surprisingly, Burmeister says very little about the ending of a composition, save that it is the principal cadence at which all musical movement comes to a halt, or that two voices will stop while the others conclude the piece with a *supplementum*, which, apparently, impresses the ending more securely upon the listener's mind. He does, however, provide an analysis following the method he describes. It is based upon a motet by Lassus, *In me transierunt*. Burmeister identifies nine periods, the first and last respectively consitiute the *exordium* and the ending (this time compared with the conclusion of an oration), the remaining seven form the body of the work. There is no doubt that Burmeister is consciously connecting the structure of a speech with that of a musical discourse.

Although both Burmeister's and Vicentino's discussions of musical structure both concern polyphonic music, this does not mean that rhetorical principles are not detectable in concerted music. Vicentino was famous, one might say, notorious, for his progressive ideas and much of his opinion on the treatment of dissonance foreshadows the practice of Monteverdi, which, of course, was connected to concepts of *orazione* through his discourse upon the *seconda prattica*. In many respects the similarity which Vicentino's theories bear to rhetorical principles is largely circumstantial. Perhaps his humansitic education had instilled in his thoughts the benefits of a well balanced *dispositio*, and he alludes to rhetoric almost out of habit. If this is the case, it is highly likely that the many other composers who had the advantages of a rhetorical education would consider the structure of their music in a similar vein. Rhetorical analysis, as is demonstrated in chapters 6 to 8, is often very helpful to the performer aiming to make sense of what may initially appear to be an amalgamation of contrasting musical fragments. It may be superimposing a structure upon the music never consciously intended by the composer, but it is, at least, a

[97] Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, pp.203-4.

structure highly familiar to him, and one certainly recognised by many of his contemporaries.

Elocutio

The third part of rhetoric is, according to Quintilian the most important, but also the most difficult art to master. It concerns matters of eloquence. For rhetoricians, eloquence implied not the mere ornamentation of an idea, but the art of communication itself, including the choice of appropriate words and their arrangement into an effective and pleasing order. It was upon the cultivation of eloquence that Cicero, writes Quintilian, 'expended the greatest care,' since 'while invention and arrangement are within the reach of any man of good sense, eloquence belongs to the orator alone'.[98]

> For the verb *eloqui* means the production and communication to the audience of all that the speaker has conceived in his mind, and without this power all the preliminary accomplishments of oratory are as useless as a sword that is kept permanently concealed within its sheath.[99]

Elocutio falls into three sub-sections. The first deals with the use of rhetorical figures, the second concerns aspects of rhythm and the use of metrical feet to produce balanced and rounded sentences, and the third considers issue of style.

There are two categories of rhetorical figures, *schemes* (or figures of thought), and *tropes*, (otherwise known as figures of speech). Figures of speech are commonly identified by the fact that their language 'departs from the ordinary meaning of the words and is, with a certain grace, applied in another sense'.[100] This, according to Quintilian, is in order to embellish the style of the speech and such figures include *onomatopoeia*, *metaphor* and *allegory*.[101] Figures of thought are derived from the subject matter of the speech itself; they need not involve any alteration of the order or sense of the words, rather they concern articulation of the 'mind, feeling or conceptions' in an eloquent and effective fashion.[102] This category includes such

[98] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, VIII.Preface.14.
[99] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, VIII.Preface.15.
[100] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV.xxxi.42.
[101] See Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IX.i.4.
[102] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IX.i.17.

devices as *licentia*, taking liberties with the members of an audience whom one should respect in such a way that it does not offend, and *prosopopoeia*, where the orator assumes the rôle either of another character, of a city or nation, or even of an abstract concept such as fame, and speaks as it is imagined his character, city or concept would speak under the described circumstances. Figures of thought were held to be more significant than figures of speech. Soarez explains that 'as the definition indicates, these are important, not so much for painting with words as for explaining our thoughts'.[103] Consequently, the figures, especially the *schemes*, have power to move the emotions. Quintilian maintains that 'there is no more effective method of exciting the emotions than an apt use of figures'.[104]

Lively debate has surrounded the issue of the use and categorisation of rhetorical figures since antiquity. Soarez identifies the magnitude of the disagreement:

> In explaining their number, names, effect, and nature, Greek and Latin authorities differ to such an extent that not only do they disagree with one another, but what is worse, there is inconsistency in Cicero himself, whose carefulness as a teacher was no less than his ability to embellish as a speaker.[105]

When the concept of the figures is transferred to the sphere of music the dispute is all the more vehement. The predilection of, mainly German, late Renaissance and Baroque theorists to appropriate the names of rhetorical figures in order to denote musical patterns and devices has attracted either staunch criticism or virtually unquestioning acceptance from modern scholars. Those who endorse the practice cite in support its long lasting popularity, from Burmeister's initial attempts in the late sixteenth century to Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* of the late eighteenth. Critics confute the system through emphasis of the many inconsistencies found in the writings of a number of musical theorists and discrepancies which exist between rhetorical figures and their supposed musical counterparts. Brian Vickers maintains that 'if we examine in detail the music theorists' account of the rhetorical figures we

[103] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.336.
[104] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IX.i.21.
[105] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.361.

see that in all cases the literary effect has to be narrowed down, or fundamentally transposed'.[106]

In an article entitled 'Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?' Vickers conducts a detailed analysis of the musico-rhetorical figures found in Joachim Burmeister's *Musica Poetica* (1606) and, despite the occasional incorrect interpretation of musical terminology, presents a convincing case for treating Burmeister, and, by extension, the majority of theorists who follow his lead, with a considerable degree of scepticism. Vickers's point of contention rests primarily upon the incompatibility he perceives in connecting verbal modes of expression, which have an evident semantic dimension, to music, in which he believes meaning is arbitrary, if in existence at all: 'One cannot represent in pure music allegory or metaphor, nor irony in its strict sense of 'meaning the opposite of what one says''.[107]

Perhaps the weakness in Vickers's argument rests in the fact that he describes music as 'pure', the implication being that its meaning is as arbitrary and elusive to himself as it is to a listener of another century, culture or experience. He does not consider the possibility that a recurrent sixteenth-century musical pattern which may 'mean' nothing (or something completely different) to a listener of the twentieth century may be loaded with significance to a listener from the time and culture in which it was employed. It is unlikely that, for a sixteenth-century listener, the motive of an alternating semitone would evoke the image of a giant man-eating fish, yet to any westerner of the last three decades who has seen the film *Jaws*, and, probably, to many who have not, the significance is virtually inescapable. Concepts of reader response theory and hermeneutics have argued that meaning in literature is almost as transferable as meaning in music, surely, then, we cannot but consider cultural contexts when discussing the appropriateness, or otherwise, of musical figures.

Notwithstanding this issue, Vickers's discussion of Burmeister's figures does demonstrate that very often the musical version seemingly fails to achieve the purpose

[106] Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, p.364.
[107] Brian Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?', *Rhetorica*, 2:1, 1984, p.33.

of rhetorical figures, namely to emphasise the emotional context of the piece. For example, *anaphora*, which in rhetoric denotes the use of the same word at the beginning of a number of successive clauses, for Burmeister is 'an ornament which repeats similar pitch patterns in several but not all voices of the harmony'.[108] At times, for example, in the case of *anaphora* at stretto entries of a musical idea, this may have some form of emotional impact (a fact which, incidentally, Vickers does not consider). Yet the verbal version of *anaphora* depends for its effect upon the reiteration of a word by the same speaker while the subject of the discourse continues. Vickers cites the repetition of the word 'He' in the opening lines of Psalm 23 as an example. As Vickers concedes, however, such a figure is possible in music; a single voice could repeat the same pattern of notes at the opening of a number of successive phrases, and, in the right context, this could have a powerful effect very similar to that of the verbal figure. The same goes for *aposiopesis*, the failure of a speaker to complete a sentence because he is overcome by a certain passion. Although Burmeister defines the musical version as a general pause, which need not always be at all passionate, if the musical line were to halt abruptly without reaching an expected cadence this, surely, would have an effect equivalent to the famous lines of Virgil 'Quos ego – sed motos praestat componere fluctus'.[109]

Some of Burmeister's figures have a very clear passionate context. The inclusion of chromatic notes outside the mode, the figure he identifies as *pathopoeia*, has often been recognised as being capable of rousing the affections. In *Discorso sesto sopra il recitare in scena*, Giovanni Battista Doni explains that music which touches on the notes of various modes has great power to move the passions.[110]

It is certainly true that, on the whole, Burmeister's figures are a list of standard compositional tools rather than devices with the specific function of moving the passions. As Vickers admits, Burmeister's work 'is not the best basis for the study of

[108] Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, pp.185-7.
[109] Virgil, *Aeneid*, I.135.
[110] Cited in Tim Carter, 'Resemblance and Representation: Towards a New Aesthetic in the Music of Monteverdi', T Carter and I Fenlon (eds), *Con che soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance 1580-1740*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, p.122.

music and rhetoric'[111] and other theorists treated the subject in a more systematic and convincing manner. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that even verbal figures are only capable of moving the passions in an appropriate context. As Quintilian indicates, figures are useful in arousing the passions, but they are not 'passions' in themselves:

> Consequently the expression in words of anger, grief, pity, fear, confidence or contempt is not a *figure*, any more than persuasion, threats, entreaty or excuse. ... My opponents will, I know, direct my attention to special figures employed in expressing anger, in entreating for mercy, or appealing to pity, but it does not follow that expressions of anger, appeals to pity or entreaties to mercy are in themselves *figures*.[112]

Perhaps the best explanation as to how the figures were able to excite the emotions was provided by pseudo-Longinus's treatise *On the Sublime*. Pseudo-Longinus discusses a selection of the most powerful figures and demonstrates how each may affect the passions. For example, the figure *asyndeton*, which involves omitting conjunctions from a list, gives 'the impression of an agitation which at the same time checks the utterance and urges it on'.[113] In a similar way *hyperbaton*, an alteration of the usual word order, imitates the behaviour of one under the influence of a powerful passion:

> There are people who, when they are angry or frightened or irritated or carried away by jealousy or any other feeling – for there are innumerable forms of emotion, and indeed no one would be able to say just how many – will sometimes let themselves be deflected; and often, after they have brought forward one point, they will drop in others without rhyme or reason, and then, under the stress of their agitation, they will come right round to their original position just as though they were being chased by a whirlwind. Dragged in every direction by their rapid changes of mood, they will keep altering the arrangement of their words and ideas, losing their natural sequence and introducing all sorts of variations. In the same way the best authors will use *hyperbaton* in such a way that their representations will assume the aspect of natural processes at work.[114]

Pseudo-Longinus makes is clear that the figures do not move the audience to a specific emotion, but that they heighten the effect of a variety of passions. It is also evident that the effect of a *hyperbaton* may be achieved by a musical line which is

[111] Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?', p.35.
[112] Quintilian, *Insitutio oratoria*, IX.i.23 and 25.
[113] Pseudo-Longinus, *On the Sublime*, trans. T.S. Dorsch, London: Penguin, 1965, chapter 19, p.128.

made up of a stream of contrasting melodic patterns. The agitation of *asyndeton* may be created by the rapid development of musical figures. It is significant that many of pseudo-Longinus's examples depend upon the rhythm of the words for their effect, and that pseudo-Longinus uses examples from music to illustrate the nature of certain figures.[115]

Considering the fact that in rhetoric, as in music, there is not one standardised classification of the figures, (often the same figure may have more than one name, or different theorists may use the same name to refer to more than one figure) and that the musical equivalents identified by theorists do not always create a similar effect to the rhetorical original, one may ask whether there is any point at all in attempting to identify figures in a musical composition. This problem is compounded by the fact that the rôle of rhetorical figures was markedly different from that of figures in music. Would-be orators were trained from youth to think in terms of figures. Not only were they to identify the figures in the work of others, they were also include them in their own speeches. We know that even the most advanced orators consciously used the figures, even if, by their art, they were able to give them the appearance of natural speaking. There is no firm evidence, however, that composers of music employed harmonic and melodic devices with any awareness of their association with particular rhetorical figures. This is not to say that composers were unconscious of the emotional effect of particular musical devices – undoubtedly the connection with rhetoric *per se* would have been acknowledged – but this is very different from the assumption that the composer intentionally drew upon a set of categorised figures.

Brian Vickers believes that musical figures were tools for analysts rather more than they ever were devices for composers.[116] This would appear to be true – the vast majority of authors who concern themselves with rhetorical figures are regarded far more for their musical theories than they are for their skills in composition.

[114] Pseudo-Longinus, *On the Sublime,* chapter 22, p.131.
[115] See Pseudo-Longinus, *On the Sublime*, chapter 28, p.137.
[116] Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?', p.41.

If, as it seems likely, the musical figures were devised by theorists as a means of analysis, do they have any relevance for performers of the music? In some respects, perhaps the answer to this is 'no'. The name applied to the figure by a theorist has no bearing upon its function in the music. The writing of rhetorical theorists such as pseudo-Longinus, who describe the emotional effects created by particular figures is, however, of much more importance. It has been demonstrated that musical parallels may be found for many rhetorical figures if we concentrate, not upon specific words or notes, but upon the impression which the music conveys. If a musical device may be seen to have a similar effect to a rhetorical figure, knowledge of the figure and its place in rhetoric may assist the figure's performance in music. It is perhaps not as necessary to use the classification of the figures of any particular theorist as it is to look for connections oneself. Certainly this was an opinion shared by Soarez ...

> ... for rules which can be taught concerning tropes and figures are very slight and insignificant. For this reason it makes little difference whether you decide this way or that. I believe this was the reason why Cicero always mentioned *these tropes and figures briefly and hastily in passing*, pointing them out as through a lattice, *with no definitions to explain or* examples to illustrate them.[117]

The second area of *elocutio* concerns the selection and ordering of words with the aim to produce sentences with a pleasing rhythmical structure. While an untrained speaker, according to Soarez, 'pours out in confusion, as much as he can, and measures what he says by his breath more than by art' an orator uses his knowledge of rhythm in order to 'link his thought with words in such a manner that there is nothing meaningless, nothing harsh, brusk, halting, or redundant in his language'.[118] Soarez explains how the ear is gratified by the sound of well balanced sentences, but Quintilian insists that structure is of value 'not merely for charming the ear, but for stirring the soul'.[119] His reason for this conviction is derived from the effect of musical instruments:

[117] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.362.
[118] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.372.
[119] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, IX.iv.9.

> Otherwise it would not be the case that musical instruments, in spite of the fact that their sounds are inarticulate, still succeed in exciting a variety of different emotions in the hearer.[120]

Rhetoricians discuss at length the effects produced by different combinations of metrical feet, often particular metres are connected with specific passions. Soarez concisely sets out the rules one must follow in order to speak in a rounded style.

Soarez deals separately with the beginning, middle and end of a *periodus*. Of these, the beginning and especially the ending of a *periodus* retain the most importance. The best openings are made up of long, free rhythms. Soarez specifically mentions the dactyl (– ∪ ∪), the anapest (∪ ∪ –), the spondee (– –) and the paeon in first position (– ∪ ∪ ∪) as being appropriate metres to use. The endings of sentences are crucial because they are 'unmistakably noticeable and are understood, since the ears of an audience which have followed an uninterrupted voice and have been, as it were, drawn on by a stream of rapidly flowing discourse make a better decision at the end, when that surge comes to a halt and allows time for thinking the matter over'.[121] Consequently it is essential that a variety of endings are employed, so as to avoid monotony. It makes no difference whether the final syllable is long or short since the voice naturally comes to rest at the end of each *periodus*. Soarez considers the spondee to be a useful foot for the close of a sentence since it is 'strong and unwavering'.[122] He also mentions that Aristotle believed the paeon in the last position (∪ ∪ ∪ –) to be most appropriate. Cicero, on the other hand, considered the cretic (– ∪ –) to be the most suitable foot for the ending of a *periodus*. It may be a coincidence that this foot bears a resemblance to the cadential figure 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 – a common feature of early seventeenth-century music, often with the first minim decorated with a trill – but the possibility that composers, at least subconsciously, paid attention to concepts of rhetorical periodic style is supported by the fact that the dactylic rhythm 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 opens countless canzoni and madrigals.

[120] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, IX.iv.10.
[121] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.393.
[122] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.390.

The middle of a *periodus* must be 'neither sluggish, nor long, nor result in ... a tissue of short syllables, and create the sound of almost childish rattles'.[123] The choice of feet depends upon the subject matter of the phrase. If this requires a slow delivery, spondees must be used; for a quicker tempo the orator must insert a large number of trochees or iambs; moderate speed is generated by an even combination of long and short metres.

The balanced, periodic style is not appropriate for every sentence of a speech. If it is over-used, according to Soarez, it can remove the required element of pathos. This 'well-knit' style may be usefully employed in the *exordia* of important cases; it is also appropriate for passages of amplification. It is particularly effective 'at a time when an audience is being besieged and held by an orator' since the audience will become 'well disposed and wish him success; and since it is astonished at the vigor of his speaking, it does not look for something to criticise in him'.[124]

Clearly prose rhythm, composed of the longs and shorts of Latin or Greek is considerably less adaptable than the rhythm of music – a factor evident from the rather monotonous nature of the *musique mesurée* of Baïf's Académie de poésie et musique. Nevertheless, many of the principles employed in oratorical rhythmical structure are also relevant for musical composition and performance. This is particularly true of the character and passions which were believed to be represented by particular metrical feet, a topic which is considered in more detail in chapter four.

The concept of periodic structure is closely related to the third aspect of the *elocutio*, the issue of rhetorical style. Traditional Roman rhetoric classifies oratory into three styles: the high style, also known as grand or vigorous; middle; and low, plain or simple. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* provides concise definitions. The grand style 'consists of a smooth and ornate arrangement of impressive words', the middle style uses words of a lower class, 'yet not of the lowest and most colloquial', and the low

[123] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.394.
[124] Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.405.

style 'is brought down even to the most current idiom of standard speech'.[125] The writer to Herennius elaborates upon these definitions by means of examples, from which the differences between the three styles are clearly distinguishable. While *Rhetorica ad Herennium* implies that an entire speech is to be composed in one of the three styles, Cicero, in his *Orator*, expresses the opinion that sometimes a mixture of styles must be used within the same oration. The choice of style is to be governed by propriety, one must use styles appropriate to the subject of the speech, and to the characters of the speaker and the audience.

Cicero agrees with the writer to Herennius that the plain style is that closest to ordinary language. He claims, however, that it differs more from colloquial speech than is initially obvious. In fact, he concludes that 'plainness of style seems easy to imitate at first thought, but when attempted nothing is more difficult'.[126] It is interesting that Castiglione makes a similar observation. An orator who speaks with 'simple candour' does so with such ease that 'the listener is given to believe that with very little effort he would be able to achieve the same standard of excellence, though when he makes the attempt he falls a long way short'.[127] It appears that simplicity of style is another facet of the courtier's 'noble negligence'. In fact, Cicero insists that the style must not be handled carelessly, remarking that 'there is such a thing even as careful negligence'.[128]

The plain style, writes Cicero, has an attractiveness akin to that of a woman unadorned by jewels – 'there is something in both cases which lends greater charm, but without showing itself'.[129] It need not adhere to the strictures of periodic structure, but it must not ramble, rather it should 'seem to move freely but not to wander without restraint'. Additionally, the orator must avoid total fluidity, 'for the hiatus and clash of vowels have something agreeable about it and show a not unpleasant carelessness on the part of a man who is paying more attention to thought

[125] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV.viii.11.
[126] Cicero, *Orator*, trans. H M Hubble, Loeb Classical Library, London: Willian Heinemann, 1962, xxiii.76.
[127] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, p.78.
[128] Cicero, *Orator*, xxiii.78.

than to words'.[130] The plain style should be subdued and avoid the use of elaborate figures of thought or speech, although his speech may be brightened with the occasional mild figure. Additionally, the plain style must be 'sprinkled with the salt of pleasantry' – humour and wit. These he must introduce with care, since it is very easy to produce an effect opposite to that desired, and cause oneself to appear ridiculous instead of 'hurling the shafts of ridicule' at one's opponent.[131]

It is very difficult to provide an adequate description of the middle style, other than describing it in relation to the other two. According to Cicero, it is fuller and more robust than the simple style but plainer than the grandest. The style should contain 'a minimum of vigour, and a maximum of charm',[132] thus it should be replete with rhetorical ornaments such as metaphor and allegory and make use of all kinds of figure. 'As a matter of fact,' writes Cicero, it is 'a brilliant and florid, highly coloured and polished style in which all the charms of language and thought are intertwined'.[133]

It is the third style which has won for rhetoric its highest accolades and greatest respect. According to Cicero, the orator of this style is 'magnificent, opulent, stately and ornate', this orator is the man 'whose brilliance and fluency have caused admiring nations to let eloquence attain the highest power in the state'.[134] True eloquence is embodied in the grand style:

> I mean the kind of eloquence which rushes along with the roar of a mighty stream, which all look up to and admire, and which they despair of attaining. This eloquence has power to sway men's minds and move them in every possible way. Now it storms the feelings, now it creeps in; it implants new ideas and uproots the old.[135]

This style differs from the other two in one unusual way. While an informative and pleasing discourse may be constructed entirely from one of the two lower styles, an orator who uses nothing but the grand style is not to be greatly esteemed, but is rather

[129] Cicero, *Orator*, xxiii.78.
[130] Cicero, *Orator*, xxiii.77.
[131] Cicero, *Orator*, xxvi.87.
[132] Cicero, *Orator*, xxvi.91.
[133] Cicero, *Orator*, xxvii.96.
[134] Cicero, *Orator*, xxviii.97.
[135] Cicero, *Orator*, xxviii.97.

to be despised. The plain speaker is regarded for his clarity, and the middle style is charming, but one who speaks in nothing but the copious style 'seems to be scarcely sane'.[136] Cicero explains that:

> ... a man who can say nothing calmly and mildly, who pays no attention to arrangement, precision, clarity or pleasantry ... if without first preparing the ears of his audience he begins trying to work them up into a fiery passion, he seems to be a raving madman among the sane, like a drunken reveller in the midst of sober men.[137]

The ideal orator, then, must be accomplished in all three styles, and must employ each appropriately, using the lower styles to prepare the listeners to be moved by the highest. Indeed, Cicero connects the three duties of the orator (to teach, to delight and to move) with the three styles. The plain style informs the listener, and is thus appropriate for proof, the middle style produces pleasure and the vigorous style is necessary for persuasion; 'and in this last is summed up the entire virtue of the orator'.[138]

Memoria

Memoria was the rhetorical discipline by which the orator committed to memory the important points of his speech. This involved remembering both the general points devised in the *inventio* and the words and phrases composed in the *elocutio*. This was achieved by creating a series of *loci*, or backgrounds – imaginary scenes upon which may be superimposed images designed to represent the concepts and words to be committed to memory.[139]

Perhaps because it is a wholly practical discipline, *memoria* is the area of rhetoric studied least by modern scholars.[140] Another reason for its lack of popularity today probably stems from the fact that a thorough study of rhetorical discourse and of the rhetorical principles employed in the sister arts may be undertaken without reference

[136] Cicero. *Orator*. xxviii.99.
[13] Cicero. *Orator*. xxviii.99.
[138] Cicero. *Orator*. xx 69
[139] See *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xvi-xxiv.
[1] Frances Yates. *The Art of Memory*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1966. is, perhaps. the most famous text on the topic. Although he praises the work for attracting interest in the subject. Brian Vickers considers it to be an unreliable study on a number of counts.

to *memoria*. Nevertheless, one seventeenth-century musician, at least, related its practice to a musical situation. In his discourse upon the 'rules' of modern music contained in his *Cartella musicale* of 1614, Adriano Banchieri provides examples of 'a hundred varied *passaggi.*' At first glance these appear to be a continuation of the sixteenth-century tradition of demonstrating the variety of divisions which may be performed upon a simple melodic pattern. Banchieri's text informs the reader, however, that the tabulated *passaggi* are not his own invention, but have been discovered from the *printed* works of the 'most celebrated composers'. He has collected them together and arranged them '*in termine di memorie locale.*'[141] It is the simple, not the ornamented figure which is Banchieri's invention. Banchieri has borrowed the concept of the loci from rhetorical *memoria* and has applied it as an *aide memoire* for composers. As Banchieri is quick to point out, the simple patterns, which he calls the *memoria,* are equally useful for the performer, who may use them to help him/her remember the decorations appropriate for any unornamented passages he comes across while singing.

Pronuntiatio

Pronuntiatio, or delivery, is a crucial art. If an orator has not mastered it, all the effort expended in inventing, arranging, embellishing and remembering his speech will be wasted since his performance will fail to convince the listener. It is for this reason that Soarez maintained that mediocre orators who worked hard on their delivery were able to surpass those who excelled at composition.[142] Popular among rhetoricians is the epithet concerning Demosthenes who, when asked which were the three most important elements of oratory, replied, 'delivery, delivery and delivery'.[143] Delivery is also the part of rhetoric which, perhaps not surprisingly, attracts the largest number of comparisons with music. Quintilian compares the voice to the pipes of an organ and, in *De oratore*, Cicero describes the effect of delivery by analogy to a stringed instrument:

> For nature has assigned to every emotion an particular look and tone of voice and bearing of its own; and the whole of a person's frame and every

[141] Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, trans. Cranna, p.420.
[142] Soarez. *De Arte Rhetorica*, trans. Flynn, p.424.
[143] See Cicero, *De oratore*, III.lvi.213.

> look on his face and utterance of his voice are like the strings of a harp and sound according as they are struck by each successive emotion. For the tones of the voice are keyed up like the strings of an instrument, so as to answer to every touch, high, low, quiet, slow, *forte*, *piano*, while between all of these in their several kinds there is a medium note; and there are also the various modifications derived from these, smooth or rough, limited or full in volume, *tenuto*, *staccato*, faint or harsh, *diminuendo*, or *crescendo*. For there are none of these varieties that cannot be regulated by the control of art; they are the colours available for the actor, as for the painter, to secure variety.[144]

At a later point in the discourse, Cicero recalls the practice of Gracchus, who, to assist him in pitching his voice correctly, employed an attendant to sound a note on a little ivory flageolet at moments throughout his speeches. Crassus, Cicero's spokesperson, however, instructs the best orators to 'leave the piper at home, and only take with you down to the house the perception that his training gives you'.[145]

All rhetoricians divide the art of delivery into two categories: voice quality and physical movement. Their treatment of each aspect, however, differs greatly from theorist to theorist. This is more of a help than a hindrance, since the texts are not contradictory but complementary, each considering a slightly different aspect of the skill.

The discussion of delivery in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is surpassed in its detailed prescription only by Quintilian's massive work. First the author defines three features of voice quality: volume; stability and flexibility. Volume, he believes, is primarily a gift of nature, although some cultivation of the gift is possible. Rather than describing how this may be achieved, though, he refers the reader requiring instruction to the *phonasci*, teachers of singing and declamation.

Stability is achieved by careful management of the voice. Thus one should begin a declamation with a calm voice, avoiding piercing exclamations and taking long pauses to refresh the windpipe. The voice should be relaxed, varying a strong voice with a conversational tone. At the conclusion of the speech, after the variety of expression

[144] Cicero, *De oratore*, III.lvi.216.

through which the voice has progressed in the course of declaiming, the speaker should aim to deliver long sentences in one breath, since this restores the voice to a 'kind of uniform and constant tone'.[146] The author remarks that not only do these measures assist in the conservation of the voice and maintain its stability, they also secure a delivery agreeable to the listener. Pauses, for example, 'render the thoughts more clear-cut by separating them, and leave the hearer time to think'.[147] Relaxation of the voice provides variety to please the listener and sharp exclamation jars the audience as much as it does the voice which utters it. Similarly, a fluency of voice stirs the hearer at the conclusion of the speech.

Flexibility of voice concerns its 'tone' – a combination of pitch, timbre and volume. There are three broad categories: conversational tone; tone of debate and tone of amplification. Each of these are sub-divided so that, in total, eight separate tones are defined.

Sermo, or conversational tone, which is relaxed and closest to ordinary speech, has four sub-divisions. The first, dignified (*dignitas*), is 'marked by some degree of impressiveness and by vocal restraint'.[148] It requires a full throat but a calm and subdued voice. One must refrain from sounding like a tragedian. The explicative conversational tone (*demonstratio*) is used to explain how something could or could not have happened. It requires a rather thin-toned voice with frequent pauses 'so that we seem by means of the delivery itself to implant and engrave on the hearer's mind the points we are making in our explanation'.[149] *Narratio* or narrative conversational tone is used to describe events which have or may have occurred and thus demands a variety of intonations, depending upon the nature of the event narrated:

> Our delivery will be somewhat rapid when we narrate what we wish to show was done vigorously, and it will be slower when we narrate something else done in a leisurely fashion. Then, corresponding to the content of the words, we shall modify the delivery in all the kinds of tone,

[145] Cicero, *De oratore*, III.lxi.227.
[146] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xii.21.
[147] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xii.22.
[148] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xiii.23.
[149] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xiv.24.

> now to sharpness, now to kindness, or now to sadness, and now to gaiety.[150]

If, during the narration, it is necessary to include declarations, demands, replies or exclamations of astonishment, these must be delivered in a way which expresses the passions of the characters involved.

The final type of conversational tone, the facetious (*iocatio*), is designed to amuse. It should 'elicit a laugh which is modest and refined'.[151] Transition from a serious tone to the facetious should be smooth. The voice must be gently quivering and the orator should give the 'slight suggestion of a smile',[152] avoiding excesses at all costs. This is the tone of the 'gentlemanly' jest.

The tone of debate (*contentio*) is energetic and is suitable for the *confirmatio* and *refutatio*. It has two species. The sustained tone of debate, or *continuatio*, is 'full voiced and accelerated in delivery'.[153] To achieve this the orator must increase the volume of his voice and deliver a continuous flow of words. He must endeavour to 'bring the voice into harmony with [the words], to inflect the tone accordingly, and to deliver the words rapidly and in a full voice'.[154] This will ensure that the delivery is compatible with the energy of the speech itself. *Distributio*, the broken tone of debate, is articulated sharply and is frequently interrupted by short pauses. One should employ the deepest chest tones to deliver the clearest possible exclamations. The writer suggests spending as much time over each pause as it takes to utter one exclamation.

The tone of amplification (*amplificatio*) is to be used to move the listener to indignation or pity. It also exists in two forms. Hortatory (*cohortatio*) incites the hearer to indignation by emphasising a fault or an outrage. It requires a moderately loud, thin-toned voice; the speaker must maintain an even flow of sound containing

[150] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xiv.24.
[151] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xiii.23.
[152] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xiv.25.
[153] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xiii.23.
[154] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.xiv.25.

variety of pitch and the 'utmost speed'. The pathetic tone (*conquestio*) uses a deep, restrained voice, with long and frequent pauses and, like *cohortatio*, it requires marked variation.

Quintilian and Cicero approach the subject of delivery from the angle of the passions, and describe the physical and vocal expression appropriate for the representation of different emotions. Cicero maintains that the emotions are 'especially roused by the voice,' and that there are 'as many variations in the tone of the voice as there are in feelings'[155] and Quintilian asserts that, because the voice is the 'intermediary between ourselves and our hearers' the listener will experience any emotion which we express with it.[156] In *De oratore*, Cicero describes the style of delivery required by six different passions and provides examples of the types of utterances in which they may be used. Anger must be expressed by a 'shrill and hasty' tone with short and abrupt clauses. Compassion and sorrow, on the other hand, must be spoken with a voice which is full but wavering, halting and 'in a mournful key'. Fear ought to be low, hesitating and despondent while energy is imitated by an intense, vehement and eager voice 'with a sort of impressive urgency'. Joy is expressed by tones which are 'gushing, smooth, tender, cheerful and gay', and dejection, 'a heavy kind of utterance' which, unlike sorrow, does not involve appeals to compassion, must be spoken on a monotone – 'drawn out in a single articulation and note'.[157]

Quintilian, like Cicero, sees anger as requiring an expression which is 'fierce, harsh and intense', he believes that this requires frequent inhalation 'since the breath cannot be sustained for long when it is poured forth without restraint'. The voice must be 'gentle and subdued' in passages of 'flattery, admission, apology or question'. Advice, warnings, promises and consolation must be offered in a grave and dignified tone. Fear and shame must be expressed with modesty, exhortation must be carried out boldly. In arguments the orator must speak precisely, with much variation of tone, in appeals to pity the tone must be 'suggestive of tears and decidedly muffled'.

[155] Cicero, *Orator*, xvii.55.
[156] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*. XI.iii.62.
[157] See Cicero, *De oratore*, III.lviii.217-219.

During digressions the voice will be 'full and flowing' demonstrating the speaker's confidence. Discussions of the facts of the case should be at a moderate pitch and when the speaker expresses a violent emotion his voice will be raised.[158]

Quintilian also describes the appropriate type of delivery for each section of a speech. The *exordium* usually requires a gentle delivery, a quiet voice and subdued motion from side to side of the body and eyes. This demeanour will portray modesty and win the approval of the listeners. This practice was, it appears, practised by the best orators. In *Brutus*, Cicero describes the delivery employed by Crassus in his *exordia*: 'no violent movements of the body, no sudden variation of voice, no walking up and down, no frequent stamping of the foot'.[159] In the *narratio* the voice must be colloquial but more emphatic, adopting a uniform tone. If the *narratio* contains expressions of the passions different forms of delivery may be employed. *Confirmatio* requires 'the utmost variety of delivery' in an almost colloquial tone of voice. Arguments should be expressed with energy 'and in these our style must be compact and concentrated'. Contradicting his earlier statement, Quintilian suggests that digressions should be characterised by 'gentleness, calm and placidity'. Appeals to the emotions are delivered in a gradation of tone appropriate to the nature of the expression. The most vehement is bitterness which 'consists of an extravagant acerbity almost beyond the compass of the human voice'. The *peroratio* demands qualities such as this if it is to move the feelings of the listeners. If it is necessary to soothe them, the orator's voice should 'flow softly' but if it is intended to move them to pity then the voice must express 'a melancholy sweetness, which is at once most natural and especially adapted to touch the heart'. This tone of voice has, according to Quintilian, a musical quality which is reminiscent of the funereal utterances of widows and orphans. Sometimes appeals to pity are mixed with a tinge of indignation.[160]

[158] See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii.63-5.
[159] Cicero, *Brutus*, xliii.158.
[160] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii.170-171.

Although physical movement is considered by rhetoricians to have as much power over the passions as quality of voice, information on this topic, particularly the vast amount of writing devoted to gestures of the arms and hands, is, of course, of limited value to an instrumentalist. Consequently, much of the field of gesture is beyond the scope of this study. Matters concerning the countenance, however, are relevant, since these largely depend upon the expression of the eyes, which even a wind instrumentalist is able to adapt in order to communicate the relevant passions.

Quintilian maintains that the expression of the face is the most powerful form of physical movement available to the orator. This is supported by the fact that the masks used in the theatre are designed to emphasise whatever expression best represents the emotional state of each character. By the glance we express...

> ... supplication, threats, flattery, sorrow, joy, pride or submission. It is on this that our audience hang, on this that they rivet their attention and their gaze, even before we speak. It is this that inspires the hearer with affection or dislike, this that conveys a world of meaning and is often more eloquent than all our words.[161]

It is the eyes which convey the most expression. These will 'reveal the temper of the mind', and even without moving can 'twinkle with merriment or be clouded with grief'.[162] Tears are further indicators of either great joy or extreme sorrow. Movement of the eyes may be used to express intensity, indifference, pride, ferocity, mildness or anger.[163] The eyes must be fully open at all times and the orator must guard against making them appear 'fixed or protruding, languid or sluggish, lifeless, lascivious, restless.' They must never 'swim with a moist voluptuous glance, nor look aslant nor leer in an amorous fashion, nor yet must they seem to promise or ask for a boon.'[164]

The eyebrows, too, may serve to express the passions. It is wrong to keep them completely still, as it is to raise one and lower the other. Anger is expressed by their

[161] Quintilian, *Institutio oratòria*, XI.iii.72.
[162] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii.75.
[163] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii.75.
[164] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii.76.

contraction, grief by depression and cheerfulness by expansion.[165] Above all it is important to adapt one's expression to the sense of the portion of the speech and not to the actual words spoken.

If, as Banchieri maintained, the composer of non-contrapuntal music looked to the rules of rhetoric to bring structure and coherence to his art, it is, surely, not unreasonable to use rhetorical principles as a guide both to the analysis and performance of such music. In music without a text, rhetorical arrangement provides a framework by which to investigate the development and juxtaposition of the musical material employed. It is possible that the distribution of musical ideas within a sonata has as much of a bearing upon the music's overall significance as do the individual musical ideas themselves. In the case study examples of chapters 6, 7, and 8, the model of the rhetorical *dispositio* is applied to the sonatas under examination in order to investigate whether the musical structure contains any clues as to the significance of the sonatas. In the same way the concept of rhetorical style may be applied to seventeenth-century musical writing. This produces some intriguing findings, which may also be used to assist with the construction of an appropriate performance style for the various characteristic elements of the solo sonata. This issue is explored in chapter five.

Although these factors inform the way in which an idea or passion is presented and developed within an instrumental musical context, they do not enable a performer to identify the nature of the passion or idea which forms the subject of the musical discourse. The successful search for a plausible and historical interpretation of the passion or passions represented in an instrumental sonata depends upon the consideration of a further two issues. One concerns the way in which the passions were perceived by seventeenth-century thinkers to operate within the body and the soul, and the manner by which music was believed to activate them. The other is an

[165] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii.79.

understanding of the means by which the passions were represented in music. This concerns a knowledge of the musical styles and devices used by seventeenth-century composers in order to arouse or denote specific passions. Equipped with each of these fields of knowledge, the performer may begin to identify the passions 'encoded' within the instrumental sonata, and explore the ways in which these may successfully be communicated to an audience. These issues form the substance of the following two chapters.

Chapter 4

Theories of the Passions

In chapter two it was indicated that the attention afforded by Renaissance orators and rhetoricians to the duty *movere* spawned a widespread interest in the operation and classification of the passions which they intended to move. Known multifariously as motions, passions, affections, perturbations and sometimes even feelings or emotions, the concept embodied theories substantially different from the rather more abstract notion of subjective, individualised feelings implied by today's use of the term 'emotion'. The *Oxford Companion to Philosophy* attributes to the passions 'a long and convoluted history' but affirms that, from a historical view point, passion and emotion are not the same.[1] Scott Mitchell Pauley is of the opinion that:

> Although today we have different explanations for the causes of human emotions, it is useful to understand that when a person had his 'passions moved' in the seventeenth century, they meant it literally and poetically. To be moved by art, to feel something in one's heart, was not sentimental overstatement (as it may be considered today), but a very sincere understanding of contemporary physiology and psychology.[2]

Given the fact that a modern performer cannot assume that his or her intrinsic comprehension of feelings such as 'anger', 'pity', and 'distress' is at all comparable with that of a seventeenth-century performer or listener, it is not unreasonable to suggest that an awareness of the theories behind these terms might lead to a more thorough understanding of the function and effect of seventeenth-century music.

Passions theories may be traced back in time at least as far as Plato, and the humanist interest in all aspects of antiquity effected the revival of a number of ancient Hellenistic and Roman theories. These were considered by Renaissance and seventeenth-century theorists alongside those developed by the scholastics and Church Fathers. The early seventeenth century was consequently rife with ideas and opinions concerning the operation of the passions. These may be divided into three

[1] R.C. Solomon, 'Passion', in Ted Honderich (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p.647.
[2] Scott Mitchell Pauley, 'Rhetoric and the Performance of Seventeenth-Century English Song', PhD diss., Stanford University, 1995, p.31.

broad categories. The first encompasses the ideas of the stoics, who maintained that the passions were purely mental decisions. They described the passions as 'perturbations of the mind' and considered them to be false judgements. The second category of theories regards the passions as non-cognitive sensations. The ideas from which they are formed are derived from Platonic philosophy, the sophist orators, and ancient medical texts. The passions are understood to operate upon the body alone, almost to the point of bypassing the intellect. In this case the passions are known as 'affections' since they 'affect' the condition of the body. The third type of theory is essentially Aristotelian, which was interpreted and transmitted to the Renaissance via the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas. This theory perceives the passions as affecting both the mind and the body. They influence judgement, but at the same time generate voluntary and involuntary bodily action.

Renaissance theories of the passions may be seen as an amalgamation of these three groups of very different ideas. This chapter will consider both the ancient ideas, and their absorption into Renaissance conceptions of the passions.

The Passions Theories of the Stoics

Perhaps the most formalised passions theory was that of the stoic philosophers of the third and fourth centuries B.C. In an essay entitled 'Poetry and the Passions' Martha Nussbaum has demonstrated the existence of two quite different stoic theories.[3] The most prominent, however, and that traditionally associated with the stoics, is the theory initiated by Zeno, their founder, and developed by Chrisyppus, the third leader of the group. This was transmitted to Renaissance scholars via Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, dialogues which contain a digest and discussion of elemental features of Hellenistic philosophy. Cicero's popularity throughout the Renaissance extended to his philosophical as well as his rhetorical works. The educationalist Guarino de Verona included in the curriculum of his Ferrarese school the study of *Tusculan Disputations* alongside that of the rhetorical treatises, since it was regarded as

[3] Martha C. Nussbaum, 'Poetry and the Passions: Two Stoic Views' in Brunschwig and Nussbaum (eds), *Passions and Perceptions: Studies in Hellenistic Philosophies of Mind*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp.97-149.

'exhibiting a wealth of knowledge most valuable both as to material and expression to every modern writer'.[4] That the information on the passions contained in Cicero's discourse was still considered valid for students in the late Renaissance is demonstrated by Soarez's inclusion of a précis of the theory in *De arte rhetorica.*

Taking their cue from the chapters of Plato's *Republic* which condemn and seek to censor the poetry which excites unruly passions,[5] the stoics drew the conclusion that all passions are harmful to the soul, and should therefore be eliminated. Zeno's definition of *pathos*, according to Cicero, is 'an agitation of the soul alien to right reason and contrary to nature'.[6] For the stoics, passions are false judgements, and an individual may eliminate them by learning to judge correctly. There are four principle passions: desire (*libido*), delight (*laetitia*), fear (*metus*) and distress (*aegritudo*). The passions differ according to the two kinds of good and evil discernible by the soul. Apprehension of present good or evil leads to the passions of delight or distress, while the expectation of good or evil in the future produces passions of desire and fear. These four are 'excessive passions', or disorders. There are, however, three 'equitable states' which are in tune with right reason. These are wish (*voluntam*) in place of desire, joy (*gaudiam*) as opposed to delight and precaution (*cautio*) instead of fear. Distress has no equitable parallel since only fools 'feel its influence in the face of expected evil'.[7] Although there are only four primary passions, each is subject to a degree of variation depending upon the strength and circumstances of the feeling. Thus distress may be subdivided into envy, rivalry, jealousy, compassion, anxiety, mourning, sadness, troubling, grief, lamenting, depression, vexation, pining, despondency and 'anything of the same kind'.[8] Fear includes sluggishness, shame, fright, timidity, consternation, pusillanimity, bewilderment and faintheartedness. Pleasure may involve passions such as malice, rapture, and ostentation, and desire encompasses anger, rage, hatred, enmity, wrath, greed and longing.[9] Cicero provides a separate definition for each of these passions. Compassion, for example, is 'distress

[4] W. H. Woodward, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600*, New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1965, p.45.
[5] See Plato, *Republic*, trans. Desmond Lee, London: Penguin, 1974, books 2, 3 and 10.
[6] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J.E. King, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinneman, 1945, IV.vi.11.
[7] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV.vi.14.
[8] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV.vii.16.

arising from the wretchedness of a neighbour in undeserved suffering' while depression is 'distress accompanied by brooding' and pining is 'distress accompanied by physical suffering'.[10]

Because passions are, for the stoics, 'due to judgement and belief',[11] it is possible to manipulate the passions of an individual by 'persuading' him into a particular state of mind. It is this understanding of the concept *movere* which dominates Cicero's rhetorical theory. The passions of the listener may be moved one way or another depending upon the light in which the subject is cast. In *De oratore* he explains that, to move the listener to feel affection for his client, the orator must present him as one who is seen to be 'upholding the interests of the audience, or to be working for good men, or at any rate for such as the audience deems good and useful'.[12] If one wishes to incite hatred, however, it is necessary to present the subject as working for the harm of the audience. To move the audience to jealousy (by far the fiercest emotion, says Cicero) the orator must show that the attributes or possessions of the one whom the audience is to envy were not 'the fruit of merit', rather that they 'even came by vice and wrongdoing' and that the subject's achievements, 'though creditable and impressive enough, are still exceeded by his arrogance and disdain'.[13] Jealousy is quenched by the opposite procedure. The audience must be convinced of the merit of the subject, and that he used his position and reward to the good of others. Despite the fact that the reward was rightly deserved, the subject must be seen to take no pleasure in it, rather he 'casts it aside and disclaims it altogether'.[14]

Cicero's description of the passions as judgements to which one may be persuaded would seem to exclude the possibility of them being moved by music, particularly music for instruments. Although Cicero and Quintilian do express the belief that music has the power to move the passions, it would appear that they are referring to the Hellenistic *mousike*, which encompassed poetry as well as instrumental and vocal

[9] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV.vii.16.
[10] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV.viii.19.
[11] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV.vii.14.
[12] Cicero, *De oratore*, II.l.206, trans. E.W. Sutton and H Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinneman, 1942.
[13] Cicero, *De oratore*, II.lii.209.
[14] Cicero, *De oratore*, II.lii.210.

music, and that it is the persuasive power of the words which moves the soul. Nevertheless, tales such as that of the youths who were enflamed and subsequently calmed by the tones of the aulos (recounted by Quintilian) suggest that, even for adherents to stoical ideas, the passions may not be wholly cognitive.

Non-cognitive passions theories

The non-cognitive view of the passions, which surfaces only occasionally in Ciceronian writing, is rooted in Platonic theory. This was made known to the Renaissance west via the Latin translations and commentaries of Marsilio Ficino. In *Phaedrus,* Plato likens the human soul to a winged charioteer driving two winged horses, one of which, coloured white, is noble and obedient, the other, a black steed, is wild and unruly. Plato had established the tripartite nature of the soul in the *Republic*;[15] in the *Phaedrus* myth the three elements represented are a calculative part (reason), a 'courageous' part (the irascible passions) and an appetitive part (the concupiscible passions). The charioteer (reason) attempts to control the noble (irascible) and wild (concupiscible) passions.[16] In Socrates's Athens the passions were believed to be a disease of the soul, which it contracted by a kind of enchantment. Thus, 'viewed as an affliction divorced from cognition, emotion was naturally opposed to reason and conceived of as something hostile to thoughtful judgement'.[17] In his famous *Encomium of Helen,* Gorgias, the sophist elder, asserted that 'the power of speech has the same effect on the condition of the soul as the application of drugs to the state of bodies'.[18] He stated that:

> Divine sweetness transmitted through words is inductive of pleasure, reductive of pain. Thus, by entering into the opinion of the soul the force of incantation is wont to begile and persuade and alter it by witchcraft, and the two arts of witchcraft and magic are errors of the soul and deceivers of opinion.[19]

Gorgias insinuates that the soul is enchanted by the metre of poetry, which suggests that it is not so much the subject of the words as the effect of their sound which

[15] Plato, *Republic,* IV.441.d and e.
[16] Plato. *Phaedrus*, trans. Walter Hamilton, London: Penguin, 1973, parts 246, 253 and 256.
[17] W.W. Fortenbaugh, *Aristotle on Emotion*, London: Duckforth, 1975, p.18.
[18] Gorgias, *Encomium of Helen,* 14, trans. Kennedy, included in Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, p.287.

influences the passions. Over the incident of her abduction, Helen was innocent of wrongdoing because it is impossible to resist the words of a persuasive individual: 'the persuader, as user of force, did wrong; the persuaded, forced by speech, is unreasonably blamed'.[20] It is the fact that the soul may involuntarily be moved by words and music which prompted Plato to banish all but the most 'proper' kinds of *mousike* from his ideal state. He explains that the soul may be mollified by harmony and rhythm, which is good, since it teaches the *thumoeides* (the courageous part of the soul) to obey reason, yet the arts also have the capacity to excite the soul immoderately, and this could place individuals and the state in extreme jeopardy. For this reason, Plato was only prepared to admit into his republic the music and poetry which would correctly educate its citizens.[21]

What applied to poetry was also extended to rhetoric. The Socratic Plato was vehemently opposed to rhetoric because it sought to persuade without presenting any systematic teaching about right and wrong. His dialectical dispute with Gorgias makes this clear:

> SOCRATES Then do you want us to lay down two forms of persuasion, one yielding conviction without knowing, the other yielding knowledge?
>
> GORGIAS Quite.
>
> SOCRATES Then which persuasion does rhetoric produce in jury-courts and the other mobs, about just and unjust things? The persuasion which comes from conviction without knowing, or that from which knowing comes?
>
> GORGIAS Presumably it is clear, Socrates, that it's the kind from which conviction comes.
>
> SOCRATES Then it seems rhetoric is the craftsman of persuasion which yields conviction but does not teach about the just and the unjust.
>
> GORGIAS Yes.
>
> SOCRATES Then neither does the rhetor teach juries and the other mobs about just and unjust things, but only produces conviction. For presumably he couldn't teach such great matters to so large a mob in a short time.
>
> GORGIAS No indeed.[22]

[19] Gorgias, *Encomium of Helen*, 10.
[20] Gorgias, *Encomium of Helen*, 12.
[21] Plato, *Republic*, books 4 and 10.
[22] Cited in B.Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p.93.

Given the great power attributed to orators, and the disaster he believed they had brought upon Periclean Athens, Plato was troubled by something which did not seem to cross the minds of Renaissance and early seventeenth-century rhetoricians very often. What happens if the orator is wrong? What havoc could he wreak should he choose to enflame the minds of his hearers to execute unworthy deeds? Plato believed that the practice of rhetoric had a similar effect to 'putting a knife in the hands of a madman in a crowd'.[23]

Despite the vastly significant advances in scientific knowledge of the Renaissance, the concept that the passions were moved by a form of enchantment was nevertheless prominent in Renaissance and early Baroque thinking. This was largely the result of a fascination with natural, celestial and ceremonial magic, displayed by philosophers such as Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. The interest in magic was stimulated by Renaissance Neoplatonism and Hermeticism, of which Ficino, patronised by Cosimo d'Medici, was a prime instigator. Not only did Ficino produce the first set of Latin translations of Platonic writings, he also translated the two major works of Hermes Trismegistus, the Egyptian 'seer', believed to pre-date Moses, from whom Hermeticism received its name. From Plato came the ideas of a world soul, and notions of the harmonies of the spheres. The Hermetic works, *Asclepius* and *Corpus Hermeticum* amounted to an occult manifesto concerned with astrology and the magical powers of plants and minerals, as well as the use of talismans and music to 'channel' cosmic energies, or 'spirits' for human use.[24]

Ficino believed that the human body corresponded with its soul via the spirit. Spirit, according to Ficino, is 'a vapour of blood – pure subtle, hot and clear'[25] which is composed of varying proportions of the four humours. The humours are bodily substances, first delineated in the Hippocratic *On the Nature of Man,* which were believed to affect the health of the body. Hippocratic and Galenaic writings connected each humour to one of the four elements, the seasons, the four ages of

[23] Plato, *Gorgias*, 469C 8ff.
[24] Hermetic theories of music are discussed in Joscelyn Godwin, *Harmonies of Heaven and Earth*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.

man, and the four primary qualities (hot, cold, wet, dry). Medieval commentators further allied them to the four temperaments, the four Evangelists and to four musical tonalities.[26] Ficino maintained that the spirits are formed by the heat of the heart and thence travel to the brain; here they are employed by the soul to activate the senses which perceive the world and those, such as *phantasia* (or imagination), which interpret perceptions to the soul. Thus 'the blood serves the spirit, the spirit, the senses; and finally, the senses, reason' and the spirit is the instrument with which one is able 'to measure and grasp the whole world'.[27] In order for the spirit to remain healthy it must be properly nourished and purified. This may be achieved by the consumption of wine and aromatic foods, the inhalation of odours such as cinnamon and roses, exposure to pure, sunny air and, most importantly, listening to music.[28] Ficino's reasoning works along the lines of the theories of 'resemblance' discussed by Michel Foucault.[29] Music is a powerful nourisher of the spirit because it is transmitted by air, which is similar in nature to, or 'resembles', the corporeal spirit, and because the soul itself, as said Plato in *Timaeus*, was comparable to musical consonance.

> Musical consonance occurs in the element which is the mean of all [i.e. air], and reaches the ears through motion, spherical motion: so that it is not surprising that it should be fitting to the soul, which is both the mean of all things, and the origin of circular motion. In addition, musical sound, more than anything else perceived by the senses, conveys, as if animated, the emotions and thoughts of the singer's or player's soul to the listeners' souls; thus it pre-eminently corresponds with the soul. ... Musical sound by the movement of the air moves the body: by purified air it excites the aerial spirit which is the bond of body and soul: by emotion it affects the senses and at the same time the soul: by meaning it works on the mind: finally, by the very movement of the subtle air it penetrates strongly: by its contemplation it flows smoothly: by the conformity of its quality it floods us with a wonderful pleasure: by its nature, both spiritual and material, it at once seizes, and claims as its own, man in his entirety.[30]

[25] Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, I.ii, trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989, p.111.
[26] See Conrad. Neve, Nutton, Porter & Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition 800 BC to AD 1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.24-5.
[27] Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, I.ii, p.111.
[28] See D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, London: Warburg Institute, 1958, p.13 and Jamie James, *The Music of the Spheres*, London: Little, Brown and Company, 1993, p.120. Joscelyn Godwin, *Harmonies of Heaven and Earth*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1987, pp.124-192.
[29] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1970, reprinted London: Routledge, 1989. Foucault's theories are discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis.
[30] Ficino's commentary on *Timaeus*, cited in Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, p.9.

Music is effective because it communicates the condition of the spirits of the performer (which determines his/her passion) to the soul of the listener, whose spirits respond in a like manner and take on the same constitution, not unlike the phenomenon of sympathetic vibration. For this reason:

> Song is a most powerful imitator of all things. It imitates the intentions and passions of the soul as well as words; it represents also people's physical gestures, motions, and actions as well as their characters and imitates all these and acts them out so forcibly that it immediately provokes both the singer and the audience to imitate and act out the same things.[31]

Although none of his music survives, Ficino is thought to have composed and performed 'Orphic hymns' – solo songs sung to the accompaniment of the lyre. D P Walker suggests that the music may have been 'recited' in a similar way to Poliziano's description of the performance of a young boy in the presence of Pietro de'Medici:

> His voice was neither like someone reading nor like someone singing, but such that you heard both, yet neither separately; it was varied, however, as the words demanded, either even or modulated, now punctuated, now flowing, now exalted, now subdued, now relaxed, now tense, now slow, now hastening, always pure, always clear, always sweet.[32]

It is perhaps more than coincidental that Poliziano describes the singer in a manner highly similar to that used by later commentators (such as Vincenzo Giustiniani, for example) to describe monodic singing. Figure 1, a woodcut of the early sixteenth-century, portrays a solo singer accompanying himself on the lira da braccio who, if the facial expressions are anything to go by, is clearly affecting the passions of his audience.[33] Claude Palisca has shown that there is evidence to suggest that a tradition of solo singing had extended into the Renaissance from medieval improvisatory practices such as that of the troubadours, a tradition which was broken by the advent of the madrigal. Poliziano's description, Ficino's Orphic hymns and the illustration in figure 1 may all be examples of that tradition. It is possible, then, to consider the monody of later humanists to be a revival (conscious or otherwise) of far more recent practices than we commonly suppose.[34] D P Walker has noted that Ficino's

[31] Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, III.xxi, p.359.
[32] Cited in Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, p.20.
[33] This image is taken from Iain Fenlon, ed., *The Renaissance*, Man & Music Series, London: Macmillan, 1989.
[34] See C V Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, p.371.

apparently original emphasis upon the bodily operations of the passions and the way in which music was able to move them has much in common with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musical ideals.[35] L'Ottuso Accademico, advocate of the *Stile moderno* and champion of Monteverdi, quoted the above extract from Ficino's commentary upon and translation of *Timaeus* in answer to the question 'but how do I imagine I shall demonstrate that in music, or from this harmony, come all these motions [of the mind and the senses]?'[36] Claude Palisca has remarked that the theories of Girolamo Mei, honorary member of the Florentine Alterati and consultant to the Florentine Camerata, appear to owe something to those of Ficino. In *Del verso toscano*, Mei suggests that the human spirit is manipulated by the sound of song or of musical instruments, and responds sympathetically, as if the spirit were a 'natural' instrument itself:

> The major and minor force of the spirit is born of the natural power of musical and other instruments that are involved. These in pressing the spirit out now with more, now with less violence, according to the choice and design of the will that commands them, as if touching natural frets of the strings, or opening the fingerholes of a flute.[37]

Anthony Levi proposed that 'scarcely a treatise on the passions but owes something to Ficino', and he suggested that the essence of Ficino's theories was transmitted to humanist thinkers via Castiglione's popular work, *Il cortegiano* (1528).[38]

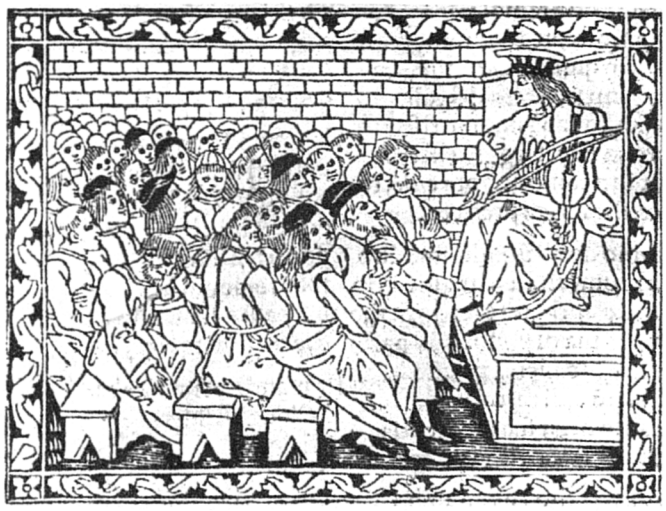


Figure 1: Woodcut from 'Morgante maggiore' by Luigi Pulci, Florence, 1500

[35] Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought,* p.28.
[36] Cited in Karol Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th-Century Italy,* Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981, p.120.
[37] Cited in Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought,* p.354.

Certainly Ficino's influence is detectable in later studies of the passions. The treatise of painter Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato de l'arte de la Pittura* of 1584 (translated by Richard Haydocke and published in England in 1598) contains a book devoted to the study of the passions entitled 'of the actions, gestures, situation, decorum, motion, spirit, and grace of pictures'.[39] Just as ancient musicians, who were able to 'stirre men up to wrath and indignation, love, warres, honourable attempts, and all other affections as they listed'[40] the painter, by creating images of 'motions', or passions, was able to awaken the same passions in the soul of the beholder. To achieve this effect, the painter was required to understand the ways in which the passions were moved and the effects which they had upon the body. Lomazzo provides a chapter on each of 97 motions and shows how the actions of the body and expressions of the face represent the passion of the soul. By reproducing these appearances in his painting, the artist is able to imitate the passions which engendered them, and thus stir the affections of the beholder.

Lomazzo's treatise is clearly influenced by spirit theories. He explains how passions generate the movement of the spirits around the body and that the nature of the passions determines the quantity and quality of spirits in various parts of the anatomy. For example, the passion of mirth activates an expansion of the spirits, while fear triggers their contraction. This stimulates a contraction of the heart, which results in coldness, paleness, panting and the failure of the voice. As well as being affected by passion, the composition of the spirits also determines the kind of passions to which one is likely to be susceptible. Depending upon the composition of the spirits, Lomazzo explained that an individual could display one of the four different temperaments, or complexions. Melancholy, the first temperament, resembles the earth. According to Ficino, a melancholic man has a predominance of black bile in his spirits. This generates a heaviness which slows his movements, making him prone to the passions of anxiety, horror and despair. The phlegmatic temperament is associated with the watery element. This is heavy, but not as heavy as earth, so the

[38] A. Levi, *French Moralists and the Theory of the Passions 1585 to 1649*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, p.333.

[39] Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge and Buildinge, Englished by Richard Haydocke*, Oxford, 1598, Facsimile edition, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1970.

man whose spirits are mostly made up of phlegm will experience passions such as timidity, fear and sorrow. The choleric man is a hot-headed individual. His spirits are composed mainly of yellow bile, which resembles fire, and he is prone to passions of anger, hatred and boldness. The sanguine temperament is controlled by spirits composed mainly of blood. This is associated with air, which is a pleasant element and renders one temperate, modest, gentle and merry. The passions with which it is connected are love, delight, pleasure, mirth and hope.[41] As Ficino explained, air is the medium by which sound is transmitted. Theories of resemblance suggest that, because of the similitude between the two substances, those of a sanguine, aerial temperament are most receptive to the nourishment which music brings to the spirits. Ripa represents the sanguine temperament by a man singing and accompanying himself on the lute, reminiscent of Ficino's orphic hymns (see figure 2). It is, perhaps, significant that, in an anonymous oration introducing him to the Florentine *Accademia degli Alterati* sometime around December 1574, Giovanni Bardi was described as being a musical connoisseur of sanguine disposition:

> It is evident that everyone loves those things that are in keeping with and proportioned to his condition. For this reason the person of Irate [temperament] desires contests, the Sanguine enjoys pleasing and cheerful things, the Melancholic loves solitude, and the Phlegmatic above all tranquillity and quiet. It is not surprising that our Signor Giovanni, altogether well proportioned in soul and body, has always borne a singular affection for the suave and delectable harmony of music, the art of the ancient Greeks, among whom flourished all the noble arts and virtues to such a degree that whoever was not well versed and practised in music was looked upon as ill bred and vulgar. In music he has produced such artful compositions that he has surpassed many who pursue music as a profession.[42]

[40] Lomazzo, *A Tracte,* Book 2, p.2.
[41] Lomazzo, *A Tracte,* Book 2, pp.12-13.
[42] Cited in C V Palisca, 'The Alterati of Florence, Pioneers in the Theory of Dramatic Music', Austin (ed.), *New Looks at Italian Opera*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976, p.16.

Figure 2: The sanguine temperament, as depicted by Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padua. 1611

Like Ficino, Lomazzo associates temperaments with each of the seven 'planets', citing Hermes Trismegistus as his authority. The 'original form' of the affections is found in the celestial macrocosm. Thus Saturn is the origin of religious acts, weeping and melancholy, while Jupiter inspires a merry countenance and contentment. From Mars comes violence and power, from the Sun prudence, intelligence and magnanimity, from Venus love and wantonness, from Mercury quickness and eloquence, and from the Moon humanity and gentleness. While Ficino is interested in using certain substances and activities (such as powders, vapours and odours, listening to music, or engaging in discursive reasoning) to attract celestial properties to the human soul, Lomazzo is concerned to acquire knowledge of the characteristics of celestial bodies so that the painter is better enabled to 'judge of every man's private nature, according to the Planet whereunto he is subject'.[43] Ficino believed that by their nature, certain types of music were able to instil in the soul the properties of Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, and primarily Apollo. Lomazzo, who, of course, is more interested in the visual representation of the passions, does not treat the subject in as much detail, but agrees with Ficino that music is so 'forcible' that it 'inchaunteth the eares of the hearers'.[44]

[43] Lomazzo, *A Tracte,* book 2, p.17.

Aristotelian Passions Theories

Although Neoplatonist and Hermetic non-cognitive passions theories provide a 'rational' explanation for the operation of the passions in which music independent of words is shown to have an effect, these notions do not overcome the objections of either Plato or the Stoics that the passions are erroneous states to be avoided at all costs. It is true that a guardedness existed in Renaissance and early seventeenth-century philosophies concerning the extent to which one should surrender oneself to the affections, and readers are often warned to keep their passions under control. Nevertheless, an ancient precedent did exist which vindicated the passions from their iniquitous status. Its exponent was Aristotle. In *De anima* Aristotle demonstrates that all human activity stems from an initial desire, or movement of the passions.[45] Since every action is a result of an initial passion, and not every action is bad, it follows that the passions themselves cannot be erroneous. In book 2 of *Rhetoric*, Aristotle defines the passions as:

> Those things through which, by undergoing change, people come to differ in their judgements and which are accompanied by pain and pleasure, for example, anger, pity, fear, and other things and their opposites.[46]

It appears that Aristotle considered emotional states to have a significant bearing upon the way in which a situation is perceived. Although not judgements in themselves, emotions incited in an audience may move its, as yet neutral, members to make a particular judgement, may alter the severity of the judgement at which they had already arrived, or may cause a preconceived judgement to change entirely. Since it is the passions rather than the intellect which more readily generate action, an orator who appeals to the passions of his audience as well as their reason is better able to influence its members' decision.

[44] Lomazzo. *A Tracte,* book 2, p.11.
[45] See Aristotle, *De Anima*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred, London: Penguin, 1986, 432b and 433a.
[46] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. Kennedy, 1991, p.121.

In *Rhetoric* Aristotle identifies and defines twelve passions. These are outlined in the table below.

Passion	English Term	Aristotle's Definition
orge	anger	Desire, accompanied by distress, for conspicuous retaliation because of a conspicuous slight that was directed, without justification, against oneself or those near to one.
praotes	calmness	A settling down and quieting of anger.
philia	friendly feeling	Wanting for someone what one thinks are good things for him, not what one thinks benefit oneself, and wanting what is potentially productive of these good things.
misos	hatred	Evident from the opposites to friendliness.
phobos	fear	A sort of pain or agitation derived from the imagination of a future destructive or painful evil.
tharsos	confidence	Hope of safety, accompanied by an imagination that it is near. The opposite of fear.
aiskhyne	shame	A sort of pain and agitation concerning the class of evils, whether present or past or future, that seems to bring a person into disrespect.
kharis	kindliness	A service to one in need, not in return for anything nor that the one rendering the service may get anything but as something for the recipient.
eleos	pity	A certain pain at an apparently destructive or painful evil happening to one who does not deserve it.
nemesan	being indignant	The opposite to pity – being pained at undeserved good fortune.
phthonos	envy	A certain kind of distress at apparent success on the part of one's peers in attaining good things, ... not that a person may get anything for himself but because of those who have it.
zelos	emulation (or jealousy)	A kind of distress at the apparent presence among others like him by nature, of things honoured and possible for a person to acquire.

Table 1 : Definitions of the passions from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*

Before embarking on his discussion of specific passions, Aristotle explains the necessity to divide each analysis into three parts: the condition of a man experiencing the passion; the types of people towards whom he is likely to feel the passion; and the circumstances which will arouse it. However, not always are the parts tackled in this order, nor are clear distinctions necessarily maintained between them. In his discussion of anger, for example, Aristotle begins with the third category, explaining that men will experience the passion when they recognise that they have been belittled in some way. Belittlement is 'an actualisation of opinion about what seems worthless'[47] and has three species: contempt (*kataphtonesis*), spite (*epereasmos*) and insult (*hybris*). Following an analysis of the types of belittlement, Aristotle moves on

[47] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. Kennedy, 1991, p.125.

to discuss 'the state of mind of those who become angry'.[48] Men are inclined to anger when already experiencing some discomfort, particularly if someone denies them a remedy for their pain or makes light of their predicament, or if their discomfort is opposite to the sensation they were expecting. Therefore, we are told, it is easier for an orator to move a man to anger if he is in one of these conditions already. Aristotle's list of people with whom men are likely to become angry is very detailed and specific. It includes those who laugh or scoff at them, rejoice at their misfortune or insult them without provocation, people who mock things important to them, men who fail to show adequate respect towards them or their family and friends, those who do not reciprocate good deeds and those who belittle them before people by whom they wish to be respected and admired.

The remaining eleven passions are discussed in a similar manner. Some of them, Aristotle demonstrates, have direct opposites; calmness, for example, is the opposite of anger as friendly feelings are of hatred. Additionally, Aristotle discusses the differences between passions which have similar effects. Anger must be directed towards individuals, while hatred can be felt for people of a particular type; anger, the pursuit of pain, cures with time, but hatred, whose end is evil, does not.

It is interesting that, in a treatise concerned with the art of persuasion, Aristotle affords little attention to the matter of *how* an orator is to excite the passions in his audience. From the occasional comment to this end it appears that he considered the information about the nature of the passions to be sufficient for the orator's needs. On the subject of anger, the reader is informed that:

> ... it is clear that it might be needful in speech to put [the audience] in the state of mind of those who are inclined to anger and to show one's opponents as responsible for the things that are the causes of anger and that they are the sort of people against whom anger is directed.[49]

And in the case of calmness, orators are able to ...

> .... produce such a feeling in them by having made them regard those with whom they are angry as either persons to be feared or worthy of respect

[48] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. Kennedy, 1991, p.127.
[49] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. Kennedy, 1991, p.130.

or benefactors or involuntary actors or as very grieved by what they have done.[50]

John Cooper believes that Aristotle considered the passions to consist of three 'central elements'. Passions are 'agitated, *affected* states of mind, arising from the ways events or conditions *strike* the one affected, which are at the same time *desires* for a specific range of reactive behaviours or other changes in the situation as it appears to her or him to be'.[51] According to Cooper, Aristotle's discussion of the passions is far from comprehensive. The passions Aristotle selected were those required by the orator so that he might 'compose his public addresses with full effectiveness – whether by representing himself as motivated by them, or by finding means to arouse them in his audience and direct them suitably for the purposes of his discourse'.[52] This notion is certainly supported by the fact that many of the definitions of individual passions consider the subject's feelings towards other people. Less discipline-specific passions theories concentrate almost exclusively upon the feelings of the subject towards a good or evil object. It appears that Aristotle was providing specific information about how the members of an audience would be expected to react towards the orator or his client rather than a more 'universal' theory of the passions. Perhaps it is for this reason that Aristotle's discussion of the passions in *Nicomachean Ethics* contains a slightly different list, this time of eleven passions: 'appetite; anger; fear; confidence; envy; joy; love; hatred; longing; jealousy; pity' as well as 'in general the feelings that are accompanied by pleasure and pain'.[53] In *De Anima* the passions are not listed but are divided into the same two categories (concupiscible and irascible) depicted in Plato's parable. *Rhetoric* was not considered to be an important text during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. It was rather the typology of the passions found in *Nicomachean Ethics*, coupled with their bipartite division discussed in *De anima*, transmitted by Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), which had the most influence upon Renaissance passions theories. Thus from Aristotle arose two separate, though related, philosophies of the passions. That found in *Rhetoric* was introduced to the Renaissance west through George of Trebizond's

[50] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. Kennedy, 1991, p 133
[51] John M. Cooper, 'An Aristotelian Theory of the Emotions', in A.O. Rorty (ed.), *Essays on Aristotle's Rhetoric*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, p.251.
[52] Cooper, 'An Aristotelian Theory of the Emotions', p.251.

Latin translation of 1445. Trebizond emphasised the value of Aristotle's book on the passions, explaining that in it ...

> ... everything about the ways of men – in the variety of their ages and fortunes – everything is judiciously laid out, clearly explained, and suitably described, so completely that nothing is missing. Here we can peer into, not just the secrets of Nature (and Nature is the greatest philosopher of all), but even peer into the hidden minds of men, into the private emotions of men, and we can do so harmlessly.[54]

Later Renaissance theorists who studied Aristotle's *Rhetoric* also stressed the insight which it gives to the operation of the passions and the understanding of the audience and it has been argued that the rise of this text throughout the Renaissance inspired the developing preoccupation with the passions which was to flourish in the early seventeenth century.[55] The text itself, however, is very difficult to understand. Because it is an amalgamation of two separate 'courses' with very different agendas, at times Aristotle appears to express contradictory ideas.[56] Renaissance theorists spent a great deal of effort not only attempting to marry seemingly opposing theories but also trying to tie in what is a rather unique conception of the passions to other theories which were more widely known and more easily understood. Lawrence Green is of the opinion that, despite a vast amount of modern scholarship, our interpretation of Aristotle's text is not sufficiently steady to enable scholars to evaluate the success of Renaissance writers.[57] The importance of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* lies in the fact that it inspired hot debate about the nature and operation of the passions and their rôle in the art of rhetoric rather than in its provision of any irrefutable answers to philosophical questions.

Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* contains an important typology of the passions, described by Anthony Levi as 'a rigorously systematic account of the

[53] Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, trans. Terence Irwin, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1985. 1105b, p.41.
[54] George of Trebizond, *In tres rhetoricum Aristotelis libros ad Theodecten translatio*, cited in Lawrence Green, 'Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Renaissance Views of the Emotions', in Peter Mack (ed.), *Renaissance Rhetoric*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1994, p.5.
[55] See Green, 'Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Renaissance Views of the Emotions', pp.1-26.
[56] Introduction to Kennedy's translation of *Rhetoric*, p.5.
[57] Green, 'Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Renaissance Views of the Emotions', p.20.

affective states of which the human person is capable'.[58] Like Aristotle, Aquinas held that passions are interior movements which are the cause of human action; *Summa Theologiae* states that passions are 'mainsprings of exterior actions, or obstacles to the same'[59] and that they are 'value-neutral, convertible to good or to evil, according as they are capable of according with reason or not according with it'.[60] Aquinas defined the passions as 'motions of the sensible appetite,' explaining that:

> Passion is properly found where there is a bodily alteration; and that takes place in the act of the sensitive appetite; whereas in the act of the intellectual appetite there is not required any bodily alteration, because that appetite is not a function of any bodily organ.[61]

Thus, like Aristotle, Aquinas saw passion as originating in the soul but affecting the body. He maintained that the passions always increase or decrease the natural rate of the heartbeat, and that the heart responds by contracting or dilating. Aquinas combines the concept of a bipartite appetite with the enumeration of the passions. Following the precedent of Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aquinas numbers the passions at eleven, although his list is not the same as Aristotle's. Rather Aquinas works from the Aristotelian principle that the passions are feelings accompanied by pleasure and pain, depending upon whether their object is good or evil. Six of these are of the concupiscible appetite (an inclination to seek good and shun evil) and five are irascible (the wish to defeat whatever may prevent the achievement of good and to resist anything obstructing a flight from evil). These are summarised in the table below.

concupiscible passions		**irascible passions**	
Passion	**Definition**	**Passion**	**Definition**
Love	Initial inclination towards sensible good	Hope	Movement of the soul to achieve a good which is possible to obtain.
Hate	Initial inclination away from sensible evil	Despair	Movement of the soul to achieve a good which is difficult to obtain.
Desire	If the good is not yet possessed	Fear	Movement of the soul to defeat evil which is difficult to eschew.
Repugnance	If the evil is not possessed	Boldness	Movement of the soul to defeat an evil which is possible to eschew.
Joy	If good is already possessed	Anger	When the evil is realised.
Sorrow	If evil is already possessed		

Table 2: The concupiscible and irascible passions according to Thomas Aquinas

[58] Levi. *French Moralists*, p.19.
[59] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, II-II, q.157, a.3. Translated by Morris Stockhammer, *Thomas Aquinas Dictionary*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1965, p.138.
[60] Aquinas. *Summa Theologiae*, I-II, q.59, a.1.

Although this typology is similar to the list in *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aquinas abandons envy, longing, jealousy and pity in the place of sorrow, repugnance, despair and hope. Unlike Aristotle, Aquinas does not leave the list of passions open ended, but considers that these eleven comprise all the possible motions of the sensible appetite. This is because collectively they provide the facility to pursue present or future good and to shun present or future evil.

The theories of Thomas Aquinas were the subject of much discussion among scholastic thinkers and, according to Levi, before the end of the sixteenth century *Summa Theologicae* had become the chief text of university theology faculties. At about this time the 'questions' which comprise the *Summa Theologiae* were being broken up into separate treatises, and Levi postulates that it was this practice which spawned the seventeenth-century trend to compose treatises dedicated exclusively to the passions. Certainly Aquinas's ideas were highly influential. Many late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century accounts of the passions take Aquinas's theories as a starting point for their discussion. Lomazzo, for example, combines Ficino's spirit theories with Aquinas's enumeration of the passions and although he lists a good many more 'movements' than Aquinas, he maintains that all actions spring from the initial eleven 'passions of the minde'. [62]

A similar amalgamation of ideas is present in the passions treatise by the English theorist, Thomas Wright, entitled *The Passions of the Minde* (1601). Like Ficino and Lomazzo, Wright believes that the manner in which one is moved by the passions depends upon the condition of the humours, the heart and the body, such that 'divers sorts of persons be subject to divers sorts of passions, and the same passion affecteth divers persons in divers manners'.[63] In chapter 11, Wright explains how the passions of a man are moved. First, the imagination (situated in the front of the brain) senses, or has a recollection of, an object which it recognises as being either beneficial or inexpedient to the well being of the subject: 'convenient or disconvenient to Nature'.[64]

[61] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I-II, q.22, a.3.
[62] Lomazzo. *A Tracte*, book 2, p.10.
[63] Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, 1601, facsimile, Hildesheim and New York: George Olms Verlag, 1973, p.69.
[64] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.83.

Following this, 'purer spirits' rush from the brain to the heart via 'certaine secret channels' and by their composition indicate to the heart the nature of the object and establish whether it is good or bad. The heart is then induced either to procure or eschew the object and 'the better to effect that affection' draws the humours in varying quantities towards it.[65] At the same time the soul itself sends humours to the heart, so that both body and soul are involved in the operation. The proportions of the humours approaching the heart differ depending on the nature of the passion, thus:

> ... in pleasure concurre great store of pure spirits; in payne and sadnesse, much melancholy blood; in ire, bloud and choller.[66]

> ... if much hote blood abound in the bodie, that subject by the force of that humour shall easily, and often, be moved to anger, if temperate bloud abound, or be mingled with flegme to mirth, if melancholy exceede to griefe and heaviness.[67]

Following Aquinas's distillation of Aristotle, Wright explains that there are two types of passions which affect all men; joyful ones, which dilate the heart, and painful passions, which cause it to contract; the passions may be distinguished by the degree to which they effect either operation. Since they affect the body, the passions influence the health of whoever experiences them. For example, if the soul is exposed to moderate pleasure and delight the body experiences good health because the purer spirits move to the heart, assist in the 'digestion of blood' and remove the 'superfluities in the body', refreshing the brain and the understanding.[68] Wright asserts that:

> From good concoction, explusion of superfluities and aboundance of spirites proceedeth a good colour, a cleare countenaunce and a universall health of the bodie.[69]

However, if the soul is subjected to an excess of pleasurable passions it causes the body to feel 'great infirmitie':

> ... the heart beeing continually environed with great aboundance of spirits, becommeth too hot and inflamed, and consequently engendereth much cholericke and burned blood: Besides, it dilateth and resolveth the

[65] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.83.
[66] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.83.
[67] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.111.
[68] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.102.
[69] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.103.

> substance of the heart too much, in such sort as the vertue and force is greatly weakened.[70]

Passions which cause the heart to contract also bring pain to the mind. These passions are fear, sadness and despair and they are much more dangerous to the health of the body than are the excesses of pleasure. Men are far more likely to lose their lives as a result of the experience of extremes of sadness and fear than they are in hope or love. Sadness, for example, results in the gathering of 'much melancholy blood about the heart'.[71] This causes melancholy spirits (black bile) to flow about the body such that it dries and withers away.

According to Thomas Wright, the movement of the passions has some affinity with the various states of the sea:

> We may compare the soule without passions to a calme sea, with sweete pleasant and crispling streames, but the passionate to the raging gulfe swelling with waves, surging by tempests, minacing the stony rockes, and endeavouring to overthrow mountains: even so, passions make the soul to swell with pride and pleasure; they threaten wounds, death and destruction, by audacious boldness and ire: they undermine the mountaines of vertue with hope and feare; and insumme, never let the soul be in quietmess, but ever, either flowing with pleasure, or ebbing with pain.[72]

It is interesting that the musical theorist, Marin Mersenne, uses very similar metaphors to describe the operation of the passions in his *Harmonie Universelle*. While experiencing pleasurable passions ...

> ... the heart enlarges, expanding and opening in joy and hope, like the sunflower, the rose, and the lily in the presence of the sun; as a result, the tint of the face is rosy because of the vital spirits that the heart sends up; so that if joy is so great that the heart remains without a large enough quantity of these spirits, one falls down in a faint, or dies laughing.[73]

If the passions are painful to the mind and the body ...

> ... the same spirits return to the heart in too great a supply and suffocate it, because it can no longer move, nor open; so these two passions [joy

[70] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.104.
[71] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.105.
[72] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.101.
[73] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellissement des chants', p.368, trans. David Alan Duncan, 'Persuading the Affections: Rhetorical Theory and Mersenne's Advice to Harmonic Orators', in Georgia Cowart, *French Musical Thought, 1600-1800*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989, p.160.

> and sadness] are like the tides of the sea because joy is like the high tide which brings in great quantities of rocks, shells, and fish to the sea shore; and joy brings quantities of blood and spirits to the face and to other parts of the body. But sadness and fear are like the tide's ebbing, which takes away what it had previously brought in, because fear and terror render the face pale and make the countenance mournful and hideous as the blood and the spirits leave and as melancholy corrupts the little blood that remains in the veins.[74]

Wright provides a useful allegory to demonstrate the difference between irascible and concupiscible passions. He requests the reader to consider a wolf who catches sight of a sheep. The concupiscible passions take effect in the following way. The wolf loves the sheep (in the sense that he considers its meat to be good for it) which leads to a desire to possess it, and joy once he has successfully caught it. Conversely, the sheep hates the wolf. On its initial approach he feels repugnance towards it and suffers sorrow when he has been caught.

If, however, the wolf comes across a sheep guarded by a shepherd and a pack of dogs, the irascible passions come into play. He is not certain of obtaining his prey, but hopes that he may. He hates the dogs and the shepherd but shows boldness when attacked by them. Incensed to anger he discovers that he is weaker than he imagined and fears the aggressors, this leads to a despair that he will ever catch his prey and the wolf runs away.

Wright shows how the passions are directly connected to human actions. It is for this reason that it is essential for the reader to regulate their operation, so that he is never led astray to immoral action by immoderate passions. In the same way it is useful to be able to understand and affect the passions of others, since this will enable one to move them to perform whatever action one desires. Prior to beginning his discussion on the nature of the passions, Wright includes a chapter entitled 'The end and profite of this Discourse' in which he explains how his book will be useful to a wide range of society.[75] The professionals he mentions by name include the clergyman, who, through knowledge of the passions, is better able to understand the nature of sin, the

[74] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellissement des chants', p.368, trans. Duncan, p.160.
[75] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.1.

philosopher, who cannot 'fathom the operation of actions' without first understanding the nature of the passions,[76] and the physician, since his chief concern, the spirits and humours 'wait upon the Passions as their Lordes and Maisters'.[77] Even the 'good Christian,' the 'civil gentleman' and the 'prudent politician' require an understanding of the passions, that he may better bridle them, serve God, 'winneth a greater carriage of himself' and 'rendereth his conversation most grateful to men'.[78]

Significantly, according to Wright, it is the orator for whom a knowledge of the passions is imperative, since 'whosoever would perswade a multitude ... if once they can stirre a passion, or affection in their hearers then they have almost halfe perswaded them, for that the forces of strong passions marvellously allure & draw the wit and will to judge and consent unto that they are mooved'.[79] Wright explains how the rhetoricians have a number of specific 'rules of action' (or gesture) which they use more effectively to move their audiences and that they will cunningly adopt a quiet and trembling voice with the intention of winning their affection. Gestures represent the 'conceits and affections of the minde' in a 'more lively' fashion, since the audience receives persuasion through both the eyes and the ears at the same time.[80] It is interesting that, quoting Socrates's words of the *Gorgias,* Wright warns the reader to beware the orator who can easily seduce the affections of his audience: rhetoric is 'a two edged sword in the hand of a furious man'.[81]

The concept of *katharsis*

If Aquinas was influential in providing for the Renaissance a theory of the passions which, in combination with Hermetic spirit theories, was able to explain the cause of human actions, it was Aristotle who gave humanists the licence to venture to move the passions in the course of artistic expression. This is justified through the notion of *katharsis*. The theory was not originally Aristotle's – in his *Encomium of Helen,* Gorgias mentions that a listener to poetry may experience passions of pity and fear –

[76] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.4.
[77] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.7.
[78] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.7.
[79] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.6.
[80] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.196.

but it was through Aristotle that the concept was made known to the Renaissance west, largely as a result of Lorenzo Valla's translation of *Poetics* in 1498. Dealing specifically with tragedy, Aristotle's *Poetics* proposes that the imitation of the passions of pity and fear effects in the audience a purgation of these passions, and a resultant cleansing of the soul. Tragedy is defined by Aristotle as:

> ... an imitation of some action that is important, entire, and of a proper magnitude – by language embellished and rendered pleasurable, but by a different means in different parts – in the way, not of narration, but of action – effecting through pity and terror the correction and refinement of such passions.[82]

Since Aristotle's detailed explanation of the concept (if it ever existed) is lost, exactly how *katharsis* functioned was an issue subject to constant debate by Italian literary critics. Interest in the subject arose in the 1540s and was fuelled by Francesco Robortelli's commentaries on *Poetics* which were published in 1548. Opinions as to the nature of *katharsis* were diverse. There was considerable disagreement over how purgation came about and over which passions were purged. It appears that there were two principal interpretations of the theory. The first was the allopathic view, that the passions of pity and fear were roused in order to purge other, less virtuous passions. Vincenzo Maggi, whose commentaries on the *Poetics* were printed in 1550, believed that pity and fear were the agents which brought about the purgation of the entire canon of concupiscible and irascible passions, especially affections such as wrath and lust. The alternative interpretation was homeopathic, in which purgation was effected by the imitation of the very passions to be purged. For some theorists, this involved embracing the mithridatic principle, in which an exposure to small doses of the passions of pity and fear, through witnessing theatrical tragedy, prepared one to confront the same passions in real life. The former experiences built up a resistance to the passions, just as Mithridates VI, king of Pontus in A.D. 63, had developed an immunity to poison by taking a little at a time at regular intervals. Sperone Speroni cited as evidence of this effect the case of a soldier who, while a novice, is terrified by bloodshed, gradually acquires more composure in battle with experience of the very thing which terrified him. Similarly, the frequent drinker has more tolerance to wine

[81] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, p.152.

[82] Aristotle, *Poetics*, chapter 6, trans. Thomas Twining (1789), contained in *Aristotle's Poetics, Demetrius on Style and Selections from Aristotle's Rhetoric together with Hobbes' Digest and Horace's Ars Poetica*, London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1934.

than one who drinks only occasionally, and the initial panic which accompanies the beginning of a plague eventually subsides as citizens become accustomed to seeing dead bodies piled high in the streets.[83]

Not all adherents to the homeopathic theory believed that it operated by the mithridatic principle. Lorenzo Giacomini, a member of the Florentine Alterati, proposed that passions were purged by excess, and he explained the operation of this procedure in humoral terms. Giacomini, provided the 'most exhaustive inquiry into the nature of Aristotle's cathartic principle to be found in sixteenth-century Italian criticism'.[84] Issues surrounding the theories of the passions and their rôle in poetry, rhetoric and music were frequent subjects of discussion amongst members of the academy. In 1572 six consecutive meetings were held to discuss the function of the passions in oratory and in 1584 Giacomini contrasted the relative powers of poetry and rhetoric, concluding that, while rhetoric was the more persuasive, it was poetry which was able more effectively to move the passions.[85] In 1586 Giacomini gave a formal oration, 'De la purgatione de la tragedia'. He defines the passions according to spirit theories as 'a spiritual movement or operation of the mind in which it is attracted or repelled by an object it has come to know'[86] and he maintained that it is the composition of the humours which affect one's propensity for one passion over another. Since *katharsis* deals with painful passions, Giacomini includes a detailed description of what happens to the body and soul under the influence of a sad affection. Sorrow, he believes, causes a large quantity of spirits to evaporate and rise to the brain where they lodge in the frontal part of the head, stimulating the imagination. As the spirits condense the face is made to contract and the liquid spirits begin to flow from the eyes as tears. The condensation of the spirits also leads to involuntary cries of 'lamentation' which are ...

> ... expelled by Nature through a natural instinct without our awareness to remove thus the bad disposition that afflicts the sensitive part of the soul, contracting and weighting it down, and especially the heart, which full of spirits and heat, suffers most. Therefore the heart moves to shake off its pain and expand and liberate itself of anguish. The lungs and other organs

[83] See Baxter Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972, p.230.
[84] Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism*, p.251.
[85] Palisca, 'The Alterati of Florence, Pioneers in the Theory of Dramatic Music', p.23.
[86] Palisca, 'The Alterati of Florence', p.25.

> of the voice are set in motion and emit shrieks and groans if not impeded by the intellect. In this way the soul, weighted down by sorrow, lightens itself and gives birth to sad conceits and liberates the passionateness that was in it. Having delivered itself of these, the soul remains free and unburdened. So, even if it should want to cry some more, it cannot, because the vapours that filled the head and are the substance of tears have been consumed. They remain scarce until the mind returns to its original disposition because of some internal alteration of the vapours, or through some active qualities, sad imaginings, or external incident.[87]

Giacomini thus provides a physiological explanation of the effect of *katharsis*: the torpid and impure spirits which give rise to the painful passions are expelled from the body both through weeping and by lamenting. He cites Giovanni Della Casa in support of this notion, since, in chapter XI of the *Galateo*, Della Casa remarked that 'men often have as much need of tears as they have of laughter' and that tragedies were devised by the ancients to 'move to tears all those who felt the need of them'.[88]

Kathartic properties are also attributable to music. The 'embellished speech' referred to in *Poetics's* definition of tragedy is, according to Aristotle, that presented in poetic metre or accompanied by music – a medium perhaps more accurately described by the Greek term, 'mousike'. In book eight of his *Politics*, however, Aristotle draws much clearer inferences that certain types of 'music', as we understand the term today, possess *kathartic* qualities. He identifies three properties of music, that which is ethical, or educational, that which provides relaxation and stimulates civilised pursuits and that which is emotional. Emotional music, according to Aristotle provides a means of 'working off the emotions'. When people listen to such music 'they are restored as if they had undergone a curative or purifying [*kathartic*] treatment;' people are affected to varying degrees but 'to them all inevitably comes a sort of pleasant purgation and relief'.[89] Aristotle demonstrates, therefore, that even emotional music (which Plato excludes as unsuitable in his *Republic*) is beneficial to the soul. Giacomini echoes this opinion, stating that:

> From harmonies that serve to waken the affections like the Phrygian and Mixolydian, which had the property of making the soul contracted and somewhat saddened, and from the purgative songs that are in keeping

[87] Palisca, 'The Alterati of Florence', pp.25-6.
[88] Giovanni Della Casa, *Galateo*, trans. by R.S. Pine-Coffin, London: Penguin, 1958, p.41.
[89] Aristotle, *Politics*, book viii, 1341b32, trans. T.A. Sinclair, revised by Trevor J. Saunders, London: Penguin, 1992.

> with these modes, persons who are quickly moved to sorrow, pity and fear, as well as people in general, receive a purgation, alleviation, and relief that not only is injurious but is delightfully salutary.[90]

Giacomini's interpretation of Aristotle's theories justifies the composition and performance of music specifically designed to move the more violent passions. This is only inappropriate when the passions are uncontrolled or misguided.[91] Since lamentation is an external signifier of sorrowful passions, it is the medium of the lament which stimulates similar passions in the listener. The concept of *katharsis* provides a reason for the popularity of monodic laments such as Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna, Lamento della ninfa,* and d'India's *Lamento di Didone* (1623). Additionally it explains why Tasso maintained that poets sought to invoke pleasure in their composition of laments on the death of lovers. In his own laments, Tasso wished, he explained, 'to purge the passions, following rather the judgement of Aristotle and the other Peripatetics than that of Plato'.[92] Tasso believed that poetic genres other than tragedy, such as comedy and the epic poem, were capable of effecting *katharsis* and he considered it possible to purge many more passions than pity and fear.[93]

The popularity of Aristotelian theories which justified not only the incitement of powerful emotions but the imitation of them by respectable citizens, led to a reaction against the stoic notion of the passions as false judgements. Although Renaissance and seventeenth-century theorists of the passions were familiar with the stoic view, they dismissed it as largely erroneous. J F Senault, who became general of the Oratorians in 1662, opened his work on the passions with 'An apologie for Passions against the Stoicks'. It is significant that his work, published in 1641, was entitled *De l'usage des Passions.* The passions were not vicious, indeed they could not be, since Christ, who was without sin, experienced passions of sadness, love, fear, hatred, audacity and contentment. Thus the good Christian should endeavour to use his passions to assist the pursuit of virtue. Senault retains Aquinas' account of eleven passions, but he does not believe them to be divided into two appetites. Rather he

[90] Palisca, 'The Alterati of Florence', p.27.
[91] Palisca, 'The Alterati of Florence', p.28.
[92] Tasso, *Del giudizio sovra la Gerusalemme,* cited in Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism,* p.260.
[93] Tasso, *Del giudizio sovra la Gerusalemme,* cited in Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism,* p.294.

agrees with St Augustine, who maintained that all the passions proceed from love, and the passions and their resultant actions will vary depending upon whether one possesses a love of God and a contempt for oneself or a love of oneself and contempt for God. The second part of Senault's discourse discusses each passion individually, but, in the words of Anthony Levi this 'does not make for an interesting literary creation'.[94] The characteristics of Senault's eleven passions are clearly depicted in the frontispiece of the English translation of the work, by Henry, Earl of Monmouth, published in 1649 (figure 3). The passions are linked together by chains, which are held by reason. The expression and posture of each figure efficiently characterises each passion.

Figure 3: *The Use of Passions*, frontispiece from English edition, 1649

[94] Levi, *The French Moralists*, p.224.

The similarity between this representation of the soul and the popular image of Hercules Gallicus (reproduced in chapter 2) suggests that there may be more than a coincidental connection between the two emblems. In the fifth chapter of book 1, Senault discusses 'the power that Passions have upon the will of man'. Not only does he teach that the secret of the orator's power lies in his ability to reach men's reason through moving their affections, he believes that this is also an essential attribute of a prince, or absolute ruler. It is necessary for the prince to govern his state by inciting hope of honour to induce his subjects to obedience and fear of punishment to prevent them from rebellion. Both prince and orator are to use the passions to control their citizens. Thus a correctly ordered state may be seen as a reflection of a correctly ordered individual. The orator-ruler, guided by the manner in which God orders the universe, is to condition his subjects to right behaviour by appealing, not simply to their ears, but to their passions. The reasoning faculty of the soul is similarly assisted by divine grace in order to control the passions so as to live virtuously. Despite their voluptuous nature, in each case, the passions have an essential part to play.

Senault's discussion of the power of an orator is contained within a discourse on the arts. He claims that the arts 'seduce men by means of Passions' but that they were 'designed by Philosophers to help us govern our affections'.[95] Together with rhetoric and poetry, Senault singles out music as an art capable of influencing the passions. Senault is disapprobatory of modern music, claiming that either it 'only doth tickle our ears' or that our heart is affected 'save only so far as thereby to let impurity thereinto'.[96] This is not the case with church music, however. Senault's description of its operation owes much to Ficinan and neoplatonic theory; church music, Senault writes, 'holds intelligence with Piety, and that by a sweet violence it frees our souls from our bodies and raiseth them up to Heaven'.[97] Senault likewise extols the virtues of ancient music, citing the story of Timotheus and relating it to the power of the harp of David to calm the raving Saul. He also refers to the story of Clytemnestra, who remained chaste while a harpist performed in her presence; it was only when the musician was sent away that she succumbed to Aegisthus, her seducer. Senault's

[95] J F Senault, *The Use of the Passions*, trans. Henry, Earl of Monmouth, 1649, p.160.
[96] Senault, *The Use of the Passions*, p.166.
[97] Senault, *The Use of the Passions*, p.168.

disapproval of passionate secular music may be explained by the fact that he was writing within the French tradition. While the Italians favoured the use of extreme passions in their music, the French, it appears, were much more wary. Indeed, Mersenne, who, through his association with Doni and other Italians, cleaved more to Italian musical practices, was critical of French musicians because they were 'content to tickle the ear, and have a perpetual sweetness in their songs, which deprives them of energy'.[98]

Although Renaissance rhetoricians and musical theorists reiterated Cicero's mandate to move the passions, it is clear that their understanding of the nature and operation of the passions was vastly different from Cicero's own. The differences affect not only the way, but also the means by which the passions were moved and thus have a considerable bearing upon our interpretation of the 'passionate' parts of seventeenth-century music. For Cicero the passions were moved primarily by rational persuasion, and this notion persisted throughout the Renaissance and early seventeenth-century through the popularity of Cicero's rhetorical theory. Yet the Renaissance scholars incorporated into their passions theories the opinions not only of the neoplatonic philosophers, which compelled them to accept that the passions could be moved by sound quality itself, whether verbal or instrumental, but also those of Aristotle and his scholastic and humanist interpreters, who maintained that the passions affected both the mind and the body and were moved by imitation.

Just as Renaissance and early Baroque passions theories contain three interpretations of the way in which the passions may be moved, so it is possible to detect three means of moving the passions in music contemporary with these theories. The first method, inspired by the stoic passions theory favoured by Cicero, is through 'persuasion'. In the case of vocal music, this is carried out rather more by the text than by the music

[98] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellissement des Chants', p.355, translated in MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1979, pp.165-6.

itself. The music's text communicates the passions it contains to the listener via his/her intellect. For this to operate successfully, the text has to be transmitted clearly to the listener, and this reasoning explains the insistence by a number of humanist commentators either that the text was delivered by a soloist, or that its sense was not obscured by elaborate polyphony. In instrumental music, 'intellectual' appeals to the passions are present in the form of the musical 'icon' as described by Jeffrey Kurtzman, and discussed in chapter 1. In this case, the intellectual part of the mind or soul recognises the icon or motive, and associates it either with a text it once accompanied or with the passions expressed by a familiar musical genre it invokes.

The second means to activate the passions involves 'incantation', used in the loosest sense of the term to imply music which moves the soul by the kind of 'enchantment' described by Ficino, Lomazzo, and, to a degree, Giacomini. This is when the passions affect the sensitive part of the soul and the organs of the body without the involvement of the intellect. This is accomplished, for example, through the use of an affective mode, a certain range of pitches, or by a particular metrical pattern. As far as Ficino is concerned it would be achieved by the performance of Orphic hymns, or a particular type of planetary music. While the 'intellectual' stimuli would vary in effect according to the knowledge and former experiences of the listener, the incantation's effect would depend upon the disposition of the listener's spirits and humours.

The final motivation of the passions is through 'imitation' or 'representation'. This may either be the kind of 'word painting' found in sixteenth-century madrigals, or, what is more relevant to instrumental music, the 'mood painting' of later madrigals and monody. The kind of musical devices involved include dissonance, and alteration in tempo. A good example may be found in the preface to Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri ed amorosi* (1638) in which Monteverdi describes his intention to imitate the 'utterances and the accents of a brave man engaged in warfare'.[99] Here the passions are affected by a mixture of intellectual and corporeal activity. The mind recognises that it is witnessing a representation of the actions which result from a particular passion and the body responds, such that the listener experiences the same passion.

[99] 'Suscipe Harmoniam iliam quae ut docet imitatur fortiter cunrisam prestam, voces et atque accentus', trans. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, vol.3, p.53.

Although it is possible to associate each of the above passions-stimulants with each of the major constituents of Renaissance passions theory, in practice the methods are not discrete. It is rarely possible to assign a passionate musical device exclusively to one of the three types of motivation. For example, Monteverdi's pyrrhic foot motive, which Jeffrey Kurtzman identifies as a musical icon, is a constituent of the composer's overall design to imitate the passion of anger, or agitation. Similarly, the icon is made up of a rhythmical figure which was cited by Plato, in the *Laws*, as being appropriate for warlike dancing, and thus, presumably, has some form of 'enchanting' properties.

Perhaps a more useful means of interpreting musical passions-stimulants would be to represent them in a triangular relationship as shown in figure 4. If a 'passionate' musical device appears to operate according to a mixture of two or more means of moving the passions, it may be considered as residing either at a point along the one of the triangle's sides, or somewhere in the centre of the triangle, its position signifying the relative strength of the influences of each of the three methods.

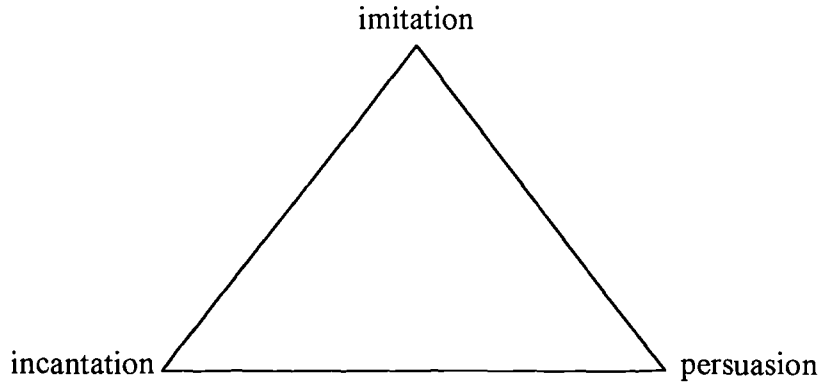


Figure 4 : The triangular relationship between each of the three major ways by which the passions are moved

Monteverdi's pyrrhic foot figure would be positioned in the centre of the triangle, possibly closer to the persuasion vertex than the other two, demonstrating that, although all three methods of moving the passions are involved, the dominant one is via the intellect. The *concitato* genre itself, however, would be positioned at the imitation vertex, since 'mood painting' is its dominant property. In this way, it is

possible to visualise the ways in which different musical devices appeal to the passions (see figure 5, below).

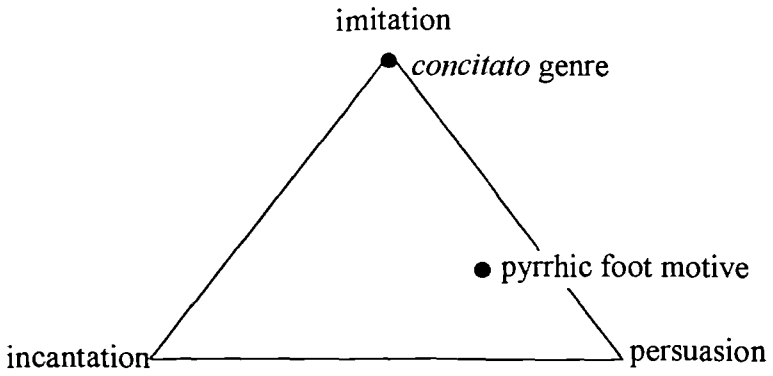


Figure 5 : The position of the pyrrhic foot motive and the *concitato* genre within the triangle

The following chapter will examine various signifiers of the passions in the light of this information.

Chapter 5

Signifiers of the Passions

Rhetorical treatises, both of the Renaissance and of Antiquity, reveal that the orator may move the passions of his audience in two distinct ways. The first revolves around *what* he says: the choice of words and their metre, together with the use of expressive figures of thought and speech. The second concerns the *way* in which the orator speaks the words he has chosen: the speed of his delivery; the pitch of his voice; the expressions of his face and the gestures of his body.[1] Classical and Renaissance rhetorical treatises make it clear that the rhetorician who composed the speech and the orator who delivered it were generally expected to be the same individual. The situation is different with the seventeenth-century solo sonata. Although it is not unreasonable to suppose that the composer initially wrote the work to suit his own performance style, once published or circulated in manuscript, the music may be subject to any manner of interpretations. Today the composer/performer divide is even greater. Nevertheless, both composer and performer are still involved in the 'passions-moving process'. While the composer has already carried out the task of selecting the initial 'passionate' musical material, the performer is required to deliver this in an appropriate manner in order to effect the arousal of the passions in the minds of the listeners.

In music, then, as well as in rhetoric, there are two phases involved in moving the passions. It cannot be possible for an instrumentalist to carry out the second to the same end as the first if he has not previously grasped the nature of the one or more passions indicated by the music itself. Thus the sonata's score may be perceived to contain a number of signs, or, to use semiologial terminology more correctly, signifiers, of the passions which must be 'decoded' by the performer before he may embark upon a delivery which invokes these passions in a listener.

[1] See Wayne Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. 1995, pp.86-7.

Although musical signifiers of the passions, like their rhetorical equivalents, may be distinguished according to whether they are a part of the compositional or performance process, the division between the two categories in rhetoric is not identical to that in music. For example, in rhetoric, the pitch at which the words are spoken is controlled to a large extent by the speaker, while in the seventeenth-century sonata, although the performer may choose to transpose the entire work, the pitches of individual notes in relation to one another are prescribed by the composer.

A number of musical theorists of the late Renaissance and early Baroque identified components of music which they believed capable of signifying a range of passions. Assuming that the performer remains as faithful as possible to the musical directions indicated by the score, the signifiers of the passions which are largely determined by the composer comprise the choice of tessitura and mode, the melodic and harmonic intervals employed, the selection of note-values and metrical units, and the use of both musical icons and musico-rhetorical figures. Those which are the domain of the performer include choice and variation of tempo, tone quality and dynamics, and the use of physical gesture and facial expression. It is also possible to identify signifiers which may be controlled by either the composer or the performer. These include articulation (slurring is indicated in some early seventeenth-century sonatas, and not in others) and ornamentation, which is notated in the sonatas to varying degrees; any additional ornamentation being included at the performer's discretion.

Since a 'passions-led' performance practice depends first of all upon the identification of the passions in the score, this chapter will consider the score-based signifiers of the passions which were identified by Renaissance and early Baroque musical theorists before looking at the implications which these have upon the performance of the music.

Composer-led passions-signifiers

Pitch range and mode

Although musical modes had been associated with affect or *ethos* since antiquity, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries debate raged as to whether their

affective qualities were, in fact, identifiable within music, or even if the modes really did possess affective qualities in the first place. The arguments were fuelled by two factors. The first was the realisation by humanist musicians that the modes described by Boethius were not the eight church modes with which they were familiar, but were, in fact, the Greek modes of antiquity. This led to the discovery that the church modes were different from the modes discussed by the ancient Greeks, and doubt arose as to whether they could thus portray the same passions. As early as 1476, having established that the church modes differed entirely from the four 'melodies' discussed in Aristotle's *Politics*, Johannes Tinctoris famously stated that:

> To be sure, it will be possible for a song in one and the same tone to be plaintive and cheerful and stern and neutral, not only in regard to composers and singers, but instruments and sound-makers as well. For what person skilled in this art does not know how to compose, to sing and to perform some [melodies] plaintively, others cheerfully, some sternly, and others neutrally, although their composition and performance are carried out in the same tone?[2]

The second factor concerned composers' use of many notes from outside a mode, or from the practice of combining more than one mode in the same composition. This was an issue in the well known Monteverdi-Artusi polemic, in which Monteverdi was criticised for introducing material foreign to the original mode of the madrigal, and, in his defence, his brother, Guilio Cesare, pointed out that this had, in fact, always been common practice, even in the composition of plainchant.[3] This practice, together with the apparently increasing use of *musica ficta*, led theorists to question whether or not a mode's affective qualities could withstand such a high degree of licence. Vincenzo Galilei was of the opinion that sixteenth-century polyphonists' use of modes destroyed their affective qualities. In his *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* of 1581 he wrote:

> In singing according to this modern practice of figural music ... so many airs together at once, two modes are too many, let alone eight or more. Because any piece performed requires the same quantity and quality of steps with respect to high and low pitch, for all proceed in their parts with the same rhythm with regard to fast or slow movement, since the contrapuntist uses the notes of any value and any interval indiscriminately according to his pleasure, giving not a thought in the world to the

[2] Johannes Tinctoris, *De natura et proprietate tonorum*, trans. Albert Seay as *Concerning the Nature and Properties of Tones*, Colorado Springs: Colorado College of Music Press, 1976, p.4.
[3] See G.C. Monteverdi's 'Declaration' printed at the end of Claudio's *Scherzi musicali*, Venice, 1607.

> meaning of the words. In these characteristics reside, as will be proved in the proper place, the diversity and nature of the harmonies and melodies. Thus the modes and the composition of today come to have the same quality, quantity, and form, and are, as it were, of the same color, flavor, and odor as every other.[4]

In an unpublished manuscript, *Il primo libro della pratica del contropunto intorno all' uso delle consonanze*, Galilei makes it quite clear that if any polyphonic work retains the affective qualities assigned to its mode, this really has nothing to do with the mode's final or the arrangement of the semitones within it, but is a result of 'the way that the contrapuntists make the parts progress in any of their modes according to what suits them best'.[5]

With the affective properties of traditional church modes brought into question, a number of humanist theorists sought to revive the modes of the ancient Greeks, in order to unlock the affective power which they were purported to contain. Although it was not clear exactly of what the Greek modes consisted, a popular theory was that each mode comprised a specific range of pitches upon which a song would be based. This was the opinion held by Johannes Gallicus de Namur (c.1415-73), who was the first to propose that Boethius' modes were Greek,[6] and it was also adhered to by Girolamo Mei and his fellow humanist, Giovanni Bardi. The Florentine scholars believed that Greek songs were centred around a limited range of notes. Their theories were based upon reports that the Olympian songs were composed using the compass of only three strings, and that Timotheus was exiled by the Spartans as a 'spoiler and destroyer of the ancient music' for expanding his lyre from seven to eleven strings.[7] These notes would have a different quality depending upon where they fell in the range of the singer's voice, and each set consequently imitated a different group of passions. Galilei explained that:

> Using few notes is natural both in speaking and singing, since the end of one and the other is solely the expression of the conceits of the soul by

[4] Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo,* cited in C V Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, p.317.
[5] Cited in Palisca, *Humanism*, p.346.
[6] See Palisca, *Humanism*, p.7.
[7] These myths are cited by Mei in his letter to Galilei of May 8th, 1572. Bardi discusses the qualities of Olympian songs in his discourse to Caccini. Both are translated by C V Palisca in *The Florentine Camerata Documentary Studies and Translations*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, pp.71 and 127.

> means of words, which, when well expressed and understood by the listeners, generate in them whatever affections the musician cares to treat through this medium. ... And, if someone were to ask me, since it is natural for a man to be able to reach with his voice eight or ten notes without straining, whether therefore all notes outside of the three or four used by Olympos were to be scorned, I would reply in this way. The three or four notes that a tranquil soul seeks are not the same as those which suit the excited spirit, or one who is lamenting, or a lazy and somnolent one. ... In this way the musician will tend to choose ... [notes] according to the affection he wants to represent and impress on the listeners.[8]

According to Bardi, the pitch was determined by the song's mode. Each mode spanned an octave, and Bardi listed the seven ancient modes according to their 'location'. These are as follows:

Highest location	Mixolydian	beginning upon B mi
	Lydian	beginning upon C fa ut
	Phrygian	beginning upon D sol re
	Dorian	beginning in E la mi
	Hypolydian	beginning on F fa ut
	Hypophrygian	beginning on G sol re
Lowest location	Hypodorian	beginning on A la mi re

Bardi did not assign an affective property to each mode individually. Following the Greeks, he described the Dorian mode as 'severe and magnificent', invoking an 'intermediate and constant mood'. It had, he believed, a 'virile, magnificent, and divine character, severe, honourable, modest, temperate and agreeable'.[9] While it appears reasonable that the central mode should be considered temperate, the characteristics ascribed to the other modes are rather surprising. The Phrygian mode, the next highest, was held to be 'enthusiastic', yet the two highest modes, which one might expect to be considered more enthusiastic still, were in fact believed to be 'gloomy and restrained'. The lowest modes were, Bardi maintains, heard with 'mental abandon'.[10] This ordering of the modal properties seems somewhat implausible until we consider that they were arranged according to the qualities of the human voice. Following Aristotle's *Politics* and the Roman orators, both Bardi and

[8] Vincenzo Galilei, *Dubbi intorno a quanto io ho detto dell'enharmonio, con la solutione di essi*, MS., trans. C V Palisca in 'Galilei: Links Between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody'. *Musical Quarterly*, 46, 1960, p.347.
[9] Discourse to Caccini, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.109.
[10] Discourse to Caccini, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.109.

Mei believed the voice to have three distinct qualities; low, intermediate and high. According to Bardi, the intermediate voice is indicative of calm, magnificence and majesty, because it is used by 'men of big business'. The note A la mi, which is the *mese* of the Dorian mode and the note around which the composition should be based, according to Bardi, should fall 'in just the locus of a good tenor'. The high voice, which is 'excited', is used by those who are 'burdened by anger or a great grief' – it thus renders 'rapid blows to the ear' and suggests lamenting. Men who are either drowsy or inebriated speak in the low voice. Presumably the mental abandon with which one hears the lower modes is an abandonment of morality.[11]

For the most part, Bardi's description of modal properties conforms to ancient theories. Both Plato and Aristotle believed that the Lydian and Mixolydian modes were 'dirge-like' and they maintained that the lower modes were 'relaxed' and indicative of drunkenness. Plato and Aristotle disagree, however, over the qualities of the Phrygian mode. Both Bardi and Mei side with Aristotle and label it as 'enthusiastic', Mei citing in support the story of the Taorminian youth. Plato gives the mode seemingly opposite characteristics, maintaining that it is a moderate mode, appropriate for the representation of a man's peace-time pursuits, for supplication and persuasion. Although it may appear anomalous for a mode positioned only one tone higher than a temperate mode to be considered enthusiastic, it seems that strong passions were associated with the middle range of the voice. Mersenne, who, as it has been demonstrated, shows a great deal of affinity with Italian theorists, maintained that the middle range of the voice was suited to the expression of strong passions such as anger, since orators invoke such passions with this voice in their harangues.[12]

Bardi provided instructions for the composer, explaining how one was to go about composing in his interpretation of the ancient modes. First the composer was to decide the affection of the text to be set, whether it was magnificent or lamenting. The affection determined the choice of mode. If magnificent, the composer must select the Dorian mode and give the principal melody to the tenor voice. If lamenting, the Mixolydian *tonos* was appropriate, and the principal air should be taken by the

[11] Discourse to Caccini, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, pp.107 and 109.
[12] Mersenne. *Harmonie Universelle*. 'Embellissement des Chants', Paris, 1636, p.365.

soprano. In each case the musical line should be centred upon the *mese*, or median note of the *tonos*, (A for the Dorian mode and E for the Mixolydian). The nature of the words was to guide the progression of the composition, metre and tempo should be adapted in order to imitate them effectively.[13]

It is the opinion of Claude Palisca that Bardi used this system of composition in his own music. Palisca's analysis of the five voice madrigal 'Miseri habitator del ciec'averno' reveals that, while from the perspective of the church modes the piece displays 'some baffling characteristics', it appears to correspond very well to the method of composition laid out in his discourse. Palisca suggests that the subject of the Strozzi text is grave and magnificent and demonstrates that, not only is the madrigal set in the appropriate Dorian *tonos*, but that the principal air is within the range of a contratenor.[14]

Although Bardi was somewhat unique in his application of the ancient modes, it would appear that the principles regarding the importance of pitch location which he and the other Florentines upheld were also acknowledged by theorists, like Mersenne, who otherwise had faith in the affective powers of the Gregorian modes. It is surely significant that the majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century monodic laments were set for a high female voice, as Bardi suggested. Perhaps Monteverdi's choice of a tenor voice for the narrator's part of *Il combattimento* was influenced by the 'magnificence' of its subject. Just as Bardi advocated selecting his version of the ancient modes according to the affection of the text, so many supporters of the Church modes maintained that the correct mode was dictated by the words to be set. Giovanni del Lago, in a letter to Fra Seraphin of 26th August 1541, explained that:

> Whenever learned composers have to compose a song they are accustomed to ask themselves conscientiously to what end they might be starting and composing it, that is what affections of the soul they ought to arouse within the piece, thus in what mode it should be composed, for some [modes] are severe and sedate, some mournful and lamenting, others angry or impetuous. So should the melodies of songs be diversely distinctive, some stirring people in one way, some another.[15]

[13] Discourse to Caccini, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.117.
[14] Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, pp.236-9.
[15] Cited in Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, p.345.

The Gregorian modes were assigned affective characteristics by theorists throughout the sixteenth century. Earlier in the century, the theorists appeared simply to attribute to the church modes a slightly adapted version of the properties of the modes of antiquity. Palisca compares the qualities described by Pietro Aron, Matteo Nardo and Gaffurio, all of which show similarities with the properties of the ancient modes (see table 1 below). Glarean, who developed a twelve mode system believing it to be a revival of the ancient modes, also attributed to them ancient properties. Later in the century, however, as it was becoming increasingly popular to base polyphonic compositions upon Gregorian modes, theorists began to consider a more evidence-based modal *ethos*; its pioneer was Zarlino.

Mode	Pietro Aron, Trattado della natura et cognitione di tutti gli tuoni di canto figurato, 1525, chapter 25	Matteo Nardo, Letter to 'Hieronymo' (pre 1540)	Franchino Gaffurio, De harmonia, 1518.
1	joy, happiness, merriment	Dorian: grave, sonorous, majestic, fills the ear with sweetness	modesty, virile, constancy
2	grave, used by ancients in funerals	Hypodorian	slowness, slothfulness
3	inflames to anger, animosity	Phrygian: inflames to anger	incites to anger, war
4	suited to rest, tranquillity	Hypophrygian	quiet, grave
5	relieves melancholy, troubles	Lydian: pleasing, sweet.	jovial, pleasing
6	induces tears, compassion	Hypolydian	tears, lamenting
7	mixture of modesty and joviality	Mixolydian	twofold: exciting and withdrawn.
8	for merry and happy banquets		

Table 1: Adapted from Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, p.345

Zarlino adopted Glarean's twelve mode system in book 4 of *Istitutioni*. The opening chapters, however, deal with Greek modes, and Palisca suggests that this is a deliberate refutation of Glarean's insistence that his system was a revival of the ancient *tonoi*.[16] Zarlino demonstrates that ecclesiastical and Greek modes are not the same, and while Glarean had searched ancient sources for ethical descriptions appropriate for his modes, Zarlino appears at least to some extent, to base his analysis of the affective qualities of the 'modern' modal system upon the affects he perceives in contemporary musical examples. The new mode ten, for example, he suggests has

[16] Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, p.299.

qualities similar to modes two and four, because it shares the same fifth and fourth with modes two and four respectively. Nevertheless, as is indicated by Harold Powers, sometimes Glarean's and Zarlino's choice of affections do coincide.[17] Table 2 below lays out Zarlino's modal system and the affective qualities ascribed to each mode, as found in book four of *Istitutioni harmoniche*.

Mode	Final	Authentic/Plagal	Ethos/Affections
1	D	Authentic	Midway between sad and cheerful, religious, devout and somewhat sad. Best used with words that are full of gravity, and that deal with lofty and edifying things.
2	D	Plagal	Contains a certain severe and unflattering gravity, tearful and humble nature. A lamentful, humble and deprecatory mode. Suitable for words which represent weeping, sadness, loneliness, captivity, calamity, and every kind of misery.
3	E	Authentic	Moves one to weeping, accommodated to words which are tearful and full of laments.
4	E	Plagal	Marvellously suited to lamentful words or subjects that contain sadness or supplicant lamentation, such as matters of love, and to words which express languor, quiet, tranquillity, adulation, deception, and slander. Some have called it a flattering mode.
5	F	Authentic	Brings to the spirit modesty, happiness, and relief from annoying cares. Ancients used it with words or subjects which dealt with victory. A joyous, pleasing mode.
6	F	Plagal	Not very cheerful or elegant. Used in serious and devout compositions containing commiseration. Accommodated to matters containing tears. A devout and tearful mode.
7	G	Authentic	Appropriate words are those which are lascivious, cheerful, and spoken with modesty. Also those which express threat, perturbation and anger.
8	G	Plagal	Contains a certain natural softness and an abundant sweetness which fills listeners with joy combined with great gaiety and sweetness. Completely removed from lasciviousness and vice. Used with words which are tame, civilised, and grave, which contain profound, speculative and divine thoughts, such as those suited for entreating the grace of the Lord.
9	A	Authentic	Open and terse, suitable for lyric poetry. Used with words which contain cheerful, sweet, soft and sonorous subjects because it contains a pleasant severity, mixed with a certain cheerfulness and sweet softness.
10	A	Plagal	Not very different from second and fourth modes (since it uses the 5th of the second mode and the 4th of the fourth mode).
11	C	Authentic	Suitable for dances, many *balli* heard in Italy are played in this mode. A lascivious mode.
12	C	Plagal	Suitable for expressing thoughts of love which contain lamentful things, a lamentful mode that has something sad about it. Also has cheerful properties.

Table 2: Adapted from chapters 18 to 29 of 'On the Modes', book 4 of Zarlino *Istitutioni harmoniche*

[17] Harold Powers, 'Mode' article in Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol.12, London: Macmillan, 1980, p.411.

Although Zarlino provides characteristics for each mode, he is careful to show when he is reporting received opinion. Many of the statements are prefixed by disclaimers such as 'some say' or 'it is claimed'. Zarlino, it appears, did believe that the modes possessed some degree of *ethos*, since in book three of *Istitutioni harmoniche* he proposes a theory of the modes' affective qualities which he justifies with musical reasoning. Zarlino divides the modes into two categories, those which are 'lively and full of cheer' and those which are 'sad, languid and soft'. The modes are grouped according to the consonances heard on the finals. The finals of lively modes are usually harmonised by major imperfect consonances while on the finals of the sadder modes the minor third is usually heard below the major third. In modern terminology, these are effectively the equivalent of the major and minor triad. The lively 'major' modes are therefore modes five, six, seven, eight, eleven and twelve, and the sadder 'minor' modes are one, two, three, four, nine and ten.[18]

Zarlino's bipolar characterisation of the modes was, according to Harold Powers, an 'enduring contribution' to modal theory.[19] It was adopted by Mersenne, who believed that the effects of the modes 'are totally dependent upon their minor thirds and sixths'.[20] Like Zarlino, Mersenne identified major and minor modes according to whether the notes used to harmonise the initial tone formed major or minor triads. Additionally, he divided the minor species into two categories, depending upon the arrangement of the semitones in the opening tetrachord. The minor tetrachord which progresses by a tone, a semitone and a tone, is, according to Mersenne, less sad than that which opens with a semitone followed by two whole tones.[21] It is the opening semitone which renders this species particularly sad. It is surely significant that in Zarlino's saddest modes, three and four, this species of tetrachord (E F G A) is predominant.

[18] See Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. Guy A. Marco and Claude Palisca, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976, pp.21-22.
[19] Powers. 'Mode', *The New Grove*, vol.12, p.411.
[20] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Livre troisième des genres de Musique', p.168, trans. LeCoat, *The Rhetoric of the Arts 1550-1650*, Bern: Herbert Lang, 1975, p.55.
[21] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De l'utilitié de l'harmonie', p.48, cited in LeCoat, *The Rhetoric of the Arts*, p.55.

In the revised, 1573 version of *Istitutioni harmoniche* and in the *Dimostrationi harmoniche* of 1571, Zarlino expounded a different twelve mode system, in which the modes were renumbered such that the first mode began on C. Zarlino gave ancient names to the modes in the *Dimostrationi* but he rejected this policy in the revised *Istitutioni* because the names had been wrongly used for so long that introducing them once again was likely to add further complications. The reordered system was justified by the fact that the mean tone keyboard temperament advocated by Zarlino was based upon the just intonation of the C major scale. Although, according to Harold Powers, the new system gained much support in France, the Italians preferred the older system, which retained the original eight church modes, since this was compatible with ecclesiastical practices.[22]

Since Zarlino's 1558 *Istitutioni* was often referred to by later theorists and apparently popular among musicians, it would appear reasonable to use his definition of the modes and their characteristics in an examination of early seventeenth-century sonatas. The process of identifying a possible passion for a sonata through the use of Zarlino's modal theory must, however, be approached with caution. There are a number of reasons for this. First because, as we have seen, Zarlino's was by no means the only modal system in operation and it is quite possible that a work may have been composed according to an altogether different system. Secondly, the work may not have been conceived of as part of a modal system at all. As we have seen, during the sixteenth century, polyphony, initially considered to be outside the remits of modal theory, began to be thought about in modal terms. From the 1540s onwards, composers such as Cipriano de Rore and Palestrina began to construct even secular polyphonic music in modal cycles. The first seventeen madrigals of Rore's first book (1542), for example, are composed according to a cycle of the eight modes. Instrumental music, too, was written in a modal system – the titles of many of the canzoni in Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sacrae symphoniae* (1597) indicate upon which of the twelve modes each canzona is based. As late as 1652 a collection of solo sonatas was published by Giovanni Antonio Leoni in which the works were grouped according to

[22] Powers, 'Mode', *The New Grove*, vol.12, p.411.

the church modes.[23] This suggests that it may be valid to consider other solo sonatas in modal terms. Despite the growing interest in the modality of polyphony, it has been demonstrated that there was a considerable amount of scepticism as to whether music in parts really did retain any modal characteristics, so it is not possible to state categorically that sonatas were perceived as being 'in a mode'.

The application of modes to part-music brings with it a significant third problem. In plainchant, authentic and plagal modes with the same final were distinguished largely by their *ambitus*. Since it is not possible for polyphonic music to remain within the *ambitus* defined for plainchant, other rules were employed to differentiate authentic and plagal modes. These included the use of a *chiavette* clefs system to denote authentic modes, and the use of 'commixed modes', alternating authentic cantus and tenor parts with a plagal altus and bassus for authentic modes and vice versa for plagal versions. Since use was made of the fact that the principal melody instrument of the seventeenth-century solo sonata, the violin, has a much wider range than the human voice, the solo part of the music for one instrument and continuo usually spans a much larger range than is permitted by either the plagal or authentic modes. Perhaps, then, it is not possible to identify whether the mode of a solo instrumental work is authentic or plagal – perhaps we must content ourselves with simply identifying a mode by its final. Certainly there is evidence that this was acceptable, to some extent, in the case of polyphony. Artusi, for example, claimed that 'all vocal compositions are mixtures of authentic and plagal'.[24] If, however, we are interested in the mode primarily because it will lead us to an indication of a possible passion, the distinction between authentic and plagal modes does need to be considered. It is possible to identify whether a mode is authentic or plagal by the relative frequency of the appearance of 'primary', 'secondary', 'transitory and 'inimical' cadences. Although Zarlino only mentions the three main cadences which are common to both authentic and plagal modes, the cadences of the eight Gregorian modes are discussed

[23] Giovanni Antonio Leoni, *Sonate di Violino a voca sola ... Libro primo Opera terza,* Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1652. RISM L987.
[24] Artusi, *Braccino da Todi*, 1608, cited in C V Palisca, 'The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy', in Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (eds), *The New Monteverdi Companion*, London: Faber and Faber, 1985, p.145.

in more detail by the theorist Pietro Pontio in his treatise *Ragionamento di musica*, 1588. Table 3 below lists Pontio's analysis of the cadences.

Mode	Cadences			
	Primary	**Secondary**	**Transitory**	**Inimical**
1 and 2	d a	f	c g	e b natural
3 and 4	e a	c'	g b natural	f
5	f c'	a	d' g	e b natural
6	f c'	a b flat	d' g	e b natural
7	g d'	–	c' f a e	–
8	g c' d'	–	f a	–

Table 3: Pietro Pontio's analysis of the modal cadences. Adapted from Harold Powers' article 'Mode' in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*

When it comes to using the mode to identify affections within seventeenth-century solo sonatas, it may be safest to concentrate, at least initially, upon the characteristic suggested by whether or not the mode is 'major' or 'minor', according to the system outlined by Zarlino. It is easier for twentieth-century minds to conceive how a work could appear either lively or sad depending upon the predominance of major or minor imperfect consonances than it is to comprehend the intricacies of the affects attributed to individual modes. Nevertheless, modern scholars have been able to identify some degree of affinity between the affection of a text and a composer's choice of mode. Bernhard Meier has shown that properties of the modes selected by Rore in his first book of madrigals do appear to show some correspondence with the affections of the texts, and he has also identified trends in the choice of modes for the texts of French chansons. Lover's laments are usually composed in mournful modes (such as 2 and 4), mode 1 is used for many 'anecdotal' texts, and mode 8 for texts which express a pledge of constancy.[25] This is highly significant, since, as was discussed in chapter 1, the instrumental canzona, and by extension, the solo sonata, may be seen to have its roots in the French chanson. If modal characteristics appear to correspond to the selected text in the original song, perhaps it is not wrong to attach some significance to the choice of mode in the case of instrumental canzoni and sonatas.

Melodic and harmonic intervals

The fact that Zarlino condensed the affective properties of modes into two groups according to the nature of the consonances heard on the mode's final demonstrates that he considered intervals themselves to be representative of the passions. In book four of *Istitutioni harmoniche* Zarlino includes a chapter on the properties of harmonic and melodic intervals which is entitled 'How harmonies are accommodated to given words'. Zarlino advises that the composer, once he has considered the nature of the mode he has chosen, should :

> ... take care to accompany each word in such a manner that, when the word denotes harshness, hardness, cruelty, bitterness, and other things of this sort, the harmony will be similar to these qualities, namely, somewhat hard and harsh, but not to the degree that it would offend, Similarly, when any of the words express complaint, sorrow, grief, sighs, tears, and other things of this sort, the harmony should be full of sadness.[26]

Zarlino's contemporary, Nicola Vicentino, also believed that it was necessary for the composer's choice of intervals to correspond to whatever passion he wished to express. In his three-stage discussion of compositional process, Vicentino maintained that the first step was to select melodic intervals appropriate to the subject of the words or to 'other ideas'. The second was to match the intervals to consonances and dissonances which are similar in nature and the third was to confer upon them a suitable rate of motion.[27] Vicentino's thorough exposition on the power of intervals encompasses even enharmonic steps in-between the usual diatonic intervals (presumably these were associated with his archicembalo). It implies that specific intervals, outside their relationships to a modal final, have affective properties. Mersenne, whose discussion of intervals clearly owes much to both Zarlino and Vicentino, considered musical intervals to have a similar function to the figures of rhetoric, which, as shown in chapter 3, were used by orators to arouse or soothe the passions.[28]

[25] Bernhard Meier, 'Rhetorical Aspects of the Renaissance Modes', *Journal of the Royal Musicological Association,* 115:2, 1990, pp.182-191.

[26] Zarlino, *On the Modes,* book IV of *Istitutioni harmoniche*, trans. V Cohen, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, p.95.

[27] Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M.R. Maniates, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p.86.

[28] See David Allen Duncan, 'Persuading the Affections: Mersenne's Advice to Harmonic Orators' in Georgia Cowart, *French Musical Thought 1600-1800*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989, p.155.

Since they were concerned primarily with song, theorists concentrated their attentions mainly upon the effects of the smaller melodic intervals which predominate in music for voices. Vicentino, for example, analyses in detail the affective properties of diatonic and enharmonic intervals ranging from a minor diesis to a perfect fifth, but groups all larger intervals together with the comment that they are cheerful when ascending and sad in descent.[29] Both Mersenne and Giovanni Bardi equate large intervals in general with the expression of anger, and Mersenne believes that an excessive number of leaps generates confusion.[30]

A considerable degree of uniformity exists between the various Italianate theorists who discuss the affective properties of intervals. Unlike eighteenth-century theorists such as Kirnberger, who assigns specific affections to individual intervals, the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century commentators classify the leaps and steps into two broad categories. Vicentino uses the words *incitato* and *allegro* (tense and cheerful) to describe one group and *molle*[31] and *mesto* (sad) to denote the other. Zarlino's list of adjectives is slightly longer, although the intervals are still divided into two clear groups. Mersenne treats of individual intervals in more detail, occasionally assigning peculiar characteristics to a leap or a step. Nevertheless, his discussion of the subject still betrays a division between two distinct categories. D P Walker, in his study on the expressive value of intervals, applies the names 'vigorous' and 'weak' to the two groups.[32]

The semitone is a 'weak' interval. Zarlino includes it in his category of intervals appropriate for the expression of 'grief and sorrow', since its nature is 'sweet and soft'.[33] Mersenne believes semitones and chromatic motion to represent 'tears and groans'. The reason is that they are small intervals, symbolic of the weak: 'for little

[29] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. M R Maniates, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p.82.
[30] Giovanni Bardi, 'Discourse to Caccini' trans. in Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.127. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellisement des Chants', p.371.
[31] Maniates translates this as 'slack', rather than the more usual interpretation of 'soft'. Certainly, *molle* can mean slack, in the sense of a relaxed muscle. It is likely that Maniates used the term to emphasise the fact that *molle* indicates the opposite of *incitato* (tense), just as *mesto* is the opposite of *allegro*.
[32] D.P. Walker. 'The Expressive Value of Intervals and the Problem of the Fourth', in *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*, London: The Warburg Institute, 1978, p.61.

intervals, either ascending or descending, are like children, like old people or those who have recently had a long illness, who cannot walk with big steps, and who cover a short space in a long time'.[34] Vicentino maintains that it is only the ascending semitone which is 'slack and sad' – descending it is 'tense and cheerful'. Unlike the other theorists, Vicentino always ascribes an opposite affection to the descending version of the melodic intervals under consideration. D P Walker believes that in his wish to present a symmetrically contrasting system, Vicentino's line of thought is distorted and that other theorists present a more musically accurate assessment of intervallic qualities.[35]

The whole tone falls into the opposite category. Zarlino maintains that it is used to express 'harshness, bitterness, and similar things'[36] Mersenne, in his earlier treatise, *Traité de la harmonie universelle* (1627), believed the tone to have harsh and angry qualities, especially when combined with the major sixth.[37] The ascending tone is tense, according to Vicentino.[38] Vincenzo Galilei reported that composers used the whole tone when they wished to represent subjects which were 'coarse, bitter and little pleasing'.[39]

Major and minor thirds, and their opposite intervals, the major and minor sixth, were most influential in determining the affection of a composition. Giambattista Doni, in his *Annotazioni sopra il Compendio de' Generi, e de' Modi della Musica* of 1640, explains that from these imperfect consonances are derived 'energy and efficacy in moving the affects, because the minor consonances are tearful and sad, and give this character to the chords; and the opposite is true of the major, which are joyful and spirited'.[40] It has already been shown that Zarlino considered the imperfect consonances to have considerable significance, since the characteristics of the modes were categorised according to the nature of the thirds present. Minor thirds are

[33] Zarlino, *On the Modes,* trans. V Cohen, p.95.
[34] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Des Chants', p.173. trans. D.P. Walker in *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*, p.64.
[35] Walker, *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*, p.64.
[36] Zarlino, *On the Modes*, p.95.
[37] Mersenne, *Traité de l'harmonie universelle*, 1627, 1:191.
[38] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.63.
[39] Galilei, *Dialogo*, trans. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, p.366.
[40] Cited in D.P. Walker, *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*, p.70.

appropriate for grief and sorrow, major thirds for harshness and bitterness.[41] As a harmonic interval, Vicentino believes the minor third to be 'very weak and rather sad, and it descends easily', it is 'very useful for sad words, as it is rather static'. When the minor third is used as a melodic interval, making it ascend at a slow pace causes it to resemble 'a man who is exhausted'.[42] The harmonic major third has the opposite qualities. It is 'lively and cheerful' by nature, and 'ascends easily, on account of its vivacity'.[43] Johannes Kepler built on this observation in his *Harmonice Mundi* of 1619. Kepler pointed out that a composite melodic minor third seems to fall back to the second more readily than ascend to the fourth, but the major third has a tendency to rise to the fourth. This is because the voice is attracted to the smaller interval. It is easier for the voice to descend by a semitone from the minor third to the major second than it is for it to rise by a whole tone to the perfect fourth. The opposite is true in the case of a major third, the upward step of a semitone is more pleasing to sing than a descent by a tone. Thus Kepler assigned to the major third 'masculine qualities' – it is 'active and full of efforts' – and when the third ascends to the fourth, the rising semitone may be compared to an ejaculation. The minor third is feminine, it has passive qualities, and its tendency to descend is similar to a hen ready to be mounted by a cock.[44]

Mersenne also described minor imperfect consonances as feminine and believed them to be appropriate for sadness and love. The larger interval, the minor sixth, is more suitable for the expression of 'great pains and the cries that go with them'. The minor third is less extreme, and is suitable for 'slighter annoyances and for flattering'.[45] Major thirds and sixths, on the other hand, are less refined intervals, rustic, vigorous, martial and assertive.[46] Similarly, Mersenne's correspondent, René Descartes,

[41] Zarlino, *On the Modes*, p.95.
[42] Vicentino. *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.107.
[43] Vicentino. *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.108.
[44] Cited in Walker, *Aspects of Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*, p.67.
[45] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Des Genres', trans. Walker, *Aspects of Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*, p.68.
[46] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 'Embellissement des Chants', p.364, trans. Duncan, 'Persuading the Affections', p.155.

maintained that major thirds and sixths were more 'gay and pleasing' than their minor equivalents.[47]

The qualities of the fourth and fifth as melodic intervals are virtually ignored by theorists. Mersenne believes the fourth to have the same rustic qualities as the major third and sixth, Vicentino maintained that both the fourth and fifth were tense when ascending and slack in descent. Zarlino explained that the fourth used as a harmonic interval (either in a major $^{6}_{4}$ chord, or, presumably in the case of a 4 3 suspension) adds to the harshness and bitterness represented by the whole tone and major imperfect consonances. Vicentino considered that when the fourth was prevalent in harmonic movement, the effect was 'strange and harsh'.[48]

Vincenzo Galilei's *Dialogo* includes an interesting discussion concerning the function of the fourth and fifth. He asserts that ascending fourths and descending fifths which occur in the bass part are joyous intervals, while descending fourths and ascending fifths are sad. This is because an ascending fourth or a descending fifth is harmonised by the other parts to form a perfect cadence, while a descending fourth and ascending fifth produce a plagal cadence. A perfect cadence in which the bass moves from A to D, according to Galilei, is 'of a stable and tranquil nature, without violence, and suitable for inducing in the souls of the listeners grave and severe thoughts'. The opposite motion, from D to A, produces a plagal cadence, which is 'languid, tearful and timid'. A perfect cadence moving from G to C in which the two inner parts ascend (D to E in the alto and B to C in the tenor) generates an effect which is 'joyous, excited, and so to speak, virile and natural'. This, according to Galilei, is a result of the major third and tenth (G-B and C-e), and the rising tone in the alto part, which is 'very virile'. To demonstrate, however, that it is the movement of the bass which primarily dictates the effect of the harmony, Galilei explains that were the interval D-E included in a plagal cadence in which the bass moves from D to A, the effect would no longer be joyful, but 'sad and relaxed'.[49] Galilei's findings are

[47] René Descartes, *Compendium of Music*, 1619, trans. Walter Robert, American Institute of Musicology, 1961, p.27.
[48] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.99.
[49] Galilei, *Dialogo*, cited in Walker, *Aspects of Musical Science in the Late Renaissance*, p.66.

significant in the case of the solo sonata, in which circles of fifths play an important part in the music's harmonic development.

Harmonic dissonance, according to Mersenne, has the effect of intensifying the passions. The introduction of intervals which depart from normal compositional procedure, such as the tritone or the diminished fifth, have this effect. Vicentino mentions that the tritone is a surprising interval, which must be used only when the words are appropriate – 'although troublesome to sing, this interval is indispensable whenever the words require a marvellous effect'. Vicentino believes the ascending tritone to be vivacious, showing great force. When descending, the interval 'makes for a very funereal and sad effect'.[50] The seventh he believes to be too dissonant for use as a melodic interval. Zarlino, however, discusses its effects when used harmonically, like the suspended fourth, the seventh contributes to the harsh and bitter category of intervals. Similarly Galilei describes the seventh as a coarse and bitter interval.

It is clear that late Renaissance and early Baroque theorists believed melodic and harmonic intervals to possess affective properties. It would be ridiculous and unhelpful, however, to consider the passions represented by individual intervals as indicative of the passion imitated by the music for the duration only of that interval. It appears that theorists considered it to be the predominance of a category of harmonic and melodic intervals which signified the passion of the music. Thus if the melodic line moves mainly by minor imperfect consonances and semitones it is likely that sad affections are represented, while a predominance of major consonances and whole tones would signify joy or vigour. A large quantity of ascending leaps would suggest the passion of anger, and many minor sixths could imply intense grief. Predominantly upward motion, according to Mersenne, is more dynamic than descending melodic lines – 'when the voice descends, it unbends and relaxes, while it tightens when it ascends'.[51] Chromatic movement is sweeter than diatonic: Vicentino says that 'any good consonances accompanied by many semitones must seem vastly superior and

[50] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.77.
[51] Mersenne. *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Des Chants', p.155, trans. LeCoat, *The Rhetoric of the Arts*, p.54.

gentler'[52] and Zarlino maintains that 'natural movements make the composition somewhat sonorous and virile, and the accidental movements make it sweeter and somewhat more languid'.[53]

Harmonic movement has similar effects. The presence of perfect cadences in prominent places may be seen to suggest liveliness and vigour, while obvious plagal cadences perhaps invoke softness and languor. Similarly, the predominance of either major and minor imperfect consonances suggests vigorous or languid passions respectively.

In using intervals to identify the possible passion represented by a piece or phrase, it is necessary therefore to consider primarily the intervals and harmonic movement to which our attention is drawn, and the overall effect of the various intervallic factors. The presence of one 'sad' factor amid a number of joyful ones may serve to temper the overall cheerfulness of the music, while a joyful factor contained among sad ones may slightly increase the music's virility. In extremely sad or excessively joyful pieces one would expect a prevalence of all of the languid or lively intervallic factors respectively.

Rhythm and motion

The third stage in Vicentino's description of compositional process involved the selection of the appropriate 'rate of motion'.[54] Motion, according to Vicentino, has even more power over the affections than the properties of intervals. Consequently, one must be careful to use it correctly:

> For motion is so crucial that it can transform the quality of steps and leaps, and that of consonance as well. For example, when the motion is fast or very fast, every leap, step and consonance – even if slack and sad by nature – will seem cheerful because of the innate power of rapid motion. If anyone wishes to verify this point and observe a composition closely, let him sing it twice as fast. He will then apprehend how well the steps, leaps and consonances are suited to the original intent of the composition.[55]

[52] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.102.
[53] Zarlino, *On the Modes*, p.95.
[54] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.86.
[55] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.87.

Vicentino identified eight types of motion, ranging from very slow to very rapid. Each was associated with a specific note-value. The slowest is the maxim, the fastest the semicroma (or semiquaver). 'Slack and sad' melodic intervals and consonances should be combined with the slower rates of motion, while a fast rate of motion is appropriate for leaps and steps which are tense and cheerful. Vicentino's comments suggest that the choice of note-value has a bearing upon the character of the music. Whether the sixteenth-century tactus was of a fixed or variable duration, the appearance of the music on the page may act as an indication of the type of affection represented. A mass of black quavers and semiquavers immediately suggests cheerfulness, while longs, breves and semibreves imply sadness and severity.

In addition to the overall motion of a piece or section of music, theorists believed that rhythm also had power to affect the passions. This was an ancient concept. In *Poetics,* Aristotle suggests that rhythm alone is capable of representing the passions, citing dance, in which performers 'arrange the rhythms of their movements' to imitate characters and actions, as an example.[56] *Politics* states that some rhythms have a steadying character, others an 'unsettling' one, some incite 'vulgar movements' while others provoke movements more worthy of free men.[57] Quintilian asserted that the passions were moved by violent rhythms.[58] Mersenne also believed that rhythmical movements 'have a great power upon the mind or on the blood and the other humours', claiming that the effects of rhythm were infectious, since, when watching others sing and dance, people are frequently moved to take part in the exercise themselves.[59] It was *rhythmopoeia,* the study of the quantitative metrical feet of ancient poetry which Mersenne believed held the key to the passions, and he cites Virgil as an example of a poet who used feet comprised of short syllables to represent swift motion. Nevertheless, although rhythm is an essential component in the passions-moving process, deciding which feet are representative of which passions is no easy task. Mersenne explains that:

> It is difficult to find the reason for the different effects of metrical feet or different rhythms and to determine precisely why each foot or verse is

[56] Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. T.S. Dorsch, London: Penguin, 1965, p.32.
[57] Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. T.A. Sinclair, London: Penguin, 1981/R1992, 1340a18.
[58] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, trans. H.E. Butler, London: William Heineman, 1921, IX.iv.143.
[59] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De l'Art de Bien Chanter', p.375, trans. Dean T. Mace, 'Marin Mersenne on Language and Music', *Journal of Music Theory*, 14, 1979, p.20.

> characteristic, principally because poets use all sorts of verse indiscriminately to represent or to excite all sorts of passions and affections, although they try to put many short syllables together to express that which is quick and light.[60]

Mersenne attempts to find passions appropriate to some individual feet, as both Mei and Bardi did before him. Rhythm, as has been shown in chapter three, was also a concern of the orator, and the characteristics of a number of metrical feet are described in rhetorical treatises; Quintilian treats the subject in particular detail as do Longinus (*On the Sublime*) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On Literary Composition*). Indeed, Mersenne, who believed that rhythm was the component of music which shared the most common material with rhetoric, refers any reader who wishes to know more about the subject to Dionysius. It was not until later in the seventeenth century that a thorough study of affective properties of metrical feet was printed. Its author was a Dutch scholar who taught in England, Issac Vossius, and he published his system in *De poematum cantu et viribus rhythmi* in London in 1673. Although this treatise is not contemporary with the early seventeenth-century solo sonata, the theories it proposes concerning the expressive nature of metrical feet bear a significant similarity to the earlier, rather more fragmentary, studies – indeed, Vossius claimed to be repeating theories of antiquity, and much of the material appears to be derived from Dionysius of Halicarnassus – it is thus not unreasonable to use Vossius' findings where earlier theorists have provided insufficient information.

One foot which received a considerable amount of attention both in antiquity and in the early Baroque was the spondee (– –). Mei described it 'even, slow and grave'[61] and Mersenne believed that it invoked tranquillity and peace.[62] Vossius maintained that, together with the molossus (– – –), it represented movements which were grave and slow. Quintilian believed it to be a pompous rhythm.[63] Dionysius of Halicarnassus described the spondee as a rhythm of 'great dignity and much

[60] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellissement des chants', p.402, trans. George Houle, *Meter in Music 1600-1800*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1987, p.72.
[61] Letter to Vincenzo Galilei, 8th May 1572, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.71.
[62] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellissement des chants', p.402, trans. Houle, *Meter in Music*, p.72.
[63] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iv.140.

solemnity' and the molossus as 'elevated, dignified and long-striding'.[64] The certainty surrounding the properties of this metre derive from the fact that it features in the story of the Taorminian youth. It was the spondaic metre which calmed the youth who had been excited by the Phrygian mode.

The pyrrhic foot (∪ ∪), displays opposite characteristics to the spondee. It appears to have two distinct properties. By its association with warlike dances discussed in Plato's *Laws,* it was considered by Monteverdi to be representative of agitation. Longinus described it as a broken and agitated foot, also suitable for dance music. Vossius, however, concentrating on the foot's connection with dance, maintained that, together with the tribrach (∪ ∪ ∪), it was appropriate for 'light and voluble' expressions, such as the dances of satyrs.[65] Dionysius of Halicarnassus thought the pyrrhic foot neither impressive nor solemn, the tribrach even less so: 'a mean foot lacking both dignity and nobility'.[66] Quintilian believed both the pyrrhic and the tribrach to have comical characteristics, because an increase in speed results in a loss of dignity.[67]

The iamb (∪ –) and the trochee (– ∪) are probably the most frequently discussed metrical feet. Aristotle mentions them as being useful for imitating movement, the iamb representative of dramatic action, and the trochee a measure for dancing.[68] Horace expresses a similar opinion. Iambic metre, a fast moving foot, he believed, is the 'weapon of furious satire'. It is appropriate for dialogue, and thus used in comedy and tragedy, and its nature is well suited to accompanying action.[69] Cicero was apparently of the same opinion, since in *Orator* he suggested that the iamb be used in the plain, conversational style of speech. Dionysius of Halicarnassus simply says that it is 'not ignoble'. Quintilian maintained that it could be pompous like the spondee, but also appropriate for violent and abusive language. He proposed that: 'where violence is required, the requisite energy will be best secured by the employment of

[64] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*, trans. Stephen Usher, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1985, pp.125 and 127.
[65] Isaac Vossius, cited in Houle, *Meter in Music*, p.73.
[66] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*, trans. Usher, p.125.
[67] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iv.141.
[68] Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. T.S. Dorsch, p.67.
[69] Horace, *On the Art of Poetry*, trans. T.S. Dorsch, London: Penguin, 1965, pp.81 and 88.

the iambus'. This is because 'every foot gives the effect of an ascent, as they climb and swell from short to long'. The trochee, however, is indicative of descent, since it 'sinks from long to short'.[70] Vossius expresses similar opinions – he believes the iamb to be fierce and vehement, and the trochee to be soft and tender. Likewise, Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the trochee is feebler than the iambus and more ignoble. Vossius associates the trochee with the amphibrach (⏑ – ⏑), which, according to both he and Dionysius, is broken and enervated and has effeminate qualities.[71]

Mersenne compares the effect of the iamb and trochee, in which the syllables are of unequal length, to the spondee. He equates these feet with equal and unequal musical measure, possibly following Zarlino, who described unequal measure as 'trochaic'.[72] While equal measure is representative of 'minds that love tranquillity and peace and those that are friends of repose and solitude', unequal measure is indicative of a 'more turbulent passion'. The iamb is identified as being a foot particularly appropriate for this effect.[73] Mersenne believes it to be suitable for the expression of anger, capable of inciting people to war. This, he writes, is because 'it imitates the promptness and lightness of fire when it begins, and because it doubles in strength in the second part of its movement, which is twice as long as the first part'.[74] Mersenne's understanding of the way in which music operated upon the passions led him to believe that the strength of the sound affected the spirits more powerfully than weaker beats. Descartes expresses a similar opinion in his *Compendium of Music*. He explains that listeners are able to detect whether a metre is duple or triple because singers and instrumentalists instinctively perform the beginning of each measure with a stronger pressure. The strength of these beats invokes a similar motion in the listener, inducing him to 'accompany each beat of the music by a corresponding motion of the body'. He continues:

> Since, as we have said, the sound is emitted more strongly and clearly at the beginning of each measure, we must conclude that it has a greater impact on our spirits, and that we are thus roused to motion. It follows

[70] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, IX.iv.136.
[71] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*, trans. Usher, p.127.
[72] Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans Marco and Palisca, p.121.
[73] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellissement des Chants', p.402, trans. Houle, *Meter in Music*, p.72.
[74] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Embellissement des Chants', p.402, trans. LeCoat, *The Rhetoric of the Arts*, p.146.

> that even animals can dance to rhythm if they are taught and trained, for it takes only a physical stimulus to achieve this reaction.[75]

It appears that a foot which increases in strength as it progresses, such as the iamb, has more power over the passions than the trochee, whose strength diminishes. Nevertheless, the inequality of trochaic measure renders it more turbulent than equal measure. Aristides Quintilianus, whom Mersenne claimed to have read, stated that 'the man who walks with long and regular steps is ... as moderate as the spondee; he who makes a step longer than the other, in the trochaic manner ... is more ardent than necessary'.[76] Like Aristotle, Longinus declares that the trochee is suitable for dancing, but it is also a broken and agitated rhythm.

Giovanni Bardi also associated the trochee with dancing, together with the anapaest (∪ ∪ –). Mersenne believed the anapaest to be representative of bellicose and angry passions. Vossius apparently agreed, maintaining that the anapaest and the paean quartus (∪ ∪ ∪ –) represent fury and madness. Dionysius of Halicarnassus considered that the anapaest was an appropriate foot with which to 'invest a subject with grandeur or pathos'.[77] The dactyl (– ∪ ∪), on the other hand, is cheerful and joyous, according to Vossius. Quintilian believes it to be a lofty foot, useful for the *confirmatio* section of a speech, which requires feet full of energy and speed, and where long syllables must not outnumber the short.[78] Longinus described the dactyl as the noblest rhythm, full of grandeur and beautiful in the context of the heroic metre (in which the first four feet are either dactylic or spondaic, the fifth is a dactyl and the sixth a spondee). Aristotle believes the dactylic hexameter to possess 'the greatest weight and stability', Dionysius adds that it is 'very stately and remarkably effective at producing beauty of expression',[79] and Horace maintained that the elegiac couplet (a dactylic hexameter followed by a pentameter) is representative of lament. Vossius's comments appear to be at odds with the classical references to the dactyl. A reason for this could be the fact that the ancient critics consider the dactyl primarily in the context of longer metrical structures, such as the heroic hexameter, in which the

[75] Descartes, *Compendium of Music*, pp.14-5.
[76] Quintilianus, *De musica*, cited in LeCoat, *The Rhetoric of the Arts*, p.53.
[77] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*, trans. Usher, p.129.
[78] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, IX.iv.136.
[79] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*, trans. Usher, p.129.

spondee contributes to the magnificence of the metre. Vossius's opinions may have been affected by the employment of the dactyl at the opening of French chansons and Italian madrigals, particularly those of a lascivious nature. Of course context is important, but in the seventeenth-century solo sonata, derived as it is from the chanson, it is likely that the dactyl is usually indicative of livelier passions than those accredited to it by the writers of antiquity.

Mersenne's study of metre includes a review of the 'musique et vers mesurée à l'antique' of Jean Antoine de Baïf's Académie de poesié et musique, which was founded in 1570. The Académie applied the strict quantitative metres of Latin and Greek to French poetry, setting the poems to music which followed the metre rigidly. Such an inflexible approach to metre resulted in music which was predictable and rather uninteresting. This is largely because of the fact that in Latin and Greek the long was almost always equivalent to two shorts. Even in antiquity Dionysius of Halicarnassus (who was a musician himself) pointed out that musicians needed to take a much more flexible approach to rhythm and metre. Later theorists appeared to agree with him. Mersenne writes:

> Composers are not obliged to make all long syllables the same length, as they can give even as little as the duration of an eighth note to long syllables provided that in the same meter or speech they use notes of smaller length for short syllables.[80]

The Italian theorist Franciso de Salinas suggested that composers may depart from the strict principle that a long syllable must be twice a short one.[81] This theory allows for the use of dotted notes which are noticeably lacking in most *musique mesurée*.

As is the case with harmonic and melodic intervals, it is the accumulation of metrical effects, together with particularly outstanding rhythmical patterns, which signify the passion expressed in the music. A predominance of fast moving feet, such as pyrrhics and tribrachs, suggests excited passions, of joy, or possibly of anger. More dignified passions are represented by the spondee and the occasional molossus. Metrical

[80] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'De l'Art de Bien Chanter', p.18, trans. Houle, *Meter in Music*, p.63.
[81] This issue is discussed by D.P. Walker in his article, 'Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries', *Music, Spirit and Language in the Renaissance*, London: Warburg Institute, 1985, p.302.

patterns in which a long note-value is preceded by shorter ones, such as the iamb, the anapaest or the paean in the fourth position, are likely to indicate violent passions. Dactyls and trochees may imply magnificence, gentleness or joy. A change in metre from duple to triple may also signify a change or intensification of passion.

Decoding the signs

Despite the fact that seventeenth-century musicians believed that instrumental music is able to move the passions of its audience, there is no doubt that, in the absence of words, identifying the nature of the passions represented by the music is no easy task. Theorists of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are far less precise than their eighteenth-century counterparts when it comes to assigning passions to the various musical devices they discuss. The most specific seventeenth-century account of musical passions is found in Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650). Book seven includes a section entitled 'On the rational organisation that must be accorded a melody in order to move a given affection'. Kircher believed that music was able to imitate eight chief affections: love; lamentation or complaint; joy and exultation; rage and indignation; pity and tears; fear and affliction; arrogance and boldness; surprise. Kircher includes examples of passages which imitate particular affections, occasionally explaining by which elements of the music the effect is achieved. For example, since the emotional inclinations of a lover are continually shifting, sometimes towards violence and sometimes towards repose, love must be imitated by 'violent, languid, soft and exotic intervals'.[82] Kircher cites a madrigal by Gesualdo (*Baci soavi, e cari*) in which the amorous effect is generated, he explains, both by languid intervals and through the use of what he calls 'syncopation' – the employment of suspensions to produce dissonance.[83] In the case of lamentation, or sorrow, the passions may be moved by a sudden change of mode, as is the case in Carissimi's *Jepthe* when the jubilation at Jepthe's victory turns to calamity as he discovers that a vow made in a moment of rashness obliges him to sacrifice his daughter. The new downcast mood is taken up in the lament of the daughter's virgin companions. According to Kircher:

> Having, in fact, begun with a festive dialogue, cast in the dance-like tone 8, Carissimi sets this lament in a very different mode, in this case tone 4 intermingled with tone 3. Given this tragic story to portray – a story in

[82] Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Rome, 1650, p.598.
[83] Kircher. *Musurgia universalis*, Rome, 1650, p.599-600.

> which joy is dispelled by the distress and intense sorrow of the heart – the composer suitably chose a mode that is as distant from tone 8 as the extremes of the heavens from each other, that he might better express, through this opposition, the differences between the affections. And nothing is more capable than this of portraying such unhappy events, such tragic happenings interwoven with affections of a different kind.[84]

Kircher clearly believed that small sections of music may be seen to imitate specific passions. It appears that by examining the effect produced by the accumulation of 'passionate' elements of the music one can begin to identify a possible passion. From the information given above, one may discern that an intermediate pitch range, for example, may represent temperance or anger, and it is likely that both passionate states would be indicated by whole tones and major imperfect consonances. If, however, the melodic line moves frequently by leaps, the motion is fast and metres such as the iamb and the anapaest feature heavily, the overall effect is more likely to suggest the passion of anger. If, on the other hand, the intervallic movement is mainly by step, the motion is intermediate and the rhythm spondaic, the music would probably have been seen to invoke calm passions in the minds of the seventeenth-century listeners. It is necessary, therefore, to take all indicators of the passions into account in order to ascertain the nature of the affection suggested in the music. The diagrams in appendix 1 provide a summary of the signifiers of the passions discussed above. Each of them may be used as a tool to assist the identification of the passions within the solo sonata.

If this information is to be used to discover the passions which may be signified by the music of the early solo sonata, it is necessary first to establish the manner in which the music is to be examined. As was discussed in chapter 1, the genre is typically constructed from a number of contrasting sections. This fact suggests that the work imitates a variety of passions, and that we should consider the passions represented by each section individually. Indeed, Jeffrey Kurtzman proposes that the fluctuation of affections throughout a single composition is a hallmark of the *seconda prattica* style (Kurtzman acknowledges the difficulties encountered in the terms *prima* and *seconda*

[84] Kircher. *Musurgia universalis*, p.603, trans. Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p.52.

prattica, explaining that he uses them in the absence of any more appropriate terminology).[85] Although the madrigals of Rore, Marenzio, Monteverdi, and others do often comprise a number of fluctuating passions, this is usually to illustrate one overriding *concetto* or sentiment. Often the *concetto* itself is an issue involving conflicting passions. A supreme example of this type of writing occurs in Alfonso d'Avalos's poem, 'Anchor che col partire', famously set by Cipriano de Rore, in which the joys and pains of love are set side by side in three antithetical statements.

Anchor che col partire	Again in my parting
Io mi sento morire;	I feel myself dying;
Partir vorrei ogn'hor, ogni momento,	I should like to part from you every hour, every moment,
Tant'è il piacer ch'io sento	So great is the pleasure I feel
De la vita ch'acquista nel ritorno;	In the life I acquire in returning;
E così mill'e mille volte il giorno	And so, a thousand and a thousand times a day
Partir da voi vorrei,	I should like to part from you,
Tanto son dolci gli ritorni meie.	So sweet are my returns.[86]

In the case of vocal music the varying passions are justified by the nature of the words. Instrumental music, of course, does not contain a 'ready made' explanation for the presence of varying musical style and no obvious indication of the presence of any principal *concetto*. However, by considering the ways in which the passions fluctuate in vocal music, together with information provided by classical rhetoric, it is possible to establish a manner of analysing the music which takes into account both the passions of individual sections and the *concetto* of the musical 'discourse' as a whole.

Frescobaldi described the performance of his *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura* of 1615 as 'the manner of playing with *affetti cantabile* [song like affections] and diversity of *passi*'.[87] The two styles he describes are also detectable in the solo sonata. Passages of florid and virtuosic diminution (known as *passi* or *passaggi*) are juxtaposed with sections of a more 'declamatory' style reminiscent of contemporary solo song; occasionally these sections are indicated in the printed music by the term *affetti*. The *passaggi* are usually accompanied by a relatively fast moving bass line, which may

[85] Jeffrey Kurtzman, unpublished 'response' to a paper given by Andrew Dell'Antonio at Sixth Annual Conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Urbana, April 1998.
[86] For a more detailed analysis of this poem see M.R. Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979, p.68.
[87] Trans. Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi*, 1983, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p.144.

often imitate material found in the soloist's part. In *affetti* sections, on the other hand, the bass line is usually made up of sustained chords with comparatively slow movement. In his 1624 publication of *Capricci*, Frescobaldi informs the reader that 'in those things which do not seem governed by contrapuntal practice one must first seek the *affetto* of that passage and the goal of the Author for the delight of the ear and the way that it is sought in playing'.[88] It would appear that this maxim also holds true for the solo sonata.

Considering Frescobaldi's statement, and the fact that the term *affetto* is the Italian word for passion, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the passions are represented primarily through the sonatas' *affetti* sections. This brings into question, therefore, the reason for the presence of *passaggi,* particularly in the light of the comments of devoted monodists which implied that passage work was, in fact, contrary to passion. Even instrumentalists criticised excessive use of *passaggi*; Francesco Rognoni, whose treatise is devoted to instrumental and vocal diminution, complained that 'one sees today many who play cornett, violin, or other instruments who do nothing but play *passaggi* ... ruining the canto'.[89] It is significant that the title of Rognoni's treatise, one of the last of the succession of diminution manuals which were popular in the sixteenth century, contains the suffix *secondo l'uso moderno*, 'according to modern usage'. Just as Castello advertised his collection of sonatas as being of the *stile moderno*, so Rognoni appears to suggest that, by the beginning of the 1620s, the nature of *passaggi* had changed. Certainly his treatise contains some terminology and musical examples absent from earlier volumes and, significantly, he distinguishes between *passaggi* for instruments and *passaggi* for the human voice. In chapter one it was suggested that printed *passaggi* sections may have served as a testament to the composer's own virtuosity. The amount of criticism concerning the inappropriate use of *passaggi* suggests, however, that there is also an appropriate use. Theorists frequently qualified their discussions of *passaggi* with remarks to the effect that the principles must be applied to the music only 'in the right place'. It is strange that, if their only function was to impress the listener, the incorrect use of *passaggi*

[88] Trans. Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi*, p.163.
[89] Trans. David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761*, London: Oxford Univesity Press, 1965, p.127.

encountered so much criticism. Perhaps their rôle was much more complicated, and its inclusion as important a part of the musical structure as it was of the performance procedure. Clues as to the 'appropriate' employment of *passaggi* may be discovered from rhetorical handbooks, and this is best demonstrated by the function of the elaborate diminution which Monteverdi assigns to Orfeo in his address to 'Possente spirto' (*Orfeo,* 1607).

The function of Orfeo's 'performance' within the fable is itself fascinating, almost irrespective of the music which Monteverdi uses for its representation. To reach Hades, whence he has lost his beloved Euridice, Orfeo is required to persuade the boatman, Caronte, to ferry him across the Styx. After initial refusal, Orfeo embarks upon an ingenious rhetorical initiative to win his passage. Orfeo obeys all the rules of classical rhetoric. He begins by flattering his audience, in order to obtain his goodwill: Caronte is addressed as a 'powerful spirit' and an 'awe-inspiring presence'. He angles for sympathy and respect with an account of a long and treacherous search for his love, and even appeals to the gods – a stratagem recommended by rhetoricians for moving the audience. Orfeo's argument is a typical example of a rhetorical syllogism as discussed in chapter three: only the dead may cross the Styx; since Euridice's death, Orfeo has lost his heart; therefore Orfeo is dead and qualifies for passage across the river.

To perform the music accompanying Orfeo's appeal demands a degree of accomplishment equivalent to the proficiency of the text's logical argumentation. Monteverdi includes two versions, one an elaborately decorated rendering of the other. At such a passionate moment of the drama, Monteverdi's choice of expertly crafted *passaggi* may seem inappropriate. It would appear, however, that, wittingly or otherwise, Monteverdi has followed the advice of Quintilian, who believes that:

> Appeals to pity should always be brief, and there is good reason for the saying that nothing dries so quickly as tears. Time assuages even genuine grief, and it is therefore inevitable that the semblance of grief portrayed in our speech should vanish yet more rapidly. And if we spend too much time over such portrayal our hearer grows weary of his tears, takes a breathing space, and returns to the rational attitude from which he has been distracted by the impulse of the moment. We must not, therefore, allow the effect which we have produced to fall flat, and must consequently abandon our appeal to the emotion just when the emotion is

> at its height, nor must we expect anyone to weep for long over another's ills. For this reason our eloquence ought to be pitched higher in this portion of our speech than in any other, since, wherever it fails to add something to what it has preceded, it seems even to diminish its previous effect, while a *diminuendo* is merely a step towards the rapid disappearance of the emotion.[90]

In accordance with Quintilian's maxim, Orfeo may be seen to evoke pity by an extravagant display, not only of verbal, but also of musical eloquence. It is even possible that the very inclusion of the undecorated part (a mystery to today's scholars, who cannot believe that the movement would have ever been performed in this version[91]) is a means of emphasising the elegance which the *passaggi* contribute to the melodic line. The petition may be seen to rely as much, if not more, upon the musical element of the appeal as it does on the verbal. This argument is supported by the inclusion of instrumental ritornelli, which mirror the *passaggi* of the vocal line, and appear to contribute to the overall power of the musical invocation. Tim Carter believes that the voice and instruments together provide 'one of the most compelling visual and aural representations of the new-found power of music'.[92]

Orfeo's supplication is certainly musically and verbally eloquent, but is it really moving? Not, it would appear, according to Caronte, whose opinion of Orfeo's virtuosic display seems to accord with Caccini's notion of *passaggi*: although the song gives him great pleasure, it is unsuccessful in moving his heart. It may be that the disposition of the boatman's spirits is an obstacle to the success of Orfeo's song; it is possible that the audience of the *favola in musica* are shocked that even a heart as 'flinty' as Caronte's can remain unmoved after such a performance. Perhaps the event serves as indirect rhetorical adulation of the listeners, who, knowing their own hearts to be suitably moved by Orfeo's appeal, are able to assure themselves of the favourable constitution of their own spirits. Though unlikely, the cycle of events may even be a dig at Caccini: the association of his well known criticism of *passaggi* with Caronte's hardheartedness does, perhaps, cast aspersions upon Caccini's own musical sensibilities.

[90] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VI.i.28-30.
[91] Tim Carter, '*Possente spirto*: on taming the power of music', *Early Music*, November 1993, p.517.

Whatever the reason for Caronte's rejection of Orfeo's request, it induces a very interesting response. The music of Orfeo's reply is of a markedly different style from his original appeal. Gone are the poised and elaborate diminutions and in their place is a melodic line which is largely set high in a tenor's range, with a high proportion of urgently repeating notes, anapaestic rhythms and chromatic movement. The opening phrases conclude with an ascending third, a musical device which, according to Mersenne, is indicative of anger. The high tessitura of the opening phrases, coupled with the ascending chromatic movement of the concluding clauses suggests lamentation. The choice of mode supports this assertion. While Orfeo's initial invocation is based upon the cantus mollis variant of mode 2, which Zarlino believes to be tearful and humble, his subsequent outburst is composed in a mixture of modes 3 and 4, the 'saddest' modes, appropriate for laments, and precisely the modes identified by Kircher as the signifier of sorrow in the virgins' lament of Carrissimi's *Jepthe*. At this point in the drama, Orfeo appears to have abandoned himself to his emotions and communicates his despair to Caronte and to the audience. The eloquence of Orfeo's former monologue is sharply contrasted with the proceeding portrayal of raw emotion. A more paradigmatic *affetti* passage would be hard to find.

It is only after this display of emotion that Orfeo obtains his wish; not that Caronte relents, however – rather, he is lulled to sleep by the instrumental sinfonia (presumably representative of Orfeo's enchanting lyre), giving Orfeo the opportunity to steal the boat and row himself across the river. It would appear that Orfeo, the celebrated orator/ruler, has conquered the resolve of the boatman, even against his will. This was achieved by the combination of the musical styles which Orfeo displays, the eloquent rendition of *passaggi*, the representation of lament, and the instrumental sinfonia all play a part in bringing about the desired effect. In fact, each may be seen to fulfil one of three duties of the classical orator – to teach, to delight, and to move. The initial invocation delights Caronte, as he informs both Orfeo and his audience, thus *passaggi*, as well as serving to impress the listener with the performer's virtuosity, may also be seen to give pleasure and delight. Orfeo's heartfelt 'lament' is clearly representative of sorrowful passions, and this and similar

[92] Tim Carter, '*Possente spirto*', p.517.

passages would appear to be designed to move the affections of the listeners. The final sinfonia completes the process of charming the boatman to sleep, its slow tempo (the instrumentalists are instructed to play *pian piano*), low, dense tessitura, and relatively static melodic progression of the individual parts all imitate somnolent feelings and Caronte's spirits move in sympathy. The sinfonia may be seen to 'teach' its listeners, by providing a musical style, or 'icon' which is recognisable as representative of a particular affection or physical state.

It is interesting that the combined effect of the events of this portion of the drama depends much more heavily upon the use of a variety of musical styles than it does upon the words of the dialogue. It is the music which emphasises the change between Orfeo's carefully crafted supplication and his expression of anger and despair, and Orfeo's elegant monodic style is plainly in contrast to Caronte's rather 'matter of fact' recitative, which is harmonically very simple. Similarly, instruments play an important part in the drama, taking an equal rôle in Orfeo's invocation and completing the action by lulling Caronte to sleep. It is significant that, during an age in which Orpheus was celebrated for his abilities as an orator/poet rather more than he was esteemed purely as a musician, Monteverdi should represent his power as founded more upon his musical talents than his literary ones. He confirms the claims of La Musica's prologue:

Io la Musica son, ch'ao dolci acccenti	I am Music, who with dulcet sounds
So far tranquillo ogni turbato core,	can soothe all troubled hearts,
Et hor di nobil ire, et hor d'amore	and now with noble anger, now with love
Poss'infiammer le più gelate menti.	can inflame the frostiest of minds.

As was discussed in chapter three, Cicero identified the three duties of an orator with the three rhetorical styles, high, middle and low.[93] It is remarkable how well the descriptions of the three styles of speaking correspond with the styles of music found in the above mentioned extract from *Orfeo.* The plain style, appropriate for teaching must be expressed in language which is easy to understand. The function of a musical icon requires that it is easily recognised and associated with the *concetto* or passion it represents. The example of the sinfonia from *Orfeo* certainly uses simple musical language. The middle style, which is intended to delight, Cicero describes as 'a

brilliant and florid, highly coloured and polished style in which all the charms of language and thought are intertwined' – the parallel with *passaggi* is very clear. The third style, which embodies true eloquence is 'magnificent, opulent, stately and ornate' and 'has power to sway men's minds and move them in every possible way'. Cicero explains that 'now it storms the feelings, now it creeps in, it implants the new and uproots the old'. This description is reminiscent of the accounts of the monodic style provided by Caccini and Giustiniani. Giustiniani, for example, describes performers of monody in the following way:

> They moderated or increased their voices, loud or soft, heavy or light, according to the demands of the piece they were singing; now slow, breaking off with sometimes a gentle sigh, now singing long passages legato or detached, now groups, now leaps, now with long trills, now with short, and again with sweet running passages sung softly, to which sometimes one heard an echo answer unexpectedly. They accompanied the music and the sentiment with appropriate facial expressions, glances and gestures, with no awkward movements of the mouth or hands or body which might not express the feeling of the song.[94]

As chapter three explains, Cicero advised against constructing a speech from only the high, passionate style. The ears of the audience need to be prepared through the use of the other two styles before they are ready to appreciate the grandiloquence of the high style. An audience will consider the orator who uses nothing but this style to be insane. Cicero's comments throw some light on the conjecture of some of today's scholars that monodic laments such as Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna*, which use nothing but the musical 'equivalent' of the passionate style ought to be classed as a species of 'mad song'.[95] They also provide a rational explanation for the appearance of a variety of styles in songs and sonatas which are not 'mad'. If a composer or performer wishes to move the passions of his or her audience, it would appear to be obligatory to include at least one of the two lower styles, in order clearly to present the *concetto* or passion and to prepare the ears of the audience to be moved.

[93] Cicero, *Orator*, trans. H.M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1962, xxviii.99.
[94] Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica*, c.1628, trans. Carol MacClintock, Musicological Studies and Documents vol.9, American Institute of Musicology, 1962, p.62.
[95] See Susan McClary, 'Excess and Frame: The Musical Representation of Madwomen', in *Feminine Endings*, Minnesota and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1991, pp. 81-91.

The early seventeenth-century solo sonata also comprises three distinct musical styles which are comparable to those found in the above mentioned section from *Orfeo*. The first is a declamatory style, similar in nature to vocal recitative, accompanied by a slow moving bass which provides harmonic support but makes little or no contribution to the motivic development of the music. Because sections made up of this musical style are occasionally marked *affetto*, or *affetti* in canzoni and sonatas, this style will be referred to hereafter as *affetti*.

The second style of the instrumental sonata is a made up of more regular, faster moving passage work in the treble line (often comprising long patterns of semiquavers), coupled with a more structured, occasionally imitative bass part. It is difficult to find a term which adequately describes this style. Earlier in this thesis it was referred to as *passaggi*, since this term was frequently used in the seventeenth century to imply florid diminution. This, however, was not the only interpretation of the word. It may also imply 'passage' in the general sense – simply referring to a section of a work and not suggesting any particular musical style. Additionally, *passaggi*, particularly the elaborate kind found in sixteenth-century diminution manuals, are often supported by relatively slow moving harmony. It is this kind of *passaggi* which is employed in 'Possente spirto'. Because of the melodic similarity between this kind of *passaggi* and the ornamental roulades found in instrumental sonatas it is possible to interpret the two musical styles as carrying out a similar rhetorical function; that of delighting the listener. It is perhaps misleading, however, to refer to the two styles by the same term; hereafter in this theses, therefore, the instrumental diminution which incorporates a more structured bass line will be referred to as 'instrumental coloratura'.

The third style detectable in the instrumental sonata comprises sections of a much simpler rhythmic and melodic nature, often in triple time, which may be compared with the style of the sinfonia from *Orfeo* and may, perhaps, be interpreted as having a similar rhetorical function. Like the passage from *Orfeo* studied above, the instrumental sonata may be seen to incorporate musical elements similar to the three styles of Ciceronian rhetoric, and thus, by extension, may be seen to have the potential to teach, delight and move its audience.

Performer-led passions-signifiers

Cicero's styles of speaking are governed largely by the choice and ordering of words, an element, of course, of composition rather than performance. If, however, the passion is to be successfully communicated to the audience, the orator must assume the correct mode of delivery. Cicero believed that, for the orator to move his listeners to a specific passion, he must appear to be affected by the passion himself. In *De oratore* he expresses the opinion that:

> It is impossible for the listener to feel indignation, hatred or ill-will, to be terrified of anything, or reduced to tears of compassion, unless all these emotions, which the advocate would inspire in the arbitrator, are visibly stamped or rather branded on the advocate himself. ... For it is not easy to succeed in making an arbitrator angry with the right party, if you yourself seem to treat the affair with indifference; or in making him hate the right party, unless he first sees you on fire with hatred yourself; nor will he be prompted to compassion, unless you have shown him the tokens of your own grief by word, sentiment, tone of voice, look and even by loud lamentation.[96]

The same principle applies not only to rhetoric but also to poetry. Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, maintained that the most successful tragic poets were those who were able to 'work themselves' into the passion they wish to excite in others.[97] Horace holds a similar opinion. He believes that the physical appearance of the poet can have as much impact upon the listener as the words he speaks. This, he explains, is because the body is affected by a passion before it is expressed through speech. A poet or orator will only appear genuine, then, if his words are accompanied by the extra-verbal manifestation of the passion expressed. This may be through physical gesture and facial expression, but also through the manner in which the words are delivered, such as the use of an appropriate tone of voice or speed of delivery.[98]

This concept was adopted by Renaissance rhetoricians and developed in importance into the seventeenth century. As Aristotelian passions theories became better known, the concept that the representation of action, be it verbal, physical or musical, could stimulate a passion in the souls of an audience grew in popularity. It is interesting, however, that the metaphors frequently cited to illustrate the phenomenon originated

[96] Cicero, *De oratore*, II.xlv.189.
[97] Aristotle. *Poetics*, chapter 17.
[98] Horace, *On the Art of Poetry*, trans. T.S. Dorsch, 81-136.

in Ciceronian theory. This is an example of the fact that, despite his refutation of non-cognitive passions theories, Cicero did make some use of them in his rhetorical practice. A popular Ciceronian metaphor is the association of the passions with igniting a fire. Just as no substance can catch alight by itself, neither can the soul of a listener be inflamed unless the orator is himself 'aglow with passion'.[99] Soarez cites this allegory in his *De arte rhetorica*, and the notion of the orator 'igniting' the passions with the spark of his own emotion is repeated by Renaissance and seventeenth-century rhetoricians such as Thomas Wilson, Nicholas Caussin and Richard Rainolde.[100]

Another common metaphor, derived from Cicero, is that of a musical instrument. While Cicero describes the audience as being like an instrument which may be 'played upon' by the orator, Renaissance rhetoricians such as Jean Luis Vives and Daniel Barbaro compare the enlivening of a listener's passions with the phenomenon of sympathetic vibration.[101] Once the passion is 'set up' in the orator, the listener is subsequently moved in sympathy. Understandably, this metaphor was popular among the musically minded humanists: Mei's comparison between the moving of the passions and the operation of a musical instrument, found in *Del verso toscano*, is discussed in chapter four above.[102]

Like an orator, any instrumentalist who wishes to move the passions of his or her audience must first appear to be moved by the music himself. This is achieved by the use of another set of signifiers which were recognised by musicians of the time as being indicative of specific passions. The performer must recognise the passions-signifiers provided by the composer and add to these performance-based signifiers which are appropriate for the passion or passions already represented. The combined force of composer's and performer's imitation of the passions then moves the affections of the listeners.

[99] Cicero, *De oratore*, II.xlv.189.
[100] See Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.92.
[101] See Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, p.88.

Tempo and rhythmic alteration

The nature of the performer's contribution to the tempo of a sonata falls into two distinct areas. The first concerns the choice of the speed of the pulse governing either the piece as a whole or a small section of it. The second regards the alteration of the tempo within a phrase or section of the music. According to Renaissance and early Baroque theorists, both the choice of an initial tempo and its subsequent alteration are determined by the passions to be expressed through performance.

Vicentino's discussion of motion (mentioned above) implies that he understood the pulse, or tactus, to be of a more or less fixed rate, irrespective of the work in question, and that the tempo of individual works was determined by the note-values chosen by the composer. Although this theory is corroborated by other Renaissance writers, such as Ornithoparchus, Listenius, Finck and Morley, theorists such as Sebald Heyden imply that, even during the sixteenth century, it may not always have been adhered to in practice.[103] Certainly by the early seventeenth century theorists referred to a variable tactus: Pier Francesco Valentini described the tactus as being 'sometimes slow, sometimes quick, and sometimes between quick and moderately slow, according to the styles of compositions and the indication of the words'.[104] The appearance in part books of 'time words' such as *allegro* and *adagio* suggests that composers expected the performer, at least occasionally, to alter the pulse in accordance with the style of individual sections. Michael Praetorius discusses the fact that Italian composers adopted the procedure of indicating a new tempo in concerted music by using time words. He mentions three words: *presto, adagio* and *lento*. Although opposed by some, Praetorius approves of the practice, this is because 'such variations and changes, when they are moderate and graceful, used to express the affections and to move men, are not unpleasant or incorrect; rather they do affect the heart and spirit of the hearer, and add a certain kind of grace to the Concerto'.[105]

[102] See page 123.
[103] See Houle, *Meter in Music*, p.3.
[104] P F Valentini, *Trattato della battuta musicale di Pier Valentini Romano,* 1643, trans. Houle, *Meter in Music*, p.7.
[105] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum,* 1619, vol.III, part III, chapter 1, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1979, p.151.

Where vocal music is concerned, theorists instruct performers to select a tempo which is in accordance with the nature of the text. Mersenne believes that the *tactus* should be adapted to conform to 'the characters, words, or the various emotions they invoke'.[106] For Mersenne, the correct tempo is an important signifier of passion, because it is analogous with the human pulse. Although he does not suggest that the *tactus* should be exactly equal to the speed of the pulse, he does believe that more excited passions should be represented by a faster tempo, since the heart beats more rapidly under their influence. The intensity of anger, for example, may be measured by the speed of the pulse and this, he believes, is reflected in the speed of the voice.[107] Girolamo Mei expressed similar opinions. He explains that rapid motion represents an 'excited spirit', intermediate motion a 'poised spirit' and slow motion a 'sluggish and lazy one'.[108] Mei's reasoning is drawn from the qualities which the human voice displays when its owner is influenced by a particular passion. Infuriated people, for example, speak hurriedly, and there is a difference between the slowness of a suppliant's speech, and the slowness of a speaker who is calm.[109] In his *Compendium of Music*, Descartes distinguishes between a slow and fast rate of motion, indicating that, while a fast tempo represents joy, a slow pulse imitates passions of languor, sadness, fear and pride.

When no words are provided to guide the choice of tempo, the performer must make his choice according to the passions represented by the musical styles of the various sections of a sonata. Cheerful passions will demand a relatively fast tempo, while severe passions should be performed more slowly. Because he associated rate of motion with note-values, Vicentino believed that *passaggi* were always representative of cheerful passions, and he criticised performers who added improvised diminution to music which was 'slack and sad'.[110] Similarly, Caccini believes that *passaggi* denote cheerfulness and are appropriate for 'airy' music.[111] Although, as 'Possente spirto' demonstrates, certainly by the early seventeenth-century, *passaggi* were occasionally

[106] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 'De l'Art de Bien Chanter', p.324, trans. Houle, *Meter in Music*, p.5.
[107] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 'De l'Art de Bien Chanter' p.370.
[108] Mei, Letter to Vincenzo Galilei, 8th May 1572, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.58.
[109] Letter to Vincenzo Galilei, 8th May 1572, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.63.
[110] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, pp.300-1.
[111] Giulio Caccini, Preface to *Le nuove musiche*, 1602.

included in music representative of passions other than joy, most theorists nevertheless recommended that they be performed rapidly. A fast tempo in *passaggi* sections demonstrates the virtuosity of the performer to the full. Severo Bonini advises that, if a singer 'sometimes finds a run of quavers or semiquavers in the style of diminution, [he] should quicken the beat much rather than slowing it down; for doing otherwise, the composition would give little pleasure to the listeners, and the singer would show that he has small skill'.[112] Although his instructions are not very explicit, Frescobaldi appears to give similar advice. In the preface to his 1615 publication of toccatas, he suggests that a performer should play 'resolutely' any passages of sixteenth notes in both hands, 'in order that the agility of the hands may appear'. He recommends that both toccatas and capricci are begun at a slow tempo, even if they contain quavers, and that the tempo is increased 'according to their movement' as the piece progresses. *Affetti* passages, however, must be taken at a slower tempo.[113]

Although for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theorists, the selection of the correct tempo appears to be simply a matter of performing the music fast or slow, it is important to consider that 'fast' and 'slow' are, in fact, relative concepts. Since they are usually constructed of quavers or semiquavers, *passaggi* will appear to be fast, even if the crotchet or minim pulse is actually quite sedate. Similarly, the speed of the harmonic movement must be taken into account. If the harmony changes frequently, say, once per crotchet, the music will appear faster than harmony moving once per semibreve, even if the pulse of the two phrases is identical. In selecting a tempo, it is important to remember that it is the overall effect which must be fast, slow or intermediate, and not the actual rate of the pulse.

As the remarks of these writers demonstrate, sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century theorists considered only broad categories of tempo, such as slow, intermediate and fast and, unlike their eighteenth-century successors, did not identify a scale of tempi indicated by a number of different time words. Many were quite insistent, however,

[112] Severo Bonini, *Affetti spirituali a due voci*, Venice, 1615, trans. R Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, London: Faber & Faber, 1963, R1974. p.641.

about the way in which the tempo must be adjusted within a phrase or section in order to move the passions. Vicentino is one of the earliest theorists to mention this technique. As discussed in chapter one, he describes the manner of performance as being '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'.[114] Although it is difficult to master, this manner of performance is more gratifying to the listeners than a 'persistent changeless measure', since it introduces a degree of variety and, significantly, it is associated with the practice of oratory:

> 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.[115]

Guilio Caccini's 'noble manner of singing' involves a flexibility of tempo. He uses the words *una certa sprezzatura,* to describe the noble performer's attitude to the tempo. Caccini's use of '*sprezzatura*' is highly significant. It refers initially to Castiglione's book *Il cortegiano*, in which the word, although not invented by Castiglione, is given a new interpretation. The concept is now, according to Peter Burke, the most famous of Castiglione's dialogue; in the years succeeding its publication it was adopted not only by musicians but also by masters of the visual arts. Lomazzo recommends that painters observe its principles, and painters such as Giulio Romano, Velàzquez and Rembrant, all of whom had some association with Castiglione's text, may be seen to have applied it.[116] *Sprezzatura* is a desirable quality of the perfect courtier. Notoriously difficult to translate, the word implies a notion not only of 'calm self-confidence' but also of improvisation, of acting 'on the spur of the moment'. It is allied with the term *grazia*, or grace, and, as shown in chapter three above, Castiglione uses both words in the context of advising the courtier to avoid any suggestion of affectation in his behaviour. The attitude applies to all aspects of the courtier's life, and Castiglione draws examples of the concept from fighting, dancing,

[113] Girolamo Frescobaldi, Preface to *Fiori musicali di diversi compositioni*, 1635, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.136.
[114] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, p.301.
[115] Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice,* p.301.
[116] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995, pp.30 and 154.

painting, writing, speaking and music. Affectation in music is demonstrated by the use of parallel perfect consonances, while the introduction of dissonances is graceful:

> It is very wrong to have two perfect consonances one after the other; for our sense of hearing abhors this, whereas it often likes a second or a seventh, which in itself is a harsh and unbearable discord. This is because to continue in perfect consonances produces satiety and offers a harmony which is too affected; but this disappears when imperfect consonances are introduced to establish the contrast which keeps the listener in a state of expectancy, waiting for and enjoying the perfect consonances more eagerly and delighting in the discord or the second or seventh, as in a display of nonchalance.[117]

A further display of *sprezzatura* is provided by the singer who 'utters a single word ending in a group of notes with a sweet cadence, and with such ease that it seems effortless'.[118] Caccini's explanation of the concept is rather different. It is 'that noble manner of singing which is used without tying a man's self to the ordinary measure of time, making many times the value of the notes less by half, and sometimes more, according to the conceit of the words'.[119] A similar approach to the tempo is proposed by Bardi, Caccini's patron, who writes that 'when singing alone or to the lute, harpsichord, or other instrument, one may contract or stretch the measure at will, granted that it is up to the singer to lead the measure according to his judgement'.[120]

It would appear that Bardi's and Caccini's understanding of musical *sprezzatura* found its way into standard seventeenth-century performance practice. Severo Bonini instructs the solo singer to 'beat time by himself, so that he can, according to the needs of the words, sing quickly or slowly, now sustaining, now quickening the beat, for thus demands the Florentine style'.[121] Monteverdi provides similar instructions for the performance of his *Lamento della ninfa* from the Eighth Book of Madrigals (1638). While the ensemble of the three male parts is required to sing according to the 'time of the hand' (*al tempo del al mano*), the nymph's part is to be sung following the *affetto del animo* (the affection of the heart). Frescobaldi also mentions

[117] Baldasar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull, London: Penguin, 1967, p.69.
[118] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, p.70.
[119] 'che nobile maneria sia così appellata da me quella, che va sata, senza sottoporsi à misura ordinata, facendo molte volte il valor delle note lamet à meno secondo i concetti della parole'. Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, 1602, trans. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, vol.3, p.31.
[120] Giovanni Bardi, Discourse to Caccini, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.125.
[121] Severo Bonini, *Affetti spirituali a dua voci*, 1615, trans. Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, p.641.

adapting the tempo according to the passions expressed. His toccatas of 1615, 'just as in the performance of modern madrigals, should not be subjected to strict time'. Although these madrigals are difficult, he explains that 'they are facilitated if one takes the beat now languidly, now lively, or holding back, according to the affection of the music of the meaning of the words'.[122]

The theorists mentioned above all connect flexibility of tempo to the expression of affections. This suggests that, in the instrumental sonata, this manner of performance is most appropriately used in the *affetti* sections, which are the closest in style to the contemporary monodic song. Additionally, these sections of the music are usually accompanied by a relatively static bass line, which gives the soloist ample opportunity for hurrying and stretching the measure without losing the accompanist. Furthermore, flexibility in the performance of *passaggi* is criticised by theorists. Bardi complains of singers who, 'in their zeal to indulge in *passaggi* do not respect the beat; they break and stretch the measure so much that they do not allow their companions to sing at all with good style'.[123] Zacconi explains that one must endeavour always to sing *passaggi* in time, since 'the most beautiful and perfect thing sought in diminution is tempo and measure, which embellishes and seasons the collection and aggregate of figures; whoever departs from measure and tempo loses at the end because of a fine scattering of notes without results'.[124]

Although Castiglione appears to be the immediate source for Caccini's concept of *sprezzatura*, it is certainly significant that Castiglioni's source is classical rhetoric. In chapter three it was demonstrated how the comments of Count Lodovico were closely related to portions of *Institutio oratoria.* It is interesting that Quintilian also connects the notion of 'art concealing art' to the orator's approach to rhythm. The orator, according to Quintilian, should make every effort to conceal the care expended on the rhythm of his speech, so that 'our rhythms may seem to possess a spontaneous flow,

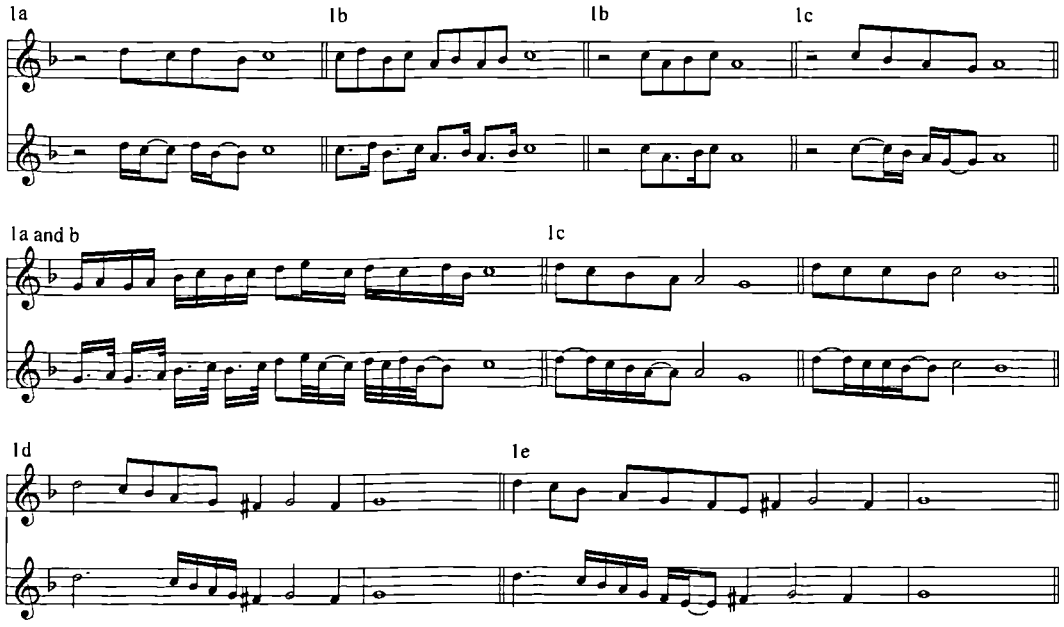
[122] Girolamo Frescobaldi, Preface to *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura*, 1615, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.133.
[123] Discourse to Caccini, trans. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p.125.
[124] Ludovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, 1592, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.70

not to have been the result of elaborate search or compulsion'.[125] Although it cannot be proven that Caccini was aware of Quintilian's comments, the similarity between Quintilian's advice and Caccini's notion of *sprezzatura* demonstrates another correspondence between musical and rhetorical performance and suggests that the advice to orators concerning the importance of concealing one's art should be heeded by performers of rhetorically inspired music.

Although they inform the reader that the measure should follow the affections, theorists and composers are not very explicit as to the way in which this should be done. Caccini provides examples of the way in which the rhythm of recurrent musical patterns should be performed with grace; these are reproduced in example 1. Considering the fact that Caccini encourages a 'negligent' approach to the rhythm, it is likely that his examples are approximations to the actual rhythm he requires. The first examples show that Caccini favours 'dotted' movement to the progression of even quavers. Rocking pairs of quavers in which the first note is higher than the second are to be performed lombardically (1a); when the second note is higher than the first, the rhythm is performed as a dotted quaver followed by a semiquaver (1b). In groups of falling quavers, the first and last notes are stretched, with the middle notes made shorter to compensate (1c). A sustained note followed by falling quavers approaching a cadence is held for more than the value of the note, the following quavers hurried to make up the time (1d). This practice applies unless the quavers fall to the note below the 'leading note' of the scale, in which case the lowest note is sustained (1e).

[125] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, IX.iv.147.

Example 1: Caccini's examples of rhythmical alteration from *Le nuove musiche*, 1602.



Monteverdi's 'Possente spirto' provides further examples of rhythmic flexibility. Like Caccini, Monteverdi makes much use of 'dotted' rhythms. Frequently the embellished part anticipates the original, generating dissonances with the continuo. It has already been shown how dissonance was seen to intensify the imitation of passions. The rhythmically altered part of 'Possente spirto' would suggest that the performer is at liberty to contribute to this effect.

Although it is possible to notate quite successfully rhythmical alteration within the measure, the concept frequently known as 'borrowed time', it is much more difficult to describe how the measure itself should be held back or hurried. In his example madrigal, 'Deh dove son fuggiti', Caccini annotates the portion of music set to the words 'Aure aure divine ch'errate peregrine In questa pert'in quella' with the instruction 'exclamation, without measure, as it were, talking in harmony, and neglect the music' and, at another point in the madrigal, he indicates that the music be performed 'with a larger time'.[126] Frescobaldi suggests that the performer should play dissonances slowly, in order to emphasise the liveliness of the passages which follow them. Despite Caccini's best efforts, it is very difficult to indicate in writing the way in

[126] 'Esclamazione senza misura quasi savellando in armoniae in la sudetta sprezatura' and 'con misura più larga'. Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, trans. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, vol.3, p.29.

which a performer is to approach *rubato*; presumably performers of the seventeenth century would have learned the technique by imitation. Aside from Caccini's and Frescobaldi's vague instructions, today's performer only has his/her musical instincts upon which to rely. It is possible, however, to base our approach to *rubato* on the passions indicated in the score. A high pitch, coupled with rising melodic lines would indicate excited passions, which, as has already been established, are imitated by rapid motion: perhaps phrases with these properties should be hurried. Minor imperfect consonances, dissonances and falling intervals are indicative of sorrow and languor, so in passages displaying these characteristics, the tempo may be held back. In all cases, the overall musical context is most important, and the passionate application of *rubato* is best demonstrated through individual examples. The use of the practice will be explored in more detail through the examination of the case studies in the following chapters.

Dynamics and tone quality

According to early seventeenth-century theorists, the volume at which music was delivered was able to influence the passions of its listeners. It is significant that it was around the turn of the sixteenth century that composers began more frequently to indicate the required dynamic with words such as *forte* and *pian*. Praetorius mentions the Italian practice of using words to signify a dynamic level, believing that by altering the dynamics performers may affect the 'heart and spirit of the hearer'.[127] Indeed, for Praetorius, the capability of an instrument to produce varied dynamics determined whether or not it was able to imitate the affections. Praetorius explains that:

> The player of keyboard instruments is thus restricted in that he cannot give expression to his affections, showing whether sad, joyous, serious or playful thoughts are in him; while this can all be indicated quite clearly on violins.[128]

The violin's capacity for varied dynamic expression is possibly one of the qualities which recommended it to seventeenth-century composers, and eventually secured for it a popularity exceeding that of the cornett. Of all the instruments that he discusses in a letter to a Sienese virtuoso, Agostino Agazzari attributes to the violin the most

[127] Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol.III, pt.III, chapter 1, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.151.

versatility, both in terms of the musical material it can deliver, and in its ability to play dynamics. It is significant that it is only the violin and the human voice to which he assigns *affetti*.[129]

Dynamics were connected with the passions for two reasons: first, because it was observed that, under the influence of specific passions, people spoke either loudly or quietly, and secondly, because a strong sound was believed to generate more movement in the air than a weak one, thus producing a more violent movement in the soul of the listener. It is for this reason that Descartes believed that listeners were able to distinguish between duple and triple metres, since the first beat of the bar is played more strongly, and thus has more impact upon the spirits.

Mersenne also believed dynamic level to affect the soul. He identifies eight dynamic degrees available to the performer. Each represents a different intensity of passion. The quietest may be used for the weakest echo, and the loudest for the most extreme despair. He suggests that the eighth degree of loudness is equivalent to the roaring and screaming of Esau begging his father, Isaac, for the blessing which he had already bestowed upon Jacob.[130] Other theorists also associate the loudest volume with sorrowful passions; Francesco Rognoni instructs singers to 'begin long notes with the voice soft and low, raising it bit by bit to the maximum in words of grief'.[131] This appears to be derived from Caccini's treatise. The term he uses to describe this expression is *esclamazione*. It is significant that this is also the name of a rhetorical figure. Most rhetoricians describe the *exclamatio* as a figure of speech, but Quintilian believes that, because of its emotional character, it should be classed as a figure of thought. The author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* believes it to express grief or indignation, Quintilian provides examples which show the figure to be an outburst of passion, such as 'alas!' or 'woe is me!'. It is significant that, in his musical examples, Caccini applies the *esclamazione* to exclamatory words such as 'deh' and 'ahi me' set

[128] Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum,* vol.II, pt.II, chapter 44, trans. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing,* p.179.
[129] Letter contained in Banchieri, *Conclusions for Playing the Organ,* 1609. trans. Lee Garrett. Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1982, pp.58-9.
[130] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 'Embellissement des chants', p.359.
[131] Francesco Rognoni, *Selva di varii passaggi*, cited in Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing,* p.179.

to long notes, which are usually the highest of a phrase. The reduction in volume serves to intensify the gradual crescendo, thus enhancing the expression of passion.

Though most closely associated with despair and grief, it would appear that loud dynamics are indicative not of an individual passion, but of the most vehement expression of any passion. Just as lamentation is associated with high notes and rapid delivery, while languor is represented by low, somnolent tones, so extreme sorrow, anger or despair would be expressed loudly, while milder representations of the same passion would be communicated more softly. Joy is not associated with a particular dynamic level. Since joy appears to be connected with a intermediate pitch and tempo, it seems reasonable to perform joyful passions at a moderate dynamic. What appears to be most important is dynamic variety. Theorists and commentators mention that rhetorical music must be 'now soft, now loud' as frequently as they describe it as 'now fast, now slow'. The orator held the interest of his listeners by the variety of his vocal expression. The instrumental performer must aim to create a similar effect.

This may be achieved, not only by dynamic variation, but also by the tone quality employed by the performer. Caccini insists that the singer use a 'clear and natural voice,' avoiding 'feigned tunes of notes'. According to Maria Rika Maniates, by the 'feigned' voice, Caccini implied falsetto singing.[132] Maniates believes Caccini's preference for the tone generated by the mid-voice to be another example of the employment of the *sprezzatura* concept. Use of the natural voice of a male singer avoids the affectation of singing at a pitch far apart from his usual speaking voice.

As chapter three has demonstrated, rhetoricians believed tone of voice to be a highly important aspect of delivery. The information provided in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* concerning the quality of voice required to express different passions and the tone appropriate for different portions of the speech may be adapted and applied in instrumental performance.

[132] See Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture,* Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1979, p.218.

Gesture and facial expression

As explained in chapter three, the physical appearance of the orator was as essential a part of the passions-moving process as were the words of his speech. The accounts of monodic singing given by writers such as Giustiniani show that physical gestures were employed in the performance of solo song. The rôle played by gesture in contemporary performances of instrumental music is not well documented. Indeed, Diruta maintained that the organists should 'not make any actions or movements of his person but should hold his body and head erect and gracefully'.[133] As chapter one demonstrates Ganassi, however, instructed the instrumentalist to imitate the singer, perhaps implying an imitation of the singer's body language as well as his or her tone quality. Seeing that the body is involved in playing the instrument, it is unlikely that corporeal gestures would have played the same part in communicating the passions in instrumental music as they did in vocal performance. It is possible, at least to some extent, for the instrumentalist to use the expressions of his or her face to portray the passions of the music and, as shown in chapter three, it was the face which was considered by rhetoricians to be the most expressive part of the body.

Instrumentalists appearing in baroque paintings are frequently represented with facial expressions similar to those described by rhetoricians and writers of emblem books such as Ripa's *Iconologia* – two such paintings are reproduced on pages 252 and 297. This, of course, does not mean that instrumentalists adopted such expressions in 'real life', since the painted images are themselves likely to be representations of passions and, as such, may make use of stylised or exaggerated expressions never purposefully employed off the canvas (except, perhaps, on the stage). The fact that the purposeful use of facial expression seems rather unnatural to instrumental performers and audiences today may result from a very different attitude towards emotion and the means by which one is moved. It is true to say, however, that it was important for singers, and, as demonstrated in chapter three, essential for classical orators. If the instrumentalist sets out to imitate the orator, perhaps facial gesture is something which s/he may consider employing, but it cannot be denied that, of all the principles

[133] Girolamo Diruta, *Il Transilvano*, 1592, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.88.

of classical rhetoric, it remains the most remote to twentieth-century minds, and for this reason may be best avoided, or used with caution.

Using the lower part of the face for expressive purposes while performing is difficult for a violinist holding the instrument under the chin, and impossible for wind instrumentalists. Use of the eyes and eyebrows, however, is feasible, and it is these parts of the face which both classical orators, and seventeenth-century commentators believed to be the most useful in the expression of emotions. It has already been mentioned that Quintilian believed the eyes could express intensity, indifference, pride, ferocity, mildness and anger. The eyes are 'moulded' by the movement of the eyebrows, which also affect the forehead. According to Quintilian, the only thing more expressive than the eyebrows is the blood which 'moves in conformity with the emotions which control the mind', to cause the skin to blush or turn pale.[134] Contracted, the eyebrows express anger, their depression conveys grief, and by their expansion we represent cheerfulness. Complete immobility of the eyebrows is a fault, as is raising one and lowering the other, which is simply comical. It is important, according to Quintilian, that the eyes and eyebrows express a passion which is in keeping with the emotion communicated by the orator's words.[135]

Quintilian's advice on gesture was reiterated by theorists of the seventeenth century. Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* describes the posture and facial expression representative of 'virtues, vices and the human affections and passions'. Ripa's work was advertised as being useful for 'poets, painters and sculptors' and painters, in particular, inspired by the classical rhetoricians, wrote of how to depict figures under the influence of specific passions. Lomazzo's treatise, for example, describes how the motions of the body may imitate the affections and describes the movements appropriate to each passion. Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), who was active in Rome between 1624 and 1640, was praised for the way in which the faces of his figures expressed the passions. One of the most thorough expositions of the use of facial expression was composed by his pupil, Charles Lebrun, whose *Conférence ... sur l'expression générale at particulère* was first published in 1698. The work originated as a lecture to the

[134] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii.78.
[135] Quintilian. *Institutio oratoria*. XI.iii.79.

French *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*. It was probably a development of his lecture on Poussin's *Les Israélites recueilland la manne* in October 1667, and although traditionally dated as 1678, some scholars believe it to have been presented much earlier, in April 1668.

Lebrun's text shows a debt to Quintilian. Like Quintilian, he describes the eyebrow as 'the only part of the face where the passions best make themselves known'.[136] According to Lebrun, there are two distinct motions of the eyebrows, they rise up in the middle for agreeable motions, and rise at the ends, thus falling in the middle, for motions which denote bodily pain.[137] To express the passion of joy, for example, the eyebrows are constantly raised in the middle, while in sadness they are elevated at the ends. In contempt they are 'knit' and lowered towards the nose, the other end being raised. In love, the pupils are directed towards the object of affection and the brow is raised slightly on the side of the pupils. In desire the eyebrows are 'close pressed and advancing over the eyes, which will be more open than usual, the pupil situated in the middle of the eye and full of fire'. Hatred is expressed 'by the forehead wrinkled, the eyebrow quite depressed and knit; the eye flashing fire; the pupil hid under the brows and turned towards the object that inspires the passion, looking awry upon it, distorted from the situation of the face and appearing restless and fiery, as well as the white of the eye and eyelids'.[138]

When published, Lebrun's text was illustrated with a number of drawings, many of which were taken directly from his own painting. Though compiled at a later date than the musical style examined in this thesis, they are extremely informative concerning the properties of the passions described by theorists. Although today we are largely unfamiliar with seventeenth-century descriptions of the passions, the expressions of those undergoing a variety of emotions are still a part of our daily experience. Lebrun's illustrations enable us to relate his descriptions to something we can recognise. For example, joy (figure 1) is not excessive happiness, rather it may be seen to be a calm and temperate emotion, while despair (figure 2) is not so much

[136] Charles Lebrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions*, 1734, facsimile edition, University of California: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980, p.20-1.
[137] Lebrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions*, p.21.

depressed dejection as a kind of wild raving. The complete collection of Lebrun's illustrations is contained in appendix 2.

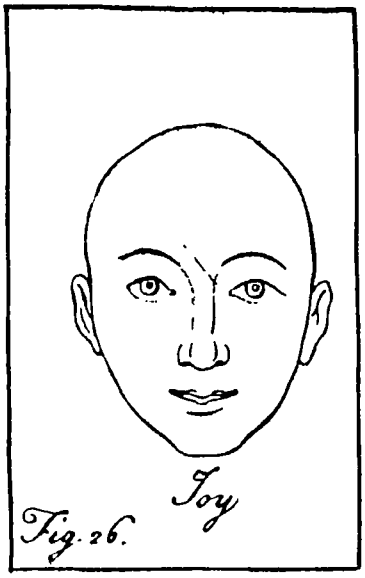


Figure 1 : 'Joy' from Charles Lebrun *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions*, 1734

Figure 2: 'Extream despair' from Charles Lebrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions*, 1734

It is important to remember that depictions of the passions such as Lebrun's are stylised to a great extent and often exaggerated. The rhetoricians all agree that, above all, the orator must refrain from appearing ridiculous. He is not to assume the

[138] Lebrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions*, pp.28-46.

exaggerated postures of the actor, but is to appear more 'natural' in his expression.[139] Although the physical gestures described by classical orators and seventeenth-century theorists appear affected to modern audiences, the emphasis placed by Caccini, Giustiniani, and others, upon *grazia* and *sprezzatura* suggests either that modern notions of affectation are substantially different from those of the seventeenth century, or that the pictures and descriptions do not capture the 'naturalness' of the original expression. What is clear is the fact that orators and musicians alike were not to make themselves a laughing stock by their postures and facial expressions. Diruta believed that 'one who twists about or hunches over the keyboard resembles a ridiculous *poseur* in a comedy'.[140] The modern performer who wishes to incorporate facial expression into his/her performance needs to bear in mind the fact that today's audiences are likely to prefer a more tempered version of some of the most violent expressions – without extreme care, s/he risks awakening in the listeners the opposite emotion from that which s/he intended to express!

Articulation

Articulation is rarely equated directly with the expression of the passions. It is, however, mentioned by theorists in connection with elements of expression which do have an influence upon the representation of different passions. Slurring is occasionally marked on the parts of early seventeenth-century sonatas, and David Boyden suggests that the performer should restrict slurring only to these passages. Although this is a useful principle to follow, the occurrence in early seventeenth-century sonatas of unslurred, highly virtuosic passages of demisemiquavers do present some difficulties. Boyden explains away the problem by suggesting that these passages attest to the great skill of seventeenth-century performers who were able to articulate so quickly. Today's performers find, however, that if individual notes of such *passaggi* are articulated, and the tempo kept constant throughout a *passaggio* section, then overall the section sounds slower, and thus less impressive, than if the demisemiquavers are slurred, and the semiquavers articulated more quickly. Although it is possible that seventeenth-century performers were more technically advanced

[139] See Cicero. *Orator*, xviii.59-60; Cicero, *De oratore*, III.lix.220; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI.iii.88-91.

than their modern counterparts, or that the tempi selected were generally slower, the most likely explanation would seem that, while detached articulation was preferred for *passaggi*, it was acceptable to slur the occasional run of extremely rapid note-values. Printed versions of Fontana's and Castello's music both contain slurs marked over some, but not all, of the rapid passages. Perhaps the slurred passages served as an indication that others like it should be slurred as well. Francesco Rognoni's father, Richardo, appears to verify the practice of *ad libitum* slurring, saying that 'one cannot make a diminution of any length if the bow does not claim its rights'.[141]

Slurring is not restricted only to passages too fast to be articulated. It also appears marked over groups of notes in *affetti* sections of early sonatas. In fact, Francesco Rognoni refers to a type of slurring described as *con affetti*. This is described as being the same as ordinary slurred bowing, except that:

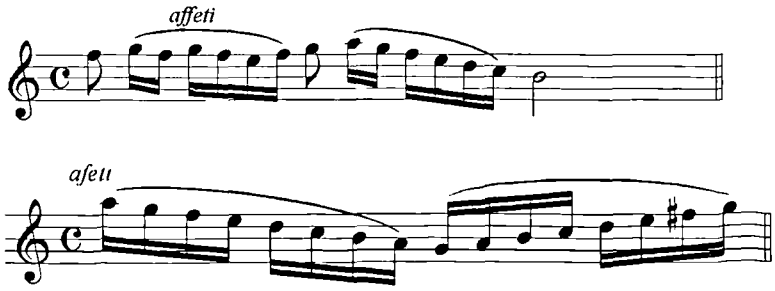
> It is necessary that the motion of the bow arm beat every note as if it were skipping along, one for one, and this is hard to do well; therefore this requires much study to be able to maintain the time in conformity with the value of the notes, taking care not to make more noise with the bow than with the sound.[142]

It is unclear exactly what Rognoni means by this statement. Boyden suggests that he could be referring to a type of slurred *staccato*. This is certainly a possibility, but the association with the term *affetti*, together with Rognoni's warning that it is difficult to maintain the time, suggests that this indication may, in fact, refer to a similar licence with tempo and rhythm implied by Caccini's *sprezzatura*. It is possible that the instruction to 'beat every note as if it were skipping along' is a direction to perform the notes with an unequal 'dotted' rhythm, perhaps holding back on the first, and/or last notes as Caccini demonstrated in his notated examples (see example 1 above). This interpretation is certainly compatible with the inclusion of the word *affetti*, and the fact that Rognoni remarks that this effect is difficult to achieve ties in with similar comments of Frescobaldi and Castello. It may be significant that the examples

[140] Diruta, *Il Transilvano*, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.88.
[141] Richardo Rognonio, *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminuire*, 1592, trans. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing*, p.164.
[142] Francesco Rognoni, *Selva di varii passaggi*, cited in Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing*, p.165.

Rognoni provides do bear some resemblance to the figures chosen by Caccini to illustrate his method of rhythmic alteration (see example 2).

Example 2: Rognoni's examples of *lireggiare con affetti.*



Of course there is much more to articulation than simply playing notes detached or slurred and it is the use of different styles of detached articulation by which one may make the strongest contribution to the representation of the passions. Rognoni expresses the opinion that the violin is a 'harsh and crude' instrument if not 'tempered and sweetened by smooth bowing.[143] It is not clear exactly what is meant by 'sweet and smooth bowing;' it could imply slurring, or some form of legato articulation. It is significant that the two types of sound quality mentioned by Rognoni are described in words very similar to those used by Zarlino to define the two categories of intervals and modes. In fact, the same two categories are also discussed by Sylvestro Ganassi in *La Fontegara,* his treatise on recorder playing. Ganassi identifies three main types of tonguing, describing the first (te ke) as 'hard and sharp', the third (le re) as 'gentle and smooth', and the second (te re) as an intermediate kind in between the other two. Articulation is an important element of 'dexterity', the second of the recorder player's three essential skills. The first skill is the imitation of the expressions of the human voice, and Ganassi instructs that the player's expression should vary from 'the most tender (*suave*) to the most lively (*vivace*)'. It would appear that dexterity refers to the technical command of the instrument required in order effectively to 'imitate' the voice. Although, according to Ganassi, 'it is difficult to describe the different expressive effects due to dexterity in a tender or lively imitation', because they are

[143] Cited in Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing,* p.164.

noticeable only in the performance itself, it is possible to say that they are determined by the style of articulation.[144]

Considering that their terminology is so similar, it may be reasonable to connect the gentle, legato style of articulation mentioned by Ganassi and Rognoni to the expression of the passions represented by soft and sweet intervals and the more detached, lively kind of articulation to hard and harsh intervals and modes. Perhaps an intermediate articulation would be appropriate for temperate passions. Certainly this approach to articulation is supported by Diruta's comment on the subject. He distinguishes between striking and pressing the keys of an organ, claiming that pressing the keys, which renders a smooth articulation, is appropriate for serious ecclesiastical music. Striking the keys is the required technique for quilled instruments such as the harpsichord, and this is the manner of performance applied to lively dance music.[145]

Ornamentation

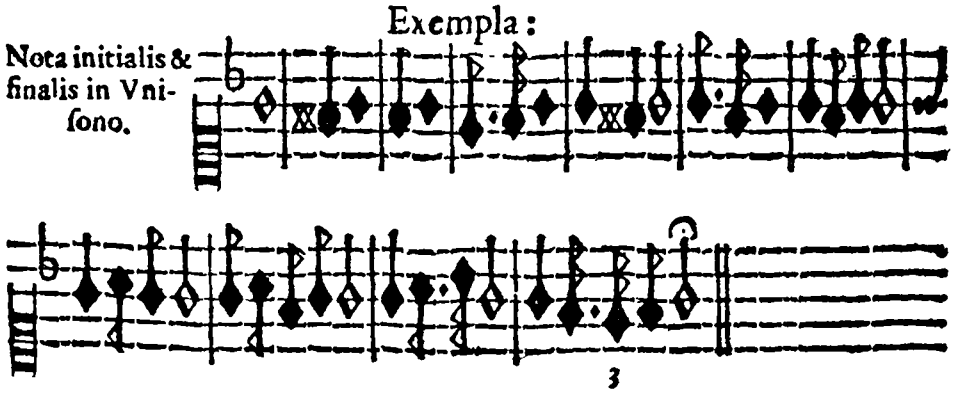
Since one of the characteristics of the early seventeenth-century solo sonata is the inclusion of notated ornamentation, it would appear unnecessary for the performer to add very much more than decorative cadential trills. Indeed, Frescobaldi, in his 1628 publication of instrumental canzoni included the words *come stà* above the soloist's part, presumably to indicate that it is to be performed 'as it is' without the addition of improvised ornamentation.

Despite the move away from improvised *passaggi*, theorists provided instructions regarding the used of *accenti* or graces, small-scale, 'individual' ornaments. It is this type of ornamentation which theorists believed contributed to the passionate effect of the music, and when notated in instrumental sonatas, occur most frequently in the *affetti* sections. Indeed, Caccini believed this type of ornamentation to be 'passionate', and his opinion was reiterated by Praetorius and Mersenne, both of whom recommended Caccini's writing to those who wished to learn to sing

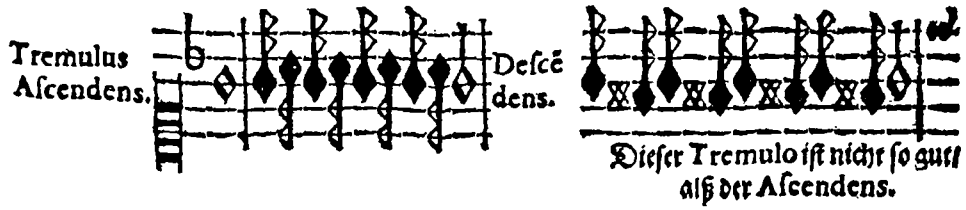
[144] Sylvestro Ganassi, *Opera Intitulata Fontegara*, 1535, trans. D Swainson, Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1959, p.87.

passionately. It is the application of this form of ornamentation which Mersenne believes distinguishes the Italian style of singing from the French, and he maintains that the Italian style consequently contains more pathos than the French. Praetorius includes examples of *accenti*, together with various trills (the *tremulo*, *gruppo* and *trillo*) and *tiratae* (see figure 3).

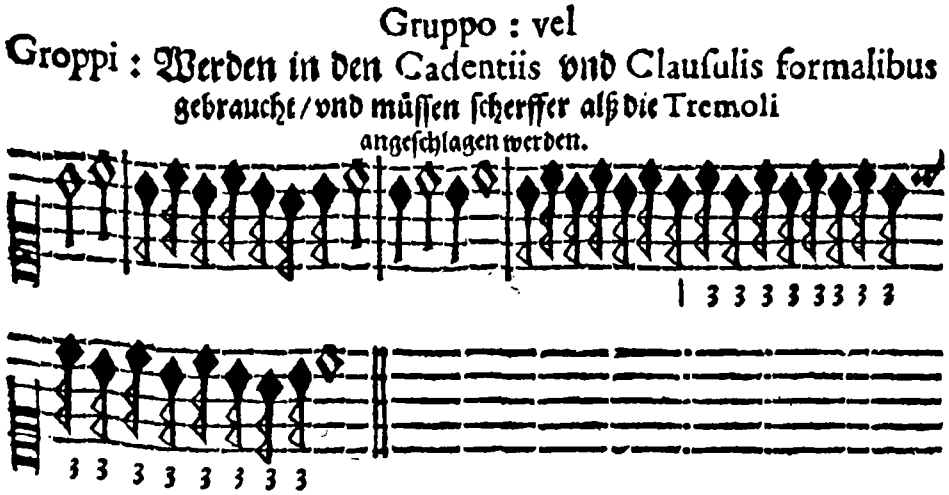
Accenti



Tremuli



Gruppi



[145] Diruta, *Il Transilvano*, trans. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance*, p.90.

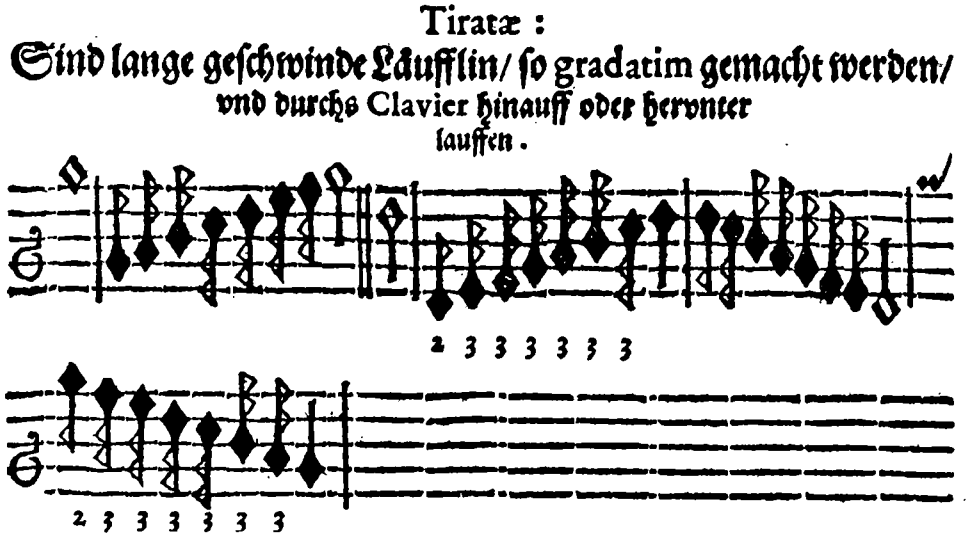


Figure 3: Examples of accenti, tremuli, gruppi and tiratae from *Syntagma musicum*, 1619, Vol, 3, Part 3, Chapter 9

Ornaments such as these are connected more closely with the human voice than with instrumental performance. This fact suggests that it is appropriate to perform them during *affetti* sections, to assist in the imitation of human passions. If, however, the *affetti* section contains notated graces, it would be inappropriate to add any more. When the music is marked *affetti*, and such graces are noticeably absent, this would appear to be a suitable place to include *accenti* and other similar forms of ornamentation.

Neither Caccini, Praetorius nor Mersenne give details as to which passions are imitated by the various graces. Caccini, however, does provide examples of ornamented songs he believes to be 'passionate'. The subjects of these concern the various emotions of a lover. The monody with the most involved ornamentation (*Cor mio, deh non languire*) is the one with the least substantial text, a fact which is compatible with the insistence by Caccini and other monodists that the *passaggi* must not interfere with the text. Perhaps in instrumental music, in which there is no text to obstruct, it is possible to include a greater amount of ornamentation. The instrumentalist must be guided by the passion indicated by the other signifiers, following the rule that the more 'serious' the *affetti* section, the less prolific the added ornamentation.

Mersenne includes the use of *tremblemens* or *batemens de gorge* as an ornament. This, he believes, is appropriate for the expression of sadness and languor, presumably because it is imitative of the body shaking in sorrow. David Alan Duncan describes this as a form of vibrato.[146] Since he describes it as controlled by the throat, and forbids that it may be generated by the lips or by the stomach, it is possible that Mersenne is referring to something similar to the Italian *trillo*, the rapid repetition of a single note. Perhaps, then, this type of cadential decoration is more appropriate for sad *affetti* than the more lively *gorgia* or *tremolo*.

Although the identification of passions imitated in solo sonatas is not at all easy, it is made possible by the analysis of the various signifiers which appear in the music. This is not to say, however, that the composer consciously intended a particular passion to be represented by these signifiers. Of course, the composer's intentions are something of which we can never be sure, and in the case of solo sonatas, where so little is known about their authors, the composer's intentions will always remain a mystery. 'Decoding' the signifiers of the passions, however, provides us with some idea as to how the music would have been received by listeners of the time. Listeners who were familiar with the contemporary musical language would undoubtedly have drawn associations between the signifiers present within instrumental music and similar devices, illuminated by words, which appear in the vocal repertoire. Even if these associations were made subconsciously, it is likely that the audience would receive a general impression of the passions suggested by the music, and if these are verified by the signifiers provided by the performer, perhaps his own passions were moved in sympathy. The same principal applies to 'musical icons' – motives, phrases, or musical styles which, though not specifically mentioned by theorists as imitative of particular passions, by their repeated association with words which express a certain passion or *concetto*, come to be representative of the passion independently of the

[146] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 'Embellissement des Chants' p.372. See Duncan, 'Persuading the Affections' p.171, n.41.

words to which they were originally set. In this way, music for voices may be used to enhance our understanding of contemporary instrumental music. In the case studies discussed in the following chapters, the passions-signifiers identified by theorists, together with the musical icons common to both vocal and instrumental music are used to discover the passions which may have been recognised in the music by seventeenth-century listeners and performers. This procedure may inform not only the appropriate manner of performance, but also explorations into the function of the solo sonata in society.

It is likely that the appropriate application of many of the performer-led signifiers discussed above is obvious to today's musicians even without the knowledge of the composer-led signifiers with which they are paired. For example, most 'sensitive' performers would naturally play phrases which appear 'tender' or *suave* with a gentle, legato-type articulation and those which are agitated with an articulation which is more detached. Perhaps this attests to the durability of musical signs, that, after nearly four hundred years, many are still instinctively recognised.[147] Certainly Mersenne remarked that Caccini's *esclamazione* was applied at passionate moments instinctively by good singers. Though it is possible for a performer to produce a

[147] The issue of a sign's durability is important for studies which make use of semiotics and reception theory. Reader-response theory (such as that proposed by Stanley Fish) and reception theory both address the possibility that a signifier's meaning may differ from reader to reader (and, by extension to music, from listener to listener). Reception theory differs from reader-response theory in that it takes into account the fact that the meaning of a sign is closely bound up with the culture of a particular age or community. Meaning operates within what Jauss terms a 'horizon of expectation', which will almost inevitably change over time and will differ with cultural experience. (See Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction*, London: Routledge, 1984). It is not really possible to claim that the horizon of expectation of today's listeners is the same as that of listeners of the seventeenth century. The similarities detectable between the descriptions of musical interpretation found in Mersenne, other seventeenth-century theorists and the practices of the present day suggest, however, that the horizon of expectation of the two (or more) cultures may share common features. Jonathan Dunsby and Arnold Whittall have proposed that 'the chances of one derived code' – such as the set of passions-signifiers identified in this chapter – 'being the same as that originally ascribed to it in the alien culture are minimal' (*Music Analysis in Theory and Practice*, London: Faber and Faber, 1988, p.214). However, Jeffrey Kurtzman, drawing on the work of Umberto Eco, believes that the type of sign described as an icon (a sign which contains some form of analogical relationship between signifier and signified) has a longer-term significance than a metaphor-type sign, since, the more it is employed, the stronger grows the relationship between signified and signifier. Metaphors, on the other hand, once they become common currency, have the tendency to lose their significance. Perhaps the durable musical signifiers function as icons, or as metaphors which have become icons, and have survived until the present day with their original meaning relatively intact. (See Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's Changing Aesthetics', in Thomas J Mathiesen and Benito V Rivera (eds), *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995, pp.233-255.)

convincing interpretation of the music by relying solely upon his instinctive 'musicality', instrumentalists who are committed to a performance informed by the ideas and practices contemporary with the music's origins must be sure either to confirm that their instincts are compatible with the performance styles described by seventeenth-century theorists, or to go 'back to basics' in discovering the passion, and applying the appropriate manner of performance.