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UNIVERSITY
of
GLASGOW

**Seventeenth-Century Musical Fantasy:
Origins of Freedom and Irrationality**

Yoon Kyung Park

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Music**

University of Glasgow

September 2008

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Abstract

Seventeenth-Century Musical Fantasy: Origins of Freedom and Irrationality

The essence of seventeenth-century musical fantasy lies in the contemporary notion of freedom. Contemporary fantasy genres and verbal descriptions of fantasy highlight freedom from given tonal, harmonic, and temporal frameworks. This freedom assumes the composer's ingenuity (freedom to command the rules of counterpoint) and spontaneity (freedom to breach the rules and conventional expectations), both important sources to understand the distinctiveness of seventeenth-century musical fantasy. Given that a manifestation of freedom could be perceived as either fantastic or 'irrational', I survey the cultural and intellectual background concerning an assumed norm and the contemporary notion of 'rationality' through differing views on reason and the senses. In order to clarify the environment in which musical fantasy was sensed and defined, I turn to the analogy between music and its sister arts: imitation (philosophical *mimesis* and rhetorical *imitatio* as key concepts of artistic representation) and empirical thought (the growing interest in the role of the senses and imagination in aesthetic experience) are taken as bases for contemporary artists' understanding of nature and art. To discern the freedom that seventeenth-century musicians exercised in their representation of nature, I trace the varied properties and fantastic aspects of expressive resources in dramatic and improvisatory genres by exploring three metaphorical subjects: lament, melancholy, and humour. In all, this study focuses on how fantasy was musically represented and perceived in the era, and elucidates the distinctive and universal aspects of fantasy in the seventeenth-century context through an interdisciplinary approach that combines the historical, the philosophical, and the musical.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis embodies the results of my own special work, that it has been composed by myself, and that it does not include work forming part of a thesis presented successfully for a degree in this or another university.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Yoon Park', written in a cursive style.

Dated: 9 September 2008

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List of Abbreviations

ch. : chapter

d. : date of death

diss. : dissertation

ed. : editor

EM : Early Music

facs. : facsimile edition

fol.: folio

ibid. : *ibidem* or in the same source

JAMS : Journal of the American Musicological Society

JM : Journal of Musicology

ML : Music and Letters

MQ : The Musical Quarterly

no. : number

par. : paragraph

trans. : translator

vol. : volume

Introduction

The notation found in early opera and madrigals provides a very broad range of interpretative possibilities: there appear to be almost endless ways of altering the written notes of a score in performance. This is particularly true in the improvisatory instrumental genres, which could be classified as the fantastic style, for instance, Girolamo Frescobaldi's toccatas and Louis Couperin's unmeasured preludes. These dramatic vocal and improvisatory instrumental genres draw attention to their deviation from a given tonal centre or from the perceived framework of the basic pulse. By carrying out a sustained and comprehensive programme of research on sources and repertoire, I intend to uncover not only the varied properties of this deviation, flexibility, or freedom in composition and performance, but also something of their origin and cultural basis. One assumption here is that the concept of fantasy embraces the distinctiveness according to the aesthetic standards of an era, and the universality of common human experience of 'non-real' situations such as dream and fiction. My focus is on the interaction of these two aspects of fantasy, which would present a musical work as both a product and constituent of a broader intellectual and cultural background.

Fantasy in a modern, broad sense has often been associated with 'ecstasy' or 'transcendence', words which became popular aesthetic terms in the course of the

eighteenth century, with Romantic thought in particular.¹ Considering the history of recording, one of the most widely performed keyboard pieces is J. S. Bach's *Chromatic Fantasia* BWV 903, which is characterised by its improvisatory nature highlighting deviations from tonal and temporal frameworks and allowing the performer's interpretative freedom.² There is no doubt that C. P. E. Bach's free fantasias are built on the same spirit of musical fantasy. Charles Burney captures the moment of musical fantasy during the composer's playing, observing that:

he [C. P. E. Bach] grew so *animated and possessed*, that he not only played, but looked like one *inspired*. His eyes were fixed, his under lip fell, and drops of effervescence distilled from his countenance.³

This remark implies improvisation or the playing of a free fantasia, and emphasises the role of inspiration and dream-like impressions for the genius artist. Verbal descriptions of musical fantasy as an art of ingenuity, spontaneity, and communication are of course found in earlier sources. For example, the following account of a lutenist's performance in early seventeenth-century France vividly describes the audience's response to the transporting moment:

When a good man takes the instrument and, trying out his strings and chords, sits on a corner of the table *seeking his fantasy*, he will no sooner have plucked his strings three times and stated the tune than the eyes and ears of everyone are

¹ For the meaning and usage of related terms, see Gloria Flacherty, 'Transport, Ecstasy and Enthusiasm', ed. Georgia Cowart, *French Musical Thought, 1600-1800*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989, 81-93.

² The earliest recordings in the British Library National Sound Archive are Wanda Landowska on the harpsichord issued in 1952, Edwin Fischer on the piano also in 1952, Arnold Dolmetsch on the clavichord, undated but recorded before 1940.

³ Burney, Charles, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London, 1773), second edition, 1775, vol. 2, 270, with my emphasis in italics.

upon him. Should he wish the strings to languish under his fingers, his audience is *transported, charmed by a sweet melancholy*. Then one drops his chin on to his chest, another props it up with his hand [...] with eyes wide open and mouth agape, as if his mind were pinned to the strings. You would say that these people *have no other sense than hearing*; that their soul itself dwelt in their ears so as to enjoy untroubled this intense harmony. Then the playing changes, *life is given to the strings*, and immediately the feelings of everyone are astonishingly aroused, for the player can do with men what he wishes.⁴

The lutenist allows his audiences to experience the animated sound as a product of his fantasy and arouses a sweet ‘melancholy’, a prevailing theme of contemporary intellectuals and artists. The earliest sources that support this artistic inspiration are perhaps Plato’s writings such as *Ion* and *Phaedrus*. In *Phaedrus*, Socrates distinguishes a divine madness, a ‘release of the soul from established customs’, from one produced by human infirmity. His four categories of divine madness are prophetic, initiatory, poetic, and erotic, having a number of gods presiding over them – Apollo, Dionysus, the Muses, and Aphrodite and Eros. The poetic madness is:

of which the Muses are the sources. This seizes a tender, virgin soul and stimulates it to rapt passionate expression, especially in lyric poetry [...] But if any man come to the gates of poetry without the madness of the Muses, persuaded that skill alone will make him a good poet, then shall he and his

⁴ Quoted in Henry Prunières, *A New History of Music*, trans. Edward Lockspeiser, New York, 1943, 256, with my emphasis in italics.

works of sanity with him be brought to naught by the poetry of madness, and behold, their place is nowhere to be found.⁵

In Socrates' impassioned or possessed manner of discourse, Phaedrus observes the extraordinary style and a certain fluency of expression beyond what is ordinary. Socrates explains the style as being 'often hurried away' and the words as spontaneously bursting from the poet, resembling 'dithyrambic verse', which has a wild, passionate, and irregular character, by the inspiring influence of the Nymphs. It is clear from this dialogue that the artistic inspiration, or fantasy, works beyond the conventional rules and the rational faculties of which the gods deprive the artists, and that inspired ideas are powerfully projected and expressed. Accordingly, this state of fantasy is to be transported to the mind of the audience.

Therefore, in the discussion of musical fantasy, I want to focus on both representation and perception by raising several questions: how is fantasy defined?; how is it represented and perceived in a work of art?; when did it become a recognised part of musical practice?; is there any universal aspect of fantasy?; what would be the recognisable tendency of fantasy in an era? In search of these issues, I begin by analysing the definitions of fantasy and the fantastic style in several musical treatises particularly in relation to ingenuity and spontaneity, the two main characteristics of fantasy. At the same time, I examine historical definitions of fantasy in philosophical sources and literary criticism. While both Athanasius Kircher and Johann Mattheson (the most frequently quoted

⁵ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 245, trans. R. Hackforth, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952, 57. A similar passage about divine possession is found in *Ion*, 532-536.

authors in the discussion of the *stylus phantasticus*) emphasised freedom by the term *phantasticus*,⁶ their assumptions of natural order and artistic representation differed: in chapter 2, I will trace the changing concepts of reason and the senses in the development of empirical thought. The growing emphasis on the senses over the seventeenth century is indicated in the disputes on musical styles and practices, those between Giovanni Maria Artusi and Claudio Monteverdi, Marco Scacchi and Paul Siefert, and Heinrich Bokemeyer and Mattheson. These disputes testify to the contemporary perception of the manifestation of fantasy, which was considered either fantastic or irrational, depending on the individual conception of an assumed norm and rationality. In chapter 3, I shall consider the doctrine of imitation (*mimesis* or *imitatio*), maintaining my focus on its centrality to artistic representation. Here fantasy is not only a mode of imitation as artistic representation but also appears as a reciprocal process of perception. I also look into the growing interest in the artist's individuality and artistic license in the visual and literary arts, and consider how this tendency was connected to musical practice towards 1600 by drawing analogous phenomena of fantasy. Based on these conceptual foundations for representation and perception of fantasy, in chapter 4, I examine fantasy elements in dramatic, programmatic, and improvisatory genres by exploring three metaphorical and reflective subjects; lament, melancholy, and humour, important sources which attracted seventeenth-century artists to expanding their expressive resources. Through the musical examples concerning these subjects, I investigate the essential aspects of fantasy,

⁶ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650), Book 7, 585; Mattheson, Johann, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), Part I, Ch. 10, Par. 88. Mattheson is included in my discussion of the seventeenth-century fantasy because his writings confirm the conceptual transition concerning fantasy towards the end of the seventeenth century.

which assume cultural and intellectual conventions; permit deviations from these conventions for the purpose of individualised expression; and enhance individual aesthetic experience of a work of art.

Previous studies, particularly those by Paul Collins and Matthew Head focusing on the music of the northern German organ school and of C. P. E. Bach respectively, are based on the definitions of the fantastic style by Kircher and Mattheson, and expound stylistic features associated with contemporary instrumental, especially keyboard, music.⁷ In contrast to their approach, I explore the origins of musical fantasy and its distinctive character in the broader seventeenth-century context. Secondly, I highlight the phenomenon of fantasy interacting with an assumed norm, and, paradoxically, confirming the identity of the latter. Thirdly, I turn to the analogy between music and its sister arts in order to clarify the intellectual and cultural background in which musical fantasy was represented and perceived. My case studies also underline the associations between the keyboard and other media. Finally, I aim to illustrate musical fantasy as involving a reciprocal process between representation and perception in the seventeenth-century context on the one hand; and I maintain that the digressive and subversive nature of fantasy is universally effective in aesthetic experience on the other.

⁷ Collins, Paul, 'The *stylus phantasticus* and its Expression in Free Keyboard Music of the North German Baroque', PhD diss., Maynooth: National University of Ireland, 2001; published as *The stylus phantasticus and Free Keyboard Music of the North German Baroque*, Ashgate, 2005; Head, Matthew, *Fantasy in the Instrumental Music of C. P. E. Bach*, PhD diss., Yale University, 1995.

Chapter 1.

***Stylus phantasticus* and the concept of fantasy**

Since the publication of Athanasius Kircher's treatise *Musurgia universalis* in 1650, the term *stylus phantasticus* came to be widely used for the classification of style, a subject highlighted by Johann Mattheson nearly a century later in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739). Given that the earliest use of the term 'fantasy' in a musical treatise appeared in the phrase 'composing by fantasy' (*comporre di fantasia*) in Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche*, published in 1558,¹ musical fantasy was discussed over at least the two centuries between Zarlino and Mattheson without being confined to a specific genre. If we take fantasy as a compositional attitude, its definition has not changed that much over time: it denotes freedom, a deviation from the norm or order. All these authors took the term fantasy as evoking freedom, implicitly or more emphatically; however, the nature of freedom depends on the concept of a 'norm' for a period which is crucially intertwined with the broader cultural and intellectual environment. In other words, a deviation from ordinary ways of composing is based on everyday musical reality and can be perceived only 'within' contemporary conventions. Without a definition of freedom or deviation in association with the norm, the same phenomena that were integrated into the concept of fantasy would have been universally regarded as belonging to irrationality and disorder (as indeed they sometimes were). While I regard freedom as an inherent characteristic of fantasy, an essential focus of this chapter is on the transition of its implication throughout the seventeenth century, and on

¹ Zarlino, Gioseffo, *Le institutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), Part III, 172; *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968, 53.

its representation in a work of art. Using the definitions of musical fantasy in the above-mentioned treatises and others as my basis, I will look at how fantasy was perceived, and how it came to embrace many different meanings and usages, especially as a synonym for imagination.

One related issue is the fact that our concept of musical fantasy is coloured by various notions of fantasy in general terms over the three centuries since Kircher's definition of fantastic style appeared, for instance, fantasy as unpredictability and eccentricity. These notions of fantasy are undoubtedly implied in the seventeenth-century concept of fantasy in a broader sense, and also applied in contemporary visual and literary arts. Yet they reveal more about the later aesthetic trend to elevate originality and novelty over the craftsmanship which dominated the late eighteenth-century concept of genius.² While I admit that the 'fantastic', as one of the most common expressions of our time, contains fantasy elements that might have been valid in seventeenth-century culture, I do not intend to delve into the implications of the term or put them in chronological order. Rather, I will look at the term both in a purely musical sense and in a more comprehensive context, based on musical practice and theory, and on contemporary philosophical sources. On the other hand, the whole discussion will relate to the concept of fantasy which any twenty-first-century listener might perceive.

1.1. Previous research

Research on the *stylus phantasticus* and musical fantasy has become a crucial part of the understanding of Baroque music over the last three decades, initiated by

² Head, 106-109.

Peter Schleuning, Friedhelm Krummacher, and Kerala J. Snyder, among others.³ Significantly, it has been integrated with the study of the stylistic characteristics of specific composers such as Frescobaldi, Dieterich Buxtehude, and J. S. Bach, who produced copious keyboard works entitled fantasia, prelude, or toccata. While the fantastic style refers to both genres and compositional procedures, musical fantasy in a broader context includes spontaneity and virtuosity perceived in performance. For this reason, music in the fantastic style highlights various performance issues such as temporal flexibility, ornamentation, figured bass, and temperaments, which have been investigated by research and accumulative experiences relating to ‘historically informed performance’.

In tracing the development of the ‘historically informed performance’, one might draw attention to some aspects of our contemporary situation, especially an increased interest in human elements and freedom in performance.⁴ This ‘post-modern’ situation tends to promote fantasy along with ideas such as illusion, fragmentation, and transcendence, challenging beliefs concerning knowledge, identity, language, and so on, which are usually taken for granted in an everyday context. These ideas are employed to underline the subversive relationship between an object and its representations through methods of devaluing,

³ Schleuning, Peter, *Die freie Fantasie: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der klassischen Klaviermusik*, Göttingen: Alfred Kümmerle, 1973; Krummacher, Friedhelm, ‘*Stylus phantasticus* und phantastische Musik: Kompositorische Verfahren in Toccaten von Frescobaldi und Buxtehude’, *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1980), 7-77 and ‘Bach’s Free Organ Works and the *Stylus Phantasticus*’, trans. Thomas Baker, *J. S. Bach as Organist*, ed., Georg Stauffer and Ernst May, London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1986, 157-171; Snyder, Kerala J., ‘Buxtehude’s Organ Music: Drama without Words’, *The Musical Times*, 1979, 517-521 and *Dieterich Buxtehude, Organist in Lübeck*, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1987), 2nd Edition, Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007.

⁴ Butt, John, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 125, 128.

displacing, distorting, or deferring.⁵ This relationship not only results in a sense of incongruity and defamiliarisation, but also has the effect of turning a viewer's or reader's attention back to the object in a new perspective. Although further discussion of postmodernist philosophy is beyond the limits of my research, its significance concerning the concept of fantasy simply cannot be ignored as it is immensely influential in current literature.

Several important notions of the fantastic style and fantasy established by previous research need to be addressed at this point. Firstly, recent discussions of the *stylus phantasticus* presuppose that historically there are two different types of fantasia: one is characterised by the contrapuntal devices that Kircher described as 'displaying genius' in his *Musurgia* and the other by the spontaneity and virtuosity that Mattheson and C. P. E. Bach emphasised in their descriptions of 'free fantasia'. Both Schleuning and Krummacher distinguish the older type of fantasia as a contrapuntal genre in opposition to the rambling freedom of the later fantasia.⁶ Alexander Silbiger, too, remarks that the meaning of fantasy or fantasia has shifted several times in musical history.⁷ Silbiger's discussion of seventeenth-century solo keyboard music is based on the distinction between 'music of fantasy' including fantasia, toccata, and prelude, and 'music of craft' including fantasia, capriccio, fugue, and chorale variation. Therefore, 'fantasia' is common to both categories. This distinction gives a historical overview of fantasia as a

⁵ In Derrida's words, 'borrowing all the strategic and economic resources of subversion from the old structure'. Jacques Derrida, *De la grammatologie* (Paris, 1967), 227 and *Marges de la philosophie* (Paris, 1972), 7-10; quoted in Robert Phiddian, 'Are Parody and Deconstruction Secretly the Same Thing?', *New Literary History* 28.4 (1997), 681, 686.

⁶ Schleuning, *Die freie Fantasie*, 5-22; Krummacher, 'Bach's Free Organ Works and the *Stylus Phantasticus*', 162.

⁷ Silbiger, Alexander, 'Fantasy and Craft: The Solo Instrumentalist', *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth Century Music*, ed. John Butt and Tim Carter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 454.

genre and, moreover, outlines the extent to which liberties such as unmeasured passages and sudden modulation were employed in a fantasia.⁸ However, it is not always beneficial for tracing the important transitions and expansions of compositional principles over the course of the seventeenth century. Rather, it reveals that our understanding of the style is significantly inclined to the way we perceive a piece in our collective experiences of the vast repertoire of at least four centuries – if we count music which was produced only after 1600. In other words, the distinction is centred on the differing degrees of how fantastic the music would sound to any particular listener. For instance, one might find that early seventeenth-century fantasias do not sound as free as C. P. E. Bach’s free fantasias, as conceived under seemingly opposing terms like ‘contrapuntal ingenuity’ and ‘rambling freedom’. Matthew Head calls this situation anachronistic and teleological, arguing that the modern conception of C. P. E. Bach’s fantasia is influenced to a considerable degree by comparative descriptions based on the standards of control and economy associated with Viennese Classicism, especially their emphasis on form and coherence. Descriptions such as discontinuity and excess are more or less the product of this analytic premise.⁹ Aware of this pitfall, I will consider the fantastic aspects of seventeenth-century music as the constituent shaped by contemporary aesthetic experiences, not as something that would be compared with its counterpart in a later period, but as a dynamic force, derived ‘from’ the contemporary artistic rules through which seventeenth-century

⁸ The similar distinction is underpinned between ‘strict’ and ‘free’ fantasias in C. P. E. Bach’s time. The phrase ‘strict fantasia (*gebundene Fantasie*)’ was coined by Georg Simon Löhlein (*Clavier-Schule*, Leipzig, 1765, Ch. 20, 187, §14) (Head, 23-27).

⁹ For example, ‘[C. P. E. Bach’s] excessive manipulation of affective devices’ and the ‘inordinate length of parallel sections’, from Darrell Berg, *The Keyboard Sonatas of C. P. E. Bach: An Expression of the Mannerist Principle*, State University of New York at Buffalo, PhD diss. (1975), 20-21, 120; Head, 3-7. Annette Richards also points out the pitfall of formal analysis (*The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 18-19).

composers pursued the unorthodox.

Secondly, modern commentators have tended to discuss the fantastic style within the keyboard repertoire, especially northern German organ music and its legacy. The main reason for this is that most of the early treatises exemplified the style with keyboard genres such as fantasia and toccata. Paul Collins illuminates the theoretical background of the *stylus phantasticus* most comprehensively and associates the perspective of the style with the compositions of northern German organists. Head begins with C. P. E. Bach's keyboard fantasias rooted in the northern German tradition, though extending the perspective of fantasy elements to other media such as symphony and concerto. With regard to the origins of the fantastic style, both authors point out the importance of theatricality and interactions with other media, especially vocal genres. Reminding us that Frescobaldi proposed the imitation of dramatic vocal music on the keyboard, Head notes that the origins of the fantastic style lie in seventeenth-century Italian vocal music. He also remarks that in this tradition C. P. E. Bach's free fantasias embrace ideas of death, madness, and dreaming, whether implicit or explicit, but he does not elaborate any further on these programmatic references.¹⁰ He focuses on the association between fantasy and improvisation, quoting recent commentators in order to show that these terms have been used interchangeably.¹¹ However, he rules out any discussion of improvisatory quality or the practical function of tuning, which must have been associated with major keyboard repertoire including the toccata in the early seventeenth century. Collins examines

¹⁰ Head, 77-78, 79 (footnote). Head argues against Schleuning's statement that the free fantasia is the first species 'denying the Baroque principle of subsuming instrumental music under vocal-music-aspects' (Schleuning, *Die freie Fantasie*, 392).

¹¹ Head, 11-12.

not only vocal practices by looking at performance instructions of Frescobaldi and Giulio Caccini in more detail, but also the contemporary lute and violin repertoire.¹² However, he adheres to the topographical status of the *stylus phantasticus* located in contemporary style classification, because there are other branches that represent the new practice in vocal music, led by Luca Marenzio, Carlo Gesualdo, and Monteverdi, such as the *stylus madrigalescus* and the *stylus theatricus* in Kircher's classification. To this he adds the claim that beyond a narrow interpretation of the style within the keyboard repertoire, more research on 'the *stylus phantasticus* concepts' in vocal music would be needed.¹³ Therefore, I intend to elaborate on vocal background and programmatic references, as well as improvisatory practices reflected in contemporary instrumental repertoire, which the above-mentioned commentators did not treat as a sustained theme of research on musical fantasy.

Thirdly, the language used in the analysis of musical fantasy confirms that the way of describing musical phenomena is based on metaphorical expressions, many of which are borrowed from or shared with the visual and literary arts. Certainly, commentators on musical fantasy and fantastic style have been expanding the analytic vocabulary through attempts to describe elusive phenomena by employing terms evoking an emotional or perceptive resonance in a listener in addition to more conventional analytic terms. Take as an example Head's comment on the *poco adagio* from C. P. E. Bach's free fantasia in E-flat (H. 277) which employs diverse expressive devices in contrast to the effervescent and virtuosic opening:

¹² Collins, 75, 78.

¹³ Collins, 16-17, 30 (footnote).

This fearful, introspective section, set off in A minor, conveys constant fluctuations of affective intensity through dynamic shaping, dissonance and consonance, and accelerations and cessations of rhythmic motion.¹⁴

Yet the interpretation of musical fantasy has been largely influenced by the modern analytical perspective of classical music which employed fantasy as a subject of musical discourse to describe irregular and discursive phrases such as wide-ranging modulations and the rapid alternation of contrasting styles.¹⁵ The descriptive vocabulary ranges from terms conforming to the strategies of fantasy literature, which are used to describe illusory aspects (for instance, the unpredictable, capricious, eccentric, rhapsodic, and amorphous), to more conventional terms of musical analysis such as the ternary structure of statement, development, and restatement, which some apply even to Frescobaldi's toccatas.¹⁶ Another important source of metaphorical expressions in the discourse of musical fantasy might be the terminology of phenomenology and cognitive psychology which treats music primarily as heard on the premise that visual and aural phenomena are interrelated in our perception, using terms for movements in a visual space (for instance, fluctuation, projection, penetration, vortex, and overlapping), and often revisiting ancient philosophical sources, such as the four elements – water, fire, air, and earth – to locate tone colours.¹⁷ The wide range of vocabulary employed to describe musical fantasy suggests that it invites active

¹⁴ Head, 48.

¹⁵ Head, 13. See also Leonard Ratner, *Classical Music: Expression, Form, and Style*, New York: Schirmer Books, 1980 and V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs. A Semiotic Interpretation of Classical Music*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

¹⁶ For instance, Naomi Joy Barker, *Analytical Issues in the Toccatas of Girolamo Frescobaldi*, PhD diss., University of London, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 1995, 165.

¹⁷ Sources include Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962 and Thomas Clifton, *Music as Heard*, New York: Academic Press, 1983.

participation on the part of the audience and represents the art of creating the ‘feelings’ in the mind of that audience, as implied by seventeenth-century ‘affect’, late eighteenth-century ‘sentiment’ and modern ‘perception’. An insightful approach to musical fantasy is Annette Richards’ analogy between the aesthetics of the landscape garden and that of music. Focusing on the fantasy elements in the instrumental works by C. P. E. Bach, Haydn, and Beethoven, Richards observes that terms such as irregularity, temporal displacement, ambiguity, interruption, and self-referentiality, as applied to mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century musical fantasy, were borrowed from the contemporary discourse of the picturesque.¹⁸ I will maintain a receptive stance to the variety of terminological sources employed by these commentators, while remaining aware that terms can be applied anachronistically. In addition, it will be necessary to examine the context which underlies seventeenth-century metaphorical expressions.

Lastly, fantasy in a broader sense is regarded as a synonym for imagination. In this respect, both Collins and Head quote empiricists such as Francis Bacon and John Locke who regarded imagination as the faculty to manipulate contrasting materials freely and to create even ‘artful irrationality’ by playing with rational expectations.¹⁹ Imagination is a keyword for the understanding of seventeenth-century fantasy and the tension between reason and the senses. It is also associated with the concepts of nature and art, which caused the opposing views between those who believed art should conform to natural norms, and those who saw art as necessary to improve or subdue nature. During the period that Richards

¹⁸ Richards, however, points out that a conflict emerges between improvisation as spontaneous, natural art and composition as an art that manipulates rules, and that this conflict is reflected in modern historians’ view on improvisation, in that analysis of improvisation eludes the modern concept of form and structure and ‘lacks’ terminology (Richards, 15-17).

¹⁹ Collins, 32, 60; Head, 45, 79, 85.

considers, the latter concept encouraged varied, chaotic, and wild landscape gardening, while the discourse of the picturesque was still confined to contemporary conventions. Therefore, its imaginary freedom could not go beyond an ‘artfully’ constructed confusion and, accordingly, the irregularity of contemporary free fantasias was carefully planned for the purpose of expression.²⁰ Given that the same issues were central to the seventeenth-century (and even sixteenth-century) intellectual milieu, I will examine the meaning and usage of the term imagination, and related issues in their contemporary and philosophical context.

1.2. Definitions of *stylus phantasticus* and musical fantasy

1.2.1. *Fantasy and ingenuity*

The notion of freedom in the *stylus phantasticus* is most clearly articulated in Kircher’s definition. Kircher wrote that:

the *stylus phantasticus* is suitable for instruments; it is the most free and most unrestrained method of composing, bound to nothing, neither to words nor to a melodic subject; it was instituted to display genius and to teach the hidden design of harmony and the ingenious composition of harmonic phrases and fugues; it is divided into those [pieces] that are commonly called fantasias, ricercatas, toccatas, and sonatas.²¹

While the *stylus phantasticus* as a term in style classification first appeared in

²⁰ Richards, 18, 25.

²¹ Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Rome, 1650, Book 7, 585: ‘Phantasticus stylus aptus instrumentis, est liberrima, & solutissima componendi methodus, nullis, nec verbis, nec subiecto harmonico adstrictus ad ostentandum ingenium, & abditam harmoniae rationem, ingeniosumque harmonicarum clausularum, fugarumque contextum docendum institutus, dividiturque in eas, quas Phantasias, Ricercatas, Toccatas, Sonatas vulgò vocant’; trans. Kerala Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude, Organist in Lübeck*, 254.

Kircher's *Musurgia*, the term 'fantasy' was widely used as a genre or idea from at least a century earlier. There are numerous sixteenth-century compositions entitled fancy or fantasia, composed for keyboard or string instruments: some of these are contrapuntally contrived and others more spontaneous and fragmentary in their treatment of motifs and other given materials. Moreover, 'fantasy' as an important idea in the compositional process had been widely discussed among theorists beyond the national boundaries: earlier literature that introduced the term 'fantasy' includes treatises by Zarlino (*Le institutioni harmoniche*, Venice, 1558/1573), Thomas Morley (*A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, London, 1597), Michael Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum*, vol. III, Wolfenbüttel, 1619), and Marin Mersenne (*Harmonie universelle*, Paris, 1636). The later authors seem to have borrowed their definitions of fantasy from their predecessors and contemporary repertoire, in that they consistently located the term in the context of instrumental music and associated it with ingenuity and artistic license. Zarlino, exceptionally, introduced the term 'fantasy' in the context of contrapuntal composition, but provides the basic characteristics of fantasy (other than 'not bound to words') which the later authors advocate. Zarlino mentions fantasy in the chapter on the different types of subject (*soggetto*), especially when a composer begins without a prearranged subject:

But when a composer derives his subject as he composes the parts of a composition, that is, when he derives one voice from another and arrives at the subject as he composes the parts all together, then that fragment of it from which he derives the parts of the rest of the composition is called the subject.

Musicians call this “composing by fantasy” (*comporre di fantasia*). It could as well be called “counterpointing”, or making counterpoint, as one chooses.²²

A composer derives a type of subject out of a certain ‘counterpointing’ of the parts and constructs the rest of the composition on that subject. Therefore, this subject is not necessarily the one that enters first. While the ordinary way of beginning a composition is to use material displayed from the very outset, ‘composing by fantasy’ implies a more spontaneous strategy of composing. One might read this phrase as ‘a free, imaginative approach to composition’ or ‘improvisation’, and associate it with Kircher’s *stylus phantasticus*.²³ However, to apply the term ‘improvisation’ to this type of composing is misleading, because ‘composing by fantasy’ in the context of Zarlino’s paragraph involves neither performance nor the improvisatory style of composition that later authors underlined. Although Zarlino seems to distinguish between notational and mental conceptions by noting that ‘the subject is either the first part to be written or the first part to be imagined by the composer’,²⁴ this distinction is not made in order to indicate that a given subject and the product of a composer’s imagination determine different results. On the contrary, a composition is contrapuntally conceived, regardless of notational format or mental process. ‘Composing by fantasy’ is also called ‘counterpointing’ because it is based on the rules of counterpoint which a

²² Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part III, 172; *The Art of Counterpoint*, 53: ‘Ma quando il compositore andrà cavando il Soggetto dalle parti della cantilena, cioè quando caverà una parte dall’altra, & andrà cavando il Soggetto per tal maniera, & facendo insieme la compositione, come vederemo altrove; quella particella, che lui caverà fuori delle altre, sopra laquale dipoi componderà li parti della sua compositione, si chiamerà sempre il Soggetto. Et tal modo di comporre li Partici dimandano Comporre di fantasia: ancorache si possa etiandio nominare Contrapuntizare, o Far contraponto, come si vuole.’

²³ Head, 79; Collins, 33.

²⁴ Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part III, 200; *The Art of Counterpoint*, 103: ‘percioche (si come hò detto altrove) Soggetto io chiamo quella parte, che si pone avanti le altre parti nella compositione; overamente quella parte, che il compositore si hà primieramente imaginato di fare.’

composer observes when normally beginning with a given subject. Earlier in the same chapter, Zarlino emphasises a composer's skill of invention and elaboration in the analogy between poetry and musical composition, stressing that both the poet and the musician aim to please the minds of the listeners. He values the composer's ability to invent a subject, a product of his 'genius', rather than using a *cantus firmus*, and thus 'composing by fantasy' involves generic inventiveness.²⁵ In this context, Zarlino's fantasia points to a spontaneous mental process in responding to the conventional rules, rather than justifying any artistic license or deviation from the rules.

With regard to genre classification and vocabulary, Kircher quotes Morley's description of fantasia. Morley describes fantasia in the context of instrumental composition:

The most principal and chiefest kind of [instrumental] music which is made without a ditty is the fantasie, that is, when a musician takes a point at his pleasure and wrests and turns it as he list, making either much or little of it according as shall seem best in his own conceit. In this may more art be shown than in any other music because the composer is tied to nothing, but that he may add, diminish, and alter at his pleasure. And this kind will bear any allowances whatsoever tolerable in other music except changing the air and leaving the key,

²⁵ Some modern commentators consider Kircher's freedom as primarily 'freedom from a *cantus firmus*' (for instance, Collins, 39). This idea should be reconsidered for three reasons. First, Kircher uses a 'melodic subject (*subiecto harmonico*)' in the description of the fantastic style and distinguishes between this and a *cantus firmus* by specifying with '*subiecto Cantus firmi*' in other cases, for instance, motet (Kircher, Book 5, 311). Secondly, *cantus firmus* settings became obsolete and limited to the liturgical context by the early seventeenth century, as suggested by Monteverdi's *Vespers* (1610) (Bianconi, Lorenzo, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 114). Thirdly, although a *cantus firmus* could be freely invented and altered, it might allude to a narrower meaning such as a pre-existent sacred tune given, in long notes, to a tenor which keeps contrapuntal control over all other parts.

which in fantasie may never be suffered. Other things you may use at your pleasure, as bindings with discords, quick motions, slow motions, proportions, and what you list. Likewise this kind of music is, with them who practise instruments of parts, in greatest use, but for voices it is but seldom used.²⁶

Morley underlines the musician's artistic license to use materials at his pleasure as a defining quality for the fantasy. While phrases such as 'according as shall seem best in his own conceit' and 'tied to nothing' emphasise the idea of freedom and originality, there are restrictions: 'changing the air' and 'leaving the key' are banned. This exception indicates that a subject and key are assumed as elements of the most basic frame in which a composition is conceived. Examples of free treatment of melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic elements include the skill to add, diminish, and alter given materials, and to employ deviations from the tonal or temporal framework. The international and long-standing popularity of Morley's treatise is confirmed not only by the later authors' descriptions of fantasia or fantastic style but also by the fact that Giovanni Battista Doni spoke of Morley as the 'learned English musician (*Il erudito musico inglese*)' in his *Discorso* published 1635.²⁷

In defining fantasia as a genre, Praetorius turns to some extent to Morley's concept of fantasie:

Fantasia, more properly Phantasia: Capriccio.

Capriccio or improvised phantasia: when one takes up a fuge to treat it according to one's own pleasure but does not dwell on it very long. Rather, he

²⁶ Morley, Thomas, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (London, 1597), Part III, 180; ed. R. Alec Harman, London: Dent, 1963, 296.

²⁷ Dart, Thurston, Foreword to *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* by Morley, ed. Harman, xxiv.

soon passes on to another fugue in whatever way occurs to him. For just as in a ‘fugue proper’, no text may be used, so that one is not tied down by words. One may make much or little, digress, add on, take away, or return however he prefers. One can display very well his artistry and ingenuity in such fantasies and capriccios, since everything that is tolerable in music (tied dissonances, proportions, etc.) may be used without hesitation. Nevertheless, one must not overstep the mode and the air *too much*, but must remain within the boundaries.²⁸

Praetorius overtly paraphrases Morley’s terms, especially concerning freedom and restrictions, when he states, ‘one may make much or little, digress, add on, take away, or return however he prefers’ and ‘one must not overstep the mode and the air too much’. If we consider the terms ‘too much’ (*zu sehr*) in the latter phrase, Praetorius’ boundaries seem to suggest more freedom than Morley’s. Regarding Praetorius’ ‘fugue’, Paul Walker interprets it as a translation of Morley’s ‘point’, that is, a point of imitation or a subject to be treated imitatively.²⁹ This way of treating a fugue is different from a ‘fugue proper’, that is, a *ricercar* in Praetorius’ classification: *fantasia* pursues freedom by not dwelling on any one fugue very long and passing on to another fugue, as suggested by the phrase ‘improvised

²⁸ Praetorius, Michael, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. III (Wolfenbüttel, 1619); reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958-1959, 21; trans. Paul Walker, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach*, Woodbridge, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2000, 115, with my modification in italics: ‘*Fantasia, rectius Phantasia: Capriccio. Capriccio seu Phantasia subitanea: Wenn einer nach seinem eignem plesier und gefallen eine Fugam zu tractiren vor sich nimpt / darinnen aber nicht lang immoriret, sondern bald in eine andere fugam, wie es ihme in Sinn kömpt / einfället: Denn weil ebener massen / wie in den rechten Fugen kein Text darunter gelegt werden darff / so ist man auch nicht an die Wörter gebunden / man mache viel oder wenig / man digredire, addire, detrahire, kehre, unnd wende es wie man wolle. Und kan einer in solchen Fantasien und Capriccien seine Kunst und artificium eben so wol sehen lassen: Sintemal er sich alles dessen / was in der Music tollerabile ist / mit bindungen der Discordanten, proportionibus, etc. ohn einigs bedencken gebrauchen darff; Doch dass er den Modum und die Ariam nicht gar zu sehr überschreite / sondern in terminis bleibe.*’

²⁹ Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 116.

phantasia' (*phantasia subitanea*).³⁰ This spontaneous and capricious way of treating musical ideas is very different from dwelling on a long-note *cantus firmus* under strict control of contrapuntal rules. Moreover, the spelling of 'phantasia' draws attention to its Greek root, *phantazein*, that is, to make [mental images] visible. In this respect, Praetorius recalls Zarlino's usage of the term. Though based on contrapuntal rules, fantasia is characterised by the spontaneous way of handling ideas that occur to the composer. In the course of this skilful and free treatment of the given material, the composer displays his ingenuity and artistic license.

Similarly, Mersenne highlights fantasia in association with knowledge of counterpoint, adapting the same layout as Morley's in locating fantasia between vocal genres and dances:

Motet or Fantaisie is the most florid and enriched music in all the details of this knowledge [...] and when a musician has the liberty to employ anything that occurs to his mind without representing the passion of text, this composition is called Fantaisie or Recherche.³¹

The previous section about airs explains 'this knowledge': 'the composer does not observe in the ordinary way his curious researches of florid counterpoint, fugue,

³⁰ To retain the literal meaning of '*subitanea*' (sudden and unexpected), it would be more appropriate to employ a more neutral term than 'improvised' which brings the strong implication of unnotated format today.

³¹ Mersenne, Marin, *Harmonie Universelle Contenant la Théorie et la Pratique de la Musique*, Paris, 1636; reprint, ed., François Lesure, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963, 'Traites de la voix et des chants', ii, 164: 'le Motet ou la Fantaisie est une pleine Musique figurée, & enrichie de toutes les subtilitez de cette science [...] Et lors que le Musicien prend la liberté d'y employer tout ce qui luy vient dans l'esprit sans y exprimer la passion d'aucune parole, cette composition est appelle *Fantaisie*, ou *Recherche*'.

and syncopation, enjoying making a movement and an air agreeable to the ears'.³² Mersenne also emphasises the spontaneous way of treating the ideas by the phrase 'agreeable to the ear', opposed to the ordinary way of contriving the learned contrapuntal style. This phrase remarkably illustrates the significance of the sensory perception emerging as a yardstick of aesthetic experience.

Table 1.1. Descriptions of fantasia or fantastic style by Morley, Praetorius, Mersenne, and Kircher.

	Morley 1597 'Fantasie'	Praetorius 1619 'Fantasia'	Mersenne 1636 'Fantaisie'	Kircher 1650 ' <i>Stylus phantasticus</i> '
Strategy	According as shall seem best in his own conceit	Display artistry and ingenuity	The most florid and enriched music	The most free and most unrestrained method of composing / display genius
Freedom	A composer is tied to nothing / without a ditty	One is not tied down by words / everything that is tolerable in music may be used without hesitation	A musician has the liberty to employ anything that occurs to his mind without representing the passion of text	Bound to nothing, neither to words nor to a melodic subject
Restriction	Not to change the air and leave the key	Not to overstep the mode and the air	[Not mentioned]	To teach the hidden design of harmony
Examples of technique	Take a point / add, diminish, and alter at one's pleasure / discords, quick motions, slow motions, proportions	Take up a fugue / digress, add on, take away, or return however one prefers / tied dissonances, proportions	Florid counterpoint, fugue, and syncopation	Fugues
Reference to genre	Fantasie / seldom used for voices	Capriccio or improvised phantasia	Fantaisie or Recherche	Suitable for instruments / fantasia, ricercata, toccata, and sonata

³² Mersenne, 164: 'l'auteur n'y observe pas ordinairement les curieuses recherches du contre point figuré, des fugues, & des syncopes, & se contente d'y donner un mouvement & un air agréable à l'oreille.'

Under Morley's influence, both Praetorius and Mersenne stress the free aspect of 'fantasia' which encourages the artist to treat a subject, dissonances, and temporal elements at his pleasure (see Table 1.1). On the other hand, restrictions to a key and a subject, and examples of specific techniques indicate that fantasy is conceived within the frame of contrapuntal rules, as suggested by the context of Zarlino's 'comporre di fantasia'. As far as the term fantasy found in those treatises is concerned, the same ideas of freedom and the underlying rules were maintained for at least a century until Kircher's time. In other words, Zarlino's '*fantasia*', Morley's 'conceit', Praetorius' '*Kunst und artificio*', Mersenne's '*esprit*', and Kircher's '*ingenium*' involve the same 'innate source that today we might call the artist's imagination or fantasy', in Silbiger's terms.³³

Although the usage of these terms reveals that there was a certain degree of conceptual agreement on freedom, the place of fantasy within the contrapuntal boundaries needs more examination. While Morley did not include *ricercar* in his classification, and Mersenne and Kircher put together *fantasia* and *ricercar* by emphasising freedom in conceiving those compositions, Praetorius made a clear distinction between them according to the degree of contrapuntal control. In describing *canzona*, Praetorius notes that it is composed of 'agreeable fantasies' (*artigen Fantasien*) and 'short *fugen*'. Regarding fantasy as equivalent to a musical idea and *fugue* to a point of imitation, Walker comments that the 'agreeable musical ideas' are opposed to the 'learned style' and involve very little contrapuntal development.³⁴ However, any distinction between the fantastic and the learned should be approached with caution, because these are not exclusive to

³³ Silbiger, 'Fantasy and Craft', 455.

³⁴ Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. III, 17; trans. Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 114.

each other in the early seventeenth-century context; rather they share many qualities. One important difference is that whereas the term ‘fugue’ alluded to specific techniques such as points of imitation, fantasia could imply a more basic faculty, or a strategy, of imagination as well as techniques shared with fugue. The qualities and techniques of fugue are more clearly articulated in the definition of *ricercar*, which Praetorius equates with fugue. Adapting many of Johannes Nucius’ ideas of fugue (*Musices poeticae*, Nisa, 1613), Praetorius notes that in the *ricercar* a composer seeks to bring together as many ways as possible in which a theme can be combined with itself, interwoven, duplicated, or used in direct and contrary motion in ‘an orderly, artistic, and graceful (*ordentlich, künstlich und anmuthig*) way’, and that the most important factor in this ‘research’ (*Erforschung*) is ‘a musical ingenuity’ (*Musicum ingenium*).³⁵

In the same context, Kircher classifies fantasia and *ricercar* as genres of the fantastic style intended to display the ‘*ingenium*’. Kircher exemplifies this ‘*ingenium*’ by the five pieces: a three-part vocal setting of *The Song of Songs* and a three-part composition in ecclesiastical style, both by Kircher himself, a symphonia for four lutes by Lelio Colista, a symphonia for two violins and two violas by Gregorio Allegri, and Froberger’s keyboard fantasia on a hexachord subject (FbWV 201; see an excerpt in Example 4.2.9.b). Except for Kircher’s three-part composition in ecclesiastical style, all begin with imitative counterpoint on a subject. The three-part composition in ecclesiastical style also shows alterations between homophonic and imitative passages, and various diminutions. The inclusion of a vocal piece in the fantastic style seems incompatible with the

³⁵ Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. III, 21-22; trans. Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 117. Walker notes that the earliest sources that introduced the term fugue as a keyboard genre are found in Italian imitative pieces around 1600 (Walker, 118-120).

style's theoretical basis. Concerning this piece, Kircher notes that there are 'well-wrought songs that are called symphonias and phantasias'.³⁶ If Kircher's phrase 'bound to nothing, neither to words nor to a melodic subject' is read not as the absence of text or a melodic subject but as the freedom from restrictions as such, the perspective of the fantastic style goes beyond the distinction of media or genres, and its substance depends only on the ingenuity of the compositional procedure.

The most well-known piece among these examples is Froberger's fantasia. Kircher's comments suggest that in this piece, one can observe:

the most perfect method of composition and of fugues, the order of things following themselves cleverly, or the remarkable change of time, [and therefore] it seems that nothing at all can be missing; and therefore we consider it to be set out before all organists as a most perfect example of composition of this kind, which they might imitate.³⁷

As 'a most perfect example' of the fantastic style to be imitated, this fantasia highlights the composer's *ingenium* in manipulating the hexachord subject through various contrapuntal techniques such as changes of metre, diminutions, inversions, and chromaticism. In other words, this piece verifies the style's didactic effect to teach 'the hidden design of harmony and the ingenious composition of harmonic phrases and fugues', displaying a good command of contrapuntal techniques to treat the subject. Throughout the *Musurgia*, Kircher

³⁶ Kircher, Book 5, 243; trans. Collins 35.

³⁷ Kircher, Book 6, 465; adapted from Snyder's translation, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 255: 'perfectissimā cōpositionis methodū, fugarumq; ingeniosè se sectantium ordinem; sive insignem temporis mutationem, varietatemque spectes, nihil prorsus desiderari posse videatur: adeoque illam omnibus Organoedis, tanquam perfectissimum in hoc genere compositionis specimen, quod imitentur, proponendum duximus'.

disapproves of the tendency to rely on ‘the treacherous judgment of the ears’ and stresses the terms ‘perfection’ and ‘order’ in the tradition of *musica speculativa*, in which music-making is to imitate the intellect of God as the unsurpassed master of order and to reflect the celestial order.³⁸ He introduces the *Crucifixus* from Palestrina’s *Missa Papae Marcelli* as ‘a perfect specimen of ecclesiastical music’ and ‘a work of most refined genius’. His own composition in ecclesiastical style, which is chosen as one of the examples of the fantastic style, is described as ‘the movement of the spirit towards God’ through every ‘perfect harmonic skill’. All these accounts betray Kircher’s conservative outlook amongst the diverging viewpoints on *ratio* versus *sensus* of the mid-seventeenth century, as I shall consider in more detail in chapter 2.

Accordingly, Kircher assumes that the most perfect and orderly music is mirrored in strict counterpoint: the frontispiece to the *Musurgia* shows the *canon angelicus* 36 [à] *vocum in 9 choros* in the banner above the earth, Pythagoras, who discovered God’s mathematical order from blacksmiths’ hammering sounds, and a number of musical instruments which are human products imitating God’s order.³⁹ In the light of this, freedom in Kircher’s description of the fantastic style denotes a composer’s ability to employ contrapuntal devices at his command. Thus even *ricercar* and *tocatta*, which Praetorius considers as opposites in compositional strategy, could be located under the same category. Regarding Kircher’s comments on Froberger’s hexachord fantasia and on Allegri’s symphonia,⁴⁰ the shared quality among these fantastic pieces is the contrapuntal ingenuity in

³⁸ Kircher, Book 7, 562, 583; Book 5, 311-313; trans. Collins, 29-32, 14, 39.

³⁹ Yearsley, David, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 21.

⁴⁰ Kircher, Book 6, 487; trans. Collins, 50: ‘the symphonia manifested so exactly that nothing seems to be able to be added to it, or taken from it’.

manipulating the order of musical ideas and changing metre in various ways, aiming for a perfection which gives the listeners the impression that nothing is lacking, nor superfluous.

What is significantly implied in the above-mentioned authors (Kircher's 'the treacherous judgment of the ears', Praetorius' 'agreeable fantasies', and Mersenne's 'the movement and air agreeable to the ears') is the affective and sensuous quality of musical fantasy. Its related genres can be seen as representation of the spontaneous mental process, which is based on the rules of counterpoint, and this representation is to be perceived through the performed sound in order to be felt as fantastic or perfect. In this respect, spontaneity appears as an essential characteristic of musical fantasy.

1.2.2. Fantasy and spontaneity

Examining the characteristics of Froberger's ingenious fantasia, Kircher also draws attention to the performing practice of improvising on various keyboard instruments, in which a performer 'prepares and excites the spirits of the listeners' with 'preambles'.⁴¹ Here Kircher introduces Froberger as the imperial organist and former pupil of the most celebrated organist Frescobaldi, suggesting that Froberger's fantasia highlights both ingenuity in composition and virtuosity in performance. Attending a recital given by three Italian performing composers which certainly involved astonishing extemporisation, Kircher leaves a remarkably vivid description of the fantastic moment in his *Itinerarium exstaticum* of 1656:

⁴¹ Kircher, Book 5, 465; trans. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 255.

When they combined diatonic with chromatic harmonies, and these with enharmonic modulations, it is hard to describe how moving these unusual 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.⁴²

These ‘Orpheuses’, as Kircher called them, were Salvatore Mazzella (violin), Michelangelo Rossi (violin), and Lelius Colista (theorbo). Kircher’s five examples of the fantastic style include Colista’s symphonia for four lutes. Rossi kept his reputation not only as a virtuoso violinist but also a renowned composer of madrigals and keyboard toccatas; Mattheson called him a ‘fantasy maker’ (*Fantast*).⁴³ In effect, Kircher’s response to their fantastic performance is empirical and spontaneous, opposed to his rationalist approach in the *Musurgia* with its rather abstract notions of ingenuity and perfection. He is transported to

⁴² Kircher, *Itinerarium exstaticum, quo mundi opificium ... exponitur ad veritatem interlocutoribus Cosmiele et Theodidacto* (Rome, 1656), 33ff; trans. Peter Allsop, *The Italian ‘Trio’ Sonata from its Origins until Corelli*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1992, 57. Also quoted in Catherine Moor, *The Composer Michelangelo Rossi: A “Diligent Fantasy Maker” in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1993, 12-13.

⁴³ Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part I, Ch.10, Par. 97, trans. Harriss, 219.

various emotional states during the recital, such as languor, melancholy, sorrow, joy, violence, and even divine thought. The content of the recital is unknown to us except for the fact that a trio symphony was performed, and that, regardless of the notational format, the symphony contained elements of freedom and deviation. Kircher observes enharmonic modulations, the contrast between harmonic concords and chromatic intervals, and the mixture of different styles, gestures, and tempi, and describes them as most unusual and moving. Given ever-changing mood and texture, rhythmic and harmonic deviations, and animated gestures in Rossi's keyboard toccatas, the piece described here appears as a similar example of the fantastic style, which might have been played *ex tempore* to a certain degree: its affective content is transported to the listener through the performed sound and stimulates his imagination in a most remarkable way.

Kircher appears more relaxed and receptive when describing his spontaneous experience of musical fantasy. By contrast, while characterising the fantastic style by its freedom in his *Musurgia*, he did not use toccatas by Froberger or others as examples, pieces freer than the contrapuntal fantasia. Perhaps Praetorius' cautious approach to the toccata gives a reason for it: as for toccatas which are 'performed extemporaneously (*fantasieren*)' as a prelude to a motet or fugue, he finds it unnecessary to discuss them at great length.⁴⁴ In this context, the toccata as a prelude piece suggests the function of tuning or setting up keys or mood. The improvisatory quality of the toccata might have been an issue beyond theoretical and pedagogical discussion. Just as Kircher stated that 'it is hard to describe' fantastic phenomena, musical fantasy is built on the listener's spontaneous experience of the animated sound through his senses, whether described in

⁴⁴ Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. III, 25; quoted in Collins, 35.

affective or analytical terms.

Although this spontaneity implies an inexplicably amorphous quality or a deficit in terms of coherence and continuity, there is an enigmatic borderline between the results of disorderly whim and contrived stratagem. As seen in the definitions of the fantastic style and fantasia, the related genres assume a high standard of commanding compositional rules and performing techniques. Their improvisatory qualities were mainly cultivated in the instrumental solo tradition. Frescobaldi's toccata is a case in point. Through the analysis of the structure and motifs of Frescobaldi's toccatas, Barker suggests that these works were deliberately composed to have the appearance of improvisation.⁴⁵ Given that in the preface to the *Toccate e Partite I* (Rome, 1615) Frescobaldi advises the performers to recreate the impression of improvisation from a prescribed text, these toccatas can be assumed to encapsulate the contemporary extemporaneous practice and, at the same time, involve well-organised compositional procedures to transform and expand musical ideas. Again, the genres which are listed in the fantastic – ranging from toccata to ricercar – appear not to be different from each other in respect to basic rules but in the degree to which each actually conforms to the rules and makes a spontaneous impression on the listener.

At this point, it is necessary to examine the musical features of this spontaneity in more detail. Focusing on the music entitled fantasia, produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Gregory Butler delves into the concept of musical image and its association with improvisation and rhetoric. Taking image as a synonym for fantasia, he notes that the term fantasia referred not only to a

⁴⁵ Barker, *Analytical Issues in the Toccatas of Girolamo Frescobaldi*, 360-361.

genre but also to a more sharply defined musical structure which is constructed on a mechanical and repetitive contrapuntal skeleton, namely ‘sequential imitation’.⁴⁶ This term describes a type of imitation which is ‘free’ from rules with regard to the consistency of interval and duration between entries, and thus fragmentary and unpredictable. This imitative unit gives only an impression of canonic imitation and of motivic continuity. However, beyond this impression of momentary crafting, improvisation involved various aspects of invention and elaboration and was often compared to the compositional implications of oratory. One of the earliest treatises that transplanted the terminology of rhetoric into music is the German organist Claudius Sebastini’s *Bellum musicale* (Strasbourg, 1563). This treatise includes a chapter about the basic skills of instrumentalists which elaborates on Quintilian’s notion of the ‘image’ (*imago* or *signum*) in the *Institutio oratoria* (Book XI): an image or symbol provides instant recall and serves as a cue for transformation and elaboration.⁴⁷ While Sebastini accepts Quintilian’s notion of the image as a medium of reduction and recollection, he expands the concept of comprehension in this rhetorical process to the musical event. He suggests that, in music (i. e. instrumental improvisation), the image’s recollecting function can operate even when one cannot comprehend it.⁴⁸ In other words, the sound image can be immediately impressed (perceived) and memorised, regardless of any intellectual comprehension, and this shows the way a fantasy

⁴⁶ Butler, Gregory, ‘The Fantasias as Musical Image’, *MQ* (1974), 603-604.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Butler, 607-609.

⁴⁸ Similarly, Johann Lippius, in his *Disputatio musica secunda* (Wittenberg, 1609), made a comment on the extemporised delivery of instrumentalists, especially in ‘fantasia’ pieces: without text, the music is operated by means of elements ‘beyond comprehension just as in an improvised oration’ (Butler, 611). Butler gives a list of sixteenth-century sources of ‘cryptic’ references to the fantasia and to *automaton* as ‘a piece of mechanism with concealed motive power endued with spontaneous motion, the result of an unthinking routine or action performed unconsciously or subconsciously’ (Butler, 610). However, the discussion of the unconscious or subconscious process in improvisation is beyond the limits of this thesis.

piece might be heard. Furthermore, Sebastini, discussing musical genres, relates this recollecting process not only to fantasia but also to fugue. Presupposing that an image or fantasia involves the mental process and the art of memory, he confirms that fugue and fantasia share the same procedure of manipulating contrapuntal artifice and the same pedagogical approach. Yet fantasia highlights the ability to draw on aural images and impressions more emphatically and spontaneously, as if improvisation.

The improvised qualities of fantasia implied in this early commentary continued to develop especially through the prelude types of instrumental music, and its antithesis to strict counterpoint, the *ricercar* in particular, became more prominent towards the second half of the seventeenth century. Recalling Morley's description of fantasia, Thomas Mace writes that in preludial pieces such as prelude, fancy, and voluntary, 'no perfect form, shape, or uniformity can be perceived' and a performer shows his excellence and ability with an 'unlimited and unbounded liberty'.⁴⁹ Given that these genres were performed 'after completing tuning', they were independent compositions separate from the tuning function. The overall impression of the performance of these pieces is described as 'more intelligible' than the tuning sound, but elusive in terms of the listener's preconception of form and unity. In these comments, improvisation, or the improvised quality of certain genres, is described as depending on imagination, a spontaneous mental faculty, rather than on a rational process.

During the period between Kircher's *Musurgia* in 1650 and Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* in 1739, free preludial genres became a particular

⁴⁹ Mace, Thomas, *Musick's Monument*, London, 1676, 128-129.

speciality of northern German organists, Buxtehude and Adam Reincken among others.⁵⁰ The improvisatory repertoire such as *praeambulum* was not only a reflection of the contemporary improvisatory practice but also had a strong pedagogical effect on compositional procedure. William Porter notes that one important feature of *praeambulum* is its structural ‘coherence’ based on rhetorical procedures.⁵¹ For instance, it is divided into three parts, *Exordium*, *Ipsum corpus carminis* and *Finis* in Burmeister’s terms, and the characteristics of each part (such as cadence, harmonic progression, figures, and temporal implication) can likewise be compared to rhetorical figures. Another feature is called ‘simplicity’ in that the genre basically follows the contrapuntal rules, but in a less complex and fragmentary way, in opposition to the more elaborate and strict forms of counterpoint. Although Porter’s approach gives us an insight into a musical composition based on the authoritative sources of rhetorical composition, many aspects of formal, melodic, and rhythmic deviations and variety in the fantastic genres remain inexplicable and invite various interpretative approaches.

Around 1700, a significant transition of focus can be observed in the way of understanding the fantastic style. Descriptions of the toccata or the prelude were lacking in comparison with genres of strict counterpoint, which suited the contemporary theoretical standpoint of form and style.⁵² This suggests that improvisatory genres were being separated from the realm of counterpoint, though containing sections displaying contrapuntal ingenuity, and tended to be

⁵⁰ See Collins’ list of research publications on the association of the *stylus phantasticus* with the northern German organ school during this period (Collins, 103, footnote).

⁵¹ The four features are simplicity, physicality, transferability and coherence. See William Porter, ‘Reconstructing 17th Century North German Improvisation Practice’, *GOART Research Reports*, vol. 2, ed., Sverker Jullander, Sweden: Göteborg Organ Art Center, Göteborg University, 2000, 31.

⁵² Krummacher, ‘Bach’s Free Organ Works and the *Stylus Phantasticus*’, 158-159.

characterised by elements of spontaneity perceived in performance, not in notation. When Mattheson elaborated on the *stylus phantasticus* by adopting much of Kircher's terminology and concept, he transformed it into a useful explanatory device: he applied it only to the stylistic features of the music produced by the preceding generation, the northern German toccata and prelude in particular, but also to the dramatic genres of his time, such as opera.⁵³ However, his examples do not show as much extravagance or freedom as might be expected from his theoretical explanation. One reason for this is the fact that this style leaves more to 'extempore' performing skills than to notation (*a mente non a penne*⁵⁴), something with which earlier theorists were also concerned. What Mattheson advises the composer to do is simply to mark the point at which the free flow of fantastic ideas might be introduced. The resulting spontaneity astonishes listeners and offers a window into the composer's or performer's imagination.

On the other hand, the 'anarchic tendencies' of the *stylus phantasticus* seem at odds with the 'rationalistic' categorisation of Mattheson's writings.⁵⁵ Over the years of the publication of his major treatises, Mattheson became so keen on empiricist thought that he emphasised the faculty of imagination as well as the role of the senses, in opposition to mathematical reasoning. His contemporary Hamburg theorist, Johann David Heinichen, also called himself an enemy of 'all musical enemies of the ear', directing himself against the rationalist approach

⁵³ In his writings produced between 1713 (*Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*) and 1739, Mattheson's concept of the fantastic style underwent changes from compositional license accompanied by intelligibility to a product of imagination which excludes any ordered discourse (Yearsley, 'Stylus Phantasticus and the New Musical Imagination', *GOART Research Reports*, vol. 2, ed. Sverker Jullander, Sweden: Göteborg Organ Art Center, Göteborg University, 2000, 100).

⁵⁴ Mattheson, Johann, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part I, Ch. 10, Par. 88, trans. Harriss, 216.

⁵⁵ Yearsley, 'Stylus Phantasticus', 91.

latent in Kircher's view on 'the treacherous judgment of the ears'.⁵⁶ Basing his thoughts on the empiricist writings of John Locke and Joseph Addison, Mattheson elevated the faculty of imagination above the traditional concept of invention as a product of stable and rationally ordered mental processes. What is interesting about Mattheson's discussion of the style is that he took the materials from the past selectively: for him, the fantastic style was characterised by freedom from any restraint, especially from contrapuntal rules and notational limit, and the only rule or strategy was to avoid any structural or logical procedure. By this token, he even excluded fugal sections within fantasias or toccatas, assuming that such 'order and constraint' are contrary to the fantastic style, and thus a composer should 'keep the integrity of this style'.⁵⁷ Although the earlier treatises must have stimulated Mattheson to advance his theory of musical fantasy, his basic strategy was substantially redirected to militate against contrapuntal artifice.

In order to trace the enduring characteristics of the fantastic style, it is worth examining why it was useful for Mattheson: the style retains a taxonomic flexibility which implies an idea rather than a specific technique; it embraces rich rhetorical resources on several levels, permitting deviations from the norm; it reflects the contemporary concepts relating to the operation of the mind, such as reason, the senses, and imagination; it integrates composition and performance into the improvisatory art; it helps refine the distinction between naturalness and artificiality; and it possesses adaptability in its effect in both religious and secular context. In codifying musical styles and techniques, Mattheson used the term and basic idea of *stylus phantasticus* to highlight lyricism and drama over contrapuntal

⁵⁶ Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition*, Dresden, 1728, 5; quoted in Collins, 59-60.

⁵⁷ Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part I, Ch. 10, Par. 94, trans. Harriss, 217.

rules. His concept of the *stylus phantasticus* was therefore more concerned with displaying ideas of the artist's imagination than the preconception of structural unity or coherence. For him, imagination could scarcely be achieved in ordered discourses such as contrapuntal invention. Mattheson's empiricist approach in his musical discourse leads to the question of how fantasy and imagination are conceived outside of the musical context. The next section of this chapter will offer a historical overview of fantasy and imagination in the philosophical and literary context.

1.3. Fantasy in philosophical and literary context

Etymologically, fantasy dates back to the ancient Greek words: *phantazein* (Φαντάζειν), 'to make visible' and *phainein* (Φαίειν) 'to show'.⁵⁸ By *phantasiai*, Quintilian denotes cognitive visions that can be useful for inventive purposes to call up the emotional energies of an orator himself and his audience, and this perspective influenced Augustine's explanation of imagination and mental images.⁵⁹ The evocative power of fantasy as a synonym for imagination, through a speaker's vivid description appealing to his listeners' imagination, was one of the major topics that attracted rhetoricians and preachers over time. In the literary tradition, it was cultivated as the art of representing an idea or image as if setting it before the eyes and of provoking active participation and response from a listener. On other occasions, the undesirable effect of the overuse of fantasy is also

⁵⁸ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, vol. V, 722.

⁵⁹ Carruthers, Mary J., *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 172. Authors like Thomas Aquinas and Marsilio Ficino distinguished between 'fantasia' as the imagining power (*vis imaginativa*) and 'imaginatio' as the storehouse of sense-impressions (*Three Books on Life* by Ficino, Florence, 1489, trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1989, translators' commentary notes, 453). However, I use the term 'fantasy' as corresponding to Greek 'phantasia', Italian 'fantasia', and Latin 'imaginatio'.

observed, which also testifies to the evocative power of fantasy. Cautious about the use of invocation scene in theatre, Augustine wrote that a vivid performance in such a scene could actually produce a harmful effect on the individual audience, because it could be interpreted differently according to the subject's 'personal reaction' and according to 'people's particular thoughts and fancies'.⁶⁰ This is a remarkable testimony that fantasy involves the reciprocal process between the artist and the audience, and between what is represented and what is sensed, a view influenced by Plato's advice against mimetic arts, which I will examine in chapter 3.1. The basics of the early notion of the term, whether negative or positive, were preserved during the Renaissance period. Ptolemy's and Gaffurio's term *phantasia*, and Zarlino's term *imaginatione* denoted the same mental faculty, often relating to sensory perception and distinguished from reason (*ragione*) or science (*scienza*).⁶¹

Similarly, the evocative power of fantastic images in the visual arts cannot be ignored. Fantasy paintings during the Renaissance period such as those by Hieronimus Bosch (c.1450-1516) and Pieter Bruegel (1525-1569) show, through fantastic and monstrous objects, the complexity of the intellectual configuration and dream-like experiences of the supernatural, i. e. visions of angels, monsters and demons. Against these inventions and products of an artist's fantasy, orthodox Christian circles during the Renaissance tended to embrace a dual notion of

⁶⁰ Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, Book II, Ch. 25/39, trans. R. P. H. Green, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 52-53; quoted in Armando Maggi, *Satan's Rhetoric: A Study of Renaissance Demonology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, 9 (footnote).

⁶¹ Zarlino, *Le Istitutioni harmoniche*, Part I, 7; Ptolemy, Claudius, [*Harmonics*] (AD 2) 3.5; Gaffurio, Franchino, *De harmonia* (1518), IV, 17; quoted in Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, 177, 180. Zarlino categorises the faculties of the intellective soul as follows: *imaginatione*, *mente*, *memoria*, *cogitatione*, *opinione*, *ragione*, *scienza*.

imagination: on the one hand, imagination was encouraged in order that a person be made aware of the constant presence of evil and to approach the divine elements with great concentration. Therefore, fantastic forms of the performing arts such as symbolic, moralistic drama and choreography were acceptable and useful in their striving after dramatic and edifying effect.⁶² It was in this context that Bosch's paintings 'fantasising' on the materials in the Bible were enormously appreciated by his contemporaries. Aside from their technical excellence, these paintings conformed to the requirements of contemporary religious and moral messages, for instance, vividly visualising how the Devil could subvert the natural order of Creation. On the other hand, there was a consistent distrust of imagination, based on the religious connotation of original sin as a result of following deceptive imagination ('you will be like God', Genesis 3:5) and the false judgment of the senses ('the tree was [...] a delight to the eyes', Genesis 3:6⁶³). In contrast to Bosch's situation, fantastic invention in works of art was not always accepted by the orthodox hierarchy. In 1573, for instance, the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Venice summoned Paolo Veronese before their court for the reason that his painting entitled 'The Last Supper' depicted imaginary figures not mentioned in the Bible, such as a clown and a dwarf.⁶⁴ By the priority of ethical concerns as such, fantasy is degraded to a matter of stylistic option or considered as a peripheral phenomenon. This situation is also found in many seventeenth-century philosophical and literary sources which claim that imagination is to be controlled by reason and that fantasy appears merely as the illusive aspect of mental process or a dream arising from the unconscious state. On the other hand,

⁶² Bussagli, Mario, *Bosch*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1967, 5-7.

⁶³ *New Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

⁶⁴ Martin, John Jeffries, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 1. Instead of correcting these additions as ordered, the painter ended up changing the title to 'The Feast in the House of Levi'.

one can observe a growing interest in imagination or freedom from reason towards the end of the seventeenth century, especially in empiricist thought. While modern commentators of fantasy literature similarly advocate these ideals, they take a comprehensive stand by embracing more willingly those aspects which were once regarded as deficiencies, based on modern readers' collective experience of psychological and anthropological interpretations. Accordingly, in our understanding and experience of fantasy in a work of art of earlier periods, our preconception of fantasy is an important factor. Before looking into the seventeenth-century sources, therefore, I will examine the transhistorical implications of fantasy in modern literary criticism, focusing on the issues relating to our perception of fantasy in the broader sense.

Annette Richards finds an analogy between literary and musical fantasy by noting that the growing interest in free fantasia is a recent phenomenon and reflects the post-modern situation.⁶⁵ In recent decades, fantasy as a literary genre has drawn much critical attention to its nature and characteristics, reflecting the post-modern tendency to encourage freedom from fixed text or form, together with multiple readings of single works. Against this background, literary critics have been in search of more inclusive and broader approaches to fantasy rather than restrictive ones. According to Kathryn Hume, this inclusive view avoids reducing fantasy into a genre or form, and attempts to define it as 'human activity' in J. R. R. Tolkien's terminology, which leads the audience to experience reality from different perspectives through transformation and manipulation of absence and

⁶⁵ Richards, 14-15. She suggests that free fantasia, as an ontologically ambiguous genre placed between composition and improvisation, previously tended to be marginalised in musicological writing.

presence, and through symbols and metaphorical images.⁶⁶ While fantasy as a distinct literary genre draws attention to the elements of the supernatural or impossible, literary fantasy in the broader sense might denote a powerful, vivid mode of human consciousness and experience, and the quintessence of the artistic urge behind all literary expression and imagination.⁶⁷ The canon of ‘fantasy literature’ such as myth, fairy tale, and epic ranges from Homer’s *Odyssey* to Tolkien’s *Lord of the Rings*, although there is no consistent division between history and fiction in ancient and medieval times.

Although modern critics of fantasy literature tend to view fantasy as a timeless phenomenon, one might question the intellectual background in which the ‘modern’ concept of fantasy was formulated. Richard Mathews observes an important symptom in the course of this formulation: fantasy stories written by William Morris and George MacDonald from the 1850s not only established radical, imaginative, anti-realistic modes of fiction but also recovered long-neglected vocabulary, syntax, and styles of archetypal invention similar to the ancient and medieval texts then being rediscovered and translated. For these authors, an artist and a theologian respectively, fantasy embodied philosophical, intellectual, moral, and social discourse rather than involving individual characters and situations.⁶⁸ This philosophical orientation of fantasy still hovers in recent literary criticism, as illustrated by literary critics’ definitions of fantasy.

⁶⁶ Hume, Kathryn, *Fantasy and Mimesis*, New York and London: Methuen, 1984, 20-21.

⁶⁷ Mathews, Richard, *Fantasy: The Liberation of Imagination*, New York and London: Routledge, 2002, 1-2. See the chronology of fantasy literature produced between BC 2000 and 1994, selected by Mathews, xv-xx. This list includes Ovid’s *Metamorphosis* (BC 17), Dante’s *The Divine Comedy* (c. 1320), and Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (1595-1596).

⁶⁸ Mathews, 15-16. Examples include Morris’ *The Hollow Land* (1856) and MacDonald’s *Phantastes: A Faerie Romance for Men and Women* (1858). Morris drew particular attention to early fantasy literature and to the ancient world by translating Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and introducing many northern sagas and old French romances to England.

C. N. Manlove broadens the definition of fantasy to include fiction that evokes ‘wonder’ and contains a substantial element of ‘supernatural or impossible’ worlds or objects with which the mortal and natural objects in the story or the readers become – at least partly – familiar.⁶⁹ In fantasy literature, the supernatural may partly belong to reality by being disguised as physical, moral, or mental phenomena, and the relationship between the natural and supernatural orders is often an essential aspect. Fantasy writers take as their point of departure the deliberate violation of norms which we regard as essential to our conventional concept of reality. The interaction between fantasy and reality is essential for both the author and the reader in constructing and appreciating the fantastic paradigm. Similarly, W. R. Irwin regards playing with this shared concept of norms as the basic strategy of fantasy, noting that fantasy is ‘the persuasive establishment and development of an impossibility’, and a result of ‘intellectual play’ or ‘game’. In this ‘game’, the author and the reader knowingly ‘enter upon a conspiracy of intellectual subversiveness’ in which non-fact appears as fact; this ‘game’ is ‘continuous and coherent’ in the sense that the author needs the reader’s participation, based on the newly established system of rules in the fantasy world.⁷⁰ Without this preconception of the rules shared between the author and the reader, even the most bizarre or eccentric material would not be perceived as

⁶⁹ Manlove, C. N., ‘On the Nature of Fantasy’, *The Aesthetics of Literature and Art*, ed. Roger C. Schlobin, University of Notre Dame Press, 1982, 16-24. Richard Mathews views, as the first serious scholarly attempt to define literary fantasy, Tzvetan Todorov’s *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to Literary Genre* (1970), trans. Richard Howard, New York: Cornell University Press, 1975 (Mathews, 170). Other references of the definition of literary fantasy include: Rabkin, Eric S., *The Fantastic in Literature*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976; Irwin, W. R., *The Game of the Impossible: A Rhetoric of Fantasy*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976; Jackson, Rosemary, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*, London: Methuen, 1981; Barron, Neil, ed., *Fantasy Literature: A Reader’s Guide*, New York: Garland, 1990.

⁷⁰ Irwin, 8-9.

fantasy but as something else like the unexpected.

Distinguishing the fantastic from the ‘unexpected’ and the ‘irrelevant’, Eric S. Rabkin elaborates on the requirement to perceive a non-normal occurrence as fantastic.⁷¹ An ‘unexpected’ occurrence can be ‘ordinary’ if it literally means ‘not expected’ and conforms to the ground rules previously legitimated. If the unexpected is perceived as fantastic, it might be more accurately termed the ‘dis-expected’ or ‘anti-expected’, the elements of which may at some stage subvert a reader’s expectation based on the ground rules but later return him to the rules. As exemplified by jokes and parody, fantastic unexpectedness depends on playing with a reader’s expectation. On the other hand, the ‘irrelevant’ occurrence even has nothing to do with ground rules and leaves no room for references and perspectives waiting to be fulfilled, assaulted, or reversed. On the contrary, the fantastic is a breach or reversal of conventional rules and thus it is essentially determined by those rules.

Given these qualities of literary fantasy, modern critics assume that fantasy is at least framed by the requirements for creating a work of narrative art, rather than reducing it to a product of unrestrained imagination. Among these requirements, the concept of a norm or rule is imperative to the perception of fantasy. Fantasy is internally related to intellectual play with expectation in order to produce a sense of deferment or subversion; and, externally, it refers to well-organised compositional schemes such as vocabulary and style. It is also noteworthy that fantasy has been conceived as the metaphorical vehicle of philosophical and moral values, as suggested by Bosch’s fantasy paintings, on the one hand, and as

⁷¹ Rabkin, 8-15.

the mere shadow of reality on the other. The latter concept remains unchanged as long as imagination is considered as the false, obscure, or less desirable faculty in contrast to reason.⁷² For a brief historical review of this standpoint, I turn to the notion of imagination in seventeenth-century philosophical sources that still have a considerable influence on the modern concept of fantasy.

Philosophical discussions of imagination around 1600 show a mixture of the traditional world-view relating to cosmological order, and the more rational or empiricist approach to the mental faculties through new scientific methods: both views were in agreement on the need for control of reason over imagination. Based on the traditional medical – or humoral – theory, Montaigne compares the power of imagination to the infection by physical disease or fear, quoting the proverb, ‘a strong imagination creates the event’. Given that extraordinary occurrences such as ‘miracle, vision, and enchantment’ come from the power of imagination, he elaborates on individual temperaments, observing that those whose minds are ‘softer’ than others’ are more liable to be seized by the belief, or illusion, that they see what they actually do not see.⁷³

While Montaigne’s account of imagination was rather a speculative illustration of supernatural occurrences, there also appeared an advocate for the practical literary use of its evocative power, based on biblical references and the implications of *phantazein* described in the above-mentioned classical sources. In response to the Puritans’ attack on poets who, they thought, aimed to enchant readers by

⁷² Gilbert Durand offers a historical overview of the decline of imagination (*L’imagination symbolique*, Paris, 1964, Ch. 1).

⁷³ Montaigne, Michel de, *Essais* (Paris, 1588), I. 21; *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958, 69-70.

fabricating fiction from non-facts, Sir Philip Sidney defended poetry and elevated its status to a reflection of God's mind:

Poesie, therefore, is an art of imitation: for so Aristotle terms it in the word mimesis, that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth to speak metaphorically[;] A speaking Picture, with this end to teach and delight. [The greatest poets in antiquity] did imitate the unconceivable excellences of God.⁷⁴

Sidney exemplifies many biblical figures, such as poets of psalms who spoke with 'Holy Ghost in due holy reverence', and ancient Greek and Roman celebrities, such as Orpheus and Homer. From Sidney's perspective, a man is not an object resembling God in an abstract way, but something close to a vivid image representing God who creates a thought or image in His mind. As a divine image, a man reflects his Creator in all that he does and creates, by reasoning and imagining.

Similar to Sidney, Bacon's account of poetry, based on Aristotelian mimesis and Horatian analogy between poetry and painting, refers to poetry as literary inventiveness, not bound to the distinction between verse and prose. Interestingly, Bacon's definition of poetry reminds us of the freedom of *fantasia* described by Morley:

Poesy is a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and does truly refer to the imagination; which, being not tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which

⁷⁴ Sidney, Philip, *Defence of Poesie*, London, 1595, C1.

nature has severed, and sever that which nature has joined; and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things; *Pictoribus atque poetis, &c.*⁷⁵

Except for the metrical restraint, poetry is a play of imagination and poets take liberties in manipulating given materials as painters do. However, Bacon elaborates on poetry as ‘one of the principal portions of learning’, rather than as the supreme learning as Sidney considered it. He distinguishes the three parts of learning with reference to the parts of human knowledge: history to his memory, philosophy to his reason, and poetry to his imagination.⁷⁶ This distinction is based on the theory of ventricles of the brain formulated by Galen, the second-century Greek physician: memory is located at the back of the head, reason in the middle brain, and imagination in the forebrain. This theory of physical localisation in the brain, though resulting from speculation rather than actual anatomy, was widely accepted among seventeenth-century intellectuals, as also discussed by Bacon’s contemporary Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621).⁷⁷ Although imagination was still undervalued as a fallacious faculty, together with the passions, empiricist thinkers aptly discussed it in terms of the faculties of the mind. After dividing the faculties of the mind into reason and affection, Bacon explains the role of imagination as a messenger between these faculties:

Sense sends over to imagination before reason has judged: and reason sends over to imagination before the decree can be acted. For imagination ever precedes voluntary motion. Saving that this Janus of imagination has differing

⁷⁵ Bacon, Francis, *On the Advancement of Learning* (London, 1605) Book 2, IV:1, XII:1, ed. Arthur Johnston, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974, 80, 116.

⁷⁶ Bacon, *On the Advancement of Learning*, Book 2, I:1, ed. Johnston, 67.

⁷⁷ Bacon, *On the Advancement of Learning*, ed. Johnston, editor’s commentary, 268; Maggie, *Satan’s Rhetoric*, 138-139.

faces: for the face towards reason has the print of truth, but the face towards action has the print of good.⁷⁸

Imagination works on images received from the external senses, re-presents the images drawn from memory, and combines or divides them to produce new permutations. In this way, imagination mediates between reason and senses, intellect and emotion, and true knowledge and good action. In addition to this mediating role, imagination also has the ‘authority’ over reason in religion and arts which seek ‘access to the mind by similitudes, types, parables, visions, and dreams’. In other areas of knowledge, imaginings are for the most part false, while reason deliberates upon them and makes judgment.

Descartes’ account of imagination occupies a small part in his rationalisation of the passions, based on innate ideas of human soul and body, and on physiological terms such as nerve, muscle, and animal spirit.⁷⁹ Imagination formed by the soul denotes imagining, either something non-existent, as Montaigne noted, or something that is ‘purely intelligible’ and useful in conceiving abstract notions. Imagination caused by the body similarly involves inexplicable imaginings which usually depend on nerves and proceed regardless of our will. Such are the illusions of ‘dreams’ and the ‘day-dreams’ that we have when we are awake and ‘our mind wanders idly without applying itself to anything of its own accord’. The cause of these imaginings is not so clear except that they involve ‘the traces of various impressions’ which precede the animal spirits in the brain. Therefore, they seem to be ‘mere shadows and pictures of the perceptions’ which the soul receives

⁷⁸ Bacon, *On the Advancement of Learning*, Book 2, XII:1, ed. Johnston, 116.

⁷⁹ Descartes, René, *The Passions of the Soul* (Paris & Amsterdam, 1649), I. 20-21; *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, vol. I, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff and Dugald Murdoch, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 336.

by means of the nerves. After all, Descartes reduces imagination into non-normal and peripheral phenomena, although he briefly mentions the effect of the imagination in understanding abstract notions. As far as imagination is concerned, thus, this seemingly scientific account turns out to be as speculative as Montaigne's, and even more elusive.

It was with Thomas Hobbes that imagination became a more central faculty, with a growing emphasis on the senses. Although the questioning of the cause of observed phenomena is 'the work of ratiocination' as a rational process of composition and division, 'the first beginnings of knowledge are the phantasms of sense and imagination'.⁸⁰ In other words, the mind cannot even begin to reason without the perception of the senses and imagination. This theory contrasts with the Cartesian thought that reason is the reliable faculty for understanding the world, and the passions are to be understood in detail in order to be mastered by reason. Against Descartes' hypothesis of *Cogito ergo sum*, that an ego grasps its own existence by means of a purely intellectual intuition, Hobbes insists that *res cogitans* (the thing that is thinking) is conceived as a corporeal or material thing; he also distinguishes between the objective and the subjective, and between a thing and its appearance, in order to propose a theory of representation or phantasm.⁸¹ In this dual order of a thing and its appearance, Hobbes considers the limits of the human ability to retain images or appearances of things; even time and space are 'imaginary' and belong to what appears to the perceiving subject, not to anything real that exists outside us. Therefore, things 'appear' as if they

⁸⁰ Hobbes, Thomas, *De Corpore* (London, 1655), I, Ch. 6; quoted in Douglas Jesseph, 'Hobbes and the Methods of Natural Science', *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes*, ed. Tom Sorell, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 105.

⁸¹ Zaca, Yves Charles, 'First Philosophy and the Foundation of Knowledge', *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes*, ed. Tom Sorell, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 63, 65.

were external, but, in fact, they are nothing but ‘ideas and phantasms’, happening internally to the one who imagines their attributes by his perception through ‘senses’, ‘memory’ and ‘imagination’.⁸²

Later empiricists elaborate on Hobbes’ view of the senses and imagination, and his challenge to the traditional knowledge system, showing a tendency towards imagination and freedom from the control of reason. Locke notes that the mind could be operated only by the sources of sense and perception. He also stresses the distinction between a thing and its appearances, or between knowing and imagining. While imagination comes to play a major part within the knowledge system, Locke is cautious about metaphorical ideas:

If all our search has yet reached no further than simile and metaphor, we may assure ourselves we rather fancy than know, and are not yet penetrated into the inside and reality of the things, but content ourselves with what our imaginations, not the things themselves, furnish us with.⁸³

For Locke, the metaphorical ideas should be accompanied ‘with method and order’ and tend to fall short of the ‘exactness’ by which our conception should relate to things. By contrast, Joseph Addison is satisfied with the resemblance between a thing and its appearance, demonstrating that learning about natural objects invisible to the naked eye (for example, minerals or stars) pleases both the reason and the fancy. Although the imagination does ‘not directly treat the visible parts of nature’, it draws from them ‘their similitudes, metaphors, and allegories

⁸² Thomas Hobbes, *De Corpore*, VII, Ch. 1; quoted in Zadra, 66.

⁸³ Locke, John, *Of the Conduct of the Understanding* (London, 1690), ed. Francis W. Garforth, New York: Teachers College Press, 1966, 100-101.

by which a truth in the understanding is as it were reflected by the imagination'.⁸⁴ Furthermore, he stresses the evocative power of imagination, noting that imagination is the most agreeable talent of a historian by which he can draw up the narratives in vivid expressions and lead a reader into the actions and events of history. As history is set up as an admirable picture before a reader's eyes, the reader becomes a spectator and should feel all the variety of passions set out by the historian.⁸⁵ By the early eighteenth century, imagination had gained a legitimate effect on scientific and historical data, and encroached upon science and history, which had previously been allocated to reason and memory in Bacon's trisection of human understanding.

Despite their tendency towards reconsidering the mysterious and supernatural, to which the imagination traditionally referred, both Descartes' and Bacon's philosophy reflect the current intellectual trend, empiricist thought and experimental science in particular. This trend gradually offered viable alternatives to traditional natural philosophy throughout Europe, as epitomised by the method of Galileo Galilei and later by Isaac Newton.⁸⁶ Many of Bacon's major writings were written or re-published in Latin to reach a continental audience.⁸⁷ Similarly, Hobbes' international reputation as a natural philosopher and his academic

⁸⁴ Addison, Joseph, *Essays on Taste and the Pleasures of the Imagination* (London, 1712); re-issued, London: Taylor, Walton and Maberly, 1849, 65-66, 70-71. Addison's discussion of imagination even extends to the contemporary concerns of psychological and pathological issues, for instance, 'madness', by which imagination can be seen as an overflow of ideas beyond control, a somehow negative result of spontaneity (Addison, 73).

⁸⁵ Addison, 64-65.

⁸⁶ Gouk, Penelope, 'Music and the Sciences', *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. John Butt and Tim Carter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 134-136.

⁸⁷ Bacon, *On the Advancement of Learning*, ed. Johnston, translator's introduction, xix-xx. Examples include *De Sapientia Veterum* (1609) and *Novum Organum* (1620). The *Advancement* was expanded and re-published in Latin in 1623, entitled *De Augmentis Scientiarum*.

collaboration with Marin Mersenne in the 1630s and 1640s is well known.⁸⁸ Empiricist thought had a direct influence on the German intellectual circle with which Mattheson was associated. Concerning this circulation of knowledge and methods beyond national borders, a question which is raised here is the degree to which rationalist and empiricist accounts of the senses and imagination reflect what contemporary musicians were actually thinking. The musical debate on *ratio* versus *sensus* is inseparable from this philosophical and intellectual current. The disputes on the conventional rules and freedom, and on reason and the senses reflect the different viewpoints of nature and art in the intellectual milieu of the so-called ‘age of reason’, and illuminate the boundaries of the norms. Presupposing that the fantastic style, as a category, is the product of seventeenth-century rationalisation of all aspects of experience, I will next examine the issues expressed in the major disputes concerning artistic license.

⁸⁸ Jesseph, 107.

Chapter 2.

Boundaries of freedom in the disputes on *ratio* versus *sensus*

Barbara Russano Hanning points out two opposing tendencies in the seventeenth century: one is the penchant for order and rationalisation, as the century is an era of taxonomies for ordering and classifying not only natural objects but also musical styles and human passions; and the other, for an ‘arranged disorder’ or something that evokes the sense of spontaneity.¹ Hanning’s examples range across national borders, including the grottoes and irregular forms of the Boboli gardens at Florence and the symmetrically positioned forms and fixed modules of the royal gardens at Versailles. These examples can be seen as an indication of the contemporary way of interpreting nature and art, in which variety is given new significance. In other words, the dichotomy between order and deviation (or ‘arranged disorder’) leads us to understand how the seventeenth-century observer appreciated a work of art, whether as ingenious or too artificial, based on his preconception of naturalness, and how he could interpret the elements of fantasy and disorder. The disputes I will consider in this chapter are those that demonstrate this distinction and the boundaries of freedom. Changing world-view and value systems, and differing reactions to current practices involve the opposing aesthetic view on *ratio* versus *sensus*, and of nature versus art.

An awareness of the challenge to the conventional rules was common to these opposing viewpoints on composing practices, whether supporting or repudiating

¹ Hanning, Barbara Russano, ‘Music and the Arts’, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. John Butt and Tim Carter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 115-117. Hanning cites Robert Herrick’s poem, *Delight in Disorder* (c. 1649), in which the poet illuminates the relationship between nature and art: ‘A sweet disorder in the dress / Kindles in clothes a wantonness. [...] Do more bewitch me than when art / Is too precise in every part’.

freedom and deviations. For example, according to Monteverdi's division of contemporary practices, the camp of *prima prattica* believed that the treatment of dissonance in the modern practice represented an 'irrational' challenge to the 'natural order' or the mathematical notion of harmony.² This observation or criticism is based on the assumption of the contemporary legitimate norm and illustrate the inseparable associations between that norm and deviations. What is important in such criticism, aside from any aesthetic judgment (whether fantastic or irrational), is the fact that the opposing camps perceived the manifestations of fantasy. The disputes over opposing practices of composition and performance first emerged in the second half of the sixteenth century, when composers became more aware of the plurality of styles: the earliest challenge to the rules of counterpoint in search of artistic license can be traced back to the dispute of 1551 between Nicola Vincentino and Vincenzo Lusitano.³ Three major disputes which reflect seventeenth-century thoughts on the above-mentioned issues were triggered by Artusi and Monteverdi, by Scacchi and Siefert, and by Bokemeyer and Mattheson. Although there might be several levels of argument, which cannot simply be divided in a clear-cut manner into conservative and liberal wings, one scenario taken here is that one camp fears disorder and accuses its opponent of committing compositional defects or licentiousness.

² Artusi, Giovanni Maria, *L'Artusi, Overo delle imperfezioni della moderna musica* (Venice, 1600), 'Artusi, or Of the Imperfection of Modern Music', *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Oliver Strunk; revised, ed. Leo Treitler, New York: Norton, 1998, 533. A similar criticism was voiced two centuries later, deploring the madness of contemporary fantasias with 'constant chasing after distant keys and modulations, after unharmonious transitions, ear-splitting dissonances and chromatic progressions, without respite and end for the listener' (from Ernst Ludwig Gerber's letter in 1817/1818; quoted in Head, 76).

³ Palisca, Claude V., 'The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy', *The New Monteverdi Companion*, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune, London: Faber and Faber, 1985, 128; Berger, Karol, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th Century Italy*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1976/1980, 5-6. The debate is known from the documents gathered by Nicola Vincentino (*L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, Rome, 1555, Book IV, Ch. 43, fol. 95-98) and Ghiselin Danckerts (*Trattato sopra una differentia musicale*, undated but presumably published during the decade following the debate, Rome, Part I).

2.1. Artusi versus Monteverdi

In his *L'Artusi overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (Venice, 1600), Artusi provides the grounds for his objection to the modern practice of a younger generation, Monteverdi in particular. In a set of dialogues, he speaks not only as 'Vario', representing his own viewpoint, but also as 'Luca', an interlocutor on behalf of the opposing camp, thus revealing a remarkable awareness of the new musical practice. In a letter to the reader of his fifth book of madrigals, published in 1605, Monteverdi responded to this criticism by Artusi by proposing that he would produce a written explanation of the modern or 'second' practice. In 1607, Monteverdi's brother Giulio Cesare published, on Claudio's behalf, the defence of this new practice. The Artusi-Monteverdi controversy was not only set off against the extraordinarily rich intellectual background of the late Renaissance, but also attested to the unprecedented plurality of musical thoughts and styles around 1600.

The dissemination of individual viewpoints and active communication between intellectuals had been nourished by the technological development of the printing industry and the changing world-view along with new astronomical discoveries by Copernicus and Galileo.⁴ Now, Aristotelian natural philosophy that had understood observed phenomena through universal laws and logical premises came to face more accurate empirical observations and more pragmatic views based on a close bond between technology and modern science.⁵ In addition, the revival and revaluation of ancient literature, especially the rhetorical practice codified by Cicero and Quintilian, encouraged the cultivation of oratorical

⁴ On technological development, see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

⁵ Tomlinson, Gary, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1986, 6, 9.

persuasion in which the passions were emphasised as dynamic forces directing human thought and action. Accordingly, the alliance of rhetoric and music, especially the art of *musica poetica*, challenged the traditional classification of music as part of the *quadrivium*, or mathematical numerical disciplines, alongside arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Contemporary intellectuals were aware that they were undergoing a crucial shift in their culture, confronting conflicting intellectual and social forces, such as reason versus the senses, tradition versus innovation, nature versus art, Aristotelianism versus Platonism, the occult versus modern sciences, and many other dichotomies.⁶ This awareness promoted analytical thought and discourse, and helped cultivate a critical vocabulary to deal with diverse viewpoints. On the other hand, the recognition of multiplicity in styles and practices resulted in complex and often contradictory ways of thinking. This complexity may explain the antithetical viewpoints even within an individual, as we shall see in the Artusi-Monteverdi controversy.

Artusi, as one of the prominent followers of Zarlino, was anything but an archaist who adhered to the tradition of *musica speculativa*, paying no attention to the new empirical and pragmatic tendencies of his time. In his book on counterpoint, *L'arte del contraponto* (1586/1589), Artusi dealt with the aspects of both speculative and practical music theory, and attempted to relax unnecessarily strict rules. Whereas Zarlino regarded dissonances as incidental to counterpoint, Artusi emphasised their effect to express the passions and to please the listener, stating that there were more dissonances than consonances in counterpoint.⁷ His

⁶ Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, 1.

⁷ In this respect, Palisca states that Artusi's negative reaction in 1600 to modern music is 'surprising' and that his position is ambiguous because the dialogue between the two interlocutors often ends up without a clear solution (Palisca, 'The Revision of Counterpoint and the Embellished Style', *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, vol. 7, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989,

examples of recent practice included works of Cipriano de Rore and Claudio Merulo.

In contradiction to Artusi's interest in the modern treatment of dissonance in his book of counterpoint (1589), his writing in 1600 against modern music belongs to the domain of speculative music theory.⁸ His argument in this controversy seems to reveal an overall distrust of the modern practice and intellectual multiplicity, and the desire to adhere to a single standard of speculative tradition. His most significant concern is the type of dissonance that offends both the intellect and the ear, and that deforms nature. But how did Artusi understand reason and the senses in representing and perceiving a musical idea?; and what did 'natural' mean for him?

For Artusi, the extended treatment of dissonance in the new practice represents an irrational challenge to the natural order, that is, the mathematical notion of harmony. He notes that 'by nature dissonance is always dissonant' and cannot become consonant just as consonance cannot become dissonant; dissonances are harsh to the ear, violate 'the good rules left by those who have established the order and the bounds of this science', and thus represent 'deformations of the nature and propriety of true harmony'.⁹ Given that the compositions in the modern style deviate from reason and deceive the senses, he demonstrates the mathematical irrationality of intervals used in these compositions. For example, in explaining the absurdity of the dissonant intervals, he employed the so-called

265-292; reprint, *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, ed. Palisca, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 3-4).

⁸ Palisca, 'The Revision of Counterpoint', 7.

⁹ Artusi, *Of the Imperfection of Modern Music*, 533.

‘syntonic diatonic’ tuning of Ptolemy, which was advocated by Zarlino.¹⁰ However, the limitations of unequal tones and semitones of the Ptolemaic tuning – together with the Pythagorean tuning – were already proved by several contemporary theorists such as Giovanni Battista Benedetti (*Diversarum speculationum*, 1585) and Vincenzo Galilei (*Discorso particolare intorno all’unisono*, c. 1589-1590). Equipped with scientific and experimental proofs, these theorists pointed out that the chromatic and enharmonic nature of modern music demanded equal temperament.¹¹ Although Artusi was aware of contemporary experimental research into equal temperament, he turned to the rules of *musica speculativa* to demonstrate the mathematical irrationality of dissonances. Even when he concedes that the foundations of the valid rules are not only ‘nature’ but also ‘experience’ and ‘demonstration’,¹² he believes the rules as predetermined in the one and only truth, and warns composers not to violate or confuse them. Given that syntonic diatonic tuning is based on the consonances of simplest ratios, or the ‘*senario*’ in Zarlino’s term – the first six numbers and the ratios between them, Artusi in this controversy takes a rigid attitude to dissonances as the ratios outside the *senario*.¹³

The traditional *musica speculativa* is concerned with the abstract study of musical elements such as intervals, rhythmic proportions, scale systems and modes, and

¹⁰ Palisca, ‘The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy’, 142.

¹¹ For more discussion of equal temperament, see Claude V. Palisca, ‘Scientific Empiricism in Musical Thought’, *Seventeenth-Century Science and the Arts* (Princeton University Press, 1961); reprint, *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, ed. Palisca, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 219-234; Daniel K. L. Chua, ‘Vincenzo Galilei, Modernity and the Division of Nature’, in *Music Theory and Natural Order from the Renaissance to the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Alexander Rehding, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 23-24.

¹² Artusi, *Of the Imperfection of Modern Music*, 527.

¹³ Palisca, ‘Scientific Empiricism in Musical Thought’, 223.

the correspondence of these elements to the cosmological order. There were two main branches of *musica speculativa*: one was the mathematical or Pythagorean tradition represented by Platonists and Neo-Platonists, who emphasised the numerical basis of musical relations and associated such relations with cosmological order. It was within this tradition that later theorists such as Ptolemy and Boethius regarded music as representing the orderly movements of the spheres, and that Kircher referred to ‘the hidden design of harmony’. The other branch was an empirical tradition represented by Aristoxenus, a pupil of Aristotle, who based his thoughts of musical sound and tonal systems on acoustical perception and the relationships of hearing, intellect, and comprehension.¹⁴

The classical authorities that Artusi cited in his argument for the judging faculty of reason are none other than Ptolemy and Boethius, who considered reason as reliable and the senses as fallible. Artusi’s quotation of Aristoxenus seems rather a contrived one: the claim that rapid movement of dissonances on an instrument does not offend the ear cannot be justified, because ‘referring the nature of a harmonic question to an instrument’ is an erroneous approach and the intellect would recognise the deception wrought upon the senses.¹⁵ Whereas Monteverdi argues that dissonances are explicable in terms of contemporary practice and have to be judged by their effect in performance, Artusi dismisses the dissonances in the modern style altogether, even though they are fleeting enough not to offend the ear. Concerning ornamentation as a widespread singing practice, he alluded to the need for methods of notating ornamentation, worrying about its possible

¹⁴ Mathiesen, Thomas J., ‘Greek Music Theory’, *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 114, 120; Wason, Robert W., ‘*Musica Practica*: Music Theory as Pedagogy’, *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 47-48.

¹⁵ Artusi, *Of the Imperfection of Modern Music*, 534.

overuse and sensuous excess which might happen in this course of performance. In Artusi's dialogues, Luca's viewpoint might well have been collected from contemporary writings which represent the modern composer's standpoint. Luca claims, 'they say that the *accenti* [ornamental dissonances] in compositions have a remarkable effect [...] But to produce good accord always, this demands the greatest discretion and judgment in the singer for its execution. [...] these passages [...] yield a not unpleasing harmony at which I marvel'.¹⁶ This might refer to Vincenzo Galilei's treatise on counterpoint (Florence, 1589-91), in which he made an observation of rapidly moving or ornamental dissonance:

Whenever two or more parts move over one another gracefully according to the decorum of the art of counterpoint, whatever dissonance occurs among them not only will be tolerated by the sense, but it will take delight in it. All extremes, however, should be avoided with mature judgment [...].¹⁷

On the 'remarkable effect' as described by Luca, Artusi states that when the singers 'perceive' that their ornamentation is 'about to produce some bad effect', they are supposed to 'divert it elsewhere, taking it somewhere where it seems it will not offend the ear'.¹⁸ This statement encapsulates the spontaneous artistic judgment in extemporaneous performance, or the practice of improvised counterpoint which was first codified in Johannes Tinctoris' *Liber de arte contrapuncti* in 1477 (Chapter XX). In fact, Artusi refers to the rule for singing *contraponto a mente* (counterpoint in the mind), when he distinguishes harmonic

¹⁶ Artusi, *Ibid.*, 530-531.

¹⁷ Galilei, Vincenzo, *Discorso intorno all'uso delle dissonanze* (Florence, 1588-1590), fol. 143^r, ed. Frieder Rempp, in *Die Kontrapunkttraktate Vincenzo Galileis*, Cologne: Arno Volk, 1980, 152; quoted in Palisca, 'Vincenzo Galilei's Counterpoint Treatise: A Code for the *Seconda Practica*', *JAMS* 9 (1956), 81-96; reprint, *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, ed. Claude V. Palisca, Oxford University Press, 1994, 43.

¹⁸ Artusi, *Ibid.*, 532.

relations according to whether they sound with the tenor or bass.¹⁹ According to Tinctoris, in written counterpoint, all the parts should be equally obliged to harmonise, so that the rules of consonance should be observed between all parts, and not just between each single voice and the tenor as in *contraponto a mente*.²⁰ The process of *contraponto a mente* can produce a similar result in sound, if it can be as carefully thought out as written counterpoint. In this regard, this improvisatory tradition, though relaxing the rules, requires knowledge of counterpoint, experience, and aural judgment, aiming for the status of written counterpoint. After all, Artusi warns against the licenses in the treatment of dissonance, which rely on the senses, showing examples which do not even observe the less rigid rules of *contraponto a mente*, with ‘no harmonic relation, either with the bass or the tenor’.

Artusi’s view of the senses and reason reflects the ambivalent and transitional phase of the process of rationalisation prevalent around the time. While he prejudices the senses as intrinsically deficient and as subject to deception, his account of sensuous perception betrays his belief that the senses are not merely passive and vulnerable media, but can play some role in judging an object as reason does:

The sense of hearing does not perceive what it does not hear and, not perceiving it, cannot present it to the intellect, there being nothing in the

¹⁹ Artusi, *Ibid.*, 533; Palisca, ‘The Revision of Counterpoint’, 9.

²⁰ For improvised counterpoint, or *contraponto a mente*, see Margaret Bent, ‘*Resfacta* and *Cantare Super Librum*’, *JAMS* (1983), 371-391; Rob C. Wegman, ‘From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500’, *JAMS* (1996), 409-479. Jessie Ann Owens extends the idea of composing *a mente* to the unwritten compositional planning by composers such as Cipriano de Rore and Monteverdi (*Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition, 1450-1600*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 64-73).

intellect that has not first been perceived by the senses.²¹

His account of the partnership of the senses and reason is also illuminating in its analytic vocabulary:

after [the sense] has received [the sounds], and has delighted in it, it presents it to the intellect, which then proceeds to consider what proportions those sounds, those parts of that song, and those intervals may contain among themselves, [and] the invention, the subject, the order, and the form given to that material, [and] whether the style is correct – [these are] all things which belong to the intellect to discern, understand, and judge.²²

The aesthetic belief that reasoning began with the perception of the senses was growing among Italian thinkers during the last decades of the sixteenth century, in parallel with reconsideration of human understanding. Preceding the empiricist writings of Bacon and Hobbes, Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), a friend of Galileo Galilei, suggested four modes of philosophising: the first mode is with reason alone, the second with sense alone, the third with reason first and then sense, the fourth beginning with sense and ending with reason.²³ The first is the worst, because, from it, we know what we would like to be, rather than what we are. With its contact with the external world through sensory perception and individual experience, yet under the control of reason, the fourth is the best possible mode of philosophising.

²¹ Artusi, *Ibid.*, 530

²² Artusi, *L'Artusi, ovvero delle imperfettioni della moderna musica*, fol. 11r; trans. Tim Carter, 'Artusi, Monteverdi and the Poetics of Modern Music', *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honour of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning, New York: Pendragon Press, 1992, 188.

²³ Bouwsma, William J., *Venice and Republican Liberty*, 1053-1054; quoted in Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, 7.

Against the same intellectual background, Monteverdi makes his point that the modern manner of composition conforms to ‘the assents of reason and the senses’.²⁴ His conceptual basis for the new practice is not different from Artusi’s: it employs the consonances and dissonances approved by the traditional mathematical conception of music, and follows the imperative of words to arouse emotions as in rhetoric. Nevertheless, the concern with words and affections is the primary motivation behind Monteverdi’s standpoint. Interestingly, Monteverdi refers to Zarlino as well as Plato for support of his argument. Counting on the Platonic ideal, Monteverdi emphasises the perfection of *melodia*, that is, the synthesis of *harmonia* (tone or harmony), *rhythmos* (time or rhythm), and *logos* (meaning or word), as an aesthetic framework for the modern practice.²⁵ He also cites Zarlino: although harmony, in a certain way, ‘intrinsically prepares for and disposes to joy or sadness’, it alone will have ‘no power to produce any extrinsic effect’.²⁶ The *melodia* as the musical, textual and expressive content of a composition provided Monteverdi with the *raison d’être* of dissonance.²⁷ For the older generation, the perfection of sonorities involved the series of consonances, and only a limited range of dissonances were allowed as a necessary evil, which impeded the flow of consonance according to the contrapuntal rules. For Monteverdi, dissonance is a dynamic force which introduces a variety of rhetorical effects to heighten the meaning of words and to create a sense of unity. The uninterrupted flow of consonances as a source of continuity is now replaced by more sensitive responses to words and affections. His breach of rules was

²⁴ Monteverdi, Giulio Cesare, *Dichiaratione della lettera stampata nel quinto libro de’ suoi madregali* (Venice, 1607), *Explanation of the Letter Printed in the Fifth Book of Madrigals*, from *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Oliver Strunk; revised ed. Leo Treitler, New York: Norton, 1998, 541.

²⁵ Plato, *Republic*, 398d ; Monteverdi, Giulio Cesare, 538.

²⁶ Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part II, 84; quoted in Giulio Cesare Monteverdi, 541-542.

²⁷ Palisca, ‘The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy’, 154-155.

based on expressive and affective potential which he observed contemporary performing practice and his predecessors' compositions.²⁸ Monteverdi thus proposed that this renewed value system of modern composition, based on a different way of considering given materials, should be called the 'second practice', not a 'new theory'.²⁹ The attempt to theorise the rhetorical potential of dissonances was made by German theorists such as Joachim Burmeister and Christopher Bernhard, who classified many irregular uses of dissonances as figures.³⁰ On the dissonances that were still considered illegitimate, Bernhard commented that dissonant passages were modified forms of a consonant framework that the ear might recognise as such by supplying or substituting those missing consonant pitches.³¹ Despite the lack of such an authoritative and substantial poetics of music, there is no doubt that the Italian modernists also turned to rhetoric and oratorical ideas for their exploration of expressive devices.³²

Given that Artusi's criticism did not go further than a restricted analysis based on modality, Eric Chafe examines the tendencies towards tonality to be found in the progressions within the circle of fifths in the madrigals of Monteverdi and his predecessors such as Orlando di Lasso and Luca Marenzio.³³ Therefore, Monteverdi's dissonances receive their meaning not only from the context of the

²⁸ Monteverdi names Cipriano de Rore, Marc'Antonio Ingegneri, Marenzio, Giaches de Wert, Luzzasco Luzzaschi, Jacopo Peri, and Giulio Caccini as the predecessors of the *seconda prattica*. However, he does not mention any independent theoretical endorsement (Monteverdi, Giulio Cesare, 540).

²⁹ Monteverdi, Giulio Cesare, 540.

³⁰ See Joachim Burmeister, *Musical poetics* (Rostock, 1606), trans. Benito V. Rivera, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993; and Christopher Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier, Ausführlicher Bericht vom Gebrauche der Con- und Dissonantien*, and *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (c. 1660), trans. Walter Hilse, 'The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard', *The Music Forum* 3 (1973), 1-196.

³¹ Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, trans. Walter Hilse, 31, 34.

³² Carter, 'Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music', 192.

³³ Chafe, Eric T., *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, New York: Schirmer Books, 1992, 13.

individual phrase but also from their larger grouping by harmonic progressions. Artusi, ignoring such musical units that contain the cadential points, often broke them off and only presented fragmentary examples. The account based on tonality, however, might give the impression that dissonance is purely ornamental and confined to improvisatory practice. It is not clear how much Monteverdi relied on the concept of tonality in his treatment of dissonance, but he certainly felt a need for new devices to embody the expressive ideal of words and affections, such as monody and recitative. The emphasis on words appears in the contemporary writings by Girolamo Mei, Vincenzo Galilei, Jacopo Peri, and Giulio Caccini. Their references to the origin of the modern practice reveal one characteristic which underlies the disputes on artistic license: Plato and Aristotle were inexhaustible sources employed to support their aesthetics. The search for the expressive devices also reflects the way the modern composers interpreted the ancient Greek inheritance in order to trump the opposing camp which depended on the speculative music theory of the Platonic tradition. The earlier debate between Vincentino and Lusitano was also inaugurated by the proposals for a reinstatement of the compositional principles of ancient Greek music, especially of the Greek genera (diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic) and their appropriateness in contemporary polyphony.³⁴ Against Monteverdi's attempt of literal revival of *melodia* of the ancient Greek practice, Artusi claims that there is no conformity between the *melodia* as used in the time of Plato and the supposed 'melodia' in the modern practice.³⁵ Zarlino previously considered 'inappropriate' the so-called chromaticists' attempt to 'imitate ordinary speech in representing the words as orators do', because he 'never heard an orator use the strange, crude

³⁴ Cowart, Georgia, *The Origin of Modern Musical Criticism: French and Italian Music 1600-1750*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981, 29.

³⁵ Palisca, 'The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy', 155, footnote.

intervals used by these chromaticists.³⁶

In all, the controversy underwent many phases of miscommunication and discrepancy in terms of concept and terminology, mainly because it took place at a time when a new world-view and new value system were emerging and challenging the traditional notion of music. So all the symptoms of modern practice were not yet fully established on an intellectual foundation. The concepts and terms derived from ancient Greek literature to justify a new artistic urge could not offer a rational account of licenses in the modern practice, though the overall symptoms were strong enough to suggest a shift towards the affective demand of the arts. Artusi's sticking point is also that it is impossible and paradoxical to give a rational explanation of modern practice within the parameters of any music theory available to him.³⁷ His viewpoint simply applies the standard of traditional compositional procedure to modern composers who follow a double, if not a plural, standard, one for sacred compositions and the other for compositions responding to words with more dynamic and dramatic expression. In this respect, Monteverdi maintains that Artusi's view is 'clinging obstinately to the belief that the whole requirement of art cannot be found elsewhere other than in the rules of the *prima prattica*', which are considered eternally valid; the standards of Monteverdi himself are established on the ground that in 'all varieties of composition', the harmony is capable of 'obeying the words perfectly'.³⁸ Similarly, Girolamo Diruta (1603) and Adriano Banchieri (1609 and 1614), among his contemporaries, distinguish between two kinds of counterpoint, the old one according to Zarlino's rules and the freer, modern one, although both writers

³⁶ Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part III, 172, 290; *The Art of Counterpoint*, 288.

³⁷ Artusi, *Of the Imperfection of Modern Music*, 532.

³⁸ Monteverdi, Giulio Cesare, 543.

found no hard and fast rules accounting for the affections.³⁹ A considerable number of the ‘impossibilities and monstrosities’ that Artusi condemned had already been integrated into norms by the time when later theorists such as Scacchi and Bernhard attempted to codify the dissonances and classify a multiplicity of styles.

2.2. Siefert versus Scacchi

In comparison with the dispute between Monteverdi and Artusi, the dispute between Marco Scacchi and Paul Siefert does not involve the obvious division between the traditional and the modern. Scacchi, whose musical and theoretical works reflect a variety of humanist activities of the mid-seventeenth century, towers over his opponent in his rhetorical and critical vocabulary. While Siefert, a town composer in Danzig and pupil of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, adhered to sacred music and old polyphonic writing, Scacchi was widely renowned beyond his office of Warsaw *Kapellmeister* as an influential opera composer and theorist. Contemporary publications and manuscript collections regularly included Scacchi’s compositions, and Bernhard ranked him as one of the first-rate Italian musicians whose music he considered worth emulating.⁴⁰ More importantly, he was one of the earliest writers to attempt the codification and classification of styles, and Mattheson identified him as the inventor of the socio-functional division of styles, that is, the church-theatre-chamber triad.⁴¹ On the whole, Scacchi’s activities as a composer and humanist critic appear to signify the

³⁹ Palisca, ‘The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy’, 156.

⁴⁰ Webber, Geoffrey, *North German Church Music in the Age of Buxtehude*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1996, 43-45. See also the lists in the Profe anthology, the Düben collection, the Lüneburg inventory, and the Bokemeyer collection (Webber, 53, 56-57).

⁴¹ Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part I, Ch. 10, Par. 4; quoted in Palisca, ‘The Genesis of Mattheson’s Style Classification’, *New Mattheson Studies*, ed. George Buelow and Hans Joachim Marx, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 413.

influence of Italian music, both *prima* and *seconda prattica*, on the German-speaking lands.

Though Scacchi embraces the two practices proposed by Monteverdi's division, he regards the rules of *prima prattica* (which he cites from Zarlino and Artusi) as the foundation of his criticism.⁴² For him, any relaxations or extensions of the traditional framework depend on the type of composition, and each genre requires a distinct style, with specific standards of compositional technique. Consequently, he accuses Siefert of misreading contemporary Italian musical practices by mixing styles in the *Psalmen Davids* (Danzig, 1640).⁴³ In his *Cribrum musicum ad triticum Sieferticum* ('Musical sieve for Siefert's wheat', Venice, 1643), Scacchi discussed 151 errors that he found in Siefert's psalm settings, among them digressions from the mode, parallel fifths and octaves, incorrect fugal answers and misuse of the thoroughbass.⁴⁴ In response to this criticism, Siefert, in his *Anticribratio musica ad avenam Schachianam* (Musical unsifting of Scacchi's oats, Danzig, 1645) noted that he did not follow any Italian school, citing Orlando di Lasso, Hans Leo Hassler, and his own teacher Sweelinck, as precedents of Belgian, or north-of-the Alps, tradition. Though Siefert referred to Tinctoris' explanation of *fuga*, his arguments did not have valid grounds. For example, by the mid seventeenth century, real answer and exact imitation were no longer

⁴² Boyd, George Reynolds, *The Scacchi/Siefert Controversy with Translations of Marco Scacchi, Cribrum musicum, and Paul Siefert, Anticribratio musica*, PhD Diss., Indiana University, 1996, 13.

⁴³ This attack was preceded by a longstanding quarrel between Siefert and Kaspar Förster, over the appointment of the Kapellmeister of the Marienkirche in Danzig. See Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 140-141.

⁴⁴ Palisca, Claude V., 'Marco Scacchi's Defense of Modern Music', *Words and Music: The Scholar's View, A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt By Sundry Hands*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 189-235; reprint, *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, ed. Claude V. Palisca, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 90.

authoritative, and tonal answers had already been in use in Renaissance fugues; exceeding the ambitus had simply been forbidden in contrapuntal writing.⁴⁵ Rather than responding directly to Siefert's ineffective defence, Scacchi collected letters from eminent composers who supported him, and had them printed in a volume entitled *Judicium cribri musici* around 1649.

Among these writers, Heinrich Schütz, though reluctant to side with either party in this dispute, admitted that Scacchi's knowledge of counterpoint conformed to what he had learned from his own teacher, Giovanni Gabrieli.⁴⁶ He counselled musicians to find the right road to counterpoint by studying the excellent works of Italian and other composers in both the old style and new concertato style. Previously, Schütz had made significant observations regarding the state of German music. In the introduction to the second part of his *Symphoniae sacrae* (1647), he noted that at that time, Italian music written in the *seconda prattica* was much less familiar to Germans than the music of the *prima prattica*, partly due to the deprivations of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648).⁴⁷ In the preface to his *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648), he expressed his expectation that Scacchi would complete an extended treatise on counterpoint, as the latter had promised in the *Cribrum*⁴⁸:

⁴⁵ Quoted in Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 150-151.

⁴⁶ Schütz, Heinrich, Preface to *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648); quoted in Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 151, and Boyd, 107.

⁴⁷ Webber, 51. As an advocate of the new Italian practice, especially the operatic style, Schütz was engaged as the director of music for the first recorded use of the monodic style in Denmark in 1634. Scacchi was one of the two composers – with Angelo Brunerio – whose collaborative operatic production was recorded as the first performance in a northern German town, Danzig, in 1646 (Webber, 55).

⁴⁸ Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 141. In his *Cribrum*, Scacchi announced that he would write about 'observations pertaining to counterpoint in a separate, special treatise' (Scacchi, *Cribrum musicum ad triticum Sieferticum*, 123; quoted in Aleksandra Patalas, 'Marco Scacchi's Characterisation of the Modes in His *Missa Omnium Tonorum*', *Musica Iagellonica* (1997), 110).

I [Schütz] still entertain the hope, indeed I have already reports, that a musician well known to me, highly accomplished in both theory and practice, will soon bring to light an entire treatise. This could be very salutary and profitable, especially for us Germans.⁴⁹

Although the task was eventually fulfilled by Bernhard, it is obvious that Schütz expected Scacchi to meet the double task of codification of the *prima prattica* and rationalisation of the *seconda prattica* for German musicians, given his practical and theoretical expertise.

Scacchi observes the increasing freedom in the treatment of dissonances and smaller note values in the compositions of the *seconda prattica*. Yet this freedom could be exercised only with a clear awareness of the underlying rules of the *prima prattica*. The barometer of the modern practice which he attempts to illustrate in his later treatise *Breve discorso sopra la musica moderna* (1649) is also based on the contrapuntal rules presented in the *Cribrum*. Given that dissonance may be used freely as long as it is controlled and stylistically appropriate, he notes that:

whenever they [dissonances] progress together from one interval to another with uncontrolled freedom, following Siefert's practice, the composer shows himself to be little skilled in the art of counterpoint. It is necessary to know what license or leeway for freedom the composer has or ought to have in his song.⁵⁰

Consequently, the errors that he enumerated in Siefert's compositions mostly

⁴⁹ Trans. Hilse, Preface to 'The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard', 4.

⁵⁰ Scacchi, *Cribrum*, trans. Boyd, 133.

consisted of poor contrapuntal writing and the inability to distinguish between styles. This stance basically resulted from Scacchi's own expertise and experience as a composer. Among his extant works, the collection *Missarum Quattuor Vocibus Liber Primus* (1633) and the *Missa Omnium Tonorum* (1648), though displaying the modern concerto style and the tendency towards modern tonality, are basically compositions in the *stile antico*, the latter even alluding to the sixteenth-century tradition of composing cycles in a structure ordered in the sequence of church modes.⁵¹

Although not producing a treatise on counterpoint as he had intended, Scacchi made public his manuscript letter to Christoph Werner (c. 1648) and the *Breve discorso* (1649). In the letter written to Werner, who might initially have invited Scacchi to probe several works in terms of style, Scacchi distinguished between three main categories according to their general purposes: church, chamber, and theatre. Scacchi's categorisation is based on his awareness of three major styles of modern music, as well as on Monteverdi's two practices.⁵² Interestingly, Scacchi's subdivisions of the church style include the 'recitativo imbastardito' (hybrid or mixed recitative) in which the recitative is interrupted by melodious passages or sacred songs in the aria style. In the *Breve discorso*, he also writes that this type of recitative is sung in compositions for church.⁵³ By contrast, the

⁵¹ Patalas, 104,109.

⁵² In the preface to the *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi* (Venice, 1638), Monteverdi noted that 'the music of grand princes is used in their royal chambers in three manners to please their delicate tastes, namely [music for] the theatre, for the chamber and for the dance'; quoted in Palisca, 'The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy', 156-157. For the details and origins of Monteverdi's classification of the three styles, see Barbara Russano Hanning, 'Monteverdi's Three Genera: A Study in Terminology', *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning, New York: Pendragon Press, 1992, 147.

⁵³ Scacchi, Marco, *Breve discorso sopra la musica moderna* (Warsaw, 1649), trans. Tim Carter, *Polemics on the 'Musica Moderna'*, Kraków, 1993, 53. See also Palisca's table of Scacchi's classification of styles based on the letter to Werner and the *Breve discorso* (Palisca, 'Marco Scacchi's Defense of Modern Music', 91).

theatrical style has more to do with speech than melody, and the ‘true’ recitative for theatre is called ‘semplice recitativo’(simple recitative) and accompanied by action. Here and elsewhere, Scacchi’s treatment of recitative is musically somewhat unspecified. Throughout the *Cribrum*, the control of dissonance is emphasised and the recitative style is restricted to an experienced solo singer who can handle difficult dissonant intervals.⁵⁴ In contrast to Monteverdi, who regards dissonance as exclusively justified by text, Scacchi’s account of the agreement between harmony and text only implies the general affective nature of text which is necessary for the overall musical effect. Therefore, aside from the function of recitative, Scacchi’s account does not reveal much of the musical characteristics of contemporary recitative. Other writers observed that recitative by this time became less rigorous and more tuneful than that of Monteverdi’s early works and of the early Florentines who were searching for the literal imitation of speech. Allowing for the different types of theatrical music, Giovanni Battista Doni (1640) subdivided recitative into ‘narrativo’, ‘recitativo speciale’, and ‘espressivo’.⁵⁵ For Doni, narrative recitative, the closest to speech among these, was musically limited and rather outmoded in comparison with ‘recitativo espressivo’ and aria, which produced more musical interest and direct appeal to the senses.

Scacchi’s *Breve discorso* is a plea for the acceptance of a multiplicity of styles and for the better understanding of the *seconda prattica*. His starting point is that, while admitting the excellence of Palestrina’s counterpoint, he opposes the notion

⁵⁴ Boyd, 18-19.

⁵⁵ Doni, Giovanni Battista, *Discorso sesto sopra il recitare in scena*, published in his *Annotazioni sopra il Compendio de’ generi e de’ modi della musica* (Rome, 1640); quoted in Tim Carter, ‘Resemblance and Representation: Towards a New Aesthetic in the Music of Monteverdi’, Paper at the Conference on Seventeenth-Century Music, St. Louis, Mo.: Washington University, 120-121.

that composition should be reduced to a single ‘norm’.⁵⁶ From his rationalist perspective, the enrichment of music is a product of the human intellect which, endowed by God, is limitless in its inventing and refining of things. Throughout the *Breve discorso*, Scacchi appears comprehensive and progressive, if not modern, in his defence of modern music which implies the natural outcome of a continuing historical progress. Just as ‘every other liberal art is allowed to advance itself by discovering new inventions and styles’, a change in musical style is inevitable, and yet this change is an extension, not an abrogation, of the existing rules in order to seek new ways of expression.⁵⁷ In this sense, Scacchi’s historical view contrasts with that of Zarlino and Artusi – at least the latter’s argument of 1600 against the modern practice – who considered musical art as already having attained a state of perfection, based on unshakeable mathematical truth.⁵⁸ Scacchi’s concept of perfection is founded on the assets of the two practices which he considers to have become equally valid by the mid-century, and he even anticipates any future development. While stressing that ‘one cannot well practise the modern music without some understanding of the true old rules’, Scacchi claims that the modern practice has also been established as a norm in which harmonic art and invention are enriched, and both reason and the senses delight.⁵⁹ In examining the nature of the enrichment of the modern practice, however, Scacchi does not go much further than paraphrasing Monteverdi’s ideas such as ‘two practices’, the relationships between ‘harmony’ and ‘oration’, the ‘perfection of *melodia*’, and the ‘satisfaction of reason and the senses’.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Scacchi, *Breve discorso*, trans. Carter, 33-37.

⁵⁷ Scacchi, *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵⁸ Palisca, ‘Marco Scacchi’s Defense of Modern Music’, 90.

⁵⁹ Scacchi, *Ibid.*, 63-66.

⁶⁰ Scacchi, *Ibid.*, 59.

The dispute took place at a time when Italian music in the German-speaking area became highly regarded as primarily ‘noble’ music, through the abundant circulation of publications and manuscripts of Italian music.⁶¹ Perhaps, Scacchi, as an Italian composer who played an active role abroad, might have felt responsible for Italian practices, regardless of his artistic preference, when Schütz pointed out that the modern practice of Italian music was not yet well-known in all German-speaking areas. Regardless of Scacchi’s actual intention, his criticism at least stirred the conflict between Italian and Belgian schools by adhering to stylistic purity according to the Italian standards, and failed to explain non-Italian genres. For example, Siefert’s compositional technique highlights the chorale concerto genre which often emphasises vertical or chordal sonorities at the expense of the smooth progression of individual voices. This suggests that the dispute also involves fundamental differences in the way of compositional thinking, that is, the tendencies towards triadic sonorities or towards traditional counterpoint.⁶² The division between the vertical and the horizontal could not be elucidated in the context of the Italian practices, but alluded to the multiplicity of contemporary styles. Around the mid-century, many authors came to recognise differences between national styles and attempted to give a comparative account of Italian music. The German composer Tobias Enicelius (1667) writes that the Germans particularly love ‘the multi-voiced, serious style’, while the chief characteristic of the Italians is their desire to move the listener’s ‘soul and

⁶¹ For example, Heinrich Albert, the Königsberg composer, wrote in 1645 that Italy was ‘the mother of noble music’ and Kircher claimed in 1650 that the Italians held ‘the principal place in music’ (Webber, 44, 56).

⁶² Boyd, 33-36, 115-117.

affection'.⁶³ He goes on to state that although many of the 'finest' German composers are familiar with the Italian style, its idiom is not necessarily instantly or easily accepted by many 'ordinary' Germans. This viewpoint contrasts with Schütz's diagnosis of the state of German music in 1648 and implies that German music was gaining some individuality.

Scacchi contributed to the codification of both the traditional contrapuntal rules and modern practice, actively responding to a need of his time. He attempted to characterise both old and new practices, noting that the dispute between Artusi and Monteverdi was derived from their different requirements and viewpoints.⁶⁴ His fundamental belief was that the modern practice had its origin in the traditional rules, and thus the two practices were not to come into conflict but to coexist on the shared basis of natural order. Nevertheless, his overall compositional stance shows a tendency towards the given rules and models, rather than expounding freedom or deviation from the rules: he criticises Romano Micheli's canon, because it shows neither 'artifice' nor 'beauty', but 'disorder' in the treatment of the mode, which is a breach of stylistic purity, similar to Siefert's case.⁶⁵ Later German theorists tended to be more comprehensive in analysing and categorising the musical examples available to them. For example, Bernhard's list of figures includes *heterolepsis*, a common technique in the recitative style, where the voice leaps to a note that is dissonant with the bass, a breach of rules of counterpoint, which Scacchi once forbade.⁶⁶ On the other hand, by presenting examples of ornamented passages and their bare reduction together, Bernhard

⁶³ Eniccelius, Tobias, Preface to *Melismata epistolica* (Kiel, 1667); quoted in Webber, 47.

⁶⁴ Scacchi, *Breve discorso*, trans. Carter, 61.

⁶⁵ Scacchi, *Ibid.*, 65.

⁶⁶ Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, trans. Hilse, 96, 118; Boyd, 18.

presupposes that ornamentations are ‘artificial’ and that the unornamented versions better represent the ‘naturalness’ or simplicity of the *prima prattica*.⁶⁷ Naturalness is also the core issue in the dispute between Bokemeyer and Mattheson, and involves two opposing value systems, depending on whether strict counterpoint conforms to nature or represents excessive artificiality.

2.3. Bokemeyer versus Mattheson

The dispute between Bokemeyer and Mattheson started from the concern with the importance of canon: while Bokemeyer, a most loyal devotee of Zarlino, praised canon as the basis of all compositional techniques, Mattheson attacked the artificialities and intricacies of canon which he deemed irrelevant to the aim of contemporary music to move the listener. This dispute took place between 1723 and 1724 in Germany, but the issues concerned were already prominent by the end of the seventeenth century. Set in the same vein as the previous disputes concerning the two Italian practices, the dispute illustrates two opposing aesthetic currents: the consolidation of contrapuntal rules and the endorsement of rhetorical and expressive ends. What is interesting about Mattheson’s argument is that he locates his opponent’s stance in another dichotomy, between the occult and the modern sciences which coexisted throughout the seventeenth century. In other words, the dichotomy between the *prima prattica* in accordance with reason and the *seconda prattica* with the senses is superseded by modern rationalist thought which, geared to the developments of modern experimental science, tended to suspect abstract speculation concerning the cosmic order as belonging to the occult. According to Brian Vickers, a critical ‘rationalistic’ mentality had begun to uncover the mutual incompatibility of the occult and the modern sciences since

⁶⁷ Hilse, Preface to ‘The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard’, 5.

the 1580s, and the ‘anti-occult movement’ emerged to attack the vagueness of occult language.⁶⁸ On the difference in discourse between the two traditions, in their way of relating objects to signs and symbols, Vickers notes:

In the scientific tradition metaphor and analogy are given a subordinate role, whether heuristic or explanatory, in a discourse that is primarily non-metaphoric and that draws a clear distinction between the literal and metaphorical. In the occult tradition this distinction breaks down: metaphors are taken as realities, words are equated with things, abstract ideas are given concrete attributes.⁶⁹

Vickers comments that in occult discourse, nature is significant not in itself but as a system of signs pointing to another system of mental categories, as natural objects are given various attributes, spiritual or moral. Its methods of signifying symbols might well illuminate the systems of meaning, the significance that was attributed to objects in the natural world. However, one might read Vickers’ distinction as the two opposing traditions which are to be treated as different semantic categories, as if ‘the occult’ corresponds to the irrational as opposed to ‘the scientific’ as the rational. In reality, the move to modern science reveals the transitory nature of scientific discourses, often resulting in inconsistencies in taxonomies. Categories and ideas derived from the Renaissance occult tradition such as magic, alchemy, and astrology still played an important role in seventeenth-century literature; various subjects of the occult continued to attract intellectuals or to invite criticism at the academic level. Just as alchemy was still

⁶⁸ Vickers, Brian, ed., ‘Analogy versus Identity: The Rejection of Occult Symbolism, 1580-1680’, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 8-9, 109-111.

⁶⁹ Vickers, 9.

widespread as an essential discipline among many leading scientists and thinkers such as Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, side-by-side with Cartesian mechanical philosophy, speculative music theory and the place of music among the mathematical disciplines of the *quadrivium* still served natural philosophers as a departure point for the development of scientific methods.⁷⁰

Therefore, the dispute between Bokemeyer and Mattheson reveals the conflicts between the old and modern practices on the one hand, and between the occult and scientific traditions on the other. In this respect, the ‘rationalism’ to which Mattheson resorts draws attention: it reveals the transition of thought in which strict counterpoint as belonging to the occult came to face the aesthetic denunciation. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, its artificiality and intricacy were often considered as opposed to naturalness and simplicity. Within the keyboard repertoire, this tendency was captured by Fabritio Fontana: in his *Ricercari* (Rome, 1677), he deliberately used the term ‘stile antico’ to underscore the importance of the old style.⁷¹ Although the exemplary devices of learned counterpoint were still widely considered worth learning, their aesthetic value was downgraded as part of an obsolete tradition or as an aspect of private entertainment. Canon, since being criticised by Scacchi, gradually lost its prestige, and was often subjected to polemical criticism. Johann Beer, in his *Musicalische*

⁷⁰ Gouk, Penelope, ‘Music and the Sciences’, 132; Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint*, 50, 82; Palisca, ‘Scientific Empiricism in Musical Thought’, 205. For a source reading of the occult and modern science, see *The Occult in Early Modern Europe*, ed. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, London: Macmillan Press Ltd. 1999; Larry Stewart, *The Rise of Public Science: Rhetoric, Technology, and Natural Philosophy in Newtonian Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

⁷¹ Judd, Robert, *The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard: A Study of Printed Sources of Keyboard Music in Spain and Italy c. 1500-1700, Selected Manuscript Sources Including Music Writings by Claudio Merulo and Contemporary Writings Concerning Notation*, PhD Dissertation, Oxford University, 1988, 124.

Diskurse written in the 1690s, states that pieces written in canon and double counterpoint ‘seldom sound good, although they are not dissonant’.⁷² Regardless of a certain skilfulness in the treatment of dissonance according to the rules of counterpoint, these works were often considered displeasing in sound. While Beer’s statement is not entirely antipathetic to counterpoint, as long as canon is properly used to please the ear, his reliance on the sensory perception signifies a stark departure from Artusi’s argument that dissonance should be controlled, even though it does not offend the ear.

The first critical attack on traditional compositional techniques appeared in Mattheson’s *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* in 1713; in this work the author denounces strict rules of counterpoint as outdated. In search of the ‘goût’ of a ‘galant homme’, or the good taste by which a cultured person understands musical science, Mattheson proposes to bring scientific analysis and discourse into musical judgment, following the tendency of contemporary publications on other topics such as architecture and art.⁷³ From among contrapuntal devices, he distinguishes between imitation, fugue, and canon according to the degree of restriction. While describing imitation and fugue as freer types of counterpoint in terms of the treatment of mode and theme, he starkly dismisses canon. The example that he chose to demonstrate its useless pedantry is a ninety-six-voice canon by Pier Francesco Valentini, published in 1631, which Kircher also cited for the *stylus canonicus* in his *Musurgia*, together with a canon by Micheli and

⁷² Completed in the 1690s but published in 1719 in Nuremberg; quoted in Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint*, 53.

⁷³ Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, Hamburg, 1713, titlepage, trans. Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 295.

another canon by Valentini.⁷⁴ Mattheson continues his argument against canon in his *Das beschützte Orchestre* in 1717 with the scornful statement that it is only for private entertainment or pastime, and ‘very artful but of little use’.⁷⁵ In addition, a similar denunciation of canon by Friedrich Erhard Niedt, in his posthumous work *Die musicalische Handleitung*, which Mattheson edited and published in 1717, resulted in the protest of conservative Bokemeyer.⁷⁶ Between 1723 and 1724, Mattheson printed Bokemeyer’s letters and his own responses in a series of articles entitled ‘Die canonische Anatomie’ in his periodical *Critica musica*. While Bokemeyer, emphasising canon as the most useful compositional device, criticises modern – mostly Italian – composers’ search of ‘speed, strange sound, and unfettered ideas’, Mattheson rejects the ‘harmonic artificialities’ and ‘pedantic subtleties’ of canon in favour of ‘natural’ melody and ‘free, expressive’ modulations.⁷⁷ Bokemeyer’s excessive enthusiasm for canon was at odds even with his contemporary contrapuntists who agreed upon the pedagogic importance of the strict rules. Johann Joseph Fux, who did not yield to Mattheson’s request for support, undertook to codify the techniques of fugue developed by the time in his *Gradus ad Parnassum*, published in 1725, rather than emphasising strict rules.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, 138-142; Kircher, 583-584.

⁷⁵ Mattheson, *Das beschützte Orchestre*, Hamburg, 1717, 139, trans. Yearsley, *Ibid.*, 53.

⁷⁶ Niedt, Friedrich Erhard, *Die Musicalische Handleitung dritter und letzter Theil* (Hamburg, 1717). A phrase of the preface to Part III reads, ‘many an honest bore has spent many an hour of his life trying to excel at canons [...] out of childish ignorance’ (Yearsley, *Ibid.*, 54).

⁷⁷ Mattheson, ‘Die canonische Anatomie’, *Critica musica* (Hamburg, 1722-1725); quoted in Yearsley, *Ibid.*, 54; Walker, *Ibid.*, 305. Mattheson’s argument was supported by other leading musicians such as Georg Philipp Telemann, Johann David Heinichen, and Reinhard Keiser. For instance, Heinichen, on the devices of counterpoint in his *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden, 1728), deplors the ‘abuse of excessive counterpoint’ and even calls inexplicable puzzles of canon ‘paper witcheries’ (Yearsley, *Ibid.*, 55).

⁷⁸ Walker, *Ibid.*, 300, 316.

Behind the dispute, there are complex philosophical and aesthetic causes which were cultivated over the seventeenth century. Although scientific investigation led to great achievements, it was often mixed with magical philosophy, as systematic experiment and solid evidence did not yet constitute the entire basis for establishing scientific truth. Scientists often could not give purely empirical answers to the core questions of physics or acoustics, such as the nature of vibrations and the auditory system. For instance, when Bacon attempted to uncover the cause of sympathetic strings by experiment, contemporary natural philosophers considered this vibration as an occult action at a distance, because its causes were not susceptible to physical explanation.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Bacon's influence on later seventeenth-century scientific writings is obvious, especially those by Mersenne and Kircher. Relying on mathematics in uncovering the rules governing musical harmony, Mersenne developed Descartes' unified system in which all phenomena, ranging from the motion of planets to human passions, might be explained mechanistically in terms of moving particles of matter. On this premise, Mersenne rejected natural magic and attacked Robert Fludd's occult conception of universal harmony. By contrast, Kircher's most significant achievement was in assembling knowledge which had already been known, rather than seeking to create new knowledge. His compilation of intellectual inheritance in the *Musurgia* embraces the ethical and therapeutic properties of music, the hidden mechanisms of its powerful effects on body, mind, and soul, as illustrated in Marsilio Ficino's Neo-Platonic thought (*De triplici vita*, Florence, 1489). During the second half of the seventeenth century, however, scientific developments such as new discoveries of vibrations and calculating systems for absolute frequency witness the gradual transfer to the domain of natural

⁷⁹ Gouk, 'Music and the Sciences', 143-149.

philosophy in which many subjects of musical phenomena apparently lost their associations with occult knowledge.

The context in which musical science expanded considerably and at the same time speculative music theory still survived involves other factors: first, during the second half of the seventeenth century, there was a remarkable transformation in social attitudes towards musicians and music-making, as professional musicians came to be associated with university education and were aware of contemporary intellectual currents in other areas of knowledge. For instance, quantitative richness is central to Leibniz's conception of perfection: in his *Monadology* (1714), he notes that '[the differing] perspectives of a single universe in accordance with the different point of view of each monad [...] are the means of obtaining as much variety as possible, but with the greatest order possible; that is to say, it is the means of obtaining as much perfection as possible'.⁸⁰ Apart from the judgment of the resulting sound, this notion might support the diligence and ingenuity required to command strict contrapuntal rules, in opposition to Mattheson's camp which derided such industry as wasting time and producing only tedious sounds. The premise that the ability to manipulate raw materials was an earthly agency of God's intellect underlies the analogy between counterpoint and alchemy in Bokemeyer's argument: both arts require similar a process of researching the property of raw materials and transforming them in as many permutations as possible.⁸¹ Secondly, Greek music theory began to be circulated in a published form, for example, Marcus Meibom's Latin translation of seven

⁸⁰ Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm von, *Monadology*, Pars. 57-58; quoted in John Butt, 'A Mind Unconscious that It is Calculating?', *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1995, 64.

⁸¹ Yearsley, *Ibid.*, 73.

Greek treatises, *Antiquae musicae auctores septem*, in 1652.⁸² Provided with a wealth of ancient material, the Neo-Platonists such as Bokemeyer, Andreas Werckmeister, and Johann Heinrich Buttstett adhered to the speculative tradition, regarding counterpoint as analogous to the movement of the spheres and cosmological order. In this scheme, the arts are expected not only to imitate nature but also to be a helper of nature in achieving the state of perfection. A critical arbiter for this process was ‘reason’ searching for the laws of nature, an essential faculty also for the alchemist.⁸³

One important concept of the speculative tradition which formed Bokemeyer’s argument is that nature itself signifies the state of perfection and immutable mathematical rules, as suggested by Zarlino and his followers. For Bokemeyer, these rules are ‘complete in themselves’ and thus neither to be ‘altered’ nor ‘improved through practice’; if the artist wishes to ‘imitate nature’, he must follow its rules.⁸⁴ Bokemeyer’s attitude towards music belongs to the humanist rationalism of the supporters of contrapuntal ingenuity, who believed that the more difficult the compositional techniques that were involved, the better the resulting work of art would be. Canon was thus considered superior to fugue and imitation because of its higher degree of intricacy. By contrast, Mattheson rejects the concept of immutable rules fixed in nature and maintains his focus on ‘naturalness’ and ‘simplicity’, as exemplified by effective melodies which have a

⁸² Mathiesen, ‘Greek Music Theory’, 110-111. Meibom’s collection contains the treatises of Aristoxenus, Cleonides (attributed to Euclid), Nicomachus, Alypius, Gaudentius, Bacchius, and Aristides Quintilianus.

⁸³ Yearsley, *Ibid.*, 70-71. In his *Atalanta fugiens*, published in 1618 (a German edition published in 1678), Michael Maier’s motto for a plate portraying an alchemist reads: ‘Nature be your guide; whom you must follow from afar/ Willingly, otherwise you err, where she does not lead you/ Reason be your staff.’

⁸⁴ Mattheson, ‘Die canonische Anatomie’, 301, trans. Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 306.

spontaneous appeal to the senses.⁸⁵

After Bokemeyer conceded his futile argument of overestimating canon, the dispute moved on to another issue, that of melody, which Mattheson considered to be the foundation of music. Now Bokemeyer, following Mattheson's emphasis on melody and naturalness, introduced the new categories of *canon naturalis* and *canon artificialis* and attempted to combine the most complex contrapuntal procedure with the most pleasing natural melody.⁸⁶ While this attempt still assumed the idea of the potential permutations of canon, it reveals the contemporary aesthetic value of the listener's sensuous perception. In all, communications between different viewpoints must have significantly influenced Mattheson's later writings on melody and style criticism, the *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft* in 1737 and *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* in 1739 in particular.

Mattheson's earliest example of style criticism, following Scacchi's threefold division, appeared in his *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*. It was Buttstett who introduced Mattheson to Kircher's ninefold system of *stylus expressus* in which the *stylus canonicus* was presented as the supreme way of displaying ingenuity.⁸⁷ Buttstett's starting point was not so different from Scacchi's concerning contemporary modern practices, but more restricted in their usage: Buttstett admitted the difference between the styles of church, chamber, and theatre, but objected to the modern tendency to mix them up, especially the use of recitative style in church music which Mattheson had attempted to justify. In his *Das*

⁸⁵ Mattheson, 'Die canonische Anatomie', 245, 302, trans. Walker, *Ibid.*, 307.

⁸⁶ Mattheson, *Ibid.*, 301, trans. Walker, *Ibid.*, 309.

⁸⁷ Buttstett, Heinrich, *Ut, mi, sol, re, fa, la, tota musica et harmonia aeterna* (Leipzig, c. 1717); quoted in Palisca, 'The Genesis of Mattheson's Style Classification', 412-413.

beschützte Orchestre, Mattheson also employed Sébastien de Brossard's definition of 'style' (*stilo*) in the *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1703), suggesting that style or manner of composition was to be used selectively according to nations, periods, functions, and expressive ends.⁸⁸ In synthesising the materials of earlier authors such as Monteverdi, Kircher, Scacchi and Brossard, Mattheson combined church, chamber, and theatre styles with the three rhetorical levels.⁸⁹ This combination elevated the concept of natural expression according to human passions over style itself. For example, majesty can be expressed in noble dances as well as in church music. This is the foundation of Mattheson's idea of the *stylus phantasticus* which highlights drama and free communication over rules and ordered discourses.

All three disputes give us an idea of the way contemporary intellectuals viewed nature and art. Investigating the symptoms of modernity in Galilei's music theory, Daniel Chua argues that 'the nature of nature' in speculative music theory was in fact 'supernatural' and 'embedded within a supernature, an enchanted cosmos of divine, immutable essences'.⁹⁰ Regardless of the distinction of the conservative and liberal, the opposing camps show an equally sensitive response to unorthodox phenomena and provide the means of explaining something which would otherwise have been classified as irrational and expelled from rational classification. The concept of irrationality is time-bound, relative and variable, as the product of rationalisation, because the barometer of rationality varies from individual to individual. For Pythagoreans, intervals that cannot be expressed in numerical relationships, or simple ratios, are irrational, even though they may be

⁸⁸ Mattheson, *Das beschützte Orchestre*, 114.

⁸⁹ Palisca, 'The Genesis of Mattheson's Style Classification', 411-413. Bokemeyer was the first to apply the three rhetorical levels - high, middle and low - to music.

⁹⁰ Chua, 'Vincenzo Galilei, Modernity and the Division of Nature', 18.

employed in practice. For Aristoxenians, intervals that cannot be identified either as the tone, semitone, or quarter-tone, are irrational.⁹¹ An idea or phenomenon is regarded as irrational when it is inexplicable by nature as the yardstick of knowledge. Given that freedom in any given period can scarcely be conceived away from the understanding of contemporary norms and differing views on reason and the senses, and on nature and art, I will next consider how fantasy or artistic license evolved in relation to the principles of imitation (*mimesis*).

⁹¹ Mathiesen, 'Greek Music Theory', 123.

Chapter 3.

Fantasy in a culture of imitation

While the different viewpoints found in the seventeenth-century disputes on reason versus the senses involved different concepts of norm and freedom, one common ground was that nature was the starting point of artistic representation and provided the arts with sources to imitate. Following the philosophical principles of mimesis, Renaissance artists assumed that a work of art was an imitation of nature and human actions, though different viewpoints of imitation determined the necessary degree of transformation and artifice, as suggested in the division between literal and idealistic imitation. From the Renaissance, with the revival of ancient Greek and Roman literature, imitation continued to be such a significant concept of compositional thought that composers applied the term in various ways. For instance, imitating exemplary musical models for the purpose of pedagogy was part of a solid tradition within rhetorical discipline; and towards 1600, composers increasingly aspired to emulate literary rhetoric as the art of persuasion and to represent human passions. Given that the centrality of imitation persisted throughout the seventeenth century, polemics on musical practices reflect the conflict between different viewpoints on imitation – whether to imitate mathematical order with harmony or to imitate the meaning of text or human passions. In considering imitation as a key concept of seventeenth-century musical production, I raise several questions: from what do the diverse concepts of imitation originate?; how does imitation relate to fantasy?; how does it relate to the artist's individuality and representational modes?

With regard to terminology, it should be noted that in the musical vocabulary of

our time, apart from specific compositional techniques, imitation tends to borrow its related terms and meanings from literary criticism.¹ Therefore, in order to avoid confusion that might result from the extensive use of the term, it might be useful to categorise its most common definitions and date ranges according to encyclopaedic classification²:

1. Imitation as the reflection of nature and human actions, for example, the association of the human soul or a human creative product with the celestial order. The Greek term ‘mimesis’, since conceptualised by Plato and Aristotle, has been a keyword in the arts and aesthetic discussion.³

2. Imitation as the type of relation between text and its model, and as a pedagogical method of learning the rules and styles of venerable models. The Latin term ‘imitatio’ was given a new significance with the revival of the treatises on rhetoric by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian during the Renaissance.⁴ The history of the application of the principles of rhetorical imitation to music dates back to the fourteenth century.⁵

¹ Wegman, Rob C., ‘Another “Imitation” on Busnoys’s *Missa L’Homme armé* – And Some Observation on ‘imitatio’ in Renaissance Music’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 114 (1989), 196-197; Bowers, Roger, ‘Obligation, Agency, and Laissez-Faire: The Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Iain Fenlon, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 1.

² According to the article on imitation in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, three major concepts of imitation that the Renaissance inherited from antiquity are (1) the Platonic: a copying of reality as perceived by the senses, (2) the Aristotelian: a representation of the universal patterns of human behaviour, and (3) canonised literary models (Brown, Howard Mayer, ‘Emulation, Competition and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance’, *JAMS* (1982), 38-39). In the chapter on imitation, Mattheson mentions three things to imitate in music, (1) nature and affections, (2) a master’s music, and (3) musical passages, in which affections belong to nature (Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part III, Ch. 15, Par. 4, trans. Harriss, 637).

³ See Plato, *Republic*, Book 10; Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1447a-1449b. For an overview of the definitions of mimesis in literature, see Arne Melberg, *Theories of Mimesis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 10-50.

⁴ Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica*; Cicero, *De inventione* and *De oratore*; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*. See Warren Kirkendale, ‘Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach’, *JAMS* (1979), 1-43.

⁵ Brown, 44-45.

3. Imitation as a compositional technique used as a means of elaboration and of imitative counterpoint such as a canon and a fugue. The technique of imitation, or ‘points of imitation’, increasingly became an important contrapuntal device in the sixteenth century, and canonic writing in keyboard genres such as fuga, ricercar, and canzona dominated from the 1530s.⁶

4. Imitation as resemblance and representation of an affection, mood, gesture, or event. Though it was derived from the first definition (imitation of nature), a special emphasis on imitation of the affections emerged towards 1600, supplying the principle underlying the *seconda prattica*.⁷

Concerning imitation and fantasy, I maintain my focus on their role as artistic impulses which manifest particular responses to reality: both are based on the perception of a standard model or a norm, and cannot be conceived as separate strains. As compositional strategies, both presuppose a composer’s skill in conventional compositional procedures and offer an insight into artistic license. In a broad sense, fantasy is a mode of imitation as artistic representation of nature and inner ideas. In the narrower sense, one explicit difference between them is that, while imitation focuses on ‘resemblances’ to an original or a model, fantasy works on ‘deviations’ from what is usually accepted as real and normal. Yet they are by no means incompatible or exclusive to each other, and there are many

⁶ Judd, Robert, ‘Italy’, *Keyboard Music before 1700*, ed. Alexander Silbiger, New York: Routledge, 2004, 252-253; Kirkendale, ‘Ciceronians versus Aristotelians’, 30. The musical literature on theory of imitation is vast. Authors include Pietro Aaron (*De institutione harmonica*, 1516, and *Lucidario*, 1545), Zarlino (*Le istituzioni harmoniche*, 1558, Part III), Artusi (*L’arte del contraponto*, 1586/1589), Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum*, vol. III, 1619), and Mattheson (*Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 1739, Part III, Ch. 15).

⁷ On mimesis in musical terms by late sixteenth-century Italian writers, see Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, 396-407. On Monteverdi’s interest in mimetic elements, see Carter, ‘Resemblance and Representation’, ‘*Con che soavità*’: *Studies in Italian Opera, Song and Dance, 1580-1740*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter, Oxford, 1995, 118-134.

genres and forms, each with a range of blends of the two. Kathryn Hume locates imitation and fantasy as major creative impulses in the history of literature: mimesis, the desire to imitate and describe events, characters, situations, and objects with such verisimilitude that others can share the author's experience; and fantasy, the desire to change and alter reality – out of boredom, play, vision, longing for something lacking, or need for metaphoric images.⁸ They are not only useful for an author wishing to create the effect of escape from the material world through symbolism, metaphor and a mystical, alienated space, but also stimulate active reading – or viewing – by forming images and imagining emotions.

In the light of this, imitation and fantasy together highlight an important aspect in seventeenth-century musical culture: with a growing interest in the relationships between the original and the copy, and between nature and art, they were considered as useful devices to create a parallel to a real thing – something that was necessarily false – and to appreciate a human creative product that was knowingly 'false' or 'artificial'. Given that the interest in fantasy increased against this background, I will examine the concept of imitation and individuality in classical literature and the arts, some of which predate the manifestations of seventeenth-century musical fantasy, but reflect the shared basis of their artistic representations.

3.1. The concept of imitation and its correlation to fantasy

Mimesis has been a keyword for artistic creativity, ever since it was conceptualised by Plato as a copying of reality and by Aristotle as a representation of the world. In parallel with this philosophical tradition, Cicero and Quintilian in

⁸ Hume, K., *Fantasy and Mimesis*, 20, 67.

their treatises on rhetoric discussed the term *imitatio* with reference to the literary style that they considered worth emulating. Based on both philosophical and rhetorical implications of imitation inherited from antiquity, Renaissance authors cultivated various points of view on imitation. From among these views, imitation was considered as a path to the sublime, as a reinforcement of one's natural inclinations, as a substitute for undesirable inclinations, as a method for enriching one's writing with stylistic gems, as the best way to learn classical literature, and as the competitive stimulus necessary for artistic achievement.⁹ The distinction between philosophical and rhetorical imitation might result in obscurity and confusion, because philosophical tradition often mingles with the rhetorical theories. My categories of the common definitions of imitation are thus basically intended as precautions against potential confusion in my investigation of essential and distinct aspects of philosophical *mimesis* and rhetorical *imitatio*, which are by no means mutually exclusive.

While the mimetic principles of Greek aesthetics originated in a philosophical tradition, the same tradition also fostered derogatory views of imitation as an insufficient representation of reality. Plato, interested in how close a mimetic object is to the original, regarded the mimetic nature of poetry and tragedy as rooted in unworthy emotion, and as a shadow of a shadow. According to his *Republic*, mimesis, in opposition to direct narration, involves the poet or actor taking on a persona and 'attempting to turn our attention elsewhere as though someone else other than he were the speaker'.¹⁰ This act of disguising oneself and

⁹ For more details, see G. W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 33/1 (1980), 2.

¹⁰ Plato, *Republic*, Book 3, 393a; Taxidou, Olga, *Tragedy, Modernity and Mourning*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004, 110-111.

assuming the character of someone else potentially corrupts the minds of audiences by distancing them from reality. Apart from this explicit disdain for mimetic components and emotional response, one positive aspect of Plato's view of mimesis is that it points to the metaphysical dimension of reality. While Aristotle, fundamentally concerned with formal issues of structure and unity in poetic art, invented in his *Poetics* a general theory of all artistic representation, Plato gives an insight into the tragic, in reality and art.¹¹ For example, Plato warns against the derangement of the soul and mind caused by mourning or pitying another man who weeps on stage.¹² In the Platonic anti-theatrical view, a particular genre of tragedy triggers the basest feelings such as fear and pity, by magnifying fictional sufferings, and by spreading uncontrolled grief even to a man 'properly educated by reason or habit'. From this anti-theatrical attitude, a modern commentator can discern an explicit world-view in which human lives are governed by external forces, but true happiness is located in the individual's soul.¹³ In dealing with the tragedy of life, one might interpret or theatricalise the world as a stage, but Plato's ethical aspiration lies in his belief in the soul's capacity to lead its own fate, or internalise external turbulences. Given that the concept of mimesis as imitation of nature and human passions eventually provided a theoretical basis for the *seconda prattica*, it is possible to extend the processes of theatricalising or internalising materials of reality to explain later developments towards the seventeenth century, of theatrical genres on the one hand and of Stoic methods of self-reflection on the other.

¹¹ Halliwell, Stephen, 'Plato's Repudiation of the Tragic', *Tragedy and the Tragic: Greek Theatre and Beyond*, ed. M. S. Silk, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, 334; Taxidou, 112.

¹² Plato, *Republic*, Book 10, 605, trans. Benjamin Jowett, *Philosophies of Art and Beauty: Selected Readings in Aesthetics from Plato to Heidegger*, ed. Albert Hofstadter and Richard Kuhns, New York: The Modern Library, 1964, 42.

¹³ Halliwell, 347.

Interestingly, Plato's repudiation of mimesis in the *Republic* seems to be alleviated to some extent by his approval of the importance of artistic fantasy as a divine madness, or a 'release of the soul from established customs' in *Ion* and *Phaedrus*, as I quoted in the introduction. Distinguishing between a true artist and 'an imitative artist',¹⁴ Plato elaborates on the effect of the true artist's divine inspiration upon the audiences, which precedes Aristotle's concept of *katharsis*: when a gifted speaker recites a strain of Homer, he himself is possessed by the Muses and feels transported as if his soul 'in an ecstasy' were 'among the persons or places' of which he is speaking' – this gift is not called an 'art', or something attainable through rules of art, but an 'inspiration'; the inspired speaker produces similar effects on audiences, spreading the 'various emotions' such as pity, horror, and wonder, which are often accompanied by physical signs of 'tears' and 'throbbing heart'.¹⁵ Plato acknowledges spontaneous emotional responses circulating through all these acts of composing, reciting, and listening or viewing as long as they are motivated by a divine inspiration, not by rules of art. This view contrasts with his attitude in the *Republic* towards the mimetic arts and resulting emotions which he condemns as obstacles to intellectual activities.¹⁶

Elsewhere, Plato betrays his contrasting attitudes towards fantasy: on the one hand, he values 'images' as reflections of things belonging to the *Idea*, the eternal model or archetype, and uses imaginary fantastic creatures such as Pegasus to communicate complex and abstract concepts¹⁷; on the other, he is sceptical about

¹⁴ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248, trans. Jowett, 59.

¹⁵ Plato, *Ion*, 534-536, trans. Jowett, 54-57.

¹⁶ Taxidou, 115.

¹⁷ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246, 250, trans. Jowett, 57, 61.

any attempt to rationalise them, because he is more inclined to ‘simple’ and divine matters than to ‘complex’ and monstrous ones, an attitude which is often interpreted as a disparaging view on fantasy inherited by later philosophers.¹⁸ This ethical concern assumes that, for the original author, his audiences, or Plato himself, mystical creatures and supernatural occurrences might have been believed to exist elsewhere in the universe and thus stand beyond the scope of logical analysis. A similar idea survived well into seventeenth-century natural science, the issue to which I shall return in chapter 4.3.1. In all, Plato’s concept of fantasy and artistic inspiration represents an important recognition of the potential to communicate through symbol, allegory, and metaphor, which were developed as major compositional devices in rhetorical theories.

During the Renaissance, rhetorical *imitatio* became so imperative a pedagogical principle that it engendered major literary methods, both in composition and analysis.¹⁹ Examining the centrality of *imitatio* in Renaissance artistic production, Warren Kirkendale notes that it is not a mere copying, but ‘an honest acknowledgment of the sources of inspiration for a new production’.²⁰ The phrase ‘an honest acknowledgment’ might be anachronistic, given that imitation in our modern notion appears as the antithesis of originality or novelty. However, its context highlights the Renaissance concept of originality as ingenious skill in dealing with given materials, as opposed to God’s creation (producing something out of nothing). Preoccupied with the discovery of the best models of the old

¹⁸ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 229d-230a, trans. Hackforth, 24. To Plato’s critical view of mythical creatures, Kathryn Hume adds that Aristotle also disapproved of fantastic gimmicks in favour of realistic plays, and that in the same vein Tasso regarded non-real, fantastic imagery as a breach of decorum and Hobbes thought of it as displeasing to men of good sense (Hume, K., 6).

¹⁹ Kirkendale, ‘Ciceronians versus Aristotelians’, 30.

²⁰ Kirkendale, *Ibid.*, 19.

masters and their contemporaries, Renaissance writers aimed to learn from the models and to surpass them. One question that might arise at this point is whether various compositional styles and techniques based on a model should all be categorised as an ‘imitation’ in the rhetorical context. Without a specific date range and focus, the concept of imitation is liable to fall somewhere between copying and radical transformation (according to the degree of resemblance or difference). In this respect, Petrarch (1304-1374), the Cicero enthusiast, distinguishes between resemblance and reproduction by an analogy with visual images:

A proper imitator should take care that what he writes resembles the original without reproducing it. The resemblance should not be that of a portrait to the sitter – in that case, the closer the likeness is the better – but it should be the resemblance of a son to his father. Therein is often a great divergence in particular features, but there is a certain suggestion, what our painters call an “air”, most noticeable in the face and eyes, which makes the resemblance.²¹

In *De imitationi libri tres* (Venice, 1541), a rare example of classification of *imitatio*, Bartolomeo Ricci elaborates on Petrarch’s idea by dividing imitation in contemporary writings into the three species according to the degree of transformation of a model: ‘following’, ‘imitation’, and ‘emulation’. These species fall into the common methods and figures of studying a model (Table 3.1).²² However, in practice, examples might elude this division: for instance, if ruling out complete transcription without changing a word from ‘following’, it is occasionally difficult to distinguish between ‘following’ and ‘imitation’.

²¹ Petrarch, Francesco, Letter to Boccaccio in the *Familiars* (1366), Book XXIII/19, trans. Morris Bishop, *Letters from Petrarch*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966, 198-199.

²² Pigman, 3, 32.

Table 3.1. Bartolomeo Ricci's classification of *imitatio*

	Following	Imitation	Emulation
Method	Collection Resemblance	Dissimulation Disguise	Competition Contradiction
Primary Figure	Analogy	Imagery	Metaphor

This classification suggests that Renaissance writers regarded imitation as an inherent variation of an original, and that works of art differed from each other only in degree of transformation, ranging from pieces structurally dependent on a model to others which involved more free reworking of given materials.

There is no doubt that contemporary musicians shared the same rhetorical tradition in pedagogy and creativity, as did their literary counterparts: learning their craft by imitating older masters and competing with other composers by using the same materials. Tinctoris' list of model composers in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, published in 1477, is an important source which first documented a 'musical canon', following contemporary literary trends. Tinctoris states that, 'just as Virgil took Homer as his model' in his *Aeneid*, a composer was advised to imitate the admirable style of model compositions.²³ Unlike for contemporary literary and visual arts, however, no model of ancient Greek music was available for direct reference or imitation. Bearing this situation in mind, Tinctoris claims that among compositions written over forty years ago there is no model composition which is 'worthy of performance'.

²³ Tinctoris, Johannes, *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (Naples, 1477), *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. Albert Seay, American Institute of Musicology, 1961, 15. Howard Mayer Brown notes that the concept of rhetorical *imitatio* is applicable to music from the late fourteenth century, though his own examples date back no further than the 1480s (Brown, 'Emulation', 44-45).

As canonised models increased in number, a mnemonic aid came to be widely used to imitate those models systematically and in detail: a ‘commonplace book’ was a notebook in hand to stock important words, ideas, figures, and styles.²⁴ The commonplace-book method was the most essential and practical device within the rhetorical discipline in order to study thoroughly the good examples by transcribing them. These notebooks were useful not only for collection and compilation, but also provided scope for higher categories of imitation, by complementing methods of analysing model texts and composing new texts through novel combinations of given materials. Just as writers copied exemplary verses into notebooks for ready use in their own verse-making, a composer was encouraged to make a stock of passages from model compositions, and to add thoughts of his own or vary those passages before him by exchanging entries, lengthening or shortening, and adding another point of imitation.²⁵ Given the role of notation within the contemporary improvisatory practices, for instance, improvised counterpoint, or *contraponto a mente*, in which the notation functioned as a reminder of sound entity,²⁶ the commonplace-book method as a mnemonic device involved an act of imagining sound or aural images in association with the spontaneous process of invention and elaboration. Although the notational format took the place of the improvisatory practice and steadily became the primary form of a musical text in the course of the seventeenth century, the veneration of canonised models continued to occupy a major part of compositional thought well beyond the time of Mattheson.²⁷

²⁴ Brown, ‘Emulation’, 40.

²⁵ Harr, James, ‘A Sixteenth-Century Attempt at Music Criticism’, *JAMS* (1983), 197-198; Judd, Cristle Collins, ‘Musical Commonplace Books, Writing Theory, and “Silent Listening”: The Polyphonic Examples of the *Dodecachordon*’, *MQ* (1998), 483.

²⁶ Judd, C. C., 506-507; Wegman, Rob C., ‘From Maker to Composer’, 431-432.

²⁷ See Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part III, Ch. 15, Par. 4.

In addition to embracing the pedagogical practice of rhetorical imitation, an important incentive to combine music and rhetoric was the growing interest in the affective nature of music: towards 1600, musicians of the modern practice aimed to imitate the expressive style of poetry and oratory, the arts of persuasion, in their portrayal of the meaning of words and the affections. Against this trend, Zarlino criticises the chromaticists' attempts 'to imitate ordinary speech' by using 'strange, crude intervals'. Nevertheless, he elaborates on musical poetics by attributing the rules of poetry and oratory to Plato, Aristotle, Horace, Cicero, and Quintilian, claiming that poets, painters, and musicians aim to 'depict a subject' in an orderly way and to delight the mind of a listener or viewer.²⁸ Later supporters of the modern practice such as Caccini and Banchieri took the same classical sources, Ciceronian principles in particular, as their basis for the expressive style to portray human passions.²⁹ The idea of imitation of models and humans passions, as the conceptual basis for the *seconda prattica*, was derived from rhetorical and philosophical implications of imitation. Though originating from the ideas of ancient authors, the principle of imitation led seventeenth-century musicians to explore expressive devices in an unprecedented way: it heralded an important transition of focus, from the mathematical reflection of cosmic order to the self-expression of the composer and its ensuing impact on the listener's mind, highlights the way in which stylistic characteristics of an individual composer or a composition were recognised and appreciated. In this respect, the notions of ingenuity and freedom, which I outlined in chapter 1.2, need more investigation in

²⁸ Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part III, 172, 192-193, 291; *The Art of Counterpoint*, 51, 87-88, 288.

²⁹ Caccini, Giulio, Introduction to *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602); Banchieri, Adriano, *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614). See John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 47.

the context of the artist's role in portraying nature and human passions.

3.2. The artist's individuality and fantasy

3.2.1. Fantasy as a manifestation of individuality

The concept of individuality or self-identity has stimulated many different approaches in modern scholarship. It is most frequently discussed in the context of Renaissance culture in order to trace signs of modernity, though connotations of self-reflection and self-representation are found in earlier philosophical and religious sources, especially of the ancient Greek and Roman periods.³⁰ The difficulty in the discussion of seventeenth-century individuality lies in the idea that a symptom of self-reflection or self-representation might often stimulate comparative interpretations such as offering 'a new sense of individuality' and reaching 'a new level of individuality'. For example, Charles Taylor observes in Descartes 'the new conception of inwardness' through 'self-sufficient certainty', which led to the encounter with one's self and to the construction of self-identity. This is contrasted with the Augustinian self-reflection in which the path inward leads a thinker to sense his lack of self-sufficiency and his reliance on God.³¹ This comparison highlights an important move in the method of self-reflection, and a result of re-formations of culture and society over a few centuries. However,

³⁰ Multiple models of the self in the Renaissance range from something close to the modern individual as the free, well-rounded, creative self to the postmodern, fragmented individual as a product of social, economic, and political forces. Likewise, diverse approaches to self-identity make a distinction or a connection between the internal self (emotions, beliefs, thoughts, etc.) or the external self (society, religion, politics, etc), and between negative and positive connotations. For instance, while the term 'individualism' first appeared in France in the 1820s as a sign of social breakdown and a threat to authorities, contemporary German Romanticism tended to value a genius as an autonomous and original individual (Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 4-9). Among the influential works on self-identity in the Renaissance, see Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), trans. S. G. C. Middlemore, London: Penguin Books, 1990; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980; and Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

³¹ Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 156-157.

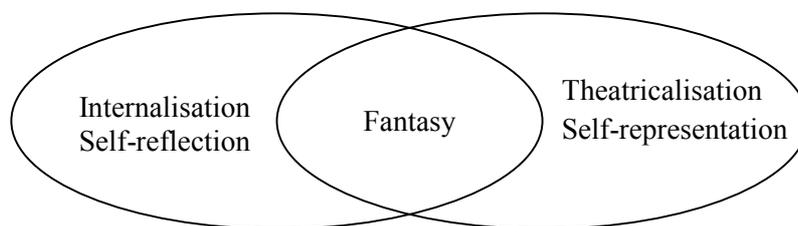
as far as the early seventeenth century is concerned, we need to be cautious about detecting symptoms of novelty, whether it challenges or enhances existing knowledge and attitudes. The inheritance of rules and attitudes which dominated the previous generation continued to be valid throughout the seventeenth century rather than being replaced or abolished by new ideas and practices, as suggested in the long-standing disputes over reason and the senses. Take another intellectual precedent with which Descartes must have been familiar: one constant experience of self-identity towards 1600 in France, which was undergoing severe religious and political conflicts in the aftermath of the Reformation, was ‘uncertainty’ about the inner self and the outer world. This tendency was embodied in Montaigne’s method of self-reflection in his *Essais* (1580), which cultivated sceptical strategies in order to gain self-knowledge and tranquillity of mind, following Stoic doctrines. The intensive use of the first person – with lines beginning with “*Je me ...*” – marks an individual’s momentary thought, an invention of an explanatory type of discourse in which even borrowed materials are reissued in a personal voice.³² Rather than tracing from Montaigne’s and Descartes’ methodology a transition from uncertainty to certainty, I presuppose both approaches to the self as equally imperative in the discussion of seventeenth-century individuality. In this light, I embrace manifestations of Renaissance individuality, which, I consider, continued to be valid in seventeenth-century culture, and were associated with the growing interest in fantasy. In order to narrow the range of topic, I begin with the symptoms of seventeenth-century individuality as outlined by John Butt.

Concerning the recognition and responses to stylistic plurality in the seventeenth

³² Kay, Sarah, Terence Cave and Malcolm Bowie ed., *A Short History of French Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 133-138.

century, Butt illustrates the diverse directions that contemporary composers take as their bases for artistic invention.³³ Three points among them expose to us the contemporary concept of individuality: firstly, Butt claims that Kircher's distinction between the *stylus impressus* and the *stylus expressus* is the most significant attempt at accounting for 'a new sense of human individuality' in the seventeenth century. In this distinction, the former denotes the way music has different effects depending on recipient individuals of different temperaments, while the latter refers to compositional methods and stylistic characteristics.³⁴ Secondly, the 'most striking' category within the *stylus expressus* with regard to individuality is the *stylus phantasticus* which gives 'free rein to the composer's imagination', though this freedom is 'superficial' and inseparable from contrapuntal rules. Thirdly, 'the most individual music' in the early seventeenth century was generally that which 'responds most intensely to the demands of the text' by exploiting dissonant licenses to expressive effect. Taking the first and third points as two important manifestations of individuality, that is, internalisation and theatricalisation, I assume that the notion of fantasy is extended into both aspects, as the diagram in Figure 3.1 shows.

Figure 3.1. Fantasy located in the aspects of individuality



Kircher's concept of the *stylus impressus* manifests contemporary interest in the

³³ Butt, John, 'The Seventeenth-Century Musical "Work"', *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. John Butt and Tim Carter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 42-43.

³⁴ Kircher, 581, trans. Collins, 13.

diversity of human temperaments and individual tastes. Descartes, too (in his letters to Mersenne, c. 1629-1631), pointed out the difficulty in rationalising aesthetic experience which varies according to individual tastes and personalities. He concedes that consonances in themselves are more ‘simple and concordant’ than dissonances, but in some places, dissonances sound more ‘agreeable’ than consonances: here lies the irrational aspect of judging ‘beauty’ by the senses, because aesthetic responses serve no purpose in his method of clear thinking and rational explanation.³⁵ Similarly, Mersenne deals with the issue of reception, noting that compositional perfection is no absolute concept, as it is impossible to meet various tastes and expectations of listeners.³⁶ This view on aesthetic experience as the reciprocal process is founded on rhetorical principles, that is, dynamic and spontaneous communications between the composer or performer and the listener, and signals a stark departure from the traditional concept of perfection, which would be secured by an orderly arrangement of consonances. Bacon also draws attention to the diversity of an individual’s nature and experience, when he warns against the false appearances of things resulting from intellectually imperfect resources such as superstition, personal temperament, ambiguous language, and the attempt at rationalising human experience.³⁷

Medical theories of the mid-sixteenth century cultivated this new idea of a human

³⁵ Dill, Charles, ‘Music, Beauty, and the Paradox of Rationalism’, *French Musical Thought, 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989, 199-200.

³⁶ Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, ‘Traites de la voix et des chants’, 106.

³⁷ For instance, Bacon points out the imposition of individualised notion of the self and the world: ‘Let us consider again the false appearances imposed upon us by every man’s own individual nature and custom [...] our spirits are included in the caves of our own complexions and customs which minister unto us infinite errors and vain opinions, if they be not recalled to examination’ (Bacon, *On the Advancement of Learning*, Book 2, XIV:10, ed. Johnston, 128). Later, Bacon extends this idea to the discussion of the Idols of the Tribe, the Cave, the Market-place, and the Theatre in his *Novum Organum I* (1620).

individual, challenging the speculative microcosmic view, which regarded human body and soul as corresponding in structure and operation to the cosmos; empirical knowledge of the human body through anatomy led to a search for a new method of understanding human nature.³⁸ Montaigne also reconsidered the microcosmic correspondences in the light of empirical methods in order to propose the importance of self-knowledge. His understanding of the self implies a complex interplay between nature and art, and between what one is born with and what one acquires through education. Given that artificiality and theatricality integrated into the contemporary social conventions serve to conceal natural inclinations, he makes the point that there are multiple layers in the shaping of an individual person such as a natural temperament, education, and other external – political and social – forces.³⁹ This interest in the diversity of human nature is also reflected in the development of literary ‘character’ drawing which portrays a real person rather than a virtue, following the revival of a treatise on human characters by Theophrastus, a pupil of Aristotle, which became influential during the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ Especially in England and France, ‘character’ as a literary genre, or an imitation of Theophrastus’ *Characters*, flourished with Joseph Hall’s *Characters of virtues and vices*, published in 1608, and its French translation in 1610. This genre served not only an ethical purpose but also a rhetorical one aiming to provide models, like a commonplace book, and personal amusement in observing and describing.⁴¹

³⁸ Sorsby, Karen R., *Representations of the Body in French Renaissance Poetry*, New York: Peter Lang, 1999, 31.

³⁹ Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 121-123.

⁴⁰ Theophrastus’ *Characters* became widely available with its publication in Greek in 1527 and a Latin translation in 1531 (Jane Stevens, ‘The Meanings and Uses of *Caractère* in Eighteenth-Century France’, *French Musical Thought, 1600-1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989, 25).

⁴¹ Diggle, James, ed., *Theophrastus: Characters*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 12-14.

The notion of individuality was applied not only to a human individual but also to a composition or a style. The anonymous manuscript treatise *Il Corago o vero alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche*, written in the early 1630s, introduces a rhythmic and melodic ‘personality’ as constituting the affective nature of an aria.⁴² The contemporary attempt of classifying styles suggests that the recognition of stylistic plurality is nothing but a manifestation of stylistic individuality. Although the *stylus phantasticus* is a category of the *stylus expressus* in Kircher’s classification, it certainly implies the aspect of the *stylus impressus*, because it is mainly characterised by the composer’s attitude and strategy.

Here then, it is necessary to reconsider the concepts of ingenuity and freedom. Ingenuity is expressed by such terms as Morley’s ‘conceit’, Praetorius’ ‘Kunst und artificium’ (artistry and ingenuity), and Kircher’s ‘ingenium’ (genius, or ingenuity). Morley’s contemporary Bacon used the term ‘conceit’ as a synonym for the intellect or reason, which had a greater authority than passions and imagination.⁴³ Praetorius’ and Kircher’s expressions imply the intellectual and even mechanical procedure of composition, which might be considered as opposed to the artist’s imagination. As I have shown in chapter 1.2, Kircher repeatedly uses exactly the same word ‘ingegno’ to describe ingenuity in the context of the church style and canon. All these terms denoting ingenuity, or

⁴² *Il Corago o vero alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche* (He who is capable of prescribing all those ways and means required for the perfect staging of a dramatic action already composed by the poet), ed. P. Fabbri and A. Pompilio, Florence, 1983; quoted in Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 178.

⁴³ Bacon, *On the Advancement of Learning*, Book 2, IX: 3, ed. Johnston, 104.

similar descriptions of modern commentators, such as ‘unfettered intellectualism’, provide no more insight into fantasy than the composer’s skilful use of the ground rules, which might be the basis of any style.⁴⁴ Therefore, I will turn to the composer’s freedom to proceed ‘at his pleasure’ and associate it with the notion of genius, a term which came to be employed to describe an artist and his work over the sixteenth century.

John Florio in the *Worlde of Wordes* (1598), the first Italian-English dictionary, translated *ingegno* into ingenuity: *ingegno* – *ingenium* in Latin – meant ‘inventiveness’ and ‘nature, inclination, disposition’ of a free individual; and it was often used as a synonym for *genio* (genius), following their common etymological root *gignere* (to produce, to beget).⁴⁵ In art history, the term ‘genius’ has been considered an indicator of a changing attitude towards the artist and his social status elevated to a free, intellectual individual equipped with scientific knowledge. The previous notion of artistic production, which artists as craftsmen might have held, ruled out the possibility of human creativity, as suggested in medieval dictums such as ‘to create means to produce something out of nothing’ and ‘God alone creates’ and thus human originality drew little attention.⁴⁶ The ability to create, previously attributed to God, and the notion of genius as the inborn gift began to be widely applied to artists from the early sixteenth century. It is around this time that composers began to secure the title of ‘composer’ and to

⁴⁴ See Collins, 30.

⁴⁵ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, vol. VII, 958; King, Catherine, ‘Italian Artists in Search of Virtue, Fame and Honour, c. 1450-1650’, *The Changing Status of the Artist*, ed. Emma Barker, Nick Webb, and Kim Woods, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, 57-58.

⁴⁶ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, III; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I; quoted in Edward E. Lowinsky, ‘Musical Genius – Evolution and Origins of a Concept’, *MQ* (1964), 477.

claim their authorship and professional identity.⁴⁷ A sign of the artist's changing status and self-esteem is the elevated relationship between artists and patrons: a self-portrait became a useful device for painters to introduce themselves as talented and well-educated individuals, and to imitate the practices of their social superiors by displaying their own image in collections along with those of poets and philosophers.⁴⁸ Similarly, contemporary composers promoted themselves through dedication of their work to patrons. Behind this action, there is a certain confidence in their work of art resulting from the gift from God, just like the gift of honour and wealth, which their patrons receive from God. Given that treating a gift as if it were for a sale or had monetary value was regarded as an affront, this giving gesture was a self-expression of generosity and freedom to offer the gift, which also motivated artistic invention.⁴⁹ Indeed, strategies of self-presentation reached a new level of intensity around this time, and developed the literature on civility and social decorum, such as Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* (The Book of the Courtier, 1528) and Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium* (On the Civility of Children, 1530), which became popular throughout Europe and were influential well into the early seventeenth century.⁵⁰

While the Renaissance composer's capability was normally valued in association with the skill in treating pre-existing materials and rules rather than novelty, some

⁴⁷ Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer', 411-412. Wegman notes that the earliest sources which document the title 'composer' date back to the 1470s.

⁴⁸ King, 'Italian Artists in Search of Virtue, Fame and Honour', 60-86. Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), impressed by the status of Venetian artists, produced self-portraits which reflected his changing notion of the self: in his second self-portrait in 1498, he is finely dressed like a nobleman; in 1500, he went further to describe himself as a saint (Woods, Kim, 'Northern Europe in the Sixteenth Century', *The Changing Status of the Artist*, ed. Emma Barker, Nick Webb and Kim Woods, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, 105-106).

⁴⁹ Wegman, Rob C., 'Musical Offerings in the Renaissance', *EM* (2005), 431.

⁵⁰ Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 34.

theorists such as Giovanni Spataro and Pietro Aaron, following the Platonic concept of divine inspiration, gave an unusual insight into the irrational aspect of the artistic urge, free from rules and unattainable through education.⁵¹ Aside from this recognition of the innate talent which remained inexplicable, all other rational procedures and skills belonged to craftsmanship and the tradition of *musica speculativa*. Aaron assumes the importance of rules on the one hand, and posits aesthetic experience on the part of the listener on the other, noting that the good composer knows not only how to treat the musical intervals and harmonies in excellence but also in ‘sweetness and loveliness’ according to his ‘skill and natural grace’.⁵² ‘Invention’ did not concern the issue of originality but an abstract notion of rhetorical procedure, which implies the choice of subject and the general planning of the composition.⁵³ Important written evidence of acknowledgment of the composer’s ability to create a subject appears in Glarean’s *Dodecachordon* (1547) and Zarlino’s *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (1558), which value a composer’s talent for inventing his own subject instead of using a *cantus firmus*.⁵⁴

Although references to genius as a person or a character, not compositional mastery, are relatively rare, a striking comment on the artist’s personality appears in Giorgio Vasari’s description of the personality of Florentine painter Piero di

⁵¹ Lowinsky, ‘Musical Genius’, 481-482. The Bolognese theorist Spataro, in a letter of 1529, writes, ‘they [contrapuntal rules] will not make the good composer, inasmuch as the good composers are born just as are the poets. Therefore, one needs almost more divine help than the written rule’. Spataro’s Florentine acquaintance Pietro Aaron in his *Lucidario* of 1545 also states that ‘good composers are born and cannot be made through study and long practice, but rather through heavenly influence and inclination’.

⁵² Aaron, Pietro, *Lucidario*, Book 2; quoted in Lowinsky, ‘Musical Genius’, 482.

⁵³ Rensselaer W., *Ut Pictura Poesis*, New York: Norton, 1967, 17.

⁵⁴ Glarean, Henricus, *Dodecachordon*, Book 2, Ch. 38, 174; Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part III, 172; *Art of Counterpoint*, 52.

Cosimo (d. 1521), who is distinguished by his original invention and fancies. He was not only so witty and delightful in his speech that his listeners burst out laughing, but also ‘odd and whimsical’, and fond of ‘solitude’.⁵⁵ Antonfrancesco Doni’s *Dialogo della Musica* (1544) also observes that ‘musicians, poets, painters, sculptors, and their like are all real people, attractive, and often cheerful, though at times eccentric when the fancy strikes them’.⁵⁶ Another characteristic of a genius artist is his artistic license, an integral part of an artist’s ‘individual and peculiar judgment’ beyond ‘reason’.⁵⁷ It is initially perceived as a breach of – or an exception to – rules, but later comes to serve as a model for others to follow, as it transcends the rules. This notion of an artist’s personality and personal style anticipates later sources of the composer’s freedom which characterises fantasia and the fantastic style, and even gives us a glimpse into the late eighteenth-century concept of genius as a type of person, characterised by wilfulness, sensitivity and even divinity.⁵⁸ Before proceeding towards musical issues relating to individuality, I will examine the signs of self-reflection and self-representation in the visual and literary arts. Though some of these examples predate their musical counterparts, nature versus art, and ingenuity versus artistic license were also key issues in these arts. To examine how artifice was used to imitate or improve nature, and how the artist’s role in representing nature was considered, I choose some artists and writers whose works seem unconventional and fantastic in their illustration of nature and inner ideas.

⁵⁵ Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani* (Florence, 1568), *Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull, London: Penguin Books, 1987, vol. II, 114.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Lowinsky, ‘Musical Genius’, 486.

⁵⁷ Vasari, *Le vite*, trans. Bull, vol. I, On Michelangelo (1475-1564), 366.

⁵⁸ Head, 107-108. The major sources that inspired the Romantic concept of genius include Denis Diderot’s *Prospectus de l’Encyclopédie* (1751) and Jean Jacques Rousseau’s *Dictionnaire de Musique* (1764).

3.2.2. Visual and literary arts

While the earliest written evidence of the admiration of painters dates back to the fourteenth century, it is during the fifteenth century that the historical and analytic view of an artist emerged in an attempt to make humanist art understandable and desirable for a wider range of artists and patrons.⁵⁹ As a consequence, this trend cultivated the notion of self-identity. Among the earliest writers on fine art, the Florentine humanist Leon Battista Alberti used the term *ingegno* to value an artist and a work of art, following its etymological meaning of innate inventiveness. An important feature at this stage was that artists were becoming associated with scientific knowledge such as optics and geometry, claiming their intellectual superiority over craftsmen whose primary duty was to convey the moral and religious lessons with the appropriate symbols rather than imitating the material world.⁶⁰ Based on the prevailing humanist concept of the arts as representing nature according to the faculty of reason, Alberti, in his *Della pittura* (Florence, 1435), testifies to the changing status of artists as equivalent to that of the Greek and Roman artists, and to that of a poet or an orator, and exemplifies the notions of the natural and the artificial, and literal and idealist imitations.⁶¹ However, his overall stance in *Della pittura* and in his later writings such as *De statua* and *De re aedificatoria* emphasises the faculty of reason and the role of pedagogy, maintaining the focus on acquired skills rather than abstract aspects of natural

⁵⁹ King, 56-57. For instance, Dante's comment on public acclaim for Cimabue and Giotto appeared around 1300, and the historian Villani's biographical notes on Giotto in 1380.

⁶⁰ Blunt, Anthony, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962, 2, 86-87.

⁶¹ Alberti, Leon Battista, *Della pittura* (Florence, 1435), *On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956, 90-92, 145; D. R. Edward Wright notes that the literary structure and the pedagogic intent of Alberti's *Della pittura* are modelled on Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (Wright, 'Alberti's De Pictura: Its Literary Structure and Purpose', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 47 (1984), 52-71).

talent.⁶² He opposes both the extreme Stoicism, which is unnatural and inhuman, and any judgment by the senses, which might drive against the spiritual good. Instead, he advises an artist, whether a beginner or practitioner, to learn the fundamental principles of art by means of reason and to study the best works of great artists as suggested in rhetorical *imitatio*. On the other hand, drawing the analogy between oratorical and pictorial compositions, Alberti attributes great importance to the ability of the painter of a history painting to portray actions and emotions by means of gesture and facial expression, and to render an emotional impact on the spectator.⁶³

Though his rationalist approach does not leave much room for illusionism and fantasy, Alberti elaborates on both literal and idealistic imitation: in some contexts, he defines painting as literal imitation, or the exact reproduction of reality, by which ‘at a certain distance and from a certain position the painted object appears in relief and just like the body itself’⁶⁴; on other occasions, he notes that the painter must make his work beautiful as well as accurate, but the beauty does not necessarily follow from exactness of imitation.⁶⁵ In this respect, beauty is a quality which is not necessarily inherent in all natural objects, though nature is the only source which the artist imitates. For the artist, therefore, the process of selection is essential to improve nature’s imperfections. In his later writing on architecture, Alberti captures the significance of the viewer’s perception and aesthetic judgment of beauty and deformity: deformity is something superfluous

⁶² Blunt, 11; Wright, D. R. Edward, 52-54.

⁶³ Alberti, *Della pittura*, trans. Spencer, 77.

⁶⁴ Alberti, *Ibid.*, 89. The concept of literal imitation dominated the fourteenth century: for instance, Boccaccio, in his *Decameron*, Ch. VI, praises Giotto’s ability to paint so accurate a likeness of things that his paintings were mistaken for reality (Lee, Rensselaer W., *Ut Pictura Poesis*, New York: Norton, 1967, 9).

⁶⁵ Alberti, *Ibid.*, 93.

or deficient; and beauty is judged by the pleasure that the viewer might feel when viewing an object. His description of beauty highlights the notion of perfection and freedom, which anticipates several important aspects in the descriptions of musical fantasia and the fantastic style:

I shall define beauty to be a harmony of all the parts, in whatsoever subject it appears, fitted together with such proportion and connection, that *nothing could be added, diminished or altered*, but for the worse, [...] ornament [is] to be a kind of an auxiliary brightness and improvement to beauty. Therefore, beauty is somewhat lovely which is proper and innate, and diffused over the whole body, and ornament somewhat added or fastened on, rather than proper and innate [...] The forms [of beauty] must vary *according to every man's particular taste and fancy, and not be tied down to any rules of art.*⁶⁶

From this time on, the status of the Florentine artists was considered a model among native and foreign artists, and Alberti's ideas were influential up to the sixteenth century, many of them inherited and consolidated by Giorgio Vasari. While Vasari, in his preface to *Le vite* (Florence, 1550/1568), mentions diverse sources of the origin of art, such as the Greeks and Egyptians, his reference to Exodus in the Bible is remarkable, as it corresponds to the poet's or rhetorician's reference to Plato's divine madness: God, the very first artist, endows certain artists with divine inspiration and skills.⁶⁷ Introducing biographies and works of great artists, from Cimabue (d. 1302) to Michelangelo (d. 1564), Vasari does not employ the common Italian words for an artist such as *artista* ('artist') or

⁶⁶ Alberti, *De re aedificatoria* (Rome, 1452), Book 6, Ch. 2, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. James Leoni, London: Alec Tinanti Ltd., 1955, 113, with my emphasis in italics.

⁶⁷ Vasari, *Le vite*, trans. Bull, vol. I, Preface to Part I, 26-27. Exodus 31:1-4 reads, 'The Lord spoke to Moses: See, I have called by name Bezalel son of Uri son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: and I have filled him with divine spirit, with ability, intelligence, and knowledge in every kind of craft, to devise artistic designs, to work in gold, silver, and bronze' (NRSV Bible).

artigiano ('artisan'), but uses *artefice* ('artificer') which had often been used to refer to God the Creator and now came to imply a divine genius endowed by God.⁶⁸ Although Vasari presents humanist art not only as a revival of antiquity but also as a progression from it, he values many of the qualities which Alberti underlined. Above all, the concept of literal imitation is the foundation of both Alberti's and Vasari's overall view on art. Vasari notes that design is 'the imitation of the most beautiful things in Nature in all forms' and the foundation of the fine arts, and that this quality depends upon the artist's skill to transfer 'with great accuracy and precision' everything the eye sees to a plan or drawing.⁶⁹ Like Alberti, Vasari claims that nature is a starting point and warns against non-realism, advising the artist to emulate models. Concerning idealistic imitation, Vasari, like Alberti, stresses that art is not a mere reproduction of nature, but that its ultimate aim is to 'improve nature' and achieve 'perfection':

He [Titian] who has not drawn much nor studied the choicest ancient and modern works cannot [...] improve the things that he copies from life, giving them the grace and perfection in which art goes beyond the scope of nature.⁷⁰

This concept of idealistic imitation supports an active role of the human capabilities in representing and surpassing nature. The process of selection and correction in order to achieve perfection generates an intensified form of ideal imitation towards the end of the sixteenth century. Previously, ideal imitation was often associated with experience and experiment, when Raphael, in his letter to Castiglione in 1516, proposed that in order to paint a beautiful woman, it was

⁶⁸ Vasari, *Le vite* (Florence, 1550/1568), *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, translators' introduction, xii.

⁶⁹ Vasari, *Ibid.*, Preface to Part III, 278.

⁷⁰ Vasari, *On Technique*, Ch. 9, trans. L. S. Maclehorse, London, 1907, 171.

necessary to see many beautiful women.⁷¹ During the second half of the century, Neo-Platonic influences diverted the focus from an external and visible norm to the inner perceptive faculty of the artist.⁷² Neo-Platonist Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, in his *Idea del tempio della pittura* (Milan, 1590), elaborates on a mystical character of beauty, as opposed to the classical concept of beauty that depends on the mathematical proportion of parts. He declares that ideal beauty is an ‘Idea’ or a mental image that the artist sees reflected in his own mind or soul; given this notion of beauty, he distinguishes ‘genius’ (*ingegno*) or divine inspiration from the ‘rules’ (*regole*), although genius should be tempered with reason and study.⁷³ However abstract and immaterial this concept might have been for contemporary artists who imitated the primarily material world through corporeal media, the emphasis on the inner self and the ‘Idea’ led the contemplating artists to a direct experience of nature beyond literal imitation and, practically, to an elevated status similar to that of a poet or an orator.

The motto of these writers, that art is an imitation of nature, involves different yet compatible focuses: imitation by portraying an object so vividly that it might look real; and imitation by improving parts of an object in order to give it grace and perfection in which art surpasses the scope of nature. To these, another important mode of imitation can be added: imitation that includes deformities and defects of nature. This approach may be seen either as literal or idealistic imitation, depending on the way the artist takes materials from reality as his basis. Its

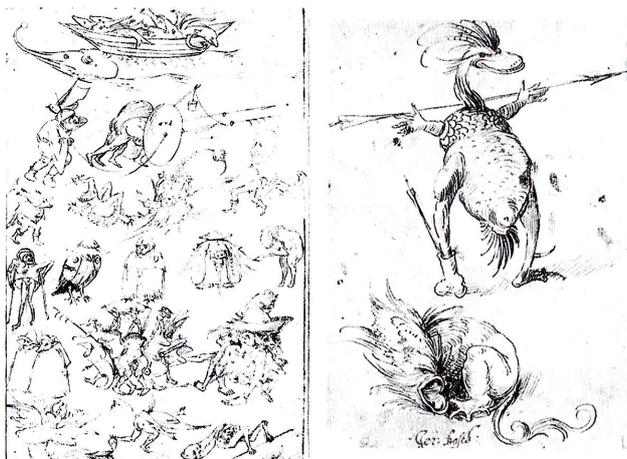
⁷¹ Lee, 13 (footnote).

⁷² Vasari’s terminology also reflects Neo-Platonic influences, especially in his tendency towards abstract language and mystical significance (Vasari, *Le vite*, trans. Bull, vol. I, translator’s introduction, 15).

⁷³ Lomazzo, *Idea del tempio della pittura* (Milan, 1590), 8, 12-14, 112; quoted in Lee, 13, 26 (footnote).

starting point is the artist's observing natural objects as accurately as possible. Then he can transform them with various degrees of imagination and artificiality. This approach often subverts or neglects the conventional notion of beauty and perfection and, therefore, it might be better to call it fantastic than idealistic. As a manifestation of inventiveness within a culture of imitation, or a challenge to the traditional concept of imitation, this fantastic approach to the imitation of nature is found in sixteenth-century fantasy painters such as Hieronimus Bosch (c.1450-1516), Matthias Grünewald (c.1470-1528), Quentin Matsys (1466-1530), and Pieter Bruegel (1525-1569). Vasari mentions Leonardo Da Vinci's (1452-1519) secret room where the artist collected and studied insects, reptiles, and other strange creatures in order to create monstrous images by combining different parts from them.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Vasari distinguishes Piero Di Cosimo (1462-c.1521) from other excellent Italian painters by his power of original invention and fantasy: in addition to his bizarre landscapes and strange grottoes, his monsters are so novel and fantastic in their grotesqueness that 'it seems impossible that nature should produce such strange and deformed creatures'.⁷⁵

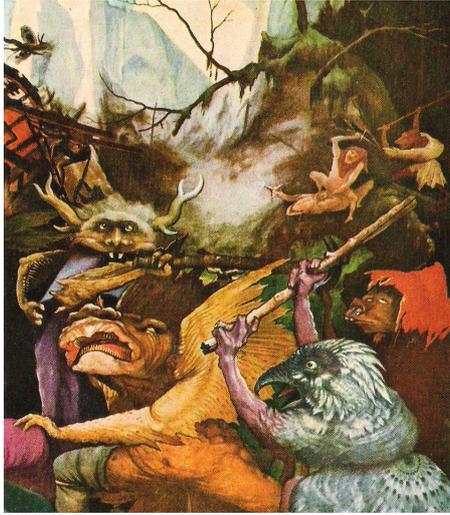
Figure 3.2. Monstrous images (a) Hieronimus Bosch, Studies of monsters (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) and two monsters (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett)



⁷⁴ Vasari, *Le vite*, trans. Bull, vol. I, 259.

⁷⁵ Vasari, *Ibid.*, vol. II, 111.

(b) Matthias Grünewald, detail from *St. Anthony and Demons* (Isenheim Altar)



(c) Piero Di Cosimo, *Discovery of Honey* (Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum).



(d) Quentin Matsys, *The Ugly Duchess* (London, The National Gallery).



Bosch's fantasy painting was not unique in genre or style in sixteenth-century Europe. Nevertheless, his constant and passionate search for fantastic and monstrous images was unrivalled by his contemporaries, and appears striking even today. Rather than correcting and improving the observed deformities and imperfections in nature, he is concerned with their overt representation. Bosch's surviving sketches of witches, beggars, and cripples, for example, demonstrate the artist's meticulous observation (Figure 3.2.a); he experiments with the deformities observed in everyday life in order to create visual shapes of monsters and other demonic images through distortion, exaggeration, and grotesque combinations. If the sense of beauty is accompanied by pleasure, as Alberti claimed, this type of art should have been expurgated. On the contrary, Bosch was much admired by his contemporary collectors, especially Italian and Spanish, and even by late sixteenth-century commentators.⁷⁶ In content, most of Bosch's paintings deal with familiar topics of allegory and symbolism derived from the traditional and religious heritage, including alchemy, magic, and demonology: they draw attention to the sharp contrast between good and evil by a mixture of realism and illusionism, and their didactic messages represent the painter himself as a moralising artist.⁷⁷ The menacing visualisation of hell capitalises on the medieval arts in which sin, linked with bestiality, is commonly portrayed in physical and metaphorical expression of ugliness.

In contrast to the familiarity of his subject matter, Bosch's portrayal of ugliness is

⁷⁶ Dunkerton, Jill, *Giotto to Dürer: Early Renaissance Painting in the National Gallery*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, 348; Bussagli, 33-34. Commentators include Dominicus Lampsonius (*Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris Effigies*, Antwerp, 1572) and Agorte da Molina (*Libro della Moneria*, Seville, 1582).

⁷⁷ Eager, Gerald, 'The Fantastic in Art', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1971), 151; Harpham, Geoffrey, 'The Grotesque: First Principles', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 34, no. 4 (1976), 466.

distinguished in its unconventional vision: he expresses the chaos of hell as an estranged version of the world, where the natural order of things and their normal relationships are subverted. His contemporaries used the terms fantastic and grotesque interchangeably to describe the subversive nature of such works of art, for instance, the destruction of symmetry and distortions of size and proportion (though these characteristics often triggered negative connotations, for instance, monstrous and irrational).⁷⁸ One reason that his contemporaries admired Bosch is his technical mastery of literal imitation: through delicate refinement of design and ravishing colours, he makes his fantastic creatures plausible and ‘beautiful’ in their vividness. The details of landscapes, even in the wildest fantasies, also result from meticulous observation of nature and have their foundation in credibility.⁷⁹ In this respect, Bosch’s paintings embrace the notions of both literal and ideal imitation: while fantastic images and landscapes transport the spectator to an estranged world, they are no new invention but familiar objects, derived from visible parts of nature, but distorted in their original proportion or function. Dramatic expression originates from such innocuous everyday objects as musical instruments, plants, and animals which, swollen to monstrous proportions, look fearsome and serve as tools for torture (Figure 3.3).

In his manner of adding extraordinary expression to ordinary objects, Bosch’s reference to alchemy is significant: given that alchemy – now classified as an

⁷⁸ Kayser, Wolfgang, *The Grottesque in Art and Literature* (1957), trans. Ulrich Weisstein, New York: Columbia University Press, 1981, 19-20. Kayser observes that in Western art history, the expression ‘grotesque’, etymologically rooted in *grotta* (cave), was coined by Italians in the late fifteenth century to designate a certain ornamental style of excavated artefacts of the ancients. For the earliest use of the term, he quotes Todeschini Piccolomini’s comment on the decoration of the ceiling of Siena Cathedral (1502): its ‘fantastic forms, colors, and arrangements’ are ‘now called grotesque’.

⁷⁹ Hunter, John M., *Land into Landscape*, London: George Godwin, 1985, 65.

‘occult science’ – was a ‘science’ then, and physicians and pharmacists could also be called alchemists, his descriptions of the processes of distillation with furnaces and other laboratory apparatus demonstrate that contemporary scientific ideas also nourished his imagination.



Figure 3.3. Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights, central panel and right wing (Madrid, Museo del Prado)

However, the most important implication of alchemy in Bosch's paintings is perhaps the metaphorical transformation, rather than experiments with metals, chemicals, and medical elements which belong to the rational realm: that is, the interest in the pictorial language of the alchemists or in metamorphosis – biblical or mythical – to purify and change the soul in order to attain a divine vision.⁸⁰

In all, Bosch's invention of fantastic images results from combining two artistic impulses: the principle of the imitation of nature, and fantasy – or freedom – in transforming and contradicting the ground rules. What is essential in this visual fantasy differs little from modern commentators' descriptions of fantasy literature, as seen in chapter 1.3. Fantasy begins with, or contains within it, certain aesthetic conventions which a viewer or reader will consider to be representative of reality.⁸¹ By drawing his inspiration from both reality and imagination, Bosch ultimately re-directs a viewer's vision to reality, especially the uncertainties and inconsistencies of the human condition. According to Kayser, this new perspective, gained through intentional alienation, forms an experience of nature and the self: by subverting the familiar and commonplace, and dissolving the sense of reality temporarily, estrangement produces tension and surprise on the part of the viewer, leading him to participate in different modes of existence through active viewing and imagining.⁸² This intentional alienation through transformation and deformation, which is embedded in Bosch's works, seems to characterise his strategy of creating fantasy.

⁸⁰ Kayser, 34; Maxwell-Stuart, P. G., ed., *The Occult in Early Modern Europe*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999, 191. For more details of alchemical interpretation in Bosch, see Laurinda S. Dixon, *Alchemical Imagery in Bosch's Garden of Delights*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981.

⁸¹ Harpham, 466.

⁸² Kayser, 22, 184-185.

Another important aspect of Bosch's representation of reality and fantasy is his attempt at animating conceptual topics with visual imagery, which also partly retains the medieval tradition of allegory painting for the purpose of stressing the edifying virtues. However, Bosch's allegory paintings are more concerned with representing the incongruous and unpredictable side of human nature through subjects such as monstrosity, vanity, and folly, than with the moralising purpose. Sharing an interest in these topics, contemporary visual and literary artists must have inspired or emulated each other with their vividness of visualisation and verbal description. Just as the artist might refer to inspiring literary sources in visualising a fantastic and monstrous creature, the impact of visible deformities forms a vocabulary of monstrosity in the writer's mind. Erasmus's depiction of a monster demonstrates this interaction:

[...] quivering head, rabid eyes, a dragon's gape, the visage of a Fury, distended belly, hands like talons ready to tear, feet distorted, in short, view his entire physical shape and what else does it all present but a monster? Observe that tongue, observe that wild beast's roar, and you will name it a monstrosity.⁸³

Similarly, a humorous vein of fantasy is found in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (1509) and Bosch's *Ship of Fools* (1494 or later), which describe or visualise the human experience of a sudden reversal of the natural and social order (such as Erasmus's antitheses that 'the beautiful may really be ugly', 'the learned, ignorant', and 'the

⁸³ Erasmus, Desiderius, *De duplici copia rerum et verborum* (Paris, 1512), trans. Betty I. Knott, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 24, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978, 574. Erasmus began with the sentence, 'He is a total monster', in order to demonstrate how to depict by dividing a whole into parts.

noble, base’).⁸⁴ All these works exemplify an internalised view of the world, which explores imagination, especially with the topics of horror and humour, and opposes the opinions of the adherents to literal imitation, or of Artusi, who emphasise beauty and perfection based on the immutable natural order, and abhor deformity and monstrosity.

These artistic manifestations of fantasy are not to be taken as representative of the ‘individuality’ of a certain period, but as a sign of reflecting upon the world and the self as transformable entity. In this respect, some recent comments on Vasari’s *Vite* are revealing. On the one hand, Vasari’s book can be seen as a poetic work of unusual ‘artistic fantasy’, given that life reflects – or imitates – art, and vice versa: he embellished and exaggerated the facts, and even created fictive personae (for instance, deriving an eccentric Piero di Cosimo from the artist’s fantastic paintings) through his own fantasy and verbal descriptions, which are so picturesque and vivid that readers may accept the illusion as fact.⁸⁵ On the other hand, Vasari is keen on promoting self-identity and endowing the visual arts with the intellectual ballast resembling literary and musical academies. Therefore, he basically disapproves of uncivilised characteristics such as madness and imprudent behaviour.⁸⁶ This edifying purpose accounts for his treatment of fantastic aspects as a marginal phenomenon.

⁸⁴ Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly* (1509), trans. Betty Radice, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 27, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978, 107. Bussagli claims that this date of Bosch’s *Ship of Fools* is based on the fact that Sebastian Brant’s satirical poem bearing the same title (*Das Narrenschiff*) was published in 1494 and immediately translated into French and Latin, while other scholars have dated it between 1480-1490 (Bussagli, 14, 36).

⁸⁵ Barolsky, Paul, ‘The Trick of Art’, *Vasari’s Florence*, ed. Philip Jacks, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 27-29.

⁸⁶ Shearman, John, ‘Giorgio Vasari and the Paragon of Art’, *Vasari’s Florence*, ed. Philip Jacks, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 18-20.

In literature, a prominent and comprehensive tendency towards fantasy is also found around 1600, along with the growing interest in defining human temperaments as a means of understanding the diversity of human characters and behaviours. In this approach, a defect is more willingly accepted and represented in a work of art as it stands, or even as if it were a merit. This tendency is reflected in some authors' creation of a space distant from reality through fantastic personae which are characterised by an unprecedented degree of freedom in thinking and acting. Referring to the notion of individuality as manifested in three fictional personalities, *Faust* (1587), *Don Quixote* (1605/1616), and *Don Juan* (written between 1612 and 1616, and published in 1630), Ian Watt delves into the contemporary political and cultural current, which must have affected their authors' thoughts. These three single-minded protagonists represent the pinnacle of 'consciousness of the self' and 'free choice', whether in magic, chivalry, or sexual trickery.⁸⁷ In addition to their extraordinary freedom in satirical attitudes and comic jesting, these 'heroes' represent the personal conflicts of their societies through self-centeredness and theatricalisation of the world. As the aftermath of the Council of Trent held between 1545 and 1563, the general intellectual climate of the Counter-Reformation period involved a degree of scepticism and disappointment about the vanity of learning, and a disbelief in the universal efficacy of general political, social or religious laws.⁸⁸ In contrast to the notion of 'genius', which represents the belief in the natural gift of an individual, the

⁸⁷ Watt, Ian, *Myth of Modern Individualism: Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan, Robinson Crusoe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 122.

⁸⁸ Watt, 128. Watt observes that an interesting aspect shared among the above authors' personal lives is the alienation from their society: Christopher Marlowe, Miguel de Cervantes, and Tirso de Molina had in common not only a dual career as a writer and government official, but also breached the law, which resulted in imprisonment or banishment. It is plausible to deduce the sources of their artistic inspiration from such personal experience of punitive tendencies in the Counter-Reformation period.

emblem of freedom and individuality for these authors was the creation of a hero-character. However, it is not the hero in the conventional, or mythological, sense, but a ‘deformed’ hero who fails in the end due to the defects of his temperament.

Among these stories of failing heroes, *Don Quixote* is widely considered a seminal novel which highlights the author’s freedom in interpreting the surrounding world and authorities in an unprecedented way. For instance, in the prologue, Cervantes challenges the concept of authorship, first by feigning his ignorance of authorities to quote, and then by quoting spurious sources: the hero’s aim is to re-establish the chivalry of a golden age, and this quixotic project aims not merely at imitating the classical models, but at highlighting the notion of novelty.⁸⁹ The prologue is paradoxically an imitation of contemporary prefaces in the learned style. However, the author proposes imitation of the simple, amusing, and colloquial style in opposition to the contrived and solemn one. While imitation is a main strategy in this story of the knight-imitating hero, Cervantes’ feigned imitation, or spurious quotation, does not follow the conventional notion of imitation of a classical model, but aims to ‘destroy the authority’ and establish a model of originality, because:

there is not any need to go begging maxims from philosophers [...], clauses from rhetoricians [...], but rather to attempt, using expressive, decorous and well-ordered words in a straight way, to write sentences that are both harmonious and witty, depicting what is in your mind to the very best of your

⁸⁹ Butt, ‘The Seventeenth-Century Musical Work’, 44-45; Melberg, Arne, *Theories of Mimesis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 54.

ability, setting out your ideas without complicating or obscuring them.⁹⁰

The lecture of a priest against the books of chivalry in part 2, chapter 47 also represents the contemporary notion of imitation of exemplary models. Don Quixote's response to this lecture seems incongruous, when he refers to Amadís, a 'knight errant', as an authority.⁹¹ Yet there is logic in this fantasy: even the fictitious source can be a proof of reality in the quixotic project. It is by this re-forming imitation of models that *Don Quixote* transforms itself from a book of chivalry into a true novel. Another important use of imitation is found in the interactions between the hero and his servant: Sancho, basically representing a laughing reader, keeps trying to return his idealistic master to reality and reason, but the imitative movements between the two characters often reverse their personalities by means of parody: then the realistic character jokes, while the ridiculous one seems sober and serious. A similar reversal of roles through concept of imitation is found in part 2, chapter 2: a friend is dressed up like a 'knight of mirrors' in order to cure Don Quixote's madness by reflection. A modern commentator states that Don Quixote 'acts' mad in order to test the credulity of his friends, rather than really being mad.⁹² If we take this reading as the logic of this story, the erratic hero appears more sane and realistic than any other character. The complex dimension of imitation through mimetic gestures breaks the boundaries between the rational and the irrational, and between reality and fiction. This conceptual reversal is an essential part of Cervantes' notion of originality and also of fantasy. Characterised as 'whimsical and full of extravagant

⁹⁰ Cervantes, Miguel de, *Don Quixote* (1605), trans. John Rutherford, London: Penguin Books, 2000, 16.

⁹¹ Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I:47; Melberg, 61-64. Amadís refers to a Spanish book of chivalry written in 1508 by Rodríguez de Montalvo, and to an imitation of the medieval *Geste des Bretons*.

⁹² Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, II:2; Melberg, 56.

fancies that nobody else has ever imagined’, his protagonist takes ‘possession of his imagination’ and unknowingly regards his ‘defects’ as ‘gifts and graces’.⁹³ As commentators of fantasy literature believe, the invention of a fictional world as reflection of reality, or the fantastic confusion of the external and internalised worlds, is the most common device of fantasy.⁹⁴ Self-reflection and self-representation as manifestations of the perception of nature and the self, whether they are the author’s own or intended as his invented character’s, result from questioning reality and ground rules. The significance of the artist’s individuality and freedom is implied by unconventional and fantastic illustrations of nature and inner ideas in visual and literary arts. This significance also inflected musical perspective, a tendency towards musical fantasy as the reciprocal process between representation and perception.

3.2.3. *Individuality and artistic representation*

Earlier in this chapter, I suggested that rhetoric as an art of persuasion also served to cultivate the concept of imitation, in portraying human actions and passions. Another key concept in this portrayal was the artist’s individualised expression: the expressive mode of the poet or orator provided the sixteenth-century musician or painter with the ideal to imitate. The artist’s expressive representation of human actions and passions is to be both communicable and striking to the perceiver, whether through intellectual or emotional channels. The growing emphasis on dramatic expression manifests the recognition of the artist’s individual judgment and imagination in representing nature. At this point, I will briefly introduce the

⁹³ Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Prologue and I:1, trans. Rutherford, 11, 27.

⁹⁴ Rabkin, 221. Rabkin goes further with this reading, claiming that if Don Quixote and Hamlet are the characters and readers or spectators of themselves at the same time, then we, their readers or spectators, can be fictitious.

basic modes of artistic representation, which is useful in tracing the revival of ancient sources and also provides significant foundations for my analysis in the next chapter. The object of representation (that which is being represented, whether actions or passions) also implies the mode of representation, narrative or lyrical. In the context of Greek poetry, the narrative mode includes epic and drama as representing actions or events through a narrator or a dramatic persona, whereas the lyrical announces mental states of the speaker, such as emotion and thought.⁹⁵ These modes also embody the aspects of individuality (see Figure 3.1): while tragedy or epic as a plot reflects an attempt to theatricalise human responses to a tragic event or heroic achievement, the lyrical is a mode of internalisation. Sixteenth-century lyrical poets, Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585) among others, wrote sonnets and odes on nature, love, fleeting time, and death, in attempting to imitate Horace and Pindar. Narrative forms such as tragedy can also include the lyrical, such as elegy or lament as poems of commemoration or mourning. Lyrical poems can also contain narrative portions in describing mental situations. However, the fundamental difference between the two modes lies in their temporal properties: the lyrical is basically static in time (or *atemporal*) and, therefore, its parts are connected by mutual implications and potentially reversible. By contrast, in the narrative, causation and the temporal order of events are critical elements for connecting the parts. The artistic representation geared to the revival of ancient arts shows the characteristics of both the narrative and the lyrical. The experiments that eventually led to the development of opera also involved these representational modes in renewing or transforming materials

⁹⁵ Berger, Karol, 'Narrative and Lyric', *Musical Humanism and Its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning, New York: Pendragon Press, 1992, 453-458; in a revised version, *A Theory of Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 202-207.

derived from ancient sources.

Neo-Platonic thought, especially the idea of divine inspiration, placed a special emphasis on expressive power and integrated the intellect and emotions into artistic composition. The artist's expressiveness was a crucial part of individual genius, although this did not necessarily imply originality or novelty. To sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painters 'invention' generally meant the choice of subject and the general planning of the composition, rather than venturing into new subject matter. This was based on the assumption that most subject matters had been supplied by the Bible and the ancient writers.⁹⁶ In this light, expression implied the artist's ability to renew the traditional themes, a form of novelty that went beyond the mere copying of ancient works. Authors on artistic representation maintain their focus on the intensity of the artist's individual imagination, which serves to represent actions and emotions and to move the recipient's mind. Recalling Alberti's emphasis on the emotional impact of a historical painting, Vasari declared that only Michelangelo knew how to 'express the wide range of the soul's emotions' and 'stir the emotions even of people who know nothing about the painting, let alone those who understand'.⁹⁷ Lomazzo, referring to divine inspiration in *Phaedrus*, also emphasises the artist's imagination in expressing actions and emotions of his characters, compared to the poet's procedure.⁹⁸ While Cervantes' invention of a failing hero might appear novel in terms of subject matter, his literary style is founded on feigned imitation, in which

⁹⁶ Lee, 17. In this context, Lee quotes Horace and Nicholas Poussin: Horace advised the dramatic poet to adopt the safe and sane course of adhering to fables that tradition had made familiar (*Art poetica*, 128-131); Poussin said that the novelty in painting does not consist principally in a new subject, but in good and new disposition and expression (Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite dei pittori*, Rome, 1664/1672, 462).

⁹⁷ Vasari, *Le vite*, trans. Bull, vol. I, 379, 382.

⁹⁸ Lomazzo, *Trattato della pittura* (1584), VI:2, I:25; quoted in Lee, 18, 24.

he aims to depict what is in his mind by using ‘expressive, decorous and well-ordered words’ to an unprecedented degree, and thus to achieve originality beyond a mere reference to classical models and themes.

This emphasis on expression signifies the growing reliance on the faculty of the artist’s individual judgment in order to manipulate a given subject matter by offering a new significance or transforming it. As both Alberti and Vasari acknowledge the need for selecting beautiful parts from various models and combining them in order to create a perfect whole, the artist’s judgment in this process is crucial. With reference to the value of artistic judgment, Vasari uses the term ‘grazia’ (grace), which seems to prefigure the later notion of ‘good taste’. By this term, he implies not only natural grace or talent, as opposed to acquired skills, but also endeavours to account for the essential but irrational property of the artist’s genius. Grace is often juxtaposed with terms such as ‘facility’, ‘lightness’, and ‘spontaneity’, relating to the senses and the immediate impression on them, rather than to intellectual pursuits such as ‘measuring’ the mathematical proportions and perspective of an object.⁹⁹ In this context, grace denotes the ability to wield a facile imagination, without effort or any trace of labour, thus contrasting with the processes of studying and memorising models with accuracy and industry. This concept alludes to contemporary court manners, as illustrated in Castiglione’s *Book of the Courtier* (1528), which Vasari must have had in mind when claiming an elevated status for learned artists.¹⁰⁰ Castiglione uses the term ‘sprezzatura’ (negligence) in order to explain the display of artlessness indispensable to the courtly costume: grace is much derived from a ‘certain

⁹⁹ Vasari, *Le vite*, trans. Bull, vol. I, Preface to Part III, 250; On Paolo Uccello, 95.

¹⁰⁰ Blunt, 95.

negligence’, that is, ‘to hide art [...] without effort [...] so that a facility therein generates a great marvel’.¹⁰¹ Whether the author describes *sprezzatura* as the inborn quality or proposes something that can nevertheless be artificially fashioned to some extent, this concept encapsulates the expressive value of true genius, in contrast to the pretence of hiding a deficiency in talent and skill. Caccini, in his *Le nuove musiche* (1602), also underlines the method of singing with a ‘noble negligence’ (*nobile sprezzatura*) by ‘transgressing by [allowing] several dissonances while still maintaining the bass note’ or ‘not submitting to strict time’. This deviation or freedom from the rules of counterpoint and from regular rhythm was derived from the ideal that musicians should aim to ‘give delight and move the affect of the soul’ through the animated sound according to the words, as ‘the great writers’ did.¹⁰² For Caccini, this ideal could be fulfilled by monody or ‘speaking in tone’, which makes the words understood, on the one hand, and permits the discreet use of expressive devices, such as dynamic shades and embellishments of notes on the other.

As the artist’s judgment gained significance, artistic criteria in the revival of antiquity were often ‘aesthetic’ rather than philosophical or historical, by means of imaginative conjecture and expressive value rather than antiquarian reconstruction.¹⁰³ Palisca points out the ‘bold leap of the imagination’ that Girolamo Mei took when, after reading Aristotle’s *Poetics* and other sources to

¹⁰¹ Castiglione, Baldassare, *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528), ed. Ettore Bonora, Milan, 1984, 61-62; quoted in Catherine, Moor *The Composer Michelangelo Rossi: A “Diligent Fantasy Maker” in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1993, 107.

¹⁰² Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602), ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock, Madison: A-R Editions, 1970, 44, 49, 55.

¹⁰³ Cowart, Georgia, *The Origin of Modern Musical Criticism: French and Italian Music 1600-1750*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981, 62; Berger, Karol, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th Century Italy*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1976/1980, 95.

reconstruct the musical practice of the Greek tragedy, he concluded that actors had declaimed continuously to the sound of the aulos and that the entire tragedy was sung.¹⁰⁴ Bianconi also observes a contradiction between the intention of musically reviving the Greek tragedy and the popularity of idyllic mythology: early Italian opera had a disposition towards Ovidian metamorphosis myths and their pastoral settings, which stimulate sweet affections through the banner of music's power and triumph over death, rather than arousing pity and fear. Bianconi highlights a merit that this subject matter and setting bring onto the stage as follows: the spatial, temporal, and idealised 'detachment' from reality reduces the incongruity of sung speech, conferring upon the characters a greatly amplified nobility and magnificence.¹⁰⁵ This 'detachment' might be paraphrased as 'fantasy', which makes incongruity – in terms of reality – congruous in artistic representation. The choice of expressive devices relied on the individual perspective of nature and art, as I have already examined the different artistic approaches based on the distinction between reason and the senses, and between literal and ideal imitation. The two dominant ideals of music around 1600 are: music as the corporeal embodiment of celestial harmony following the tradition of *musica speculativa*, as Artusi advocates; and music as primarily an art of imitating the meaning of words and moving emotions, following the newer practice, as Caccini and Monteverdi propose.

An important literary example of someone reading the ancient sources for expressive, imaginative purpose is Pietro Bembo, who exerted a great influence

¹⁰⁴ Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, 425. How great a part music had played in the Greek tragedy is open to debate. Palisca also examines other authors, such as Francesco Patrizi and Jacopo Peri, who attempted to elaborate on the nature of speech, accompanied declamation, and song, which might have constituted Greek tragedy.

¹⁰⁵ Bianconi, 174-175.

on the later musical ideal. As one of the earliest writers who strove beyond taking the word as a rational sign for a thing, he explored its affective sound quality. This contributed to the extension of perspective beyond the borders of verbal language into music, first the madrigal and later the experiments leading to opera.¹⁰⁶ In his *Prose della volgar lingua* (Venice, 1525), Bembo explores the ‘content’ or expressive power of the sound of a word, and the relations of sound and meaning in Italian poetic language, which appealed to aural perception and poetic imagination rather than to rational faculty. His research into all details of sound (such as the duration and accent of syllables, the organisation of consonance and vowel, rhyme, and the manners of varying these elements) enhanced the understanding of the effect of the two contrasting sound qualities, *gravità* (seriousness) and *piacevolezza* (sweetness), which had also been a crucial part of rhetorical ‘propriety’. From this perspective, sound became part of affective meaning, since it had the expressive power to generate *gravità* and *piacevolezza* according to the ideal of *varietà* (variety). The ensuing rhythmic flexibility (for instance, pauses between words, and delay or quickening on certain syllables, still within the underlying metrical structure) permitted unleashed freedom.¹⁰⁷ This notion of rhythmic irregularity within the regular temporal framework – even though it might sound as if it stepped out of the framework – stimulated composers to imitate the rhythmic characteristics of the words, and led to the experiments towards monody and recitative. There is no doubt that composers considered music to possess a greater potential for *varietà* by alternating *gravità* and *piacevolezza* than did poetry, especially when harmonic devices such as

¹⁰⁶ Mace, Dean T., ‘Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal’, *MQ* (1969), 68-69.

¹⁰⁷ Mace, Dean T., 75.

dissonances and modulations were employed.¹⁰⁸

In observing the tendency towards passionate expression and the resultant expansion of the expressive palette, many recent commentators have detected the signs of a transition from the Renaissance to the Baroque. One can confine these prevalent phenomena to the ‘mannerist’ period, for instance, between ‘1530 and 1630’¹⁰⁹ – a generous span of a century which embraces significant developments of madrigal and opera by Adrian Willaert, Lasso, Gesualdo, and Monteverdi, to name a few. There are also observations of stylistic differences between composers: Owens’ analysis of the madrigals by Luca Marenzio and Giaches de Wert, who shared the texts of several poets, demonstrates how each composer represented the shared texts through various devices such as melisma, rhythm, tessitura, texture, tonal shifts, and contrasting characters between voices. While Marenzio represents the text through poetic – graphic or aural – imagery of the individual words, Wert highlights a single moment or a single affective entity by larger units, giving a sense of dialogue or drama.¹¹⁰ Regarding a conflict between ‘convention’ and ‘expression’, as a sign of a later transition, Linfield also notes that the main concern of Schütz is not the dramatic and expressive setting of individual words in the *stile rappresentativo* tradition, but the conceptualisation of

¹⁰⁸ For instance, Vincentino noted that ‘how much greater and stronger will be the effect made by music recited with the same resources [that is, accents, pronunciation, rapid and slow movement, and soft and loud speech] accompanied by the well-united harmony?’ (Nicola Vincentino, *L’antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555), fol. 94, trans. Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th Century Italy*, 38).

¹⁰⁹ See Maria Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979; Lowinsky, ‘The Problem of Mannerism in Music: An Attempt at a Definition’, *Studi musicali* 3 (1974), 131-218.

¹¹⁰ Owens, Jessie Ann, ‘Marenzio and Wert read Tasso: a Study in Contrasting Aesthetics’, *EM* (1999), 567-568.

larger and more sustained units in the text by means of rhetorical figures.¹¹¹ These different strategies correspond to two different translations of the Italian word *concetti* which could be translated as ‘concept’ (or idea) or ‘conceit’ (or artifice).¹¹² Whether it was a concept or conceit that determined composers’ musical representation of the words, their differing approaches and experiments reflect how keenly they responded to the words. In this respect, Palisca’s diagnosis of this trend in the so-called mannerist period clearly captures the aspect of individuality: whether imitating the meaning, feelings, rhetorical figures or other sound qualities of texts, a composer’s individual choice of a ‘manner’ of composing is a conscious approach to his art, or a ‘style-conscious act’.¹¹³

In conceptualising the various styles and the opposing practices towards 1600, contemporary writers were aware that the newer practice could be perceived through the senses rather than understood in a clearly intelligible and explicable manner. Vincenzo Galilei, in his *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna* (1581), regards the tendency as the defects of modern music:

Today by imitation of the words is understood not the complete thought and the meaning of the words and the whole text, but only the significance of the sound [...] The end of music today is nothing but the delight and pleasure of the senses. Among the ancients it was to move and dispose the soul to

¹¹¹ Linfield, Eva, ‘Rhetoric, Rhythm, and Harmony as Keys to Schütz’s *Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich?*’, *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles, Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1996, 226-227.

¹¹² Mauro, Rose, ‘From “Concept” to “Conceit”’: Reading Petrarch’s *Concetti*, 1540-1640’, paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Seventeenth-Century Music (Wellesley College, 1996); quoted in Owens, ‘Marenzio and Wert read Tasso’, 568.

¹¹³ Palisca, ‘*Ut oratoria musica: The Rhetorical Basis of Musical Mannerism*’, *The Meaning of Mannerism*, ed. Franklin W. Robinson and Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1972, 37-65; reprint, *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, ed. Claude V. Palisca, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 286-287.

virtue.¹¹⁴

Diverging from his musical production, Marenzio articulated a similar view through his verbal statements: in the dedication of the third book á 5 in 1582, he referred to the ‘author of the *Republic*’, who ‘established the correct use of this wonderful discipline [of the perfect consonance of harmonic numbers]’, as the fundamental basis for his book; in the dedication of his second book á 6 in 1584, referring to Pythagoras and Plato, he wrote that the notion of perfect music aimed to be beneficial rather than merely delightful to the senses, and to ‘reduce to stable concord all the internal dissonances of our souls’.¹¹⁵ Marenzio’s references to Plato and speculative music theory reflect contemporary musical mainstream, as well as the academic current which the composer might have been exposed to. On the other hand, both Galilei and Marenzio, as pioneers in the new practice, attest to the growing recognition of the significance of the senses in musical representation and perception, though under the control of reason. This ambivalent aspect of musical thought, especially on reason and the senses, and on the celestial order or human passions, is also a characteristic of contemporary mentality that begun to face the mutual incompatibility of the occult and the modern sciences since the 1580s, as Brian Vickers observes (see chapter 2.3).

To sum up, the growing interest in the artist’s individuality and affective qualities of music, which gained prominence during the sixteenth century, is accompanied by several trends: the special emphasis on empirical thought, research into the role

¹¹⁴ Quoted in Tim Carter, ‘“An Air New and Grateful to the Ear”: The Concept of Aria in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy’, *Music Analysis* 12 (1993), 133-134.

¹¹⁵ Bizzarini, Marco, *Luca Marenzio*, trans. James Chater, Vermont: Ashgate, 2003, 262, 269. During the time of producing these writings, Marenzio was directly associated with the intellectual circle of Cardinal Luigi d’Este who was a protector of philosophers, embracing Neo-Platonism and even the occult science.

of reason, the senses, and imagination, and the rhetorical influence on music as a communicable language. The tension between different musical ideals in terms of imitation not only consolidated the existing rules, but also stimulated experiments with style and idiom over the century. The tendency towards freedom, deviation, and fantasy is part of this stylistic variety, as is the development of individuality towards 1600. Given these intellectual and cultural foundations for later authors' definitions of *fantasia* and the fantastic style, I will proceed to an examination of seventeenth-century musical fantasy.

Chapter 4.

Fantasy in the context of metaphor

The fact that the fantastic style has been widely considered keyboard-oriented (as noted in chapter 1.1) has much to do with the sources that imply the typological status of the style. The descriptions of fantasia and the fantastic style primarily imply solo instrumental – especially keyboard – repertoire: Froberger’s keyboard fantasia among Kircher’s musical examples has been most frequently quoted as representative of the style in association with the composer-performer as original genius. Both Scacchi’s and Kircher’s style classifications are based on a tripartite division – church, chamber (*stylus madrigalescus* in Kircher’s), and theatre – and the fantastic style is a sub-style of the chamber style.¹ This overall schematisation should be viewed with caution and distinguished from the earlier split between the ancient and modern practices. Although a certain style under subdivisions might be more relevant to one practice than the other, the style classification itself illustrates stylistic plurality, and the sub-styles often share social functions and idioms. The chamber or madrigal style stands out as a comprehensive category that covers both sacred and secular, and vocal and instrumental contexts, in comparison with the limited context of the *stylus theatralis*. The church style also embraces the florid and expressive genre of the motet, the instrumental concerto according to modern practice, and even recitative and aria styles.

The new musical ideal or practice towards 1600, encapsulated by Caccini and

¹ See the schematisation by modern commentators, such as Wilhelm Seidel (‘Stil’, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil* viii, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998, 1745), Claude V. Palisca (‘The Genesis of Mattheson’s Style Classification’, *New Mattheson Studies*, ed. George J. Buelow and Hans Joachim Marx, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 411, 418), and Collins, 18.

Monteverdi, essentially diagnosed a new tendency in secular vocal music, but also had an impact on instrumental music. Monody, as an imitation of supposedly Greek dramatic practice, technically required the basso continuo accompaniment and, in expression, explored the affective and declamatory style, which solo instrumental music aspired to imitate. The treatises on keyboard music produced around 1600 confirm the special attention devoted to the recent practice of the madrigal and monody, giving instructions for accompaniment, intabulation, and shorthand notation.² Inspired by the expressive style of the solo madrigal, Frescobaldi proposed an imitation of the contemporary madrigal in the keyboard toccata in the preface of his *Toccate e partite I* (Rome, 1615):

[...] as we see practised in modern madrigals, which although difficult are facilitated by means of the beat taking it now slowly, now rapidly, and even suspending it in the air, according to their *affetti* or meaning of the words. In the toccatas, I have taken care [...] that they be full of varied passages, and of *affetti*.³

Though it is difficult to draw concrete parallels between madrigal and toccata (Frescobaldi's intabulation toccata based on Arcadelt's madrigal is an exceptional case, which I will examine in chapter 4.2.2), it is obvious that Frescobaldi's toccata was intended as the instrumental equivalent of the madrigal, sharing the expressive ideal of the *seconda prattica*, that is, to move the mind of the listener. This view opens up a potential of programmatic interpretation of instrumental music: even without any text or programmatic title, the composer nevertheless

² Judd, R., *The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard*, 5, 124-125. Authors on the new style in keyboard repertoire include Lodovico Viadana (1602), Ascanio Mayone (1603/1609), Giovanni Maria Trabaci (1603/1615), Vincenzo Calestani (1603), Agostino Agazzari (1607), and Adriano Banchieri (1609/1612).

³ Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo*, Rome, 1615, preface, trans. Hammond, Frederick, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: A Guide to Research*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1988, 188.

aims to project the affective power, as if there were a verbal meaning. The association of the expressive ideal of vocal music with fantasy is implied in several treatises: Morley and Mersenne locate *fantasia* between vocal genres and pure instrumental genres (dances), alluding to the affective quality of the madrigal or a florid type of motet; Kircher's examples of the *stylus phantasticus* include both instrumental and vocal pieces, by which he elucidates 'freedom' of the style as a melodically and rhythmically animated quality (such as ornamentations and the remarkable changes of time between sections). This quality belonged to the expressive ideal of the *seconda prattica*, which Kircher explored more eagerly with the *stylus madrigalescus* and the *stylus theatricus* – as he described their expressive power to 'transport' one to or 'incite' the various 'affections' according to the meaning of the text.⁴ Moreover, Kircher discusses the fantastic style in book 7 of his *Musurgia*, entitled 'Old and modern music: various styles and compositional skills', and this book also includes subjects of affect, chromaticism and treatment of rhythmic details, which can be equally – even better – discussed in the vocal context. Kircher's whole discussion of styles is founded on his awareness of the two practices and, therefore, what he means by 'appropriate for instruments' and 'not bound to words' does not necessarily exclude vocal music.

This chapter focuses on the aspects of musical representation (theatricalisation and internalisation) through fantasy in both vocal and instrumental genres. To illustrate the association between fantasy and the expressive ideal of the *seconda prattica*, I will confine my analysis in this chapter to three metaphorical subjects – lament, melancholy, and humour – among the themes which attracted

⁴ Kircher, Book 7, 597, trans. Collins, 16-17,

seventeenth-century artists to exploring their artistic representations.⁵ Lament represents the intense feelings of tragedy, such as pity, fear, anger, and distress, which allow a variety of artistic license for the purpose of expression. Melancholy undergoes a conceptual transformation from a defect to a merit, from a sign of physical and mental infirmity to that of a creative genius. Humour in its general sense involves both intellectual play and emotional reaction, by means of a breach of the rules. All these subjects assume cultural and intellectual conventions, and permit deviations – or artistic negligence (*sprezzatura*) – from the conventional rules, for instance, imitation through transformation and exaggeration. They point to reflective and illusive aspects of fantasy, serving as artistic stimulations to create an alienating space or the subversive relationship between a thing and its representation (or between reality and fantasy), and to enhance the appreciation of artefacts that are consciously ‘false’ or ‘artificial’.

4.1. Lament

4.1.1. Vocal lament and representation of death

The metaphoric representations of death or tragedy involved a range of social and intellectual factors of which composers were aware when they employed a specific style or idiom. While the lament was a traditional subject in the religious context (for instance, Thomas Tallis’ *Lamentations of Jeremiah* and Palestrina’s *Lamentation for Holy Saturday*), laments for theatre or chamber became, towards 1600, a genre suitable for the expressive ideal, representing a sad affection of the bereaved or an abandoned lover.⁶ In a broad context, a lament is an important part

⁵ Examples of other popular themes are love, nature, heroic acts, and character description.

⁶ To name a few among tragic protagonists, the bereaved are *Tancredi* (Marenzio, 1584; Wert, 1581) and *Orfeo* (Monteverdi, 1607; William Byrd, 1611; Sigismondo d’India, 1621); and the abandoned include *Arianna* (Monteverdi, 1608) and *Dido* (Pietro Francesco Cavalli, 1641; Henry Purcell, 1689).

of tragedy, in both reality and drama, mainly because the act of mourning can be both effect (a response to a tragic event) and cause (in the context of drama, creating an atmosphere of sadness in the mind of the audience), which offers great rhetorical potential. In terms of sixteenth-century social manners and marriage virtue, weeping and sadness were imperative especially for a female; learning to feel sad and weep – let alone learning to laugh – signified the submission and chastity of a virtuous wife who imitated or reflected her husband's moods and attitudes instead of her own.⁷

The concept of purgation implied in the act of weeping involves both the moral issue of edification, and the artifice for artistic representation. With reference to purgation in the mimetic arts, both Plato and Aristotle employ words rooted in '*kathairein*' (purify, clean, cleanse), but their definitions are based on opposing views on emotions. Plato's *katharsis* denotes the soul's search for knowledge by cleansing – or separating from – emotions as obstacles to intellectual activity; by contrast, Aristotle sees it as the impact on the audience, a process of purification through pity and fear, admitting that emotions can also be genuine sources of understanding.⁸ Therefore, Plato's *katharsis* signifies an intellectual component, alienated from fictional mechanisms, in the same vein as his warning against the potential contamination of extreme emotions released by mimetic acts on stage. Here the term 'alienation' acquires particular significance in association with the artist's strategy to manage the distance between reality and art on both intellectual

⁷ Dolce, Lodovico, *Dialogo: Della istituzione delle donne* (Venice, 1560), fol. 10; Belmont, Pietro, *Istituzione della sposa* (Rome, 1587), 10; quoted in Suzanne G. Cusick, 'There was not One Lady who Failed to Shed a Tear', *EM* (1994), 22-23. In this regard, Cusick suggests that the abandoned female protagonist in theatrical laments has been taken to imply the moral intention to highlight suffering as a result of her wilfulness and search for sensual pleasure.

⁸ Taxido, *Tragedy, Modernity and Mourning*, 115. Plato uses 'katharos', 'katharsis', and 'katharmos', and Aristotle 'katharsis'.

and emotional levels, as it is a keyword to ideal imitation and fantasy (see chapter 3.2.2). The warning against potential contamination can otherwise be interpreted as an unintended affirmation of the expressive power of the mimetic arts. On the other hand, Aristotelian *katharsis*, or purgation as an artifice, alludes to ‘psychological identification’ or emotional reaction on the part of the audience (and in principle the actor) of tragedy.⁹ This notion of *katharsis* highlights both the doctrine of imitation and individual aesthetic experience: art (tragedy as drama) mirrors life (tragic event) by aiming to minimise the difference between the real and the fictional worlds; responses to this metaphorical mechanism, such as pity and fear, are individually made (or at least create the illusion of individuality). Composers of lament aimed to explore ideas and idioms relating to the sad affection in order to capture these emotional responses.

On the sad affection, the literary critic Lorenzo Giacomini, in his *Orationi* (Florence, 1597), paraphrases not only Plato’s and Aristotle’s comments on tragic emotions and accompanying physical sign of ‘tears’, but also offers a rationalised and physiological explanation, well before Descartes’ theory of passions: when the soul is in a sad affection, a great quantity of spirits evaporate and rise to the head, particularly to its anterior part, stimulating ‘the seat of fantasy’; ‘condensation’ of these vapours causes the face to contract and tears to flow, by which ‘the soul lightens itself’ and ‘liberates the passionateness’.¹⁰ This concept of the passions as movements of physical spirits or vapours around the faculty of imagination (‘fantasy’), such as condensation and release of vapours, also refers to Galen’s theory of ventricles of the brain, in which imagination is located in the

⁹ Taxido, 112.

¹⁰ Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, 406-407.

forebrain (see chapter 1.3). To the contemporary composers who aimed to move the mind of their listener as poets do, this explanation meant that the affections were not abstract notions but physical components to be stirred and transported. They explored the musical and dramaturgical potential in order to generate the resonance of the protagonists' intense feelings in the mind of the audience. In this respect, the act of weeping and the pictorial images of tears are central to the musical poetics of lament.

Since the main concern of the *seconda prattica* was the supremacy of words over harmony, the most prominent invention of the musical imitation of speech was the monody of declamatory character, deviating from the metrical and harmonic norm. This concern generated different types and receptions of the recitative style during the first half of the seventeenth century: it ranged from a narrative type to a more melodious one, anticipating the clear-cut affective distinction between recitative and aria of later periods.¹¹ For instance, the recitative style of *Lamento d'Arianna* (1608) and the aria style of *Lamento della ninfa* (1638) by Monteverdi suggest different aesthetics associated with imitation: though the recitative of *Arianna* contains recurring melodic motifs and their variants, its literal imitation of speech is opposed to 'putative resemblance of emotions' (in Carter's terminology) or imitation through resorting to intuitive and sensuous melody and the human voice, which exert a more spontaneous effect on the senses than does reason.¹² The composer's strategy behind this stylistic variety involved a literal interpretation of the text or the freedom to express the flux of passions, such as grief, anger, and even madness. With a particular interest in mimetic gestures in music for both

¹¹ Carter, Tim, 'Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi, and Dido *alla parmigiana* (1628)', *JAMS* (1996), 61.

¹² Carter, 'Resemblance and Representation', 132-133.

serious and comic effects, Monteverdi comments on the expression of madness, noting that each time the mad protagonist [Licori] comes on stage, she can always produce ‘new moods and fresh changes of music’.¹³ His extant reports of auditions of singers also illustrate how keen he was on the subject of lament and the classification of vocal characters and registers.¹⁴ He made diverse experiments with the lament genre to achieve musical transformation of the words and affections.

Monteverdi’s *Lamento d’Arianna* (1608) is an exemplar of the theatrical style which Kircher ranks highly – together with Caccini’s *Euridice* (1600) and Stefano Landi’s *Sant’Alessio* (1632). The tragic fate of the abandoned Arianna had already been a well-known story due to the popularity of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* during the second half of the sixteenth century. However, the significance of Arianna in Monteverdi’s production was unusual in proportion and context, in comparison with other female roles of contemporary opera, as shown especially by the lament movement, the longest piece for a female role at the time.¹⁵ This lament is not only built on conventional elements, applying word-painting to a popular subject of death, but it also contains innovative elements in terms of the treatment of dissonances and musical themes. The constituents of the recurring refrain on the text ‘Lasciatemi morire’ (leave me to die) are a rise from A to D, coloured by suspensions on the second and the seventh, and a descent from F to D, supported by a V-I harmonic progression. Shifts between these opposing motifs represent

¹³ Monteverdi’s letter to Striggio in May 1627, from *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, trans. Denis Stevens, second edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, 322-323; quoted in Carter, ‘Intriguing Laments’, 57.

¹⁴ Wistreich, Richard, ‘“La voce ègrata assai, ma ...”: Monteverdi on singing’, *EM* (1994), 7-19.

¹⁵ Carter, Tim, ‘Lamenting Ariadne?’, *EM* (1999), 401; Cusick, 23. The Italian translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* by Giovanni Andrea dell’Anguillara was reprinted 16 times between 1561 and 1607.

emotional instability.¹⁶ These two opposing motions are connected most abruptly by a leap of a minor sixth to a dissonance, which is a striking breach of harmonic conventions, perhaps in imitation of weeping or an emotional state of despair (Example 4.1.1, marked by an asterisk).¹⁷

Example 4.1.1. Claudio Monteverdi, from *Lamento d'Arianna*.

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line is in treble clef and the bass line is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The vocal line has two phrases: "La - scia - te - mi mo - ri - re," and "La - scia - te - mi mo - ri - re". The second phrase has an asterisk under the final note. The bass line has a flat sign under the first and third notes.

The conceptual opposition is extended to the variants of the two motifs, which involve opposing directions, registers, and modes. The dynamic nature of the musical content of the 'Lasciatemi' (leave-me) motif is therefore opposed to the static 'morire' (die) motif. The rising motif is set to words relating to the protagonist's internalised feelings, such as 'io' (I), 'solitarie' (solitary), and 'misera' (miserable); and the descent is found on the connotations of her external situation, such as 'O Teseo' (name of the abandoning husband), 'O padre mio' (O my father), and 'abandono' (abandoned).

On the other hand, the words denoting 'weeping' are found on both motifs (a falling minor third on 'piango' and a rising chromatic fourth on 'in van piangendo, in van gridando'), representing the prevailing affection of sorrow throughout the piece. While the drooping image of the descending motif might well represent

¹⁶ Cusick interprets the two contrasting themes as signifying uncontrollable passion (self identity) and resumed piety (social identity) (Cusick, 25-26).

¹⁷ Such a leap, even to a note that is dissonant with the bass, was forbidden in contemporary vocal writing, though a generation later it became legitimate in Bernhard's list of figures as a common technique in the recitative style (Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, trans. Hilse, 96, 118; Boyd, 18).

sadness in the simplest form of word-painting,¹⁸ the chromaticism of the rising motif is seen as a particularly significant device for text expression, cultivated by sixteenth-century composers.¹⁹ Taking imitation of the nature of the words as their basis for musical poetics, both Vincentino explicitly and Zarlino implicitly comment on the expressive power of chromatic notes, which serve to create a harmony corresponding to ‘harsh or sweet’ and ‘gay or sad’ passions of the words, as well as their formal function as *musica ficta* in order to avoid dissonances and maintain the flow of smooth harmony.²⁰ Chromatic inflections were considered to serve the expression of both poignant and amorous texts, usually distinguished by the directions of movement. To take examples from madrigals by Marenzio, Wert, and Monteverdi, a falling chromatic motif is associated with words such as ‘grief’ and ‘tears’; a rising one with ‘desire’ and ‘love’.²¹ Monteverdi’s experiments with chromaticism range throughout his life, encompassing the period from at least 1592 (a falling fourth on the text ‘fainting with grief’ in *Là tra ’l sangue* from *Il terzo libro de madrigali*) to 1642 (a rising octave on ‘non morir’ (do not die) from *L’incoronazione di Poppea*, see Example 4.1.2). Examples of chromaticism from Monteverdi’s *Orfeo* (1607) are varied and numerous: a descending scale including a chromatic fourth in Orfeo’s lament (*Possento spirto*, Act III, bars 68-70) and a

¹⁸ Similarly, Marenzio, in his *Giunto alla tomba*, portrays the word ‘tomb’ with a descent to the low range below the normal ambitus for the bass, as a pictorial image of depth (Owen, ‘Marenzio and Wert read Tasso’, 566).

¹⁹ Peter Williams claims that the idiomatic use of the chromatic fourth appeared more regularly from the 1590s, while two significant examples are found as early as in 1555: the chromatic tetrachord (four-note motif composed of two semitones and a third) in Nicola Vincentino’s motet *Hierusalem convertere* and the chromatic fourth motif (composed of six chromatic notes) in Cipriano de Rore’s *Calami sonum ferentes* (Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth during Four Centuries of Music*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 8, 50).

²⁰ Vincentino, Nicola, *L’antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555), fol. 31-32, 86; Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part III, 286; *The Art of Counterpoint*, 278. As for these authors’ opposing aesthetics, see Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th Century Italy*, 35-41, 56-68.

²¹ Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth*, 12-19; Owens, ‘Marenzio and Wert read Tasso’, 559-566.

rising chromatic fourth in Orfeo's plea for new life for Euridice (*Sol tu nobile Dio*, Act III, bars 34-36). Given Monteverdi's use of the conventional implication of the rising chromatic scale (set to texts such as 'non morir' and 'rendetemi il mio ben: give me back my love'), the *Lasciatemi* motif on the texts 'in van piangendo, in van gridando' in *Arianna* implies the protagonist's (or the composer's²²) view of the act of weeping: her pleas offered through weeping may not turn out in vain and carry on with hope, saving the eruption of her anger and other intense expressions of her pain for the next section.

Example 4.1.2. Monteverdi, from *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, Act II, Scene 3.

In addition to the idiomatic elements underlining the meaning of the words, an important rhetorical trope relating to death was 'prosopopoeia', or the personification of the dead or the inanimate. Quintilian emphasises its evocative power, noting that 'we are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven and raise the dead'.²³ Based on Quintilian's description, *prosopopoeia* became an important source of artistic imagination in many writings on rhetoric during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Abraham Fraunce, in

²² While Cusick points out the opposition between 'female' sorrow as a sign of submissiveness and 'male' expression of sorrow as that of a melancholic genius, Carter's comments on Arianna's plaint as a reflection of an Orphic image and power of music seems more conforming to Monteverdi's concept of the musical representation of lament. See Cusick, 37; Carter, 'Lamenting Ariadne?', 400.

²³ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, chapter IX, 2; quoted in Gregory S. Johnston, 'Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music', *JM* (1991), 187.

his *Arcadian Rhetorike* (London, 1588), writes that it involves ‘a feigning of any person, when in our speech we represent the person of any, and make it [him] speak as though he were there present’; Henry Peacham the Elder (*The Garden of Eloquence*, London, 1577) also notes that through *prosopopoeia*, the orator personifies the inner thoughts and affections of an absent person, making that person actually seem to appear before the eyes of the hearer.²⁴ The *Erotemata dialecticae* (Frankfurt, 1552) by Lucas Lossius, Joachim Burmeister’s teacher of the rhetoric, is an important reference for his pupil’s musical-rhetorical research, when he describes ‘a personification [...] as in the case of when we attribute the faculty of sensation to an inanimate thing’.²⁵

Burmeister does not treat *prosopopoeia* as a musical figure, but briefly mentions it as an idea, which is not different from those which the above-mentioned writers consider. In the introductory letter and poems in his *Musica autoschediastike* (Rostock, 1601), Burmeister introduces *prosopopoeia* as a rhetorical stimulus, writing that this art is ‘capable of depicting the inanimate so that it appears no different from the animate [...] it can present lifeless things as though they were alive’.²⁶ He goes further to discuss the musical application of this art, appearing rather abstract. It is associated with emphatic words, majestic gesture, ornament, and a mixture of consonances and dissonances. He gives one example, the musical setting for the text ‘laborem’ (labour) from Orlando di Lasso’s *Deus qui sedes* (Example 4.1.3). Burmeister’s comment on this phrase is that the words are ‘so artfully depicted that by contorted intervallic movements he [di Lasso] presents to

²⁴ Toft, Robert, *Tune Thy Musicke To Thy Hart*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, 15.

²⁵ Lossius, Lucas, *Erotemata dialecticae* (Frankfurt, 1552), 199; quoted in Benito V. Rivera, *Musical Poetics* (Joachim Burmeister, *Musica poetica*), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, Appendix A2, 233.

²⁶ Burmeister, *Musica autoschediastike* (Rostock, 1601), trans. Rivera, *Musical Poetics*, 233.

employed for a vivid representation of images and affections in the text through constant motion towards a certain direction, as one of several specific figures of the *hypotyposis* in Kircher's categorisation, together with *anabasis* (an ascending passage for expressing exalted affections) and *catabasis* (a descending passage for expressing negative affections).

The importance of *prosopopoeia* also highlights the funeral sermon and funeral oration (*oraison funèbre*), just as it was well known among rhetoricians and musicians. These were major literary genres that had long explored the concept of death, genres that aimed to lead the individual mourner to a new understanding of life and death through or beyond sorrow. In seventeenth-century England, the funeral sermon became an important feature, both in number and in homiletic excellence.³⁰ This trend reflected the preoccupation with death and the art of writing biography in the context of the highly developed sense of style. It is no wonder that the funeral sermon often employed rhetorical means, for example, the *exordium*, or introduction, which draws the audience's attention through the condensed and impassioned style of oration.³¹ Although the theme of the funeral sermon was no different from what one might also expect from an ordinary sermon – immortality of the soul and Jesus' victory over death – the preacher aimed to offer the bereaved concrete evidence of a Christian life through the biography of the deceased, together with a consolatory message based on essential

³⁰ Huntley, Frank Livingstone, *Essay in Persuasion on Seventeenth-Century English Literature*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, 97.

³¹ Figures such as *epizeuxis* (a repetition of word) and *auxesis* (a figure involving an ascent by degrees to the top of some matter, progressing to the more important) were also useful for the introduction (Toft, Robert, *Tune Thy Musicke To Thy Hart*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, glossary). Samuel Shaw gives an example of these figures of repetition with an increased intensity: 'With a face sadder than usual, with a heart sadder than my face, but upon an occasion sadder than them both, I am here, rather to receive the expressions of your sorrow, than tell you the resentment of mine own [...]' ('Funeral Oration made at Mr. Blake's Death', *Paul's Last Farewell or Sermon*, ed. Anthony Burgess, London, 1658).

teachings about resurrection. The life and character of the deceased only functioned as an example of a well-deserved eternal life. Stylistically, preachers were aware of the danger of hyperbole and limited the overindulgence of imagination and the too-passionate bias – mainly because the preacher and the deceased were well known to the congregation.³²

Though stylistically similar to the funeral sermon, the funeral oration is a separate genre: prevalent in France, it emphasises the loss of the beloved one on a more emotional level and with extravagant eulogy, emulating classical orations such as the panegyrics of Cicero.³³ In contrast to the funeral sermon, which essentially conveys the message that all men are sinners, the *oraison funèbre* keeps its focus on the achievements of an individual human ‘hero’. The genre is exemplified by French royal funerals: these burial rites were modelled on the ancient Roman imperial funeral as well as on an ecclesiastical tradition.³⁴ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, French royal funeral ceremonies were considered an admirable convention by the English court. Their definite order and majestic scale were widely known through diplomatic reports and English observers’ publications, for instance, Nicholas Oaks’ *The Funerall Pompe and Obsequies of the Most Mighty and Puissant Henry the Fourth* (London, 1610). Funeral customs in Catholic France of this time can be reconstructed through statements about royal funerals (see Appendix). In the elaborate royal funeral convention, the personification of the king’s effigy during the ‘hall of honour’ period is a remarkable example of *prosopopoeia* through the public attitude towards the

³² Huntley, 100-102.

³³ Huntley, 97-98.

³⁴ Giesey, Ralph E., *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, Genève: Librairie E. Droz, 1960, 2-3.

effigy, as if it were the living king.

In the context of Lutheran funeral convention in early seventeenth-century Germany, Schütz in his *Musikalische Exequien* SWV 279 (Dresden, 1636) expands the idea of *prosopopoeia* into a compositional scheme of funeral music accompanying the funeral sermon. Through the preacher's speech and sometimes through personification (or representation of the voice) of the deceased, the individual mourners who are emotionally attached to the deceased gain consolation and, at the same time, are taught the theological lesson that death is a reality but resurrection is a promise. The fact that Heinrich Posthumus von Reuß commissioned his own funeral rites a year before his death was a good example of the *ars moriendi* of the time. Following contemporary conventions, he had his coffin inscribed with a series of biblical verses on human condition and salvation and selected biblical texts on which the funeral sermon was to expound, accompanied by musical performance. One unusual aspect of this commission is the fact that he supplemented Bible verses with chorale strophes to be inscribed on his coffin. These sources came to constitute the textual outline of the first part of the *Musikalische Exequien*, which was divided into the lamenting 'Kyrie' and the comforting 'Gloria' portions.³⁵ While the second part of the *Exequien* is a double choir motet following the sermon and based on the sermon text 'Herr, wenn ich nur dich habe' (Lord, if you are all I have, Psalm 73:25), the third part entitled the *Canticum Simeonis* is the composer's own addition beyond the requirements of commission. According to Schütz (in his third ordinance for the

³⁵ Breig, Werner, 'Heinrich Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien*: Reflections on Its History and Textural-Musical Conception', *Church, Stage, and Studio: Music and Its Contexts in Seventeenth-Century Germany*, ed. Paul Walker, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 110-117. Breig's Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show 21 inscriptions and the textual outline of the first part of the *Musikalische Exequien*.

performers of the *Exequien*), the accompanying music was intended to ‘intimate and convey something of the joy of the blessed disembodied Soul in Heaven in the company of Heavenly Spirits and Holy Angels’, requiring appropriate voices and placing of sound sources (two choirs) ‘at different places around the church’.³⁶ These specified arrangements were stipulated in order to ‘enhance the effect of the work’, that is, its acoustic and theatrical possibilities. The main biblical texts on which this part is built are ‘Herr, nun lässest du deinen Diener’ (Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, i. e. The *Nunc Dimittis*, Luke 2:29) and ‘Selig sind die Toten, die in dem Herren sterben’ (Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, Revelation 14:13). These texts are assigned to two asymmetrical choirs which are located apart: according to the above-mentioned instruction, choir I, five-voiced (mezzo-soprano, alto, two tenors, and bass), is located ‘close to the organ’, whereas choir II, composed of two sopranos and a baritone, is ‘set up at distance’, somewhere like the gallery. Therefore, the two choirs form a textual and textural contrast between a confession and a consolatory response, and between the ripieno and concertino groups. Given that Heinrich Posthumus was a capable singer and that angelic parts were sung by boys, choir II represents the ‘disembodied Soul’ accompanied by ‘holy Angels’, and this *Canticum* is considered as a dialogue between the mourner and the deceased.³⁷ Planning the conclusion of the funeral service, the composer elaborates on the idea of *prosopopoeia* through the contrasting passions of human sorrow and heavenly joy so vividly that the listeners may be beguiled by the voice of the deceased who proclaims the good news.

³⁶ Trans. Johnston, ‘Rhetorical Personification’, 201.

³⁷ Johnston, 202-203.

month in the cases of Heinrich Posthumus and French royal funerals, this kind of mourning may not have been emotionally spontaneous but, rather, highly conventionalised. *Prosopopoeia* is a crucial device to theatricalise the tragedy and to lead the individual mourner to the common message of death in the religious context, that is, to accept a reality of death and keep faith in redemption. A tomb in the forms of effigy, inscribed figure, or epitaph also conveys the same notion of death and elements of personification. In his research on the history of the tomb, Philip Ariès observes that late sixteenth-century epitaphs reflect a growing desire to represent the biographical merits of the deceased and to express the filial or conjugal piety of the bereaved through the verbal text or praying figures that illustrate the deceased in heaven. Ariès associates this trend with the prevalence of the dualistic concept of body *versus* soul: while the body had been abandoned to its fate, the soul remains as the immortal receptacle of the personality.³⁸ This emphasis on personality as a part of the immortal soul reveals a need for individual identity and growing consciousness of the self, as opposed to the previous convention of anonymous burial that accumulated body above body in the church cemetery.³⁹ This changing notion of the self and individual personality underlines both modern subjectivity and the significance of personalised expression in artistic representation of death or mourning, especially in the genres of literary and musical ‘tombs’.

4.1.2. Instrumental lament

Compared to vocal laments, whether they represent mythological or personal tragedy, laments for instruments possess a more introspective character, though

³⁸ Ariès, Philip, *Image of Man and Death*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, 87, 90.

³⁹ Ariès, 35.

they can allude to the meaning of verbal texts through sharing idioms. They might be considered the composer's 'personalised' expression of grief, apart from a commission for the funeral service or stage production. According to Silbiger's classification of seventeenth-century programmatic music for solo instruments, a lament belongs to the group which is characterised by titles naming a specific person.⁴⁰ However, literal imitation of sounds or events is also an important device for instrumental laments. While such compositions might engage the intense feelings of the composer as a mourner, the important point is that he can 'create' an emotion or atmosphere through musical representation of lament. In order to articulate grief without verbal texts, instrumental laments often employ the same devices and motifs of vocal laments, such as descending scales, chromaticism, sighing figures, and slow-moving harmonic rhythms. Instrumental laments also developed their own way of representation of sadness, for example, incorporating programmatic elements such as bell sounds reminiscent of funeral bells. Instrumental laments are usually classified as dance forms by their shared techniques and structure (allemande or pavane in particular). However, their free flow in harmonic progressions and rhythmic flexibility hardly squares with a single form. It is thus necessary to examine the affective implications of certain instrumental idioms.

A prominent genre of instrumental laments is the *tombeau* or literally 'tomb': it first appeared in the works by French lutenists Ennemond and Denis Gaultier. These composers might well have been motivated by contemporary literary genres

⁴⁰ Silbiger, 'Fantasy and Craft', 472-473. Silbiger classifies seventeenth-century programmatic music into three groups: (1) Battle pieces depicting the event of war; (2) A realistic imitation of other sounds such as bells or bagpipes; (3) English and French pieces (mostly for harpsichord and lute) with the name of a person in the title.

relating to funeral conventions. The literary *tombeau* in particular was current in early seventeenth-century France as a refined genre of funeral poem.⁴¹ Literary *tombeaux* also denoted a compilation of inscriptions and epitaphs commemorating the death of a person.⁴² Reflecting the author's personal engagement with death, a *tombeau* might depict the event of death or the act of mourning and represent the deceased person's character or a mourner's emotion. Concerning the way instrumental music encapsulated these ideas of commemoration of the deceased, several questions are raised: Does the rhetorical trope of *prosopopoeia* in a non-verbal context have the same effect as in a verbal one? How is the meaning communicated, narratively or descriptively? What are the advantages of instrumental laments?

One of the French instrumental sources which draw attention to the rhetorical tradition is *La rhétorique des dieux*, a compilation of Denis Gaultier's eleven suites for lute. This collection, published in 1652, highlights the lute's expressive – persuasive and poetic – capability and elevated position by that time as an aristocratic instrument. Jean Antoine de Baif's *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*, founded around 1570, was particularly concerned with rationalising the expressive effects of music, such as the supposed characteristics of the ancient Greek modes.⁴³ Following this tradition, the unknown compilers of *La rhétorique* endeavoured to arrange Gaultier's dance movements by the Greek modes (though

⁴¹ Lockspeiser, Edward, and Blunt, Anthony, *French Art and Music since 1500*, Methuen, 1974, 64; Silbiger, 'Fantasy and Craft', 474. The earliest known example is Ennemond Gaultier's *tombeau* for his friend, the lutenist Mesangeau (c. 1639).

⁴² Jean Le Laboureur, in the preface to *Les Tombeaux des personnes illustres* (Paris, 1642), reveals his intention to publish a compilation of genealogies and elegies of the Orleans family: 'as the reputation of the deceased is better conserved by books than by the structure of tombs, likewise books also have more power to make the reader imitate the acts of families that they speak about, just as the tombs have to the spectator'.

⁴³ Ledbetter, David, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th Century France*, London: Macmillan Press, 1987, 8.

unsystematically), and to add programmatic titles – mainly the names of mythological figures – and introductory text. In this allegorical personification, *La rhétorique* includes two *tombeaux* which suggest the composer's personal reaction to the deaths of his wife and of a lutenist friend, Lenclos.⁴⁴ The closest reference to *prosopopoeia* is found in the programme of the *Tombeau de Mademoiselle Gaultier*, which highlights the commemorating nature and the centrality of *prosopopoeia* of the musical *tombeau*.⁴⁵

The illustrious Gaultier, favoured by the gods with the supreme power of animating bodies without souls, makes his lute sing of the sad and lamentable parting from his better half, makes it describe the monument that he has raised to her in the noblest part of the half himself that remained to him, and has it recount how, in imitation of the phoenix, he has restored himself to life by immortalising the half that has died.⁴⁶

In the form of a pavane, this *tombeau* is set in F# minor, a key peculiar to the lute, which Louis Couperin also chose for his keyboard pavane. With the slow-moving harmonic rhythm of a minim and small-value figures running towards the downbeat, a pavane has the programmatic potential for portraying the majestic character of a funeral procession. Another characteristic of the pavane is the sumptuous acoustic aspect resulting from the wide range of pitch (especially the expanded bass tessitura) and the ensuing variety of tone colours. The use of a long pedal tone generates a mixture of consonance and dissonance (Examples 4.1.6.a

⁴⁴ In other sources, *Le Tombeau de Mons. Lenclos* is attributed to Ennemond Gaultier, entitled *Le Tombeau de l'Enclos*. See *Oeuvres du Vieux Gautier*, ed. André Souris, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1966.

⁴⁵ The use of the term Mademoiselle rather than Madame suggests one of the inconsistent and erroneous features in this compilation, as David Bush points out in the preface to the above edition (Bush, David J., ed., *Denis Gaultier: La rhétorique des dieux* (1652), Madison: A-R Edition, 1990).

⁴⁶ Bush, ed., *Denis Gaultier: La rhétorique des dieux*, 19.

and 4.1.7.a). While most of the conjunct notes filling in the downbeats are passing notes, Couperin occasionally places a special emphasis on dissonant clashes on the downbeat (Example. 4.1.7.a and b, marked by asterisks).

Example 4.1.6. Denis Gaultier, *Tombeau de Mademoiselle Gaultier*.

(a) bars 1-5.

(b) bars 12-14.

Example 4.1.7. Louis Couperin, *Pavane in F# minor*.

(a) Part I, bars 1-4.

(b) Part I, bars 10-12.

(c) Part III, bars 8-14

Textural variety is also an important element: for example, a move to contrapuntal texture in the beginning of the second half of Denis Gaultier's *tombeaux* (Examples 4.1.6.b and 4.1.8.b); the interruption of bursting toccata-type *passaggio* in Couperin's pavane (in bar 12; Example 4.1.7.c); and a sudden move to a higher register and the *style brisé* or *style luthé* in Ennemond Gaultier's *tombeau* (in bar 17; Example 4.1.8.a).⁴⁷ From these rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic aspects typical of a pavane, one might expect a mournful affection and a sombre mood to be projected. At the 'local' level, chromatic inflections serve to produce linear fluctuations or modal shades between major and minor chords (Example 4.1.8, marked by circles).

Example 4.1.8. (a) Ennemond Gaultier, *Tombeau de Mesangeau*, bars 15-18.

⁴⁷ Given that the term *style brisé* is a modern invention, the term *style luthé* or *brisure* seems more appropriate to refer to this technique. See Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 31; and Ledbetter's article on *style brisé* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

(b) Denis Gaultier, *Tombeau de Mons. Lenclos*, bars 9-17.

The most important feature of the overall texture of these pieces is derived from the *style luthé*, which came to characterise the texture of the allemande among other dances during the seventeenth century. Although it appears ornamental in terms of harmonic structure, it shapes the impression of melodic lines emerging as if spontaneously spun out. With its constant rhythmic flow, this style enlivens movements by building up rhythmic momentum and promises contrapuntal subtlety by generating syncopations, suspensions, and passing dissonances; it sounds inherently affective, especially sweet or mournful when combined with sixths (Example 4.1.8, marked by brackets). On the other hand, this style is rather idiomatic for plucked string instruments, given that it was cultivated in order to enhance sonority within the limit of the finger techniques of the lute.⁴⁸

Inspired by the lutenists' imitation of the literary *tombeau* and their cultivation of the potential of certain genres (the allemande and the pavane in particular), Louis Couperin and Froberger, in their harpsichord *tombeaux*, lamented their friend and

⁴⁸ Ledbetter notes that the first lute source that shows the true *style luthé* is Antoine Francisque's *Le trésor d'Orphée* (Paris, 1600) (Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 33).

fellow lutenist Charles Fleury Blancrocher (1605-1652) who died from falling down the stairs. There is no further information about the genesis of these compositions except that Froberger was present at the moment of Blancrocher's death.⁴⁹ As a tribute to the deceased according to literary conventions, both *tombeaux* seem to have been composed not long after Blancrocher's death and incorporate the emotion of grief in an individualised style, whether or not there was any conscious quotation between the two composers' *tombeaux*. Given that the genre itself is a French invention and that Froberger kept close relationships with both French and Italian musicians through his frequent visits (let alone England and German-speaking lands), these *tombeaux*, by a native French and a foreign yet cosmopolitan composer, are worth a closer look.

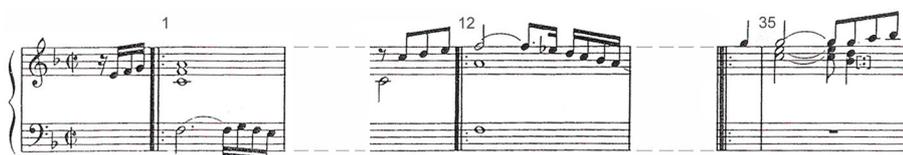
In the same way as Monteverdi commented on the representation of a variety of moods on stage, French theatre practitioners also interchanged resources with musicians. Roscow notes that the declamatory character of the French recitative, which Jean-Baptiste Lully had developed during the 1660s, was basically modelled on the actors' speech in contemporary theatrical practice. While actors in a comedy tended to speak naturally, the tragedians' delivery was highly stylised: it was characterised by exaggeration in gestures, facial expressions, and speech in order to impress the spectators.⁵⁰ According to contemporary observers' testimony, Molière and Racine employed musical prescription, a method of

⁴⁹ As regards the relationship between the two composers, Froberger's visit to Paris in 1652 influenced the way L. Couperin, ten years his junior, developed his musical ideas on the harpsichord, and the latter paid homage to the former by composing a *Prélude à l'imitation de Mr. Froberger* with its opening based on Froberger's Toccata in A minor, FbWV 101. Which of these composers' *tombeaux* came first is hard to deduce, because Couperin's piece was not published in his lifetime (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, articles on 'Froberger' by Howard Schott and 'Louis Couperin' by David Ledbetter).

⁵⁰ Roscow, Lois, 'French Baroque Recitative as an Expression of Tragic Declamation', *EM* 11 (1983), 468.

notating the pitches appropriate for individual characters: extraordinary changes of voice, such as a sudden move up to an octave higher, implied the affects of confusion, doubt, and danger, for instance.⁵¹ In their registral scheme, the *tombeaux* by Couperin and Froberger exploit the whole range of the keyboard, which is a great advantage of scope in comparison with the lute *tombeaux* in which a melodic line hardly ventures beyond an octave. In both *tombeaux*, the register used plays a part in changing a mood and giving a sense of form (Example 4.1.9).

Example 4.1.9. (a) Louis Couperin, *Tombeau*, bars 1, 12, 35.



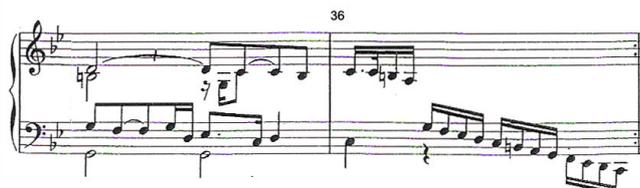
(b) Froberger, *Tombeau*, bars 1, 15, 18.



Both *tombeaux* contain a noticeable moment of imitation, recalling the funeral bells through the *campanella*, or bell-sounding effect derived from lute technique. In Couperin's, the ostinato bass on the semitone figure alternating between C and B imitates a bell sound (Example 4.1.10.a). In Froberger's, the C major scale over the two octaves in the last bar implies the harpsichord technique of sustaining one key while playing the adjacent one, in imitation of the sound effect of the *campanella* on the lute – indeed, it is almost possible to sustain all fifteen keys over the two octaves simultaneously (Example 4.1.10.b).⁵²

⁵¹ Jean-Baptiste Dubos, *Reflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, part 3, section 18, 3, 346; Louis Racine, *Mémoires*, 1, pp. 257-8; quoted in Roscow, 472-473. See also Cowart, *The Origin of Modern Musical Criticism*, 70.

⁵² The *campanella*, literally meaning a 'little bell', is a technique originally cultivated for the lute and also called the *baigné* effect, made by repetitive notes or successive notes of a scale from

Example 4.1.10. (a) L. Couperin, *Tombeau*, bars 26-30.**(b) Froberger, *Tombeau*, bars 35-36.**

The *campanella* on the harpsichord increases the resonance by plucking a large number of actual strings, whereas its effect on the lute relies on the resonance on strings not plucked but vibrating sympathetically. In this light, unlike Couperin's direct depiction of the bell sound, Froberger's *campanella* is double imitation by imitating a lute, which, in turn, imitates the bells, or ideal imitation by amplifying or exaggerating the sound effect and character. In both *tombeaux*, the bell passages highlight the meditative or commemorative moment through their evocative sound quality and temporal prolongation.

Another obvious source of material for imitation is the tragic event: the cause of Blanchrocher's death is well known – an accidental fall – and thus it is possible to relate certain musical figures to the image of falling. Although it is a matter of speculation as to whether all downward leaps and scales are to be associated with the event of falling, the descending figures in both *tombeaux* constitute an important part of the overall structure and affective quality. Couperin's *tombeau* introduces a sense of gravity and a drooping mood in its very opening section:

different courses with continuous sound and sumptuous resonance on the sympathetic strings. See Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 41-42.

based on the slow-moving harmonic rhythm and small-value figures typical of the allemande and pavane, it builds up tension by increasing the gap between treble line and steadily descending bass line through sudden falls and reaches the lowest note of the whole piece (Example 4.1.11). Such an arrangement of register and movements recall Marenzio's portrayal of the word 'tomb' through a pictorial image of depth or a metaphor of death in his *Giunto alla tomba*, as mentioned above. Built on the I-V-I harmonic progression, this introductory section is structurally self-contained. If rhetorically interpreted, this section corresponds to the *exordium* in an oration, the function of which is to draw the audience's attention immediately in its 'simple language' and 'dignity', and to indicate 'the very heart of the case' or the key to the subject matter in Cicero's terminology.⁵³ Given its structural independence and prevailing descending gestures, this section indeed serves as the *exordium*, evoking the overall sombre mood.

Example 4.1.11. L. Couperin, *Tombeau*, bars 1-6.



The second section, the main body of the *tombeau*, begins with the same upbeat figure at a higher register and further explores the subject of the falling gesture in a variety of textures. This textural variety might stimulate the reader's imagination of any verbal text or programme relating to the event of falling. The main melodic line keeps descending all the way through 11 bars, at different speeds and in different (treble, alto, or tenor) voices (Example 4.1.12).

⁵³ Cicero, *De inventione* (ca. 90 B.C.), I. xv-xviii; *De oratore* (55 B.C.), II. Lxxviii-lxxx; quoted in Kirkendale, 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians', 21-22.

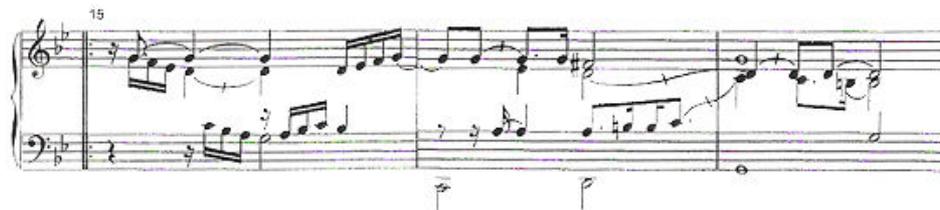
Example 4.1.12. L. Couperin, *Tombeau*, bars 11-23.

Froberger's *tombeau* also explores the falling gesture on various levels, and yet it is more discursive in gestures and richer in texture, giving a sense of irregularity and asymmetry. The composer seems to aim at the constant change or renewal of mood by exploring dissonances, rhythmic intricacy, and textural variety. Nevertheless, the falling gestures prevail and determine the mournful mood (Example 4.1.13): for instance, the descending arpeggio towards the long and lowest notes (A in bar 6, and the implied arpeggio towards Bb in bar 10), a falling leap (bar 4), a descending scale (bar 11), and a descending chromatic line (bars 24-26). Among the numerous units of small-value notes characteristic of the *allemande*, descending motion evidently outweighs the ascending.

Example 4.1.13. Froberger, *Tombeau*.**(a) bars 4-6.**

(b) bars 9-10.
(c) bars 21-29.

Apart from the overall affective quality derived from the falling gestures, the second section contains a meditative and self-contained segment: a melodic curve in a scale on G without a sharpened leading note gives the impression of digression from tonality; and this melodic curve is followed by a declamatory line in the inner voices against a straightforward V₇-I harmonic progression (Example 4.1.14.a). In the next three bars, this segment is literally repeated in the key of D, making a link to the pedal D of the following passage. A similar idea is found in the same composer's *Lamentation*: an ascending scale without a sharpened leading note is followed by a declamatory line in a contrasting texture (Example 4.1.14.b).

Example 4.1.14. (a) Froberger, *Tombeau*, bars 15-17.**(b) Froberger, *Lamentation on the death of Emperor Ferdinand III*, bars 14-16.**

While the notation of the melodic curve indicates the *campanella* (which draws attention to the sumptuous and mysterious sonority), the declamatory figure originates in vocal practice: it points to either rhythmic ornamentation which corresponds to a persuasive interjection in its representation of the meaning of the words, such as the notated melisma on ‘cor languisce’ ([my] heart languishes) in Example 4.1.15, or a melodic one, the *appoggiatura* (an auxiliary note; usually dissonant, always stressed on the beat, and slurred to its resolution on the main note).⁵⁴ Therefore, this meditative segment combines idioms characteristic of another instrument and voice.

Example 4.1.15. Giulio Caccini, *Amor, io parto*, from *Le nuove musiche*, 17-20.

⁵⁴ Caccini shows examples of embellishing a group of same note-values by additional notes or various uneven note-values such as dotted and syncopated rhythms, and smaller note-values. See Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (1602), ed. Hitchcock, 51-52. This type of *appoggiatura* (a step below the main note) was classified as *port de voix* (carrying the voice) in the mid-seventeenth century. See Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), 355 and John Playford, *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick for Song and Violl* (London, 1654); Enlarged edition of 1674, Book II, 116.

The meditative segment is located precisely in the middle of the piece, thus dividing or bridging the preceding and following sections. The repetition of this characteristic segment on a different degree alludes to the manipulation of the temporal element, that is, stretching musical time or blurring a sense of time. Despite their shared figures and overall mood, and similar numbers of bars, the main difference between the first and second sections is temporal: the first section implies a high degree of tempo modification around two inner cadences (bars 6, 10), along with varied harmonic rhythms (Example 4.1.13). Froberger displays a variety of small-value-note units and *tirata* types of figure (sudden running scales) to create an ever-changing pace and animated movement: the acceleration of tempo is implied in the notation of the smaller note-values towards the last note of the figure (for example, in bar 11 of the *tombeau* and the ascending scale in bar 31 of the *Lamentation on the death of Emperor Ferdinand III*). Furthermore, rhythmic freedom is stipulated in the composer's instruction for the performer, 'se joue fort lentement à la discretion sans observer aucune mesure' (to be played very slowly according to discretion without observing any beat), which also characterises his other lament pieces and some allemande movements. In addition to rhythmic freedom, the dissonant quality of this section evokes a sense of bitterness and a mournful affection. However, chromatic inflections are employed within the context of tonality, either as a leading note (bars 4, 6) or as a suspension (Bb in bar 9), both of which lean towards their resolution on the following note. The combination of these two types of chromatic inflection in bar 9 (Db and E) produces a momentary but most impressive clash in this section (Example 4.1.13). On the other hand, chromatic inflections in bars 12-13 enhance a sense of asymmetry and unpredictability through tonal shades on C#-C and E-Eb in a compressed range.

The second section after the meditative passage leaves less room for such freedom and variety, because it is mainly built on longer units such as pedal notes (D in bars 21-23 and G in bars 29-35) and two melodic arches (bars 21-28; 29-36) reaching the two highest notes in the whole piece. Such a control over tonal direction and metrical regularity suggests the solemnity of a processional pavane with heavy steps by minim. However, the dissonant quality or bitterness is locally emphasised in the clashes against the pedal note (bars 22, 23). Furthermore, a sequence of subtle modulations in bars 24-28 builds up tension through small-value notes, syncopated falling leaps and chromatic inflections, recalling the affective content of the first section (Example 4.1.13). Here and also later, the chromatic inflection (E-E \flat and B-B \flat) plays a part in shading between major and minor chords. The harmonic substance of the melodic arch from bar 29, built on the pedal G, is nothing but an alternation between G major and G minor chords. Based on this simple harmonic and rhythmic foundation and overall solemnity, the rhythmic vibrancy and counterpoint among the upper parts sustain the interest through a variety of animated forward-moving gestures. Given the *circulatio* figure mentioned earlier, the combination of this arch and the successive sixths implies an appeasing phase free from the emotional charge, which might be heard to indicate that the soul of the deceased reaches heaven (Example 4.1.16).

Example 4.1.16. Froberger, *Tombeau*, bars 31-33.



In a move from G to D, from temporal freedom to regularity, and from compression or tension to consolatory state, therefore, the fantastic moment of the meditative passage serves to stretch time by saving an alienated space: the unique

sound quality of the melodic arch in the *campanella* and vocal interjection supported by the straightforward harmonic progression serve to dissolve tension and the emotional attachment of the previous section. The deference may be intensified through the literal repetition of the whole segment and reposing on cadential notes.

Couperin's *tombeau* also has moments of stretching time through a deviation from the temporal framework and fantastic indulgence in sonority. Bars 15-20 are characterised by a descending line through successive suspensions in the upper parts and the V₇-I (C and F major chords) harmonic sequence on the pedal C, transferring from the dotted rhythm to the dactylic one (Example 4.1.12). In bars 20-23, the descending line continues through the alto, tenor, and bass parts, while the treble part turns to ascend. A move from the dactylic rhythm to the successive quavers in contrary motion between upper and lower parts hints at the acceleration towards a cadence. Bar 22, however, contains a sudden and harsh break through a succession of tritones (a diminished fifth and an augmented fourth in notation), showing the highest density of dissonances in the whole piece. In bar 23, all the parts stop on the first unadorned minim and gain composure. The three bars after this cadence slow down the harmonic and rhythmic tension still further, and resume the original pace. The passage, up to this point built on the *style luthé*, appears as an experiment with temporal and spatial elements: its motion is constantly spun out but unpredictable to a certain extent, aiming to blur any sense of the *tactus* and subvert expectation of progression. On the other hand, its ever-changing texture and movement, followed by a moment of immobility, can be read in a programmatic narrative, as if depicting irregular steps or stumbling gestures, and the event of collapse and the departure of the soul. Given the

rhetorical trope of *prosopopoeia* as the personification or vivid illustration of the thoughts or characters of an absent or deceased person, a long descending line, dissonant moment, and constant changes of texture and harmonic rhythm of this passage are the aspects of the personalised expression of grief and commemoration of the deceased.

The subsequent bell passage, as already mentioned, features an obsessive alternation between G major and C minor chords (Example 4.1.10). This chord alternation is unique in its three-fold literal repetition of a figure, implying a meditative moment as if holding time in its persistent repetitions. Furthermore, this meditative segment reappears in the third section (bars 47-52). If a sense of a narrative can be found in this piece, it must account for this recapitulation of the impressive bell sound. The literal repetition of the meditative segment may allow a retroactive reading of the temporal narrative. Given that the allemande passage, surrounded by the bell passages, begins with a ‘celestial’ sonority in a higher register and incorporates the clarity of chordal movement and dotted rhythm, there is a possibility of a programmatic reading in association with the structure of a funeral oration: can the allemande passage be compared to a biographical reference to the deceased, or a reference to one of Blancrocher’s allemandes? Or can it be a portrayal of a mourner’s happy memory of the deceased during the funeral? Whatever the composer’s intention, the repetition of the reflective passage is certainly a contrived device or musical narrative to highlight the fantastic moment of temporal stasis.

Similar to Froberger’s *tombeau*, Couperin also chose to refer to a processional pavane towards the end on the pedal C, which highlights a grave mood with an

unusual density of suspensions, but ends up with the transparent and joyful sound of parallel sixths shaping an arch (Example 4.1.17).

Example 4.1.17. L. Couperin, *Tombeau*, bars 55-58.

If any temporal narrative is plausibly deduced from its unusual written-out repeat, Couperin's *tombeau* appears to conform to a rhetorical model or a funeral oration. It incorporates a formal introduction, organisation of different voice registers and harmonic rhythms, imitation of falling gestures and bell sound, and depiction of the moment of recollection.

Resembling a vocal lament, instrumental laments are also built on the notion of death within the contemporary social and literary conventions. Without texts, they literally imitate subject matters relating to the funeral ceremony – bell sound, a drooping gesture, and a processional pavane. They also aim to represent more abstract and metaphorical notions such as emotional reaction and the message of eternity beyond mortality. Alienation or digression from tonal and temporal frameworks is a key concept for the musical representation of lament: suspensions or passing dissonances represent and stimulate bitter and tragic affections, corresponding to the bare representation of deformities and subversive qualities in fantasy paintings or fantasy literature as the individualised interpretation of the world; internal repose and shifts of the *tactus* are introduced seamlessly and

highlight temporal flexibility between compressing and stretching time; and constant changes of texture and sonority transport the audience to an alienated world or mood. Most striking is the reference to a previous passage, through literal repetition in Couperin's *tombeau*, and through the impression of idiomatic resemblance in Froberger's *tombeau*. These passages of recollection enhance the meditative quality of these *tombeaux* and imply a musical narrative: 'music can tell a story' not necessarily through a temporal and logical sequence of time, but through remembrance which comes in and out in a non-linear way. While this type of narrative is also an essential part of a funeral oration, the recollection through personalised expression appears as the specific advantage of these instrumental *tombeaux*.

The rhythmic fluidity, harmonic complexity, and rich texture of Froberger's *tombeau* might well imply the Italian legacy, especially the influence of Frescobaldi, as exemplified in Froberger's toccatas. From this perspective, it is possible to turn to the different aesthetics of Italy and France at that time. Couperin's *tombeau* appears as an elegy of concision, reflecting the idea of moderation and emotional restraint ruled by reason and *bon sens* that the contemporary French classicists emphasised in contrast to the perceived Italian extravagance and excess of artifices.⁵⁵ Later instrumental laments inherit the characteristics of both *tombeaux*: tendencies towards literal imitation and a homogeneous mood in simple dance forms such as pavane, chaconne and passacaglia; and towards a more personalised style with the constant change of moods in a multi-sectional form, and with the asymmetrical and spun-out quality of the allemande. Johann Heinrich Schmelzer's *serenata* for string ensemble

⁵⁵ Cowart, *The Origin of Modern Musical Criticism*, 65.

includes two paired movements entitled *Campanella* and *Lament* (Example 4.1.18). Schmelzer, Froberger's successor at the Viennese court, reminds us of Couperin's imitation of funeral bells in his *Campanella* (alternations between two adjacent notes), and keeps the bells ringing before and after each section of the *Lament* which is encapsulated in a poignant pavane. By contrast, Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber's *Lamento*, the opening movement of the sixth *Rosary Sonata* is multi-sectional and comes close to the extravagance and artifices of Italian toccatas, characterised by the constant change of tempo, mood, and texture.

Example 4.1.18. Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, from *Serenata con alte*.

(a) *Campanella*, opening.



(b) *Lament*, opening.

The instrumental lament borrowed expressive devices which had been practised in vocal idioms and related to specific affection. A chromatic line signifies a plaint or persuasion, and sad or amorous affections according to its direction, especially the descending chromatic fourth forming the later idiom of the *lamento* bass.⁵⁶ Local chromatic inflections, or cross relations, also produce the impression of fantastic 'hesitation' through a modal shade. On the other hand, the instrumental lament developed a purely instrumental idiom within a culture of imitation, which was

⁵⁶ See Ellen Rosand, 'The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament', *MQ* (1979), 346-359.

considered to possess an inherent merit for the fantastic representation of the affective content of grief and other related passions. Most remarkable is the *style luthé*, which represents a tendency towards asymmetry and unpredictability in contrast to the Renaissance division technique that rather involves symmetrical alternation between parts.⁵⁷ This device of rhythmic displacement enriches the harmonic and contrapuntal substance, permitting more possibilities for dissonances that are not sounded simultaneously but successively. Descending and ascending figures might be narrative or descriptive, depending on whether they imitate specific gestures and events, or symbolise death/sadness and redemption/joy. However, they can otherwise be a purely idiomatic matter, given that Froberger's other allemande-type pieces and toccatas are full of scales and leaps in either direction.

Taking the allemande as the formal basis, Froberger cultivated the programmatic genre with various titles: his *tombeau*, *lamento*, *lamentation*, *plaint*, and *meditation* are technically and affectively all in the same vein, exploring tonal and temporal personality through the devices of fantastic deviations, such as the *style luthé*, chromatic inflections, and rhythmic freedom. Although his multi-sectional toccatas display a clear-cut division between sections (of potentially emotional outbursts with a free flow and of contrapuntal ingenuity), each of his programmatic pieces is directed more by subject matters such as mood and gesture and, as a whole, can be compared to a portrait or an elegy. Among the subject matters, melancholy, a sad mood without any direct reference to death or impending tragedy, will be examined in the next section.

⁵⁷ Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 33, 50.

4.2. Melancholy

4.2.1. *The literary notion of melancholy*

Although musical representation of melancholy (or music that takes melancholy as its topic) may show an idiomatic and affective affinity to the lament, it does not have a direct reference to the bereavement or loss of a beloved. In this respect, Froberger's *Meditation sur ma Mort future* (Meditation on my future death) is a musical representation of melancholy: the composer's imaginings of his own death or meditation on mortality were inspired by a reflective and melancholic mood, not by intense grief. Just as emotions can be synthesised in real life, so can it be in music. Seventeenth-century ideas of melancholy were mostly inherited from Renaissance humanism, as a prominent theme that reflected an insight into cosmic order and developed in parallel with medical theory and Neo-Platonism, be it negatively or positively. From the Medieval medical or religious standpoint, it was considered a vice or disease caused by mental instability or a physical disorder due to the imbalance of 'humour', that is, an excess of black bile that brought about heaviness, faintness, joylessness and other negative conditions.¹ The revival of ancient sources brought a challenge to this negative connotation of melancholy as a deviation from the normal state: Italian humanists recovered and extended positive notions of melancholy as a creative genius from antiquity.

The most frequently quoted Classical source was Aristotle, who developed this positive notion of melancholy in his *Problemata* XXX, I, by associating the melancholic humour with extraordinary talent in philosophy, politics, sciences,

¹ Babb, Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642*, Michigan State College Press, 1951, 21-24; Wood, Paul, 'Genius and Melancholy: The Art of Dürer', *The Changing Status of the Artist*, ed. Emma Barker, Nick Webb and Kim Woods, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, 154.

and the arts.² By the late fifteenth century, this Aristotelian notion of melancholy was current among scholars and artists and, in their search for moral and intellectual independence, a humoral theory was developed, integrating the human organism into the cosmic order. The four humours – blood, choler, black bile, and phlegm – were expanded to correspond to temperaments and astral/seasonal influences on the mind. Among these interrelations and analogies, Saturn and melancholy came to take on a great significance, as suggested in Bartolomeo Ramos's *Musica practica* (1482) and Marsilio Ficino's *De triplici vita* (1482-1489), among the earliest influential sources.³ Based on Boethian theory, Oriental magic, and Neapolitan cosmology, Ramo's research is so extensive that he attempts to link humours, elements, seasons, planets, moral characters, and modes in ontological correspondences (Table 4.2).⁴

Table 4.2. Humoral theory

Humour	Quality	Element	Temperament	Planet	Season	Mode
Blood	Hot/wet	Air	<i>Sanguine</i>	Jupiter	Spring	Lydian
Yellow Bile	Hot/dry	Fire	<i>Choleric</i>	Mars	Summer	Phrygian
Black bile	Cold/dry	Earth	<i>Melancholic</i>	Saturn	Autumn	Mixolydian
Phlegm	Cold/wet	Water	<i>Phlegmatic</i>	Moon/Venus	Winter	Dorian

While Ramo draws attention to the cosmos of resemblance by relating musical mode, medicine, and astrology, Ficino explores more practical aspects of medicine and music: he emphasises the magical and therapeutic power of music, based on his views about astrological influences on human body and soul. In his *De vita*, Ficino claims that music has a potent effect on mankind because of its similarities

² Babb, Lawrence, *Sanity in Bedlam: A Study of Robert Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy'*, Michigan State University Press, 1959, 3; Pinto, David, 'Dowland's Tears: Aspects of *Lachrimae*', *The Lute*, vol. XXXVII (1997), 70; Sorsby, *Representations of the Body*, 58-59.

³ Wood, 152-153; Holman, Peter, *Dowland: Lachrimae* (1604), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 50-51.

⁴ Tomlinson, Gary, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, 78-82.

to the human spirit: just as the human spirit is a living faculty, so music (song) is in a way alive, representing physical gestures, passions, and characters. For Ficino, music possesses not only the numerical nature which reflects the harmonic structure of the cosmos, but also the ability to engage cosmic sympathies by imitating them; thus ‘song is a most powerful imitator of all things’.⁵ This idea of astrological music refers to the third-century Neo-Platonist Plotinus, who wrote that:

‘[...] by a certain law of nature according to which there is a concord between similar things and a discord between dissimilar ones [...] there is an innate drawing power in poems and songs and certainly in the sound and figure of their maker; for such things wondrously attract, like certain sad speeches and accents and doleful figures. The soul is drawn, but by what bond? Neither by choice nor by reason; instead the irrational soul is soothed by music. And no one is surprised by such magical seizing of the soul’.⁶

While Plotinus’ notion of music as a reflection of the cosmic order is rooted in the Greek *musica speculativa*, his reference to the ‘irrational soul’ seized by the ‘magical’ power of music stands for the search for the mysteries of the universe. Ficino’s association of melancholy with genius is based on both the Neo-Platonic belief in the hermetic and intrinsic power of a thing and its image, and the Aristotelian association of the natural (melancholic) inclination with eminent intellectuals and poets. Ficino’s philosophical notion of melancholy as an attribute of the humanist intellectual (who was considered to have powers of concentration

⁵ Ficino, Marsilio, *De triplici vita* (Florence, 1489), Book III, Chapter 21, *Three Books on Life*, trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1989, 359. See also D. P., Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, London, 1958, 7-16.

⁶ Plotinus, *Enneads*, IV, 4, 40-41; quoted in Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 85, 88.

and capacity for solitary study) became influential beyond national borders.⁷ It is especially among the Neo-Platonists that we find examples of the later development of such a notion of melancholy: Cornelius Agrippa (1456-1535) in Germany, John Dee (1527-1608) in England, and Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) in Italy were exponents of the hermetic and magical ideas of Neo-Platonism.⁸ However, it is worth noting that even empirical and rationalistic thinkers such as Montaigne and Bacon were, to a certain degree, receptive to the speculative microcosmic view, or to structural and operational correspondences between mankind and the cosmos, especially in their attempts at understanding individual characters (see chapter 3.2.1).

Against this background, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century discussions of melancholy were conducted either in association with the temperaments of individuals or with physical/mental infirmities. With reference to the traditional humoral theory, Ben Jonson in his *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599) sketches the character of ‘*Criticus*, the true critic’, pointing out the deficiencies of each humour:

A creature of a most perfect and divine temper; One, in whom the Humours and Elements are peaceably met, without emulation of precedence: he is neither too fantastically Melancholy; too slowly Phlegmatic, too lightly Sanguine, or too rashly Choleric, but in all, so composed and ordered; as it is

⁷ Wood notes that Ficino initially pointed to melancholy as an attribute of contemplation, not imagination, and that it was the German philosopher Cornelius Agrippa who expanded the idea of melancholy to incorporate the level of imagination, added to the levels of divine understanding (the *mens*) and of reason (Wood, 155-156).

⁸ Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, 37; Yates, Frances A., ‘The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science’, *Art, Science, and History in the Renaissance*, ed. Charles S. Singleton, Baltimore, 1967, 255-262.

clear, Nature was about some full work, she did more than make a man when she made him [...] He will think and speak his thought freely [...] In sum, he has a most ingenious and sweet spirit, a sharp and seasoned wit, a straight judgment, and a strong mind; constant and unshaken.⁹

A critic or a discreet man is born with a balanced mixture of humours, and this natural benefit is expanded to his capacity for reason and judgment, which keep control over the passions and imagination, the underlying sources of disorder. Given that Johnson characterises melancholy as ‘too fantastic’ and acknowledges the merits of free thinking, the association of melancholy with fantasy (imagination) attracts our attention: fantasy can be part of the intellectual faculty as a source of the poetic and inventive mind; however, the excess of it can be the cause of an enduring state beyond the control of reason, a melancholic disposition and inability to discern between the real and the fictional worlds, against which Johnson warns.¹⁰ Bacon was also one of the writers who encapsulated the current concepts of melancholy: taking examples of the ‘frenzy and melancholy passions’, he claims that the ‘humours and affects of the body’ of ‘the imaginant’ can alter or work upon his mind, and likewise the imagination of the mind can do so upon his body.¹¹ While Bacon introduces the philosophical and medical notions of melancholy, Sir Thomas Overbury in his *Characters* (London, 1614) describes a ‘melancholy man’ in poetic terms:

[...] struggling thoughts are his content, they make him dream waking, there’s his pleasure. His imagination is never idle, it keeps his mind in a continual

⁹ Murphy, Gwendolen, ed., *A Cabinet of Characters*, London: Oxford University Press, 1925, 74.

¹⁰ As for the views of reason’s control over the passions and the imagination of intellectuals such as Galileo Galilei, Robert Burton, and Descartes, see William J. Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance 1550-1640*, New Haven; Yale University Press, 2000, 168-170.

¹¹ Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, Book 2, IX, 3, ed. Johnston, 103-104.

motion as the poise the clock [...] He will seldom be found without the shade of some grove, in whose bottom a river dwells. He carries a cloud in his face, never fair weather: his outside is framed to his inside [...] he is all contemplation, no action. He hews and fashions his thoughts, as if he meant them to some purpose, but they prove unprofitable [...] nothing pleases him long, but that which pleases [are] his own fantasies: they are the consuming evils.¹²

Continual aimless contemplation and the excess of imagination and fantasies engender a mental state of alienation and physical consumption: unable to meet ‘the necessities of nature’, the melancholic has difficulty in ‘breathing’ and ‘sleeping’ due to the apparitions in his head and too much ‘watchfulness’. Overbury also provides a picturesque description by associating the melancholic with the shade (‘shade of some grove, in whose bottom a river dwells’) and black imagery (his ‘black and cold’ humour dislikes the ‘light and warmth of the sun’). Overbury considers melancholy a deficit of ‘a whole reasonable soul’, or the loss of self-awareness, which might threaten the social life. In this sense, Don Quixote displays both physical and mental signs typical of a melancholic temperament: ‘The lack of sleep and the excess of reading withered his brain, and he went mad’.¹³ He is disposed to believe what he reads, possessed by his imagination and alienated from reality.

However, as long as melancholy is combined with intellectual or artistic capacity, its maladies turn tolerable and even attractive. The positive connotation of melancholy as the solitary and contemplative disposition formed a social trend in

¹² Murphy, *A Cabinet of Characters*, 97-98.

¹³ Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, I:1, trans. Rutherford, 26-27.

the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, especially in Italy and England with their shared interest in Neo-Platonic thoughts. English noblemen who were impressed by the Italian melancholic attitude during their travels in Italy constituted a social group called the ‘malcontent’.¹⁴ In their efforts to imitate and cultivate the symptoms of melancholy, they appeared morosely meditative and taciturn on the one hand, and intellectually and artistically excellent on the other. This concept of melancholy was best represented by the persona of Hamlet in contemporary literature.

One of the most influential treatises on melancholy is Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), a receptive and inquisitive discourse on the subject, which represents seventeenth-century ideas concerning the physiology, psychology, cosmology, demonology, and ethics of a melancholic generation by integrating the symptoms and potentials of melancholy from various sources.¹⁵ Unlike his predecessors, who fell back on traditional speculative science, Burton employs contemporary experimental science and an advanced knowledge of anatomy and astronomy. Although Burton’s view of the passions is conservative and determined mainly by his ethical standpoint, it is worth examining his reference to music. Following the Classical ethical premise of reason’s supremacy over passions, Burton defines three subdivisions of the human soul: (1) the rational soul as man’s immortal part; (2) the sensitive soul that possesses the faculties of sensation and emotion; (3) the vegetable soul that is found in all living animals and plants. Given that a moral problem is caused by a conflict between

¹⁴ Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady*, 75-76. As for Neo-Platonism in sixteenth-century England, see Mordechai Feingold, ‘The Occult Tradition in the English Universities of the Renaissance: A Reassessment’, *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 73-94.

¹⁵ Babb, *Sanity in Bedlam*, 3, 10.

the rational and the sensitive souls, he claims that melancholy is a state caused by the surrender to the immoderate passions and the weakness of will, and it needs to be cured.¹⁶ While Burton's idea of melancholy is based on the negative connotation of the term as a human infirmity, he further elaborates on the healing power of music, which he considers one of the most powerful antidotes to melancholy together with 'drink', 'mirth', and 'merry company':

[Music is] so powerful a thing, that it ravishes the soul, and carries it beyond itself, helps, elevates, extends it. [...] Many men are melancholy by hearing music, but it is a pleasant melancholy [...] it expels cares, alters their grieved minds, and eases in an instant.¹⁷

From this reference to music as a cure, one can assume that there must be sanguine music which can provide the expansive passions (such as joy and hope) and a humoral balance to a melancholic who is disposed to solitude and contractive passions such as sorrow, fear, and despair. Nevertheless, Burton's paragraph does not necessarily exclude melancholic music ('a pleasant melancholy'), unless we exclude the possibility of homeopathy. More importantly, Burton's comment points to the distinction between a mental state out of the ordinary and artistic creation: any artistic representation of mental states such as melancholy implies a degree of the positive connotation of melancholy with genius, because this act is considered either as 'tempered' by reason or 'transported' by divine inspiration.

The French philosopher Jean Bodin, influenced by Plato's divine madness and

¹⁶ Burton, Robert, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Oxford, 1621, 119-120; Babb, *Sanity in Bedlam*, 58-60, 79.

¹⁷ Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 372, 375.

Ficino's view on 'tempered' melancholy, wrote in his *Six Livres de la République* (Paris, 1576) that:

[...] if it be so that the true purifying of the soul is by heavenly light, and by the force of contemplation in the most perfect subject; without doubt they shall soonest attain unto it, which have their souls ravished up into heaven; which we see happen unto melancholic men, which have their spirits settled and given to contemplation [...]¹⁸

In this description, melancholy is nothing but an inspired mind, far from a mental disorder and an excess of fantasies. In France, melancholy also became culturally acceptable and involved a poetic trend: although empirical science and advanced anatomy revealed a new standard of truth regarding the human body, this scientific consciousness was often deliberately blurred.¹⁹ Poets relied on anatomy to a certain extent in that they believed it to be necessary to acquire a knowledge of man, but in their poetry the human body still tended to be the subject of an idealistic expression of their observation and speculation. Accordingly, the Neo-Platonic humoral theory and the speculative notion of melancholy could still be dominant as poetic sources.

4.2.2. *Melancholy in music*

As far as the artistic representation of melancholy is concerned, the lute had long been associated with divine inspiration in visual and literary arts. Concerning the elevation of the intellect to divine understanding, Pontus de Tyard, in his *Discours philosophiques* (Paris, 1587), makes a link between the lute and melancholy by

¹⁸ Quoted in Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady*, 64.

¹⁹ Sorsby, 103.

personifying the character ‘Solitaire’:

I [Solitaire] found her [heavenly lady] seated and holding a lute in her hands, mingling her sweet and easy voice with the sound of the chords which she touched divinely; so graciously did she measure a French ode that I was ravished [... after Solitaire takes the lute from her and sings in a transport of inspiration] she remained silent, as though overwhelmed by a new melancholy.²⁰

The source of this description is certainly Ficino, a strong believer in the magical power of Orpheus’ musical genius, who noted that philosophers in solitude were ascended in spirit, because their minds, withdrawn from mundane disturbances and allied intimately with heavenly essences, became instruments of the divine.²¹ Given Tyard’s reputation among the contemporary poets and musicians and John Dowland’s residence in Paris between 1580 and 1586, Tyard’s description of ‘Solitaire’ as a lutenist and singer in a melancholic mood must have been an inspiration to Dowland, especially to his *Lachrimae, or Seven Tears Figured in Seven Passionate Pavans with Divers Other Pavans, Galiards, and Almands* for five-part consort with a lute (London, 1604). Based on the conventional idiom of the descending fourth, Dowland cultivates melancholic imagery through seven kinds of tears. Although the association of Dowland’s *Lachrimae* with Neo-Platonic occult philosophy or liturgical penitence is considered either intriguing or controversial, there is a high degree of agreement among modern scholars that this composition reflects the influence of the Italianate idea of melancholy among

²⁰ Quoted in Anthony Rooley, ‘New Light on John Dowland’s Songs of Darkness’, *EM* (1983), 10-12.

²¹ Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady*, 64. See also D. P. Walker, ‘Ficino’s *Spiritus* and Music’, *Annales musicologiques* I (1953), 131-150.

Englishmen.²²

Sir Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia* poems (London, 1580) manifest the current attractions of idealised withdrawal from cities to isolated pastoral places such as country villa and garden, in order to nourish the contemplative mind.²³ In search of the ideal union of music and poetry in supposed Arcadia, Sidney considers a bass viol and a lute the Arcadian instruments, and experiments with various metres and rhythms in his *Old Arcadia* poems.²⁴ Sidney's unusual reliance on music is also reflected in his advice to his brother: 'Take a delight to keep and increase your music, you will not believe what a want I find of it in my melancholy time'.²⁵ Given a number of references to music and melancholy in Sidney's *Old Arcadia* and other sources, it is no wonder that Dowland set Sidney's poem 'O sweet woods the delight of solitarinesse' (*Old Arcadia*, song 34) as a lute song in his *Second Book of Songs or Ayres*, no. 10 (1600).

Given Dowland's signature, 'Jo: dolandi de Lachrimae', and programmatic titles such as *semper Dowland semper dolens* (always Dowland, always doleful) for a pavan, it is obvious that he adopted the melancholic affection as his artistic persona.²⁶ In the *Lachrimae* dedication to Queen Anne of Denmark, Dowland writes that:

And though the title does promise tears, unfit guests in these joyful times, yet

²² Rooley, 19; Pinto, 70; Holman, 48-50.

²³ See Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance*, 170.

²⁴ Stevens, John, 'Sir Philip Sidney and "Versified Music": Melodies for Courtly Songs', *The Well-Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. John Caldwell, Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg, 155-157.

²⁵ From Philip Sidney's letter to Robert Sidney in 1580, *Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923, vol. 3, 133.

²⁶ Poulton, Diana, *John Dowland*, London, 1982, 60, 399; Holman, 51.

no doubt pleasant are the tears which Music weeps, neither are tears shed always in sorrows, but sometimes in joy and gladness [...] these showers of Harmonie [...] be metamorphosed into true tears.²⁷

Dowland's idea of the *Lachrimae* or Music's tears points to melancholy, a meditative and internalised state of mind, distinguished from lament as a more direct emotional response to an external event of tragedy. Furthermore, it implies the transcendental nature of melancholy, which even reaches joy and, in this sense, supports Burton's idea of music as a powerful antidote to melancholy as an infirmity. Contemporary medical and physiological theory, such as Pierre de La Primaudaye's *Suite de l'Académie française* (Paris, c. 1580), also illuminates Dowland's premise of purgation through tears in both sorrow and joy.²⁸

The characteristic *Lachrimae* motif is derived from the music set to the poem 'Flow my teares, fall from your springs' in Dowland's *Second Book of Songs*, no. 2 (Example 4.2.1). In this motif, the two descending fourths are connected by an upward leap of a minor sixth, which is a striking interval and implies a rhetorical amplification (*auxesis* as an intensified repetition on a higher degree) in imitation of weeping or sobbing.

Example 4.2.1. John Dowland, the *Lachrimae* motif, *Lachrimae Antiquae*.



The origin of the *Lachrimae* motif is the descending tetrachord as an emblem of

²⁷ Dowland, John, *Lachrimae* (London, 1604), facsimile edition (1605), with a commentary by Warwick Edwards, general editor, Richard Rastall, Leeds: Boethius Press, 1974, A2.

²⁸ Methods of medical treatment of melancholy, before pharmaceutical prescriptions became prevalent, involved purgation by the release of a secretive liquid, such as clysters, emetics, and bloodletting (Sorsby, 61, 115; Pinto, 69).

grief found in vocal compositions of Rore, Marenzio, di Lasso, and others.²⁹ Caccini's use of the tetrachord in his *Dolcissimo sospiro* suggests that a succession of this motif governs the overall sad affection beyond conveying the meaning of the individual words: while the opening words 'Dolcissimo sospiro' (Sweetest of sighs) allude to a mournful mood by a parallel between 'sweet' and 'sigh' and sighing figures on 'sospiro', the phrase 'Ove d'amor ogni dolcezza' (The sweets of love) sustains the mood by successive repetitions of the descending fourth motif on a different degree, which is emphasised through the point of imitation between melody and bass line and coloured by major-minor chords (Example 4.2.2).

Example 4.2.2. Caccini, *Dolcissimo sospiro*, from *Le nuove musiche*, bars 1-10.

The image shows a musical score for Caccini's 'Dolcissimo sospiro' from 'Le nuove musiche', bars 1-10. It is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The score consists of two systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The lyrics are: 'Dol-cis-si-mo so-spi-ro Ch'e-sci da quel-la' and 'boc-ca O-ve d'a-mor, o-ve d'a-mor o-gni dol-cez-za'. The lute line features a descending fourth motif (G-F-E-D) in the first system and its subsequent transpositions (F-E-D-C, E-D-C-B) in the second system. Bar numbers 5 and 10 are indicated above the vocal line.

While Dowland was keen on literal imitation or vivid translation of the visual imagery of words such as 'fall' and 'arise' in his *Sorrow, sorrow stay* (Example 4.2.3.a), he never misses the potential of other emphatic words in order to amplify their affective effect, such as declamation and repetition of a word or two with greater vehemence on a higher degree (Example 4.2.3.b).³⁰

²⁹ See Rooley, 8; Pinto, 54-59; Holman, 40-42. Two important precedents of the eight-note *Lachrimae* motif are di Lasso's setting of the words 'Laboravi in gemitu meo' in *Domine ne in furore tuo* of his *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales* (Munich, 1584), and Marenzio's *Parto da voi, mio sole* (Venice, 1585).

³⁰ Toft, *Tune Thy Musicke To Thy Hart*, 134-145).

Example 4.2.3. John Dowland, *Sorrow, sorrow stay*, from *Second Book of Songs*, no. 3, (a) bars 25-28.

25
I ne- ver shall, [,] but downe, downe, downe[,] downe, I fall, but downe, downe, downe[,] downe, I fall, downe and a- rise.

(b) bars 9-12.

9
doe not, O doe not my heart poore heart af- fright, [,] pit- ty, pit- ty, pit- ty, pit- ty, pit- ty, pit- ty.

Given these expressive devices explored in the vocal context, the *Lachrimae* pavans can be read as representing his artistic persona as a melancholic genius, that is, contrapuntal ingenuity, such as imitation and syncopation, and a command of a variety of rhetorical devices, such as an abrupt termination or break-off (*aposiopesis*), an abrupt change of harmonic direction (*mutatio toni*), figures of repetition (*auxesis* or *epizeuxis*), and enharmonic and chromatic inflections.³¹

In terms of the affective content and expressive devices shared in vocal and instrumental genres, a significant example is Frescobaldi's intabulation toccata in his second book of *Toccate e Partite*, no. 12 (Rome, 1627). Its vocal model, Jacques Arcadelt's madrigal *Ancidetemi pur* (Kill me then), serves not only as something like a *cantus firmus* or psalm tone providing structure and cohesion, but also as the rhetorical framework in order to convey the meaning of specific words (such as '*gioia*, or joy' and '*pera*, or perish') on the keyboard in imitation

³¹ See Holman, 52-64.

of vocal convention. This intabulation toccata exemplifies what Frescobaldi intended in the preface to his books of *Toccate*, introducing his toccatas as the instrumental equivalent of the modern madrigals in terms of their common focus on the *affetti* or meaning of the words, the expressive ideal of the *seconda prattica*. To this point, Silbiger adds an analogy between the openings of Frescobaldi's toccatas and Caccini's monodies, for example, a series of dissonances and figures evocative of the imagery of sighs, tears, and bitterness.³² This reading is highly plausible, given that the rhetorical concept of the *exordium* of an oration could be transferred to the composition of a madrigal or a toccata in order to establish tonality and arouse a mood or affection at the opening. Despite this conceptual analogy, any concrete equivalence between words and specific idioms in abstract instrumental genres would be a matter of speculation. A piece like a toccata, full of dissonances and a variety of figures, may arouse not only mournful affections but also jubilant imagery, or involve emotionally neutral components. It should be noted that the intabulation toccata, combining the qualities of a toccata with intabulation practice, is an exceptional case indicating a direct link between vocal and instrumental compositions.

Intabulation, or transcription for instruments from vocal pieces, was widely used for practical purposes such as accompanying, conducting, and embellishing, even into the early eighteenth century.³³ Adriano Banchieri, in his *Conclusioni* (Bologna, 1609, Chapter 2), classified four skills of keyboard playing:

³² See Silbiger, 'From Madrigal to Toccata: Frescobaldi and the *Seconda Prattica*', *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles, Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1996, 403-413.

³³ Johnson, Cleveland, *Vocal Compositions in German Organ Tablatures 1550-1650*, New York: Garland, 1989, 123-130; Judd, Robert, 'Italy', *Keyboard Music before 1700*, ed. Alexander Silbiger, New York: Routledge, 2004, 261.

intavolatura, *spartitura* (or open score), figured bass, and fantasia (or improvisation). Girolamo Diruta, in his *Il Transilvano II* (Venice, 1609-1610, Book 1, Chapter 2), also gives instruction on intabulation and memorisation of vocal works.³⁴ In addition, intabulation repertory takes up a crucial part in the genealogy of keyboard music. Samuel Scheidt, who must have been aware of modern Italian practice through his acquaintance with Schütz and Praetorius, transfers his remarkable skill at vocal polyphony to the keyboard in his *Tabulatura Nova I* (1624): for instance, his *Fantasia à 4 Voc. Super Io son ferito lasso* is based on the opening of a madrigal by Palestrina.³⁵ Apart from the obvious influence of its vocal model, Frescobaldi's intabulation toccata is built on typical keyboard idioms such as division technique and the point of imitation. Without any clue from verbal texts, these idioms would appear typical for Frescobaldi's other toccatas, which are characterised by a variety of textures and moods changing through sections and operated by the performer's discretion and freedom. Given that the intabulation toccata goes beyond conventional intabulation by disregarding the original layout of the madrigal, Silbiger labels the piece as 'a free interpretation' of the madrigal in its imitation of 'an impassioned speech'.³⁶ In this respect, Frescobaldi in his intabulation toccata encapsulates the two major keyboard practices, 'intabulation' as an ornamented version of vocal music and 'fantasia' as improvisation. In transferring the madrigal text to the keyboard and compensating for its lack of verbal texts, he takes advantage of the freest and most improvisatory keyboard genre. Vincenzo Galilei's treatise on

³⁴ Judd, R., *The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard*, 83-84.

³⁵ Butt, John, 'Germany – Netherlands', *Keyboard Music before 1700*, ed. Alexander Silbiger, New York: Routledge, 2004, 176.

³⁶ Silbiger, 'From Madrigal to Toccata', 412-413. As for liturgical functions of intabulation and its significance in the genealogy of instrumental genres, see Silbiger, 'Fantasy and Craft', 439-440, 456; R. Judd, *The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard*, 78-79.

counterpoint (Florence, 1588-1590) points to some of this potential, noting that rapidly moving passages are more appropriate for instruments than for voices, and that the resultant passing dissonances, which reach a resolution on a stepwise line according to the rules of counterpoint, are not only tolerated by the senses but also delightful.³⁷ Frescobaldi's intabulation toccata suggests that chromaticism, rhythmic flexibility, and textural variety as characteristics of a toccata effectively evoke the affective qualities of dramatic vocal genres or an impassioned mode of speech.

A special type of organ toccata, a liturgical genre which Frescobaldi inherited from the composers of the previous generation such as Luzzaschi and Giovanni de Macque, is the *toccata per l'Elevatione* (elevation toccata) or *toccata di durezza e ligature* (toccata with dissonances and suspensions). An elevation toccata highlights the meditative and spiritual moments in the Mass such as the Elevation or Holy Communion, leading to the reflection on Jesus' Last Supper and passion, and to devotion.³⁸ Concerning music for the liturgical moment of Elevation, Diruta advises performers to imitate the 'bitter torments of the passion' in tone.³⁹ The musical idioms of the elevation toccata are thus based on the principle of imitation: they are intended to stimulate affections of bitterness and solemnity, as characterised by slow tempo, pedal notes, representational figures relating to a sigh such as the iambic rhythm and *suspirans* (the upbeat figure following a rest), chromaticism resulting in a density of passing dissonances and suspensions, daring shifts of harmony and the organ registration called *voce umana* which

³⁷ Galilei, *Discorso intorno all'uso delle dissonanze*, fols. 78^r, 143^r; quoted in Palisca, 'The Revision of Counterpoint', 15, 43.

³⁸ Judd, R., 'Italy', 271.

³⁹ Diruta, *Il Transilvano* II, 22; quoted in Emilia Fadini, 'Frescobaldi's Musical Language', *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. Alexander Silbiger, Duke University Press, 1987, 291.

produces undulating sonority in imitation of human vibrato. The iambic rhythm (· –), often combined with a descending leap, as one of the key motifs of Frescobaldi's elevation toccata for *Messa della Madonna* in his *Fiori musicali* (Rome, 1635) (Example 4.2.4.a), appears in the composer's earlier toccatas, for instance, *Toccata X* from the second book of *Toccate*, which breaks the flow of dotted figures through an abrupt shift of rhythm (Example 4.2.4.b).

Example 4.2.4. (a) Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccata per l'Elevatione*, from the *Messa della Madonna*, *Fiori musicali* (1635), bars 16-21.

(b) Frescobaldi, *Toccata X*, from the second book of *Toccate* (1627), bars 30-32.

The same figure is found in the meditative section of a toccata by Michelangelo Rossi, from his *Toccate e Correnti* (Rome, early 1630s⁴⁰). The iambic rhythm, combined with passing dissonances and chromatic shades (E-Eb and B-Bb), results in the sense of stasis on the accented dotted note (Example 4.2.4.c). One of Froberger's elevation toccatas also stretches the meditative moment through the persistent use of the figure (Example 4.2.4.d).

⁴⁰ As for this chronology, see Silbiger, 'Michelangelo Rossi and His *Toccate e Correnti*', *JAMS* (1983), 18-38; Moor, *The Composer Michelangelo Rossi*, 20-22.

Example 4.2.4. (c) Michelangelo Rossi, Toccata II, from *Toccate e Correnti* (early 1630s), bars 42-47.

(d) Froberger, *Toccate VI da sonarsi alla Levatione* (1649), bars 37-39 and 45-47.

Such a figure suggests the close association of a toccata with dramatic vocal genres, for example, as a sighing figure words ‘sospiro’ in Caccini’s *Dolcissimo sospiro* (Example 4.2.2) and ‘Mie voci coi sospir’ (My voice with sighs) in *Chi mi confort’ahimè* (Who can comfort me) (Example 4.2.5). The effect of this figure would be amplified on instruments without any restriction of tessitura and interval.⁴¹

Example 4.2.5. Caccini, *Chi mi confort’ahimè*, from *Nuove musiche*, bars 42-45.

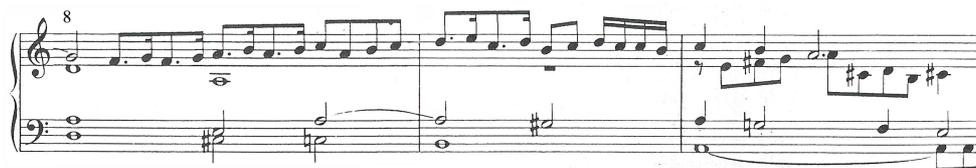
⁴¹ In the preface to *Le nuove musiche*, Caccini also shows examples of embellishing a group of same note-values by various uneven note-values such as dotted rhythm. See Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (1602), ed. Hitchcock, 51-52.

In addition to the sighing figure, chromaticism serves to highlight meditative moments in the liturgical context, retaining an affective or verbal implication such as bitterness and melancholy as a form of inspiration. Frescobaldi's elevation toccata entitled 'toccata cromatica' is built on a five-note chromatic subject (Example 4.2.6.a). Chromaticism can also be employed ornamentally (C# and G# in bars 8-9; Example 4.2.6.b).

Example 4.2.6. (a) Frescobaldi, *Toccata Cromatica per l'Elevatione*, from the *Messa della Domenica*, *Fiori musicali*, bars 15-20.



(b) Frescobaldi, *Toccata per l'Elevatione*, from the *Messa delli Apostoli*, *Fiori musicali*, bars 8-10.



Chromaticism is an essential part of contrapuntal ingenuity and ornamentation in abstract instrumental genres in general. Frescobaldi's toccatas in the two books of *Toccate* (1615/1627) and capriccios in the first book of *Capricci* (1624) display numerous examples of the extensive use of chromaticism. It not only embellishes a subject (for instance, *Capriccio I sopra ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*; Example 4.2.7.a), but also serves as a fugal subject or a countersubject (*Capriccio VIII cromatico con ligature al contrario*, Example 4.2.7.b).

Example 4.2.7. (a) Frescobaldi, *Capriccio I sopra ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, bars 51-54.



(b) Frescobaldi, *Capriccio VIII cromatico con ligature al contrario*, bars 1-9.

Although their adherence to a subject is an essential aspect of their structural frameworks, Frescobaldi's capriccios share an important compositional strategy with his toccatas: they are governed by the '*affetti*' and a certain degree of freedom from the rules of counterpoint, differing from his ricercars which are characterised by regularity and stability in their tonal and temporal construction. In the preface to his first book of *Capricci*, Frescobaldi notes that:

in places that do not seem to be governed by the rules of counterpoint, one should first search for the affect [*affetto*] of the passage and for the composer's intention regarding both the ear's delectation and the manner of performance involved. In these compositions entitled *Capricci*, I did not maintain as easy a style as in my *Ricercari*.⁴²

Frescobaldi's account of his deliberate breach of the rules of counterpoint is striking, given that such licences had been developed in madrigals and other dramatic vocal genres, justified only by text expression, and were more restricted in the instrumental genres.⁴³ Concerning Frescobaldi's concept of the *affetti* which justify these licences, Frederick Hammond comes to the conclusion that the

⁴² Frescobaldi, Girolamo, *Il primo libro di Capricci* (Rome, 1624), ed. Étienne Darbellay, Milan, 1984, 1.

⁴³ Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music*, 35-36.

composer creates ‘a parallel world of *affetti*, of gesture and rhetoric conceived in specifically musical terms’, rather than *affetti* as ‘simple instrumental equivalences to verbal expression’ or ‘a madrigal text’.⁴⁴ Seen from this perspective, the *affetti* basically underline the virtuosity and spontaneity of improvisation as well as the ideal of *varietà* (variety) which Bembo and Vincentino had advocated in their explorations of the possibilities of artistic license. Frescobaldi’s instructions concerning the treatment of varied tempi in his capriccios recall the preface to his first book of *Toccate* (as I quoted in the introduction to chapter 4). It is also permissible to perform just some sections selected from the capriccio as long as they end with proper cadences. For instance, his *Capriccio I sopra ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* is composed of nine sections lasting 196 bars, divided by time signatures and cadences; in addition, several two- or three-bar transitional passages towards the end of a section display either imitative or melismatic small-value figures typical of the toccata. Frescobaldi’s advice on the performance of dissonances (‘to pause at certain dissonances and to play them as arpeggios’) is similar to that given in relation to his toccatas (to arpeggiate or repeat suspensions [*ligature*] and dissonances [*durezze*] in the same way as when playing chords in the opening). Such an emphasis on the moments of dissonance is supposed to ‘enhance the spirit of the passage which follows’. There are two special capriccios that exploit dissonances and share the affective content of the elevation toccata: *Capriccio VIII cromatico con ligature al contrario* and *Capriccio IX di durezze*. The bitter affection to be conveyed in these works may well be amplified by arpeggiating dissonant chords on the downbeat or re-striking suspended notes (see Examples 4.2.7.b and 4.2.8).

⁴⁴ Hammond, Frederick, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: His Life and Music*, Cambridge, Mass., 1983, 225.

Example 4.2.8. (a) Frescobaldi, *Capriccio VIII cromatico con ligature al contrario*, bars 54-62.

The image shows two systems of musical notation for a keyboard instrument. The first system, starting at bar 54, features a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The music is characterized by intricate chromatic patterns and complex ligatures. The second system, starting at bar 58, continues the piece with similar chromatic and ligature-based textures. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings typical of the Baroque period.

(b) Frescobaldi, *Capriccio IX di durezza*, bars 32-35.

The image shows a single system of musical notation for a keyboard instrument, starting at bar 32. The treble clef has a key signature of one sharp (F#), and the bass clef has a key signature of one flat (Bb). The music is marked with several asterisks (*) above specific notes, likely indicating points of dissonance or chromatic tension. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings, consistent with the style of the previous example.

Given the shared affective content that Frescobaldi intended for his toccatas and capriccios, these capriccios, relatively short and homogeneous in texture, harmonic rhythm, and meditative mood, could be called the ‘elevation capriccio’. The freedom of the genres suitable for the *affetti* of elevation or meditation is characterised by their dissonant and chromatic quality: as suggested in Frescobaldi’s prefaces, certain dissonances are to be temporally prolonged and physically emphasised in order to enhance the effect of the resolution to the following consonance.

Chromaticism and its affective implications require a special attention. In terms of the chromatic fourth motif (for instance, the chromatic tetrachord and chromatic scale within a fourth) in instrumental music, Williams observes that the motif had been one of the standard subjects in contrapuntal practice, but that its association with sadness or melancholy was rather new in the late sixteenth century, when it

(c) M. Rossi, *Toccata VII*, from *Toccate e Correnti* (early 1630s), bars 79-84.

Rossi's use of chromaticism in his toccatas is undoubtedly indebted to the expressive idioms of his vocal music.⁴⁷ His madrigals display numerous examples of chromaticism for a vivid representation of specific words: for instance, 'noia' (worry) and 'empia' (impious), and 'fallace' (false) in *Per non mi dir* (In order not to tell me, c. 1620s); 'avari' (stingy) and 'ancidetela' (destroy it) in *O prodighi di fiamme* (O generous with fire, c. 1620s). Chromaticism is one of the compositional features of Ferrarese composers of the previous generation, such as Rore, Wert, Luzzaschi, and Gesualdo, whose madrigals Rossi and Frescobaldi must have known well through their association with Ferrara.⁴⁸ On the topic of British vocal music, Williams extends the significance of the chromatic fourth motif to a musical expression of abstract concepts, for instance, ambiguity ('consture my meaning' in a madrigal by Giles Farnaby, 1598), curiosity ('how strange' in a madrigal by Thomas Weelkes, 1600), and passions

⁴⁷ Although the discussion of unequal temperaments is beyond the limits of this thesis, such tunings play a crucial role in modern listeners' perception and the effect of musical fantasy which modern performers strive for, especially in chromatic pieces like Louis Couperin's Pavane in F# minor (Example 4.1.7) and seventeenth-century keyboard toccatas. As for temperament in Rossi's toccatas, see Catherine Moor, *The Composer Michelangelo Rossi*.

⁴⁸ See Watkins, Glenn, *Gesualdo: The Man and His Music*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973, 107-108; Silbiger, 'Michelangelo Rossi and His *Toccate e Correnti*', 31; Moor, 44-45.

(‘Chromatic tunes most like passions sound’ in a lute song by John Danyel, 1606).⁴⁹ These verbal and affective implications suggest a perception of the absolute value of chromaticism as an expressive artifice for a fantastic digressive moment.

While chromaticism was conventionally associated with sadness and death in vocal and programmatic instrumental music, it became an essential aspect in general compositional procedure in accordance with the musical ideal of expression and variety. The unprecedented exploratory use of chromaticism in the modern practice perceived around 1600 was a characteristic of a culture of imitation: its inherent effect lay in ‘colourfulness’ – as implied by its Greek root *chrōma*, or colour – or the aural perception of tonal and harmonic variety in expressing emotions as motion of bodily vapours. Based on the traditional thought that the perfection of counterpoint depends on a flow of consonances, Zarlino warns against the excessive use of chromaticism. For him, the so-called ‘chromaticists’ claim that it is necessary to ‘imitate ordinary speech in representing the words as orators do’ by applying the voice’s capability of ‘forming any interval’ in order to ‘move the affections’.⁵⁰ Zarlino’s advice on the restricted use of chromaticism and dissonance conforms to the prevalent idea of deformity in visual and literary arts, as something superfluous or containing a defect to be amended. Like elements of natural deformities, semitones and

⁴⁹ See Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth*, 26-28. Although my thesis does not cover, chromaticism in seventeenth-century English instrumental fantasias is an important field of research on musical fantasy, especially those by William Lawes, Alfonso Ferrabosco, and Thomas Tomkins. See Bellingham, Bruce, ‘Harmonic Excursions in the English Early-17th-Century Four-Part Fantasias of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger’, *Early Music – Context and Idea*, Kraków: International Conference in Musicology, 2003, 215-235.

⁵⁰ Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part III, 172, 290; *The Art of Counterpoint*, 51-52, 288. As for Vincentino’s and Zarlino’s experiments with equal temperament, see Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music*, 22-25, 52-56, 116-117.

dissonances are no new invention but familiar materials, derived from nature; dramatic expression results from the distortion of their conventional function or exaggeration of their characteristic. The effect of such disruption of the consonant flow by chromatic inflections is compared with that of fantastic paintings: fantastic visual/aural images transport the spectator/listener to an alienated world. Although Zarlino and Artusi considered this effect as more appealing to the senses or imagination (as false, obscure, or unreliable faculties) than to reason, the examples of chromaticism in abstract instrumental genres demonstrate that chromaticism not only served the expression of the *affetti*, but could also be intellectually conceived according to a knowledge of standard contrapuntal procedure.

Another visual analogy can be made in physical or physiological terms. Referring to Ptolemy and Boethius, Zarlino describes the chromatic or enharmonic tetrachord as the ‘inspessatione’ (compression) of the diatonic one.⁵¹ Lorenzo Giacomini’s and others’ physiological explanation of sad affections and tears as relating to the ‘condensation of vapours’ and ‘purgation’ also implies a state of tension or stasis to be resolved or relieved. Such descriptions substantiate a spatial imagery of a chromatic step and its association with the affections as ‘motion’. The majority of vocal examples show that chromatic motifs, the descending chromatic fourth in particular, tended to imitate a drooping motion and thus represent a sense of sadness. Similarly, this connotation secures the possibilities of representing opposing affections by combining chromaticism and ascending motion, just as Monteverdi represented ‘hope’ by a reversal of the conventional

⁵¹ Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Part II, 108, trans. Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music*, 46.

meaning of descending chromatic figures (see Example 4.1.2). Furthermore, chromatic inflections at a smaller level (merely to sharpen or flatten a note) serve to produce linear fluctuations or modal shades between major and minor chords, which rather neutrally represent ambiguity and an imagery of wandering or digressing. By analogy, chromaticism implies a tonal expansion by exploring more colours in the tonal palette than the diatonic; it is also effective when employed to represent the physical state of ‘compression’ and the necessity for spatial expansion, and its momentum towards a resolution would stimulate meditation or elevated thoughts in the listener’s mind.

In addition to this tonal and harmonic license for the purpose of expression and variety, it is necessary to look into the freedom of manipulating temporal elements. Most striking and freest in notational format and in instrumental idiom is the *prélude non mesuré* (unmeasured prelude) which had originated in French lute performances around the 1630s and was further cultivated by later French harpsichordists. The 1630s are a crucial period not only for the lute (in the development of dance movements), but also for its influence on the formation of the harpsichord suite through transcription and stylistic imitation of lute composition. Mersenne recommended such transcriptions ‘in order to transfer the beauties and riches of the lute to other instruments’.⁵² The original expressiveness

⁵² Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), ‘Traité des instrumens à cordes’, preface au lecteur; trans. Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 30-31. Although there is little direct evidence of French keyboard sources for keyboard transcriptions from lute music in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, north German sources of keyboard transcriptions of contemporary French lute music support the conclusion that this practice was widespread over Europe (Ledbetter, *Ibid.*). The close association between harpsichordists and lutenists is also implied by the wide circulation of open score publications in the early seventeenth century to be used for both instruments (Judd, R., *The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard*, 80-81). As for the stylistic affinity of the music by Frescobaldi and Kapsberger, see A. Coelho Victor, ‘Frescobaldi and the Lute and Chitarrone Toccatas of “Il Tedesco della Tiorba”’, *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. Silbiger, 137-156.

and main characteristics of the unmeasured prelude for the lute hardly changed and remained in the later harpsichord prelude.

Many of the expressive and idiomatic features of this genre are derived from the performing practice. There are two received views about the origin of the unmeasured prelude: it might have been derived from the measured prelude, as a notated performing version characterised by a rhythmic loosening of tempo towards the ending of an original version; or it might be a notated version of chordal improvisation used in order to check the tuning of the instrument. Sources of the semi-measured types of prelude support the first view, as such compositions had increased in number towards 1630: their notation demonstrates a gradual loosening of a regular rhythmic framework into a more freely improvisatory movement.⁵³ These semi-measured preludes as a transitional genre share with the unmeasured preludes the freedom of rhythmic flow and of chromaticism and dissonances. After 1630, the measured type of prelude virtually vanished from French lute sources, superseded by the semi-measured and unmeasured types.⁵⁴ The second and more widely held view is that it combines an improvisatory tradition with the practical function of tuning. However, given that other contemporary preludial genres were composed and performed under the same conditions,⁵⁵ further investigation is needed in order to understand the context in which this unique free genre developed. The development of the unmeasured prelude involves experiments with various modified tunings of the lute during the

⁵³ Ledbetter, David, 'French Lute Music 1600-1650: Towards a Definition of Genres', *The Lute*, vol. XXX (1990), 25.

⁵⁴ Ledbetter, 'French Lute Music 1600-1650', 28.

⁵⁵ For instance, Praetorius divides preludes into independent ones (*fantasia*, *capriccio*, and *ricercar*) and others (*tocatta* and *prelude*) preludial to dance movements or vocal pieces (Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, vol. III, 25).

1620s and the 1630s. In opposition to the lute's major function of accompanying during the Renaissance, early seventeenth-century French lutenists, in their quest for sonority, developed a solo repertoire. Various altered tunings appeared over this period to exploit a more sumptuous sound, and thus the 'French lute' came to signify the new trend for the 'altered tunings' abroad, and Paris became the European centre for the teaching and composition of solo lute music.⁵⁶ These new tunings allowed the top three courses to be tuned to open chords, mostly triads, thus favouring thirds rather than fourths; the conversion from an old eight- or nine-course lute to a ten- or eleven-course lute resulted in the longer neck and richer bass tones. The most important benefits of this mechanical conversion are the *campanella* effects and the *style luthé*, which allow overlapping or successive notes to ring on longer, sympathetically, and played on two or more strings.⁵⁷

Dance movements now tended to be collected in a suite rather than appearing individually: they were played in succession in the same key and often proceeded from the slowest and most rhythmically free to the fastest and most precise. For instance, Pierre Ballard's publications in 1631 and in 1638 classify pieces mainly by composer, tuning, and key, unlike the common way of grouping by genre in earlier collections.⁵⁸ The unmeasured prelude as an opening movement in the suite serves as the *exordium* (rhetorical introduction) – tuning, setting up the key and mood in a rhythmically free flow, and leading to greater rhythmic regularity

⁵⁶ Spring, Matthew, 'The Development of French Lute Style 1600-1650', *From Renaissance to Baroque*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman, Ashgate, 2005, 173-177.

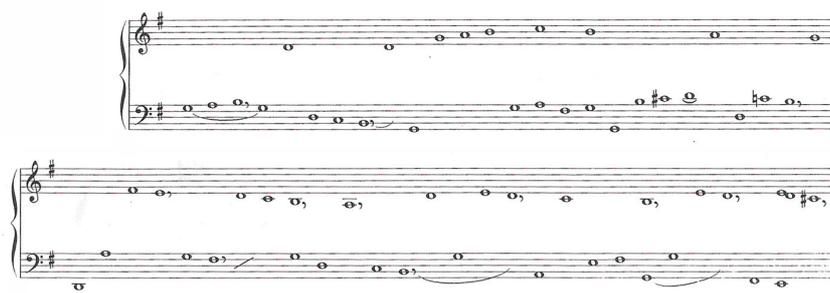
⁵⁷ Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music*, 38; Spring, 187-188.

⁵⁸ Spring, 183. Pieces in these publications constitute 'abstract art music proper' in Spring's terminology, since they are associated with the suite intended to be played and listened to rather than, following the previous norm, to be danced to. Examples of older sources of collections of dance movements include *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (Cologne, 1603) and *Testudo Gallo-germanica* (Nuremberg, 1615), both compilations sorted entirely by genre (Ibid., 180-183).

in the following movements. While this genre supports the concept of freedom on the part of the performer, the deciphering of its deliberately ambiguous notation would have largely depended on both the grammatical and rhetorical elements of the performing tradition, and on idioms shared with other genres: with limited visual cues such as slurring and spacing, the unmeasured notation requires the performer to deal with indefinite rhythm in order to produce a free but persuasive flow, melodically and harmonically, and to underline conventional idioms such as the three-quaver upbeat figure of the allemande, and the small note-value passagework and points of imitation of the toccata. Such a notational format may well imply an attempt at notating improvisation in an intelligible manner without destroying the spontaneous quality of preluding.⁵⁹ An unmeasured prelude for lute by Denis Gaultier exemplifies the prolonged opening, built on tonic and dominant triadic chords and a melodic arch, whether it actually tests a tuning or imitates such an intellectual procedure in sound by employing various figures which represent strumming and searching gestures (Example 4.2.10.a). This opening alludes to the possibilities of embellishing the opening chords by the free use of passing dissonances and chromatic inflections as in the toccatas by Frescobaldi, Rossi, and Froberger.⁶⁰ With more visual cues of slurring, Louis Couperin's prelude in F major for harpsichord displays melismatic lines, an imitative passage on a sighing figure, and a daring use of chromatic inflections, such as F-F# and Bb-B (Example 4.2.10.b).

⁵⁹ Moroney, Davitt, 'The Performance of Unmeasured Harpsichord Preludes', *EM* (1976), 143, 145.

⁶⁰ Collins gives examples of L. Couperin's preludes which quote extracts from Froberger's toccatas, including a *prélude à l'imitation de Mr. Froberger* (which I have mentioned in chapter 4.1, footnote 47), illustrating recent research on the relationship between the unmeasured prelude and the toccata. Siegbert Rampe suggests the association of the unmeasured prelude with the improvisatory performance style, while other studies of the genre within the keyboard repertoire (developed by L. Couperin and later French *clavecinistes* such as Jean-Henri d'Anglebert and Nicolas-Antoine Lebègue) emphasise Froberger's influence on the genre. See Collins, 99-100.

Example 4.2.10. (a) Denis Gaultier, Prélude in G major, Opening.**(b) Louis Couperin, Prélude in F major, 8th and 9th lines.**

In all, the development of the unmeasured prelude reveals both functional and aesthetic concerns: this genre is the product of a scientific search for sonority and instrumental mechanism on the one hand, and reflects a liberal attitude to the temporal and tonal elements within the boundary of the conventional figures and harmonies on the other. From this perspective, the two views on the origin of the unmeasured prelude are not incompatible: they both suggest the important status of this genre as a vehicle for artistic license based on the expressive ideal and on technical virtuosity. Its introspective and improvisatory quality is shared by other solo instrumental genres, the toccata in particular.

Perhaps Thomas Mace's testimony to his experience of fantasising on the lute in a melancholic mood captures the freedom and fantasy pursued in the unmeasured prelude:

I might have very intent thoughts, all that time, and might meet with some difficulties. [...] At which times, (my lute lying upon my table) I sometimes

took it up, and walked about my chamber; letting my fancy drive, which way it would (for I studied nothing, at that time, as to music) yet my secret genius, or fancy, prompted my fingers, (do what I could) into this very humour.⁶¹

Mace describes prelude pieces (such as prelude, fancy, and voluntary) in the phrases that ‘no perfect form, shape or uniformity can be perceived’ in them and a performer shows his excellence and ability with an ‘unlimited and unbounded liberty’.⁶² His comments on the transcendental nature of music recall Ficino’s and Jean Bodin’s views on the ‘tempered’ melancholy:

Music speaks so transcendently, and communicates its notions so intelligibly to the internal, intellectual, and incomprehensible faculties of the soul; so far beyond all language of words, [...] I have been more sensibly, fervently, and zealously captivated, and drawn into divine raptures, and contemplations [...] Those influences, which come along with it [music], may aptly be compared to emanations, communications, or distillations, of some sweet and heavenly genius, or spirit [...]⁶³

Mace’s ‘mystical’ experience of the power of music in his melancholic mood illustrates a wide range of states of mind, from a disturbed state to absolute tranquillity, implying no negative connotations of melancholy. His elevated notion of ‘fancy’ as artistic genius conforms to the contemporary empiricist thought about the imagination (see chapter 1.3).

The most significant examples of personalised representation of melancholy are

⁶¹ Mace, Thomas, *Musick’s Monument* (London, 1676), reprint, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1958, vol. 1, 122-123.

⁶² Mace, 128-129.

⁶³ Mace, 118.

Froberger's *Plainte faite à Londres pour passer la mélancholie* (*Plainte* composed in London to drive away melancholy) and the *Méditation sur ma Mort future* (*Méditation* on my future death). The *Plainte* was composed after the composer's experience of being robbed by pirates on the Rhine on the way to London.⁶⁴ The *Méditation* represents the composer's imaginings of his own death or a meditation on human mortality, inspired by a reflective mood, as he wrote 'memento mori' at the end of the score. Such introspective titles are rare in the contemporary instrumental repertoire, although a *courant* by John Bull, entitled *Myself*, might be a precedent, referring to a self-portrait as a sign of the social status and self-esteem of talented and well-educated individuals (see chapter 3.2.1).

Before proceeding to Froberger's representations of melancholy and meditation, I will briefly consider features of a visual personification of melancholy. One of the most prominent works of art embodying the notion of melancholy as a sign of artistic genius is the engraving entitled *Melencolia I* (1514) by the German artist Albrecht Dürer (Figure 4.2). This engraving has often been discussed among modern art historians in association with the self-identity and original creativity applied to artists during the early sixteenth century (see chapter 3.2.1). The mood or effect of this print results from the sense of tension and ambiguity. First of all, the image is generally dark, and various tools appear to be arrayed in a jumbled and incoherent way; highlights are scattered among the reflective objects, and thus the light source and the time of day are difficult to infer; the lack of space between objects and between the scene and the frame gives a sense of compression. All these features might be compared with the 'tuning' of pictorial space to make the

⁶⁴ Schott, Howard, 'Froberger', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. The earliest source of this story is Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part II, Ch. 4, Par. 72, trans. Harriss, 296.

whole composition ‘discordant’ (to quote Paul Wood) and to produce a gloomy and unsettled feeling.⁶⁵

Figure 4.2. Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I* (1514).



On the other hand, the main figure as a personification of melancholy indicates no sign of physical infirmity, but is a powerful body with vigorous wings and contemplative countenance. Regardless of its small size (23.9cm x 16.8cm) and

⁶⁵ Wood, 150-151.

lack of colour, the print shows a variety of objects in great detail: the sea, the seashore landscape, the sky, a rainbow, a comet, and a bat-like creature in the background; a part of a building, a fire pot behind a geometrical object, a ladder, a hammer, a millstone, scales, an hour glass, a bell and a tablet with numbers, a sleeping dog, and a winged child (who also looks meditative, writing on a tablet) in the middle-ground; a sphere, carpenter's tools, and the main figure holding a pair of compasses in the foreground. A majority of these objects signify artistic creation based on the liberal arts (geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and music) or contemporary science including alchemy and astrology, which shared materials of study with empirical science.⁶⁶ The sleeping dog represents the moment of tranquillity and solitude, and the child seems to be inscribing the imaginations of the melancholic figure. Another engraving of Dürer, *Saint Jerome in His Study*, from the same year and probably intended to be paired with *Melencolia I*, also supports the concept of melancholy as genius. In *Saint Jerome*, a lamb and a lion are asleep, and the solitary St. Jerome is writing on the tablet with his head down, a pose similar to that of the child in *Melencolia I*. In all, Dürer's *Melencolia I* reflects a contemplative and internalised state of mind, demonstrating the influence of Ficino's and Agrippa's Neo-Platonic concept of melancholy as creative genius.

In the same vein, Froberger's musical representation of melancholy highlights a mental state full of ideas and imaginings in solitude and a plaintive mood. Though set as a relatively short allemande in A minor, the *Plainte* displays a variety of rhythm, harmony, and texture. In terms of basic idiomatic features, it is not so different from Froberger's laments: it is built on the smooth but discursive nature

⁶⁶ Wood, 157.

of the *style luthé*; an imitative passage (bar 6) and figures characteristic for the toccata (bars 4, 8) are also employed (Example 4.2.11).

Example 4.2.11. Froberger, *Plainte faite à Londres pour passer la mélancholie*.

On the other hand, this piece maintains a special focus on the sense of unpredictability by means of rhythmic and harmonic shifts in almost every bar:

for instance, the opening A minor chord is embellished by an octave scale, *appoggiaturas*, and arpeggios in bars 1-2. Long scales in bars 4, 6, and 13 are surrounded by an internal pause and an emphatic dissonance (bars 3, 5, 7, 12, and 14; Example 4.2.11, marked by fermata signs and asterisks). Such rapidly driving passagework is contrasted with a moment of temporal or spatial digression. Given the significance of leading notes in this piece (for instance, F# and G# in a melodic A minor in bars 3, 7, and 14), the overall sense of harmonic stability of this piece comes from the fact that dissonances are either prepared (for instance, E in bar 2 and F in bar 5) or resolved to adjacent notes, mostly serving as leading notes within the V–I (or VII–I) progression (for instance, the notes in the upbeat figure to bar 11 and D# in bar 14). By contrast, the two longest scales without any leading note are alienated from the standard tonal framework (a feature to which I drew attention in Froberger's *tombeau*). Two internal pauses towards the middle of bars 3 and 14 also serve the freedom of treating a temporal flow by stretching time, and a sudden break of silence on pedal D in bar 16 produces a curious stasis. Except for its cadences typical of an allemande (bars 9-10 and 17-18), this piece seems to display all the characteristic figures of Froberger's toccatas on a miniature scale by alternating contrasting materials such as major and minor modes, scalar figures and leaps, and harmonic tension and release. Its compositional strategy recalls both Frescobaldi's emphasis on dissonances and temporal freedom in his toccatas and capriccios, and Monteverdi's comment on representing madness on stage by changing moods continually. Although one can associate the tragic event (being pirated) with a certain musical figure, this piece is melancholic not because of any supposedly doleful affection but because of the sense of compression of numerous ideas, based on the notion of melancholy as the essential aspect of artistic genius or as a meditative state of mind.

With the same emphasis on the freedom of treating temporal elements and dissonances as in the *Plainte*, Froberger's *Meditation faite sur ma Mort future* represents the elevated moment full of thoughts, as characterised in elevation toccatas and elevation capriccios. Its harmonic rhythm is slower than that of the *Plainte*, sustained over a minim or a pedal, and its phrases are longer. The very first bar is the most striking moment producing a sense of bitterness by emphasising the drop to a dissonance chord (A to C# in the treble), the chromatic inflection (C#-C), and then obsessive repetitions of the note C in imitation of vocal tremolo (Example 4.2.12.a, marked by asterisks). The juxtaposition of contrasting motions and harmonies highlights the similar effect: the ascending scale in bar 13 is followed by descending leaps which are combined with the iambic rhythm (as typical of elevation toccatas) and often with a tritone (Example 4.2.12.b, marked by asterisks); the rapid ascending scale in bar 15 is followed by an abrupt interruption of silence (or by a leap down to G in the bass, marked by asterisk in Example 4.2.12.b). The chromatic inflection following a pause in bar 18 leads to the extended ending, located in an imitative gesture.

Example 4.2.12. Froberger, *Meditation faite sur ma Mort future*. (a) bars 1-2.



(b) bars 13-20.

Memento Mori
Froberger

Froberger's musical melancholy and meditation are not confined to a single affection, but rather explore the notion of affection as a continual motion of bodily vapours. The composer's emphasis on the digressive (both rhythmically and harmonically) moment always followed by a resolution or an elevated plateau signifies the command of music which is able to imitate an ever-changing state of mind and to affect the human soul, recalling the Neo-Platonist Plotinus' statement that 'the irrational soul is soothed by music'.

We also find examples of vivid descriptions of melancholy as a mental infirmity in later composers' music. Marc-Antoine Charpentier's incidental music for Jean-Baptiste Molière's comedy *Le Malade imaginaire* (The imaginary invalid, 1672) represents the mind and actions of a melancholic in a light, quixotic mood. While the melancholic Polichinelle is a musically talented character (supposedly able to

play the lute), he suffers auditory illusions, distinguished from divine inspiration. Such a description of a melancholic or mad character reflects the contemporary interest in the faculty of imagination and its association with fantasy. Musically, the mental status of a melancholic is implied in the instrumental ritornello of the opening serenade: the harsh clashes of an augmented fifth and a seventh repeatedly interrupt the flow of the lively dotted melody (bars 5, 23, and 51). However, a more definite musical representation of the disrupted mind is found in an instrumental fantasia and in the following ‘fantasia with interruptions’ in which phrases of the fantasia are interrupted by verbal monologues. Having failed to serenade his mistress and even been ridiculed by her, Polichinelle hears the fantasia, an auditory illusion, which he considers ‘idiotic music’. Although built on effervescent dotted rhythms and simple tunes, the opening of the fantasia sounds clumsy with its incongruous interruptions of a tritone, or diminished fifth, between the outer voices (bars 3, 4, and 8) (Example 4.2.13.a).

Example 4.2.13. Marc-Antoine Charpentier, from *Le Malade imaginaire*.

(a) *La fantasia sans interruptions*, bars 1-8.

The image displays a musical score for the opening of 'La fantasia sans interruptions' (bars 1-8) from Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Le Malade imaginaire*. The score is arranged for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Continuo. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The Violin I part is the primary melodic line, characterized by a dotted rhythm. Two asterisks (*) are placed above the Violin I staff in bars 4 and 8, highlighting specific intervals (tritone or diminished fifth) between the outer voices. The other instruments (Violin II, Viola, and Continuo) provide a harmonic accompaniment, with the Continuo part in the bass clef.

Keeping the airy mood along the dotted rhythm, the rest of this movement also

mirrors the unstable and manic state of mind through the moments alluding to an interruption, such as a change of meter (bar 15) and a modal shift (bar 20). In the following ‘fantasia with interruptions’, interruptions become acute by the alternations of musical and non-musical sounds. Polichinelle speaks to the illusory sound (the instrumental fantasia) which interrupts his ‘singing’: ‘What is this impertinent harmony that dares to interrupt my song? Cease and desist, you fiddlers, leave me to lament at my leisure the cruelty of my merciless mistress.’ As the fantasia keeps sounding, he shouts at the sound: ‘Be quiet!’ [music] ‘Ouch!’ [music] ‘Aha!’ (Example 4.2.13.b).⁶⁷

Example 4.2.13. (b) *La fantasia avec interruptions*, bars 1-8.

(POLICHINELLE.)
Quelle impertinente
harmonie vient
inter|rompre icy
ma voix?

(POLICHINELLE)
Paix-là, taisez-vous,
Violons. Laissez-moy
me plaindre à mon
aise des cruantez de
mon Inexorable.

(Violons) (POLICHINELLE) (Violons) (POLICHINELLE)
Taisez-vous, vous
dis-je. C'est moy
qui veux chanter. Paix-donc.

5 (Violons) (POLICHINELLE) (Violons) (POLICHINELLE) (Violons)
Oùais: Ahy.

This disrupted state of mind, wandering between the illusory and the real worlds,

⁶⁷ Powell, John S., ed., *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Molière's Comedies*, Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1990, xxxvii-xxxviii.

is musically narrated through interruptions (as if tracing schizoid behaviours in real time in twenty-first century terminology). Moreover, the replacement of the bass G with F# in bars 5-6 enhances the dissonant quality and the sense of incongruity (Example 4.2.13.b, marked by asterisks).

On the other hand, Johann Kuhnau's second sonata from the *Bibliche Historien* (1700) illustrates King Saul's melancholy as a disordered and demon-possessed state of mind through a description of mental and emotional turmoil. In the form of a multi-sectional toccata, *Saul Malinconico* begins with a *grave* section on a long pedal (Example 4.2.14.a). While this section is dominated by *suspirans* or the upbeat motif (marked by brackets), chromatic inflections and small-value figures are interspersed, as portents of the hazardous and manic state. The ending of this section, where the dominant motif is contrapuntally elaborated, is interrupted by extended passagework: in bars 27-28 by *circulatio* figures and in bar 34 by arpeggios (Example 4.2.14.b).

Example 4.2.14. Kuhnau, *Saul Malinconico*, from second sonata, the *Bibliche Historien* (a) bars 1-15.

The image displays a musical score for the first 15 bars of Johann Kuhnau's *Saul Malinconico*. The score is written for a single melodic line on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) in G minor (one flat) and 3/4 time. A long pedal point is indicated in the bass clef, starting on G and continuing through the first system. The first system (bars 1-5) shows the initial melodic line with a bracketed upbeat motif. The second system (bars 6-10) continues the melodic development with chromatic inflections. The third system (bars 11-15) shows the end of the section with a final cadence.

(b) Kuhnau, *Saul Malinconico*, bars 26-28, and 34-36.
Example 4.2.14. (c) Kuhnau, *Saul Malinconico*, bars 71-74.
(d) bars 106-116.

The fugue that follows is built on a remarkable subject including a dissonant leap down to the seventh. This subject is later interrupted by a virtuosic scalar passage (the *tirata* figure, Example 4.2.14.c), reaching the climactic point which alternates between slow-moving chordal passage and the most boisterous passagework (Example 4.2.14.d). This is an imitation of melancholy as a form of manic

depression through varied figures portraying incessant motions and interruptions. The most striking sonority of bitter character, a feature of elevation toccatas, sounds with a series of dissonant chords, based on chromaticism.

Although towards the end of the seventeenth century an empirical scientific movement gradually drove out astrological or occult connotations of Renaissance humoral theory, the theory still inspired the most famous eighteenth-century fantasy maker. In his letter in 1773 to Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg, C. P. E. Bach comments on the programmatic potential of human temperaments, taking as an example his trio sonata entitled *Sanguineus und Melancholicus* (A Cheerful Man and A Melancholy Man) published in 1751 (Wq. 161). The attempts of associating music with a poetic text or a narrative began to appear in a considerable quantity towards 1780, as illustrated by Gerstenberg's verbal translation of a C minor Fantasia by C. P. E. Bach, based on Hamlet's monologue, 'To be or not to be'.⁶⁸ Thomas Mace's description of the 'transcendental' nature of music with reference to his fantasising on the lute in a solitary mood encapsulates the essential ideas of this later aesthetics in which instrumental music is deemed even superior to vocal music, because its vagueness or the absence of specific meaning embodies a higher, transcendental language.⁶⁹

The seventeenth-century positive connotations of melancholy are still based on an assumption that the poetic and artistic mind should ultimately be rationalised, or

⁶⁸ Helm, Eugene, 'The "Hamlet" Fantasy and the Literary Element in C. P. E. Bach', *MQ* (1972), 291-292; Bonds, Mark Evan, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991, 169-173.

⁶⁹ Bonds calls this reversal in the aesthetic status of instrumental music a 'revolution', which is not an abrupt upheaval, but a 180-degree turn accomplished by a transformation of given ideas based on the traditional association of music with the imagery of the verbal language or oration (Bonds, 163-164).

‘tempered’ by reason and conventional rules. However, the association of melancholy with genius and imagination cultivated the notion of the transcendental nature of music and potential of instrumental music as communicable yet in a different way from that of verbal language. While certain motifs or figures in seventeenth-century absolute music have a direct association with the affective content of dramatic vocal genres, spatial and temporal expansions in a toccata and relating genres have much to do with instrumental idioms and the contemporary concepts of artistic expression, implying the absolute value of fantasy: these genres are characterised by the freedom of introducing notes outside the prevailing mode or key and rhythmic deviations from the temporal framework, as encapsulated in Frescobaldi’s concept of *affetti*. The musical representations of melancholy and meditation, which primarily developed in the ‘solo’ instrumental repertoire (especially that of lute and harpsichord), prove a significant recognition of the effect of the artistic personification on contemporary popular ideas such as melancholy, inspiration, solitude, madness, and other internalised states of the mind. In this development, imitation is again a key concept, as John Butt points out an increasing ‘comprehensiveness’, or a remarkable drive towards various stylistic gestures and sounds to imitate voices and other instruments, as the significant aspect of the seventeenth-century solo keyboard music.⁷⁰

Through his melancholic pieces, Froberger manifests his unusual awareness of the potential of melancholy, based on the traditional connotations of the term, the contemporary notion of human affection as a motion of bodily vapours, and

⁷⁰ Butt, John, ‘Towards a Genealogy of the Keyboard Concerto’, *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. Christopher Hogwood, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 108-109.

improvisatory practice. He incorporates these contents in the form of the allemande: deviations are located in the metrical and harmonic frameworks of the dance, allowing a temporary indulgence. Similarly, an essential aspect of Froberger's compositional strategy of toccatas is the 'rationalisation' of 'improvisatory' materials through the observance of the rules of counterpoint and conventional concepts such as proportion and symmetry.⁷¹ Later composers' experiments with musical representation of melancholy grew freer, more radical, and more obsessive in their treatment of forms and rules. This reflects the growing empiricist thought on imagination or fantasy as a mysterious source of artistic creation, which challenged the notion of intellectual control over the emotions.

⁷¹ Butt, 'Germany and the Netherlands', 188.

4.3. Humour

Although notated examples of ‘humorous’ music may be found in medieval motets that employ the poetry of satire and witty remarks, the topic of humour in music, especially without any text or programmatic title, is elusive, because it is open to discussion as to whether we perceive humour in music as clearly as we do in the literary and visual arts. Like musical lament and melancholy, humour in music implies an important attribute of fantasy, that is, freedom or deviation from an assumed norm. In humour in its general sense, this freedom often involves intellectual play and is articulated in the subversive relationship between the meaning (a thing) and the medium (its appearance). It thus presumes cultural and linguistic norms, and conventional ideas of ‘ordinary’ standards. Based on his knowledge of these norms, a humorist manipulates tension and release in order to make an immediate impact on the audience. Humorous text or action results from a breach in the usual order of events and conventional rules: it is attained by ridiculing conventional compositional procedures within the context of a genre or a style, just as parody is an imitation that subverts expectations, and caricature is an exaggeration of certain traits of an object. This understanding of humour, or what can be classified as ‘playful’, might be applicable to the humorous elements in music characterised by ingenuity and spontaneity.

In vocal music, especially that relating to theatrical production, humorous elements played a crucial role from the outset of the seventeenth century. The poet Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1637) was an important figure in this development: he provided light-hearted and humorous poems with appropriate musical rhymes such as ‘blank verse’ (*versi sciolti*; rhyming mixtures of seven- and eleven-

syllable lines for variety), especially in his *Scherzi e canzonette* (1599).¹ Monteverdi, concerned with the variety of styles and functions of music, also assembled madrigals of light character with titles such as *Scherzi musicali* (Musical jokes, Volume I, 1607 and Volume II, 1632). Comic characters were mainly promoted by pastoral operatic scenes involving shepherds and rustics. In verbal language and vocal music, the most literal type of imitation with humorous effect might be onomatopoeia, to which Erasmus dedicated a discussion in his rhetorical treatise *De duplici copia*.² In the case of abstract instrumental music, it is more difficult to conjecture its humorous implications only from musical contents. Yet there are a number of instrumental pieces that come with a humorous title or a programmatic note, or involve the realistic imitation of natural sound. For example, in Frescobaldi's *Capriccio sopra il cucuco*, the call of a cuckoo, represented by the descending minor third motif, is persistently heard throughout the piece, penetrating a most complex contrapuntal texture.

However, it was in the late eighteenth century that the theorist's attention was drawn to instrumental music as an autonomous medium for expressing humour, with the sonatas and symphonies of C. P. E. Bach and Haydn, the most often-quoted 'humorous' composers.³ Christian Friedrich Michaelis in his writings on musical composition gives a definition of 'humorous music': on the one hand, he underlines the concept of humour as a breach of the norm; on the other, he relates it to the expression of the composer's individual personality and wilfulness, rather

¹ Gianturco, Carolyn, 'The Italian Seventeenth-Century Cantata: A Textual Approach', *The Well-Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. John Caldwell, Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg, 45; Bianconi, 17. Caccini appreciated the poet who had offered him 'a fine opportunity for variety' (Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, ed. Hitchcock, 46).

² See Erasmus, *De duplici copia*, trans. Knott, 420.

³ On humour as the peculiar artistic disposition of Haydn and C. P. E. Bach in late eighteenth-century sources, see Richards, *The Free Fantasia*, Chapter 4.

than the funny or the laughable in general.⁴ According to many eighteenth-century sources, the ‘fantast’ who composes and performs ‘fantasias’ is also called a ‘humorist’, an improviser, or a genius.⁵ These sources imply that humour was considered a component of the composer’s creativity and that the term ‘fantastic’ was as much associated with a person (a fantast and humorist), as with musical features. In this sense, fantasy elements can be regarded humorous and ingenious, often creating an impression of eccentricity and grotesqueness through certain musical procedures such as the disorderly arrangement of themes or abrupt modulations.⁶ The interpretation of eighteenth-century abstract genres is open-ended and a broadened meaning of the term ‘humour’ (even embracing the ‘sublime’) does not necessarily reflect the seventeenth-century usage of the term. However, there are seventeenth-century sources in which fantasy and humour share certain concepts and techniques. In this respect, it is worth examining the principal techniques of ‘humour’ within the seventeenth-century concept of musical fantasy, which composers employed to achieve certain playful effects, based on their understanding of the natural world and artificiality.

4.3.1. *Lusus (Joke of nature) and the art of the garden*

In the context of seventeenth-century scientific literature, Paula Findlen surveys

⁴ ‘Music is humorous if it displays the composer’s wilfulness more than the strict practice of artistic techniques; in such a case, the musical ideas are very odd and unusual, and they do not follow on one another, as the natural progression might seem to imply. Instead, the listener is surprised by quite unexpected turns of phrase, by unexpected transitions, or by wholly new and oddly shaped figures’ (Michaelis, ‘Über das Humoristische oder Launige in der musikalischen Komposition’, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 9, 1807; quoted in Head, 101-102).

⁵ Sources include Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), Francesco Valla, *Mapa armónico* (1742), and Jacob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit* (1758). See Head, 98-101.

⁶ Head suggests that a humorist’s speciality ranges from the playful to the serious and sublime. He associates the elements conveying the ‘sublime’ in a fantasia by C. P. E. Bach with the minor mode, the descending chromatic fourth, the dotted French overture rhythms, and other figures of contrast and abruptness (Head, 103).

the recent studies which reconsider the idea that ‘science proper’ (or modern empirical science emerging from the late sixteenth century) is a wholly ‘rational’ process that emerged separately from late Renaissance natural philosophy. This view stresses the transitional nature of seventeenth-century science, as suggested in contemporary scientific literature, which was expansive enough to embrace the occult tradition and a wide range of metaphorical language, especially when describing inexplicable phenomena of the natural world. For example, Olaf Worm wrote in the 1655 catalogue of his museum that ‘nature has joked (*lusit*) uncommonly in all the outward appearances of natural things’.⁷ For seventeenth-century naturalists, especially the Jesuits, the ‘*lusus*’ (joke) of nature was a useful category to explore the variety and paradoxes of nature and to carry on their scientific experiments in the dynamic between nature and art.

For naturalists, the wonders and diversification of nature are exemplified in the variety of shapes, patterns, and colours of flowers, shells, zoophytes, and other natural phenomena. *Lusus* was an important notion in their understanding and categorisation of ‘extraordinary’ natural phenomena, which served to stimulate their curiosity and imagination. It was a means of explaining something that would otherwise have been classified as irrational or disorderly, and thus expelled from strict intellectual classification and even from the realm of knowledge. On the other hand, *lusus* was distinguished from aberrations and things disastrous and potentially diabolical, and thus excluded the deformity and monstrosity of natural mutants. In this sense, *lusus* is to some extent confined to phenomena that were

⁷ Worm, Olaf, *Museum Wormianum*, Louvain, 1655, 81; quoted in Paula Findlen, ‘Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 2 (1990), 292. Contemporary naturalists include Filippo Bonanni, Conrad Gesner, Levinus Lemnius, Girolamo Cardano, and Athanasius Kircher (Findlen, 297).

considered morally neutral. However, it should be noted that this exclusion involved ethical matters, not artistic ones as illustrated by some earlier artists' views on 'beauty' and 'deformity' in their concern with the imitation of nature (see chapter 3.2.2). More importantly, the notion of *lusus* enhances the observer's interest in nature's marvels and creates a category that embraces the complexity of nature in terms of taxonomies.⁸

A significant effect of the notion of *lusus* was that it affected the way of interpreting natural objects, in that what previously appeared 'deformed' reveals itself as 'humorous'. In other words, *lusus* tended to subvert the conventional idea of deformity by blurring the boundaries of offensive and fearful feelings. For example, a monstrous image as an imaginary creature can appear offensive and instil fear; but, as long as such a creature does not threaten and breach moral standards, a sense of harmlessness relieves fear and replaces it with humour, so that it may be perceived as a comic character. Perhaps this conceptual transfer from a fear-inducing affection to a humorous one is reflected in twenty-first-century popular genres such as black comedy, confirming an enduring aspect in the notion of humour. While it is not the issue of this section to prove how the sense of humour was transformed or unique in the seventeenth century, it might be useful to examine some aspects of its conceptual foundation and other intellectual backgrounds, against which the seventeenth-century sense of humour might be understood.

⁸ For example, a giant or a dwarf could be a curious object which shared its major features with ordinary men; coral and hydra were considered curious in their crossing the boundaries of animal, mineral, and plant. Such phenomena basically observe the natural order but in unusual ways that draw the observer's attention to their curious proportions or shapes (Findlen, 302-303).

In literature in general, the special emphasis on joke and humour as rhetorical means is found in ancient sources such as Aristotle and Cicero: Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, defines wit and the usefulness of jests for debating; Cicero, in his *De oratore*, treats *facetiae* not only as ornaments to discourse, but also as an important component of *inventio*, defining and categorising the laughable which ranges from the pleasing to the insulting.⁹ Through the revival of such ancient sources during the Renaissance, jokes and humour flourished and occupied an important position in literature.¹⁰ Many Renaissance humanists, most famously Erasmus and Thomas More, considered jokes and humour as essential attributes of the ideal humanist and compiled anthologies of *facetiae* and jokes. Such anthologies were becoming widespread from the 1530s (when Erasmus also published a brief collection of jokes, *Convivium fabulosum*).¹¹

The heightened interest in *lusus* in natural science towards the end of the sixteenth century was also indebted to the rediscovery of ancient sources, Pliny's *Naturalis historia* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in particular. Most striking in Pliny's discussion of nature is his personification of nature as a painter: for instance, nature paints shellfish and flowers with a variety of shapes, patterns, and colours according to her 'ingenuity' and sportive mood; all these creatures are 'marvels' to us and 'amusements to herself' (*ludibria sibi*).¹² This metaphor of the artistic act

⁹ Bowen, Barbara C., 'Ciceronian Wit and Renaissance Rhetoric', *Rhetorica*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1984), 410-411.

¹⁰ For later sources of Renaissance rhetoric that reflect the influence of Ciceronian jokes, see Bowen, 'Ciceronian Wit', 411-413. Petrarch is considered to be the first to credit Cicero with establishing the genre of *facetiae* in his *Rerum memorandarum libri* of about 1344.

¹¹ Bowen, Barbara C., 'Festive Humanism: The Case of Luscinius', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 19 (1993), 2.

¹² Pliny (the Elder), *Naturalis historia*, VII. 3; IX. 52; XXI. 1; quoted in Findlen, 296.

of ‘nature as a painter’ is echoed in the statement of the seventeenth-century Veronese stone collector Lodovico Moscardo:

In this stone [...] one sees nature joke with art, since in it she reveals many lines that form the shape of trees, houses, and countryside, as if the learned hand of a famous painter had sketched them.¹³

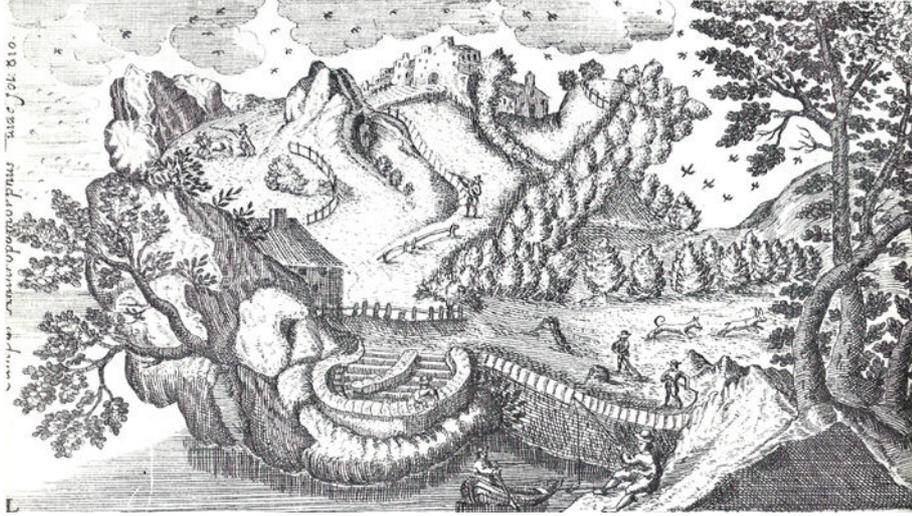
Kircher, founder of the museum at the Collegio Romano, in his *Ars Magna lucis et umbrae* (Rome, 1646), also illustrated various images analogous to cities and mountains that he discovered in marble-like stones. This mode of observing natural objects illustrates the difference of approach and discourse from that of modern science. It implies an aesthetic experience focusing on appearances that evoke an image of something else. Concerning hidden correlations between things, *lusus* may belong to the occult tradition, but its methodology is based on accurate observation, not merely on speculation: it is a study of shapes, proportions, and optics in order to discern likeness and resemblances. In this interpretative system, nature, personified as a maker of jokes and marvels, enjoys diversions from her ordinary duty of creation and imitates her own creation through other species. Attempting to imitate this ‘imitative’ act of nature, Kircher introduces an illusory landscape drawing entitled *Campus anthropomorphus*, produced in about 1590 (Figure 4.3.1).¹⁴ Once this picture is rotated 90 degrees clockwise, the landscape is metamorphosed into the profile of a bearded head. Although its perspectives in the foreground and background are not so accurate, shapes and shades are the product of meticulous calculation by which both images look plausible from

¹³ Moscardo, Lodovico, *Note overo memorie del museo di Lodovico Moscardo* (Padua, 1651), 148; quoted in Findlen, 298.

¹⁴ Baltrušaitis, Jurgis, *Anamorphic Art* (1969, Paris), trans. W. J. Strachen, Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd., 1976, 83-84.

different angles and distance.

Figure 4.3.1. Athanasius Kircher, *Campus anthropomorphus* of Cardinal Montalti's Roman Garden, from *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* (Rome, 1646).



The perception of optical illusion, which alludes to nature's metaphorical potential, and the related experiments are found in many famous sixteenth-century paintings. Playful deceits through transforming images and perspectives flourished in the so-called 'anamorphic' paintings.¹⁵ One of the most famous examples of this technique is Hans Holbein the Younger's *The Ambassadors* (1533): exploring the traditional theme of the 'memento mori', the skull is the image of death that the viewer can catch only by changing his perspective and withdrawing his gaze from the main figures of the painting. While the objects on the table and on the floor indicate that the heavens and the earth are presented as conventional imitations of nature, the skull represents death indirectly through the natural phenomenon of optical illusion.¹⁶ Fine examples of the puzzle image, or magic eye, are also found in Giuseppe Arcimboldo's (1527-1593) paintings. These paintings cultivate

¹⁵ Baltrušaitis, 86. The term 'anamorphosis' itself first appearing in Gaspar Schott's *Magia universalis* (Würzburg, 1657).

¹⁶ Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980, 20.

fantastic visions associated with monstrous and artificial physiognomies, a style that was later labelled *Arcimboldesque* (Figure 4.3.2).¹⁷ Once the similarity in shapes and proportion of natural objects (trees and flowers) was perceived, these shapes and proportions could then be manipulated and rearranged in order to allow another image (human face) to emerge fantastically. The lines and colours of this newly created image appear rudimentary at first sight, but soon one would marvel at the details and meticulous calculations behind the overall structure. This construction of grotesque and deformed figures was made so artfully that the viewer could ultimately find a playful intention emerging from initial confusion.

Figure. 4.3.2. Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Winter* (1573) and *Flora* (c.1591).



Naturalists' categorisation of *lusus* not only revealed man's ability to match nature's complexity and artifice, but also played an integral part in seventeenth-century scientific practice. In public scientific demonstrations, the practice of joking was often combined with the theatrical effect, as suggested in various documentary reports of demonstration cases and accidental phenomena that happen during experiments.¹⁸ This category of playful experimental science served both educational and entertainment purposes. Alchemical experimentation

¹⁷ Findlen, 316.

¹⁸ For this sub-category, Findlen introduces the term '*lusus scientiae* (joke of science)' which Adalgisa Lugli coined in her book *Naturalia et mirabilia* (Milan, 1983) (Findlen, 314, 316).

in particular represented scientific metamorphoses, ranging from the production of medicine to the purification of the human soul. Distorting mirrors whose optical illusions create an image of ‘deformity’ were also used in scientific plays, imitating the principles of anamorphic arts. This type of artificial phantasm through distorted images was introduced for moral lessons which aimed at revealing the monstrous inconsistency and ephemerality of the human condition.¹⁹ In this context, *lusus* illuminates the metaphorical effect shared in science and arts.

Another topic highlighting the metaphorical potential of *lusus* is the garden. Around the beginning of the seventeenth century, the garden became a laboratory of research into the balance between nature and art. Previously, gardens were described mainly with reference to hygienic necessity (offering a retreat to the natural atmosphere with refreshing air and sunlight), astrological imagery (in their imitation of celestial order affecting the human soul), and biblical models (in their imitation of the paradise gardens of Eden and Gethsemane).²⁰ These symbolic connotations were gradually challenged by accurate observation and the changing perception of astronomical reality towards 1600. As suggested in chapter 3.2.2, the landscape of sixteenth-century fantastic paintings bears witness to the enhanced ability to observe and depict the landscape as a unity: however fantastic it appears, every object is directly derived from meticulous observation of reality.²¹ Nevertheless, the notions of the garden as a fantastic idyllic space and an imitation of nature remained important.

¹⁹ Findlen, 321-322.

²⁰ For the sources, see Hunt, John Dixon ed., *The Italian Garden*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, Chapter 2 and 3.

²¹ Hunter, John Michael, *Land into Landscape*, New York: Longman Inc., 1985, 61.

Seventeenth-century references to the Italian garden conform to the two definitions of imitation: some support ‘ideal imitation’ as human invention by controlling blemishes and disorder in nature, and others pay more attention to ‘literal imitation’, even of those defects, which involves aspects of *lusus*. Italian gardens were most influential in their naturalistic, picturesque setting in contrast to the geometry and regularity of contemporary French gardens.²² However, some French gardens drew the traveller’s attention to their variety, competing with the Italian ones. While many English travellers claimed that Italian gardens were superior to French ones in ‘variety’ and imagination, John Evelyn acclaimed the garden at Rueil in 1644 as almost exceeding any Italian garden for its varieties of pleasure; on his visit to the Rueil garden in 1625, Peter Heylyn described the delightful ‘melancholy’ and ‘confusion’ he discovered in its variety.²³ Sir Henry Wotton also attested to how he enjoyed ‘a delightful confusion’ of an ever-changing view of the whole garden as he moved up and down, walking through the slopes and ramps.²⁴ A word most frequently and emphatically used by these English travellers was ‘variety’ – even amounting to ‘confusion’. Elements of variety included walks, hills, grottoes, labyrinths, plants, statues, fountains, and other mechanical waterworks. Multi-sectional gardens based on uneven ground such as the Medici gardens at Fiesole and Florence offered visitors the great delight of exploring the passages and surprises by choosing among diverse walks.

²² Hunt, John Dixon, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination: 1600-1750*, London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1986, 83, 97.

²³ Quoted in Kenneth Woodbridge, ‘The Architectural Adornment of Cardinal Richelieu’s Garden at Rueil’, *The History of Garden Design*, ed. Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot, London: Thames and Hudson, 1991, 169. Peter Heylyn (*The Voyage of France*, London, 1673) wrote as follows: ‘a place so full of retired walk, so sweetly and delicately contrived, that they would even entice a man to melancholy; because in them, even melancholy would seem delightful [...] It seemed a grove, an orchard, and a vineyard, so variously interwoven and mixed together, as if it had been the purpose of the artist to make a man fall in love with confusion’.

²⁴ Wotton, Sir Henry, *Elements of Architecture*, London, 1624, 109-110; quoted in Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, 10.

An important attraction in the art of the garden was the museum-like garden that contained extensive collections of curious objects from nature and art, the so-called ‘cabinet of curiosity’. Given that ‘cabinet’ signified a summerhouse or bower in a garden and the word ‘curious’ possessed the connotation of ‘careful’ or ‘accurate’ in observation, a curious traveller would be one who was attentive and industrious in terms of ‘seeing the sights’.²⁵ Furthermore, the term ‘curiosity’ had a more precise reference to any actual collection of rare, odd, and ingenious objects, both natural and man-made. These early museums were situated and displayed in various places and forms, and gardens were one of these locations. On the occasion of his visit in the 1640s to the earliest botanical garden in Pisa, founded in 1543, Evelyn remarks that the garden ‘joins a gallery [...] furnished with natural rarities, stones, minerals, shells, dried animals [...]’.²⁶ Joseph Furttentbach, a German architect, was one of the famous collectors of artefacts, rarities, and plants. He introduced the Italian style of gardens to Germany by emphasising real nature or naturalness. His ‘imaginary garden’ demonstrates the Italian trend of garden design in its juxtaposition of natural and artificial parts (Figure 4.3.3.a). Furttentbach’s garden was a kind of open-air museum, demonstrating his knowledge of botany and lithology. Although it is not clear on which Italian garden Furttentbach modelled this garden plan, exactly the same design remained effective in Padua a half century later (Figure 4.3.3.b).

²⁵ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. IV, 143-144. Bacon also emphasises ‘curiosity and beauty’ in the garden plan (Bacon, *Essays*, London, 1625, Ch. 46 ‘of Garden’).

²⁶ Evelyn, John, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, Oxford, 1955, vol. II, 181; quoted in Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, 74.

Figure 4.3.3. (a) Joseph Furttenebach, Imaginary garden from *Architectura civilis* (1628).

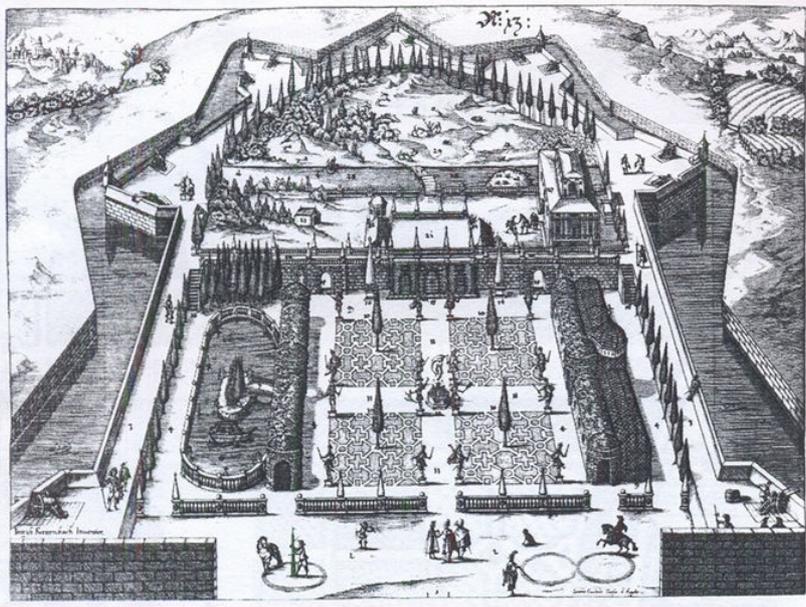
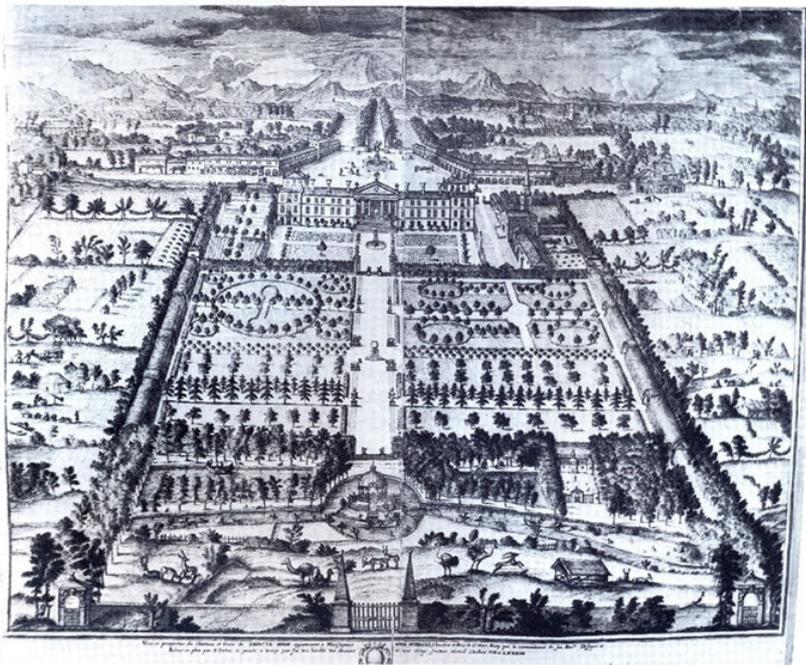


Figure 4.3.3. (b) The Villa Morosini at Sant' Anna Morosina, Padua, a print drawn by N. Cochin and engraved by Martial Desbois (Venice, 1683).²⁷



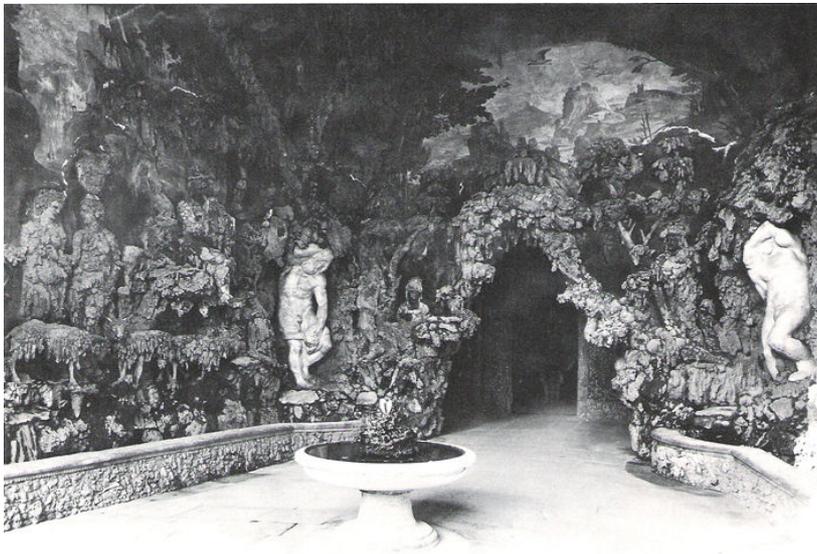
Both engravings show the contrast between the natural landscape as the space of fantasy and the well-arranged garden as the space of order by the deliberate juxtaposition of natural and artificial parts. Bacon described such a multi-sectional

²⁷ Hunt, John Dixon, ed., *The Italian Garden*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 104.

garden in detail: in his garden plan, the ‘heath or desert’ area is to be framed as much as possible by a ‘natural wildness’ with heaps, bushes, winding paths, and wild plants, in contrast to the ‘main garden’ area set in decent order.²⁸

An artificial grotto as an imitation of a natural grotto was also an important device for the playful display of the natural and artificial objects in the garden. In his *Newes Itinerarium Italiae* (1627), Furttenbach also described the grotto as being filled with artifice and exotica, including shell-encrusted sculptures and waterworks, painted cosmological imagery, and mirrors.²⁹ The grotto from the Boboli gardens, made by Bernardo Buontalenti (c. 1536-1608), achieves a natural look through highly artificial devices such as grotesque statues and illusionistic paintings, based on a theme from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*: the catastrophe in which mankind was turned into stone (Figure 4.3.4).³⁰

Figure 4.3.4. Bernardo Buontalenti, Grotto, from Boboli Gardens, Florence.



The taste for the naturalistic setting developed more and more towards the end of

²⁸ Bacon, *Essays*, London, 1625, Ch. 46 ‘of Garden’, 266-279.

²⁹ Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, 75.

³⁰ Barolsky, Paul, *Infinite Jest: Wit and Humor in Italian Renaissance Art*, Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 1978, 157.

the century, leading the viewer to look out of the well-ordered garden into a naturalistic landscape. Ironically, this tendency reflects a greater artificiality in creating a deception of art in the disguise of apparent naturalness. Responses to this were diversified: some appreciated art's ingenuous capacity to imitate and even outdo nature in the art of the garden; others, favouring conventional French gardens, considered the artificial devices tedious, hyperbolic, and even childish.³¹ Consequently, two contrasting viewpoints emerge in the discourses of garden viewers: one favoured art over nature and the other sought for the effects of nature as if without art. This distinction signifies the contemporary aesthetic attitudes according to which artificiality was becoming more acutely perceived in relation to naturalness (see chapter 2). The viewer's focus was on the balance and interplay between nature and art: art's imitations of nature were noticeable and thus implied the perception of deceit as a means to appreciate a work of art.

In all, the notion of *lusus* and the tendency towards the naturalistic garden bring important implications for humour. The term *lusus* implies the flexibility of the contemporary knowledge system, blurring the distinctions between the rational and the irrational, and between occult and modern sciences.³² Artificial devices invented to imitate the naturalistic landscape served to evoke the fantastic idyllic world as portrayed in ancient literature. Both *lusus* and the naturalistic garden highlight human ingenuity and spontaneity as constituting fantasy: they demonstrate the growing importance of accurate observation and analytic methods in discovering unique characteristics in otherwise familiar objects and in connecting nature and art by freely manipulating the expectation of the norms and

³¹ Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, 92-93.

³² Findlen, 295-296.

conventions.

4.3.2. *Humour in music.*

In a broad sense, humorous music ranges from literal imitation of natural sounds to music whose compositional strategy or technique highlights a composer's wit. Guillaume de Machaut's three-part rondeau *Ma fin est mon commencement* (My end is my beginning) is a particularly fine example of retrograde technique, intellectually playing with the meaning of the text. In contrast to this technical concern with an inaudible and rather hidden visual design, imitation of natural sounds has an immediate comic impact on the listener, just like pure nonsense or a verbal pun. Among the earliest famous examples of this literal imitation of natural sounds in notated music are Clément Janequin's programmatic chansons in the first half of the sixteenth century, characterised by various onomatopoeic effects, for instance, *Le chant des oiseaux* (The song of the birds) and *La guerre: la bataille de Marignan* (The war: the battle of Marignan); and fifteenth century Oswald von Wolkenstein's programmatic songs. This musical use of literal imitation is based on a transparent analogy between the signified and the signifier: a sense of incongruity builds up when the familiar sound is heard through a new sound source in a distorted or exaggerated way.

Combining this humorous implication of literal imitation with a technical concern, Frescobaldi explores the characteristic motif by imitating the bird's call in his *Capriccio sopra il cucco* (1624). The cuckoo motif, represented by the descending minor third in the top part, is clearly audible each time (80 times spread in 10 subsections or 166 bars), ever penetrating all intricate contrapuntal webs (Example 4.3.1.a and b). The reason that the cuckoo motif remains audible

through constant changes of harmony, texture, and metre is mainly that it is always placed in the highest register. The other reason is its harmonic and rhythmic distinctiveness. Although the motif is composed of two notes (D and B), these notes are very significant components of both the tonic triad and the V-I harmonic progression found in several cadences of this piece (Example 4.3.1.b). Below this simple yet most useful motif, the composer displays his ingenuity and liberty to employ a variety of countersubjects and all the possible harmonic combinations of triads (both major and minor) on G, B, D, and E, and of passing dissonances and suspensions (Example 4.3.1.c).

Example 4.3.1. Frescobaldi, *Capriccio III sopra il cucco*. (a) bars 38-41.

(b) bars 122-126.

(c) bars 59-68.

The rhythmic content of the motif is also conspicuous: the two notes basically correspond to the *tactus* (basic pulse). While the motif is often notated as equal-value notes, it implies the iambic rhythm ($\cdot -$), because the first note nearly always falls on the upbeat and the second on the downbeat. Its rhythmic variants

exaggerate this characteristic iambic rhythm (Example 4.3.1.d). The up-down gesture often occurs across the bar line and adds a stress to the first note of the following bar. Against this rhythmic flow of regularity, the strategy of using this motif is based on variety and unpredictability: the variety of harmonic combinations below the motif is already mentioned; sections in triple meter, which have two upbeats, enhance rhythmic complexity; the reversal to the down-up gesture following a change of *tactus* supplies an unpredictable twist of expectation (Example 4.3.1.c, marked by asterisks). The composer's ingenuity when manipulating material from nature is manifested in the way that he juxtaposes variety and unpredictability with unity. Behind this artistic representation of the bird's call, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XV, 176) *Omnia mutantur, nil interit* (all things change but nothing is lost) may have stood as an influential source, one which Bacon, too, quoted when pointing out the unifying essence reflected in the similarity between different appearances and ideas.³³

Example 4.3.1. Frescobaldi, *Capriccio III sopra il cucco*. (d) bars 6-8.



One remarkable piece of research into musical descriptions of natural sounds is found in Kircher's *Musurgia* (Figure 4.3.5). This attempt to codify birds' calls and notate them in melodic detail attests to the contemporary tendency towards the classification or rationalisation of all that is observed in nature. It had an influence on late seventeenth-century experiments with the imitation of natural sounds on different instruments, as exemplified in Alessandro Poglietti's keyboard capriccios and Biber's *Sonata Representativa* for violin (1669).

³³ Bacon, *On the Advancement of Learning* (1605), Book 2, V:3, ed. Johnston, 85.

Figure 4.3.5. Kircher, Bird songs from *Musurgia universalis* (1650), Book I, fol. 30.

We also find other modes of imitation of original sounds, like those made between voice and instrument, and between different instruments. While these modes of imitation were not intended to make an immediate humorous effect, they demonstrate how prevailing the concept of imitation was among seventeenth-century musicians in their search for new expressive and even incongruous sounds. By the indication ‘imitatio violistica’ in many of his organ toccatas in the *Tabulatura Nova* (1624), Scheidt aimed to imitate string players ‘who know how to make their strings sing now more brilliantly, now more gently’.³⁴ This type of keyboard articulation, or slurring of two or four adjacent notes, is drawn from an imitation of the fluent and expressive legato playing on bowed instruments. Organ registers such as *tremulant* (or *voce umana*, a register with a set of pipes tuned slightly up or down to beat with the fundamental register) were designed as an

³⁴ Quoted in Pestelli, Giorgio, ‘The Toccata of the Late Baroque’, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 278, 281.

imitation of human vibrato.³⁵ Furthermore, Scheidt's instruction of a specific organ technique ('imitating the tremulant of organs with two fingers on one and the same key, in right and left hands') suggests a double-imitation of human vibrato, or 'an interesting parody of a specific organ mannerism' in Butt's terminology. While Scheidt imitates this organ *tremulant* in a repeated-note figure, Froberger transfers it to two alternating notes in an elevation toccata (Example 4.3.2).

Example 4.3.2. Froberger, *Toccatto VI da sonarsi alla Levatione*, bars 21-22 and 29-30.



In addition to such exploration into the sound world, dramatic vocal genres also reveal the seventeenth-century enthusiasm for the humorous and playful creation of an alienated world, which challenges natural order and conventional rules. A most influential literary source has already been mentioned: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Stefano Landi's opera (or *tragicommedia pastorale* which the poet Giambattista Guarini classified as a new genre) *La morte d'Orfeo* (Venice, 1619) is a case in point, based on the story in the *Metamorphoses* (Chapter XI). It includes Caronte's comic drinking song (act 5, scene 2), which is considered the earliest comic aria in opera.³⁶ By definition, a drinking song has playful texts concerned with literal imitation of an act of drinking. Morley describes drinking songs as 'the slightest kind of music (if they deserve the name of music)' in his classification of vocal music.³⁷ As a devotee of Italian music, Morley jokingly claims that this kind of 'vice' was probably not the invention of the native Italians

³⁵ Butt, 'Germany – Netherlands', 179; Silbiger, 'Fantasy and Craft', 441.

³⁶ This type of setting became fully established by the time of Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo* of 1647 (Silvia Herzog, ed., *La morte d'Orfeo* by Stefano Landi, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 1999, xi).

³⁷ Morley (1597), 295.

but of the Germans who studied in Italy. He might have not known one of the earliest examples of this genre, a motet by Adrian Willaert (a Flemish composer who flourished in Italy), *Quid non ebrietas*, a playful song about drunkenness, which is ‘musically drunken’ around hexachordal modulations and chromaticisms. Morley gives no music examples of this genre, but it is evident that this type of playful genre evolved from folk song traditions beyond national boundaries.³⁸ Just as in the visual arts Bacchus and his stepson Silenus are always portrayed comically as drunken naked obese men helped by others (see drunken Silenus in Figure 3.2.c),³⁹ the drunken character provides the music with a comic and jovial theme in imitation of drunkenness.

Stefano Landi, Caronte’s song, from *La morte d’Orfeo*, first stanza and refrain.⁴⁰

<i>Bevi, bevi sicurra l’onda,</i>	Drink, drink deep the water,
<i>Che da Lete tranquilla inonda:</i>	That overflows from the tranquil Lethe:
<i>Beva, beca chiunque ha sete</i>	Let everyone who thirsts drink
<i>Il sereno liquor di Lete.</i>	The serene liquid of Lethe.
<i>Non più morte</i>	No more death,
<i>Non più sorte;</i>	No more fate,
<i>Privo di doglia,</i>	Free from grief,
<i>Pien di piacere,</i>	Filled with pleasure,
<i>Venga, chi ha sete, a bere.</i>	Let everyone who thirsts come to drink.

On the other hand, the situation behind the scene is in fact not comic, but deals with the tragic fate of the abandoned lover and of impending self-abandonment. It

³⁸ French types of artistic drinking song are classified as *chanson pour boire* for solo, and *air à boire* for two or more voices. The former became fashionable in the late 1620s and the latter flourished in the second half of the century (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, articles on ‘Air à boire’ and ‘Chanson pour boire’ by John H. Baron).

³⁹ Sixteenth-century examples include Andrea Mantegna’s *Triumph of Silenus*, Piero di Cosimo’s *Discovery of Honey*, Baldassare Peruzzi’s *Bacchus and Adriane*, Benvenuto da Garofalo’s *Triumph of Bacchus*, and Martin van Heemskerck’s *The Triumph of Silenus*. See Barolsky, *Infinite Jest*, 31, 46, 92, 99, 101.

⁴⁰ Translation by Silvia Herzog.

follows the tragic scene in which Orfeo was rejected by Euridice who had lost her memory of him. Caronte, in accordance with Mercury's wishes, now invites Orfeo to drink the water of Lethe in order to free himself from memory and harsh reality. As the most vivid comic character in this *tragicommedia*, Caronte sings in a cheerful and relaxed mood, because he himself is already drunk and forgetful of all fate and grief. Like the contemporary arias in a light mood, this song is set in clear strophic structure with a refrain and in syllabic style in triple time, positioned between the preceding recitative and an instrumental ritornello. In the regular strophic form, the composer resorts to literal mimetic gestures in order to enhance the comic effect: parallels or unison between melody and bass line (Caronte is a bass singer) are paired with a prevailing rhythmic unit (dotted minim-crotchet-minim) that imitates the staggering steps of the drunk (Example 4.3.3). The overall melodic line and the bass line, both in vacillating motion, also give the impression of the wavy movement of water. In addition to these elements of literal imitation, exaggeration of a gesture suspends time. The last line of the refrain 'Venga, chi ha sete, a bere' (Let everyone who thirsts come to drink) is extended through the sequences in bars 205, 208, and 213. Then a long melisma continues the swinging rhythm of drunken steps for nine further bars.

This characteristic rhythm had appeared once before this scene, in act 1, scene 3, when three Euretti (prophetic fairies) celebrated Orfeo's birthday on the line 'Il natale d'Orfeo' (The birth of Orfeo). In light of this, the drinking song is not merely comic in mood, but has the dramaturgic significance that foreshadows the moment of Orfeo's rebirth after his loss of memory.

Example 4.3.3. Stefano Landi, *La morte d'Orfeo*, Act 5, Scene 2, bars 173-182 and 193-224.

173 CARONTE

Be- vi, be- vi si- cu- ra l'on-
 Be- va, be- va que- sti cri- stal-
 Be- va, be- va que- sto li- quo-

178

- - da, Che da Le- te tran-
 - - li, Che tra- scor- ro- no
 - - re, Chi pia- ga- to si

193

Il Se- re- no li- quor di Le- te. Non più
 Che non fan- no pro- var tor- men- ti.
 Trar le noi' e sen- tir di- let- to.

198

mor- te Non più sor- te; Pri- vo di do- glia,

203

Pien di pia- ce- re, Ven- ga, ven- ga chi ha se- t'a-

208

-be- re, ven- ga ven- ga chi ha se- t'a be- re,

213

ven- ga, ven- ga chi ha se- t'a be-

218

- - - - - re.

Through playful approaches such as literal imitation and the exaggerated suspension of time, this aria secures some relief from the tragic context, given that the genre of *tragicommedia pastorale*, as a mixture of comedy and tragedy, aims to achieve the equally expressive effects of both. In this respect, Silvia Herzog argues that this genre reflects the contemporary desire for ‘relief from the melancholy’ that plagued the age, and that this drinking scene similarly serves to prevent the drama from sinking into the depths of irreversible despair.⁴¹ This notion recalls Robert Burton’s study (1621) introducing music as one of the most powerful ‘antidotes to melancholy’ (see chapter 4.2.2). This aria certainly plays the crucial role of suddenly turning the tragic mood in Orfeo’s recitative into the happy *dénouement*, providing a space of relief through its comic mood. Yet it does not sound as unreservedly cheerful as interludes of comic opera presented by idiotic and vulgar characters, but is still shaded by a homogeneous texture, building up a sense of incongruity. On the comic nature of the *tragicommedia* genre, Guarini explains as follows:

A plot which is like truth without being true, feelings that are aroused but blunted, pleasure and not sadness, danger and not death [...] laughter which is not wanton, modest pleasantry, an imagined plot, the *dénouement* happy, and above all a comic tone’.⁴²

Accordingly, the nature of Caronte’s comic aria is inseparable from the dramatic context. It involves, from the audience’s point of view, an unnatural shift of mood: the drama proceeds on the premise of the audience’s collective memory of the tragic plot, while the protagonist dissolves his tragic status by drinking, achieves

⁴¹ Herzog, xiii, ix.

⁴² Guarini, Giambattista, *Il verato*, in *Opere*, ed. Marziano Guglielminetti (Torino, 1955), 763; quoted in Herzog, ix.

freedom from ‘his’ memory, and happily leaves for heaven. The function of this aria is clear: without losing the musical and dramatic continuum, it subverts the strand of tragedy and leads to the following scene whose subject is the freedom of the soul and entry into ‘sublime spheres’.⁴³ While its affective content is light and cheerful, humour in the dramatic context is built on a sense of incongruity because of its sudden shift between two opposing worlds, human and divine, or between a space of memory and one free from memory.

Tarquinio Merula’s four-stanza canzonetta *Quando gli uccelli portaranno i zoccoli* (When birds wear clogs), from his collection of secular songs, *Curtio precipitato ed altri Capricci* (Venice, 1638), is another example of the playful approach. This song represents an ingeniously humorous text in the declamatory style. Its anonymous poem makes an immediate humorous effect, reminiscent of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and its legacy such as Erasmus’ *Praise of Folly*. It displays a witty imagination of the subversive and impossible world, contradicting the natural order and the common sense of social convention. A sense of incongruity is built up line by line through the imagery of nonsensical actions (for instance, flying buffaloes and dogs fleeing from hares) and humorous offences against the senses (for instance, reversed order between black and white, and between sweet and bitter). A pile of incongruous images and imaginings suddenly dissolves at the point of the last (eighth) line of each stanza, bursting into the despair and regret of an abandoned lover. It is only then that the poem as a whole reveals itself to be a lover’s supplication: he/she invites the listener to his/her imaginary incongruous world, where the normal order is subverted and thus broken-heartedness or lament

⁴³ In act 5, scene 2 (line 795), Mercury welcomes Orfeo: “Or segui il volo mio, alma felice, alla sublime sfera (Now, follow my flight, blessed soul, to the sublime spheres).”

might not exist.

Tarquinio Merula, *Quando gli uccelli potananno*, first two stanzas.⁴⁴

<i>Quando gli uccelli potaranno i zoccoli</i>	When birds wear clogs
<i>E sù per l'aria voleran gli Buffoli</i>	And buffaloes fly in the air,
<i>Le Rose I gigli produranno Broccoli</i>	When roses and lilies produce broccoli
<i>E le Ranochie soneranno i Zuffoli</i>	And frogs play reed-pipes,
<i>Il dì de Morti sarà senza moccòli</i>	When no one swears on the day of death,
<i>Nera la neve e bianche le Tartuffoli</i>	Snow is black and truffles white,
<i>I Ricchi zaperanno la cicoria</i>	And rich men dig up chicory:
<i>Prima che voi m'usciate di memoria</i>	Only then will I forget you.
<i>Quando li mutti canteranno favole</i>	When mutes sing fables
<i>E gli Tedeschi non sapran più bere</i>	And Germans cannot hold their drink,
<i>Li sorci piglieran le gatte gnavole</i>	When mice catch mewing cats
<i>E fuggiranno i cani da le Lievere</i>	And dogs flee from hares,
<i>Quando sarà coperto il Ciel di tavole</i>	When the sky is set with tables,
<i>Amaro sarà il zuccaro e dolce il pevere</i>	Sugar is bitter and pepper is sweet,
<i>Il Mar di piante i monti d'acqua carichi</i>	The sea full of plants and the mountains full of water:
<i>All' hora finiranno i miei ramarichi.</i>	Only then I will cease regretting.

This poem provides not only the overall affective mood, but also implies the basic frame of the structure, a stanzaic form called 'ottava rima' (the eight-line stanza with twelve-syllable lines). Given the closed structure of the 'ottava rima' with lines of even-numbered syllables, in which the accent pattern is strictly regulated, strophic forms such as *aria* and *ariette* in measured verse might have been more suitable than the through-composed form. The strophic structure is also implied in the poetic rhyme: it employs a unique versification unit, called 'sdrucchiolo', in which the primary stress of each line falls on the antepenultimate syllable. In other words, the final word of each line has two playful and jerky syllables following

⁴⁴ Translation by Mary Pardoe, from *Tarquinio Merula: Arie e Capricci a Voce Sola*, sung by Montserrat Figueras (Astrée: 1992), with my modification.

the accented one. This poetic foot articulates each line most clearly and regularly. Although these features of the poetic structure and rhyme might imply a strophic form, the composer chose a through-composed setting. Therefore, it is worth examining how the composer deals with the textual features in order to achieve a musical flow of both coherence and variety.

Above all, the characteristic rhyme of *versi sdrucchioli* is translated directly into music: while the accented syllable (italicised from now onwards) receives the longer note, the remaining syllables are pronounced rapidly, for instance, in *Zo-c-co-li* and *Bu-ffo-li* in the first two lines. This setting results in dactyle (– · ·) or cretisque (– · –) rhythms as notated in dotted quaver–semi-quaver–crotchet, all three syllables bouncing on the same note. In Italian poetry, *versi sdrucchioli* have been always associated with characters and events beyond the norm, such as invocation of spirits, satire, and other humorous contexts, therefore implying an elevated style compared with the more common *versi piani* (which has its primary accent on the penultimate syllable).⁴⁵ The stumbling rhythmic character of the *sdrucchiolo* always slows down the sweeping, speech-like declamatory line (Example 4.3.4). Moreover, as each line begins on the upbeat, the metrical pause after each *sdrucchiolo* is perceived as prominent, and perhaps could be prolonged for a demarcation or curtailed for a declamation (as if breathless) in performance than the notated quaver rest. The harmonic bass consistently supports the grouping of two lines, with the simple progression of I-V-I on different keys. Therefore, the rhythmically identical endings and beginnings, and stable harmonic progression altogether enhance the listener's perception of each line as a semantic

⁴⁵ Elwert, Theodore W., *Versificazione italiana dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Florence, 1973), 87-94; quoted in Herzog, viii; Bianconi, 215.

unit.

Example 4.3.4. Tarquinio Merula, *Quando gli uccelli potananno i zoccoli*, First two stanzas.

Canzonetta in Genovolo, Prima Parte 27

Vando gli uccelli portarano i zoccoli e fu per l'aria vola.

ran gli Buffoli Le Rosi gili produranno Broccoli, E le Ra-

nochie sonerano i Zuffoli Il di de Morti farà senza moccoli Nera e la.

nence bianche le Tartuffoli I Ricchi zape ranno la cicoria

Prima ij che voi voi voi voi m'vsciate di memori a Quando li

murti canteranno fauole E gli Tedeschi non sapran più beuere Li for-

ci piglieran le gatte gnaule e fuggi ranno i cani da le Lieure

25
Quando farà so petto il Ciel di tauole Amaro farà il zucchero e

30
dolce il peuc re Il Mar di Pianta i monti d'acqua catichi All'

35
hora li finiranno finiranno i miei rama-

40
ricchi i miei rama ma ri chi.

76 54 43

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score, likely for a vocal line. It features six systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the vocal line. Measure numbers 25, 30, 35, and 40 are clearly marked at the beginning of their respective systems. At the bottom of the page, there are three additional measure numbers: 76, 54, and 43, which appear to be part of a different section or a continuation of the piece. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs.

(In modern notation)

Quando gli uccel i por ta ra noi zo cco li e sù per l'a ria vo le
 ran gli Bu ffol li Le Ro sei gi gli pro du ra nno Bro ccoli
 E le Ra no chie so ne ra nnoi Zu ffol li Il di de Mor ti sa rà sen za mo ccoli—
 Ne ra la ne vee bian che le Tar tu ffo li I Ri cchi za pe
 ra nno la ci co ri a Pri ma pri ma che voi voi voi voi—

6

16

— m'u scia te di me mo ri a Quan do li

343

18

mu tti can te ra nno fa vo le E gli Te de schinon sa pran più be ve re Li sor

21

— ci pi glie ran le ga tte gna vo le e fu ggi ra nno ca ni da le Lie ve re

#

24

Quan do se rà co per toil Ciel di ta vo le A ma ro se rà il Zu cca ro e

#

28

dol ceil pe ve re Il Mar di pian te i mon ti d'acqua ca ri chi All'

565 # #

32
ho ra All' ho ra fi ni ra nno fi ni ra nno i miei ra ma

#

36
ri chi i miei ra ma ri

76 54 43

40
chi

This musical soliloquy, faithfully observing the poetic metre, points to the Renaissance tradition of improvisatory singing of poetry. A singing scheme for a Petrarchan sonnet, which Vincenzo Galilei jotted down in the back of a copy of his treatise *Fronimo* (1568) reveals this improvisatory practice.⁴⁶ The standard phrase of Merula's canzonetta (bars 1-2) is similar to this scheme built on repetitive notes and a simple bass line according to the metrical features of the two eleven-syllable lines, though without a time signature (Example 4.3.5). However, it should be noted that Galilei's scheme is nothing but a description of improvisation in a measured form, not a prescription for performance. Although a matter of speculation, we should assume that the performers were given a degree of metrical freedom and the use of expressive devices, for example, vocal

⁴⁶ Palisca, Claude V., *Baroque Music*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Third Edition, 1991, 22. Palisca notes that both opera and chamber air of the early seventeenth century are descendants of this improvisatory tradition. This tradition was still alive in the early seventeenth century, as suggested by the publications of airs for singing poetry by monodists such as Sigismondo d'India (1609), Pietro Benedetti (1613), and Biagio Marini (1635).

crescendo (*esclamazione*) and tonal and rhythmic ornamentations, as Caccini later prescribes.⁴⁷

Example 4.3.5. Vincenzo Galilei, *Aria de sonetti*, opening.

1. Il can-tar no - vo e'l pian - ger de li au - gel - li
 5. Quel - la c'ha ne - ve il vol - to, o - ro i ca - pel - li
 9. Co - si mi sve - glio a sa - lu - tar l'au - ro - ra
 12. I' gli ho ve - du - ti al - cun gior - no am - be - du - i

2. In su'l di fan - no re - ten - tir le val - li,
 6. Nel cui a - mor non fur mai in - gan - ni ne fal - li,
 10. E'l sol ch'è se - co, e più l'al - tra on - d'io fu - i
 13. Le - var-si in - se - me, e 'n un pun - to e 'n un' or - a

Whether or not Merula referred to this tradition, his canzonetta is far from being in a strophic form, and it employs a monotone recitation in order to enhance the contrast between the recitative and the arioso lines. Between the formulaic monotone recitations, Merula intersperses arioso phrases of florid melodies and varying length, sensitively responding to the meaning of the text. The opening of Caccini's *Chi mi confort'ahimè, chi più consolami* (Who can comfort me, who console me) is an earlier example of the same technique (Example 4.3.6.a). This atmospheric opening on a prolonged monotone of each stanza, as a literal imitation of speech, leads the audience to focus on the meaning of the text, while building up a tension to be resolved in the melismatic passage that follows (on the text 'scorgono; notice (me now)', Example 4.3.6.b).

Example 4.3.6. Caccini, *Chi mi confort'ahimè*, from *Nuove musiche*, (a) bars 1-6.

[1.] Chi mi con- for- t'ahi- mè, chi più con- so- la- mi, -

5
7 #6 11

⁴⁷ Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, ed. Hitchcock, 48-51.

(b) bars 29-32.

The musical score consists of two staves. The upper staff is the vocal line, and the lower staff is the basso continuo line. The vocal line begins with a recitative style, marked with a '5.' and the lyrics '[5.]Deh, se tue bel- le ci- glia or- - a mi scor- - go- no,'. The melody is mostly on a single pitch with some inflections. At bar 30, there is a melisma on the word 'gor', indicated by a '30' above the staff and a series of sixteenth notes. The basso continuo line provides a simple harmonic accompaniment with a few notes per bar.

Merula's use of this recitation also incorporates the contemporary views on recitative. By the time this canzonetta was published, the problem of recitative had become an issue in terms of the mode of uniting speech and music. Some authors expressed their concerns at the possibility that the recitative on its own might turn into a dry declamation. In the preface to his opera *La catena d'Adone* (1626), Domenico Mazzocchi noted that he inserted short non-strophic lyrical pieces, called 'near-arias' (*mezz'arie*), in order to avoid the tedium of the recitative.⁴⁸ Objecting to the idea of sung speech in the 1630s – that is, the narrative recitative – Giovanni Battista Doni also argued that the Florentine inventors of opera overlooked the effect of 'arioso' music similar to madrigals.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the principle of imitating speech in music still formed a crucial part in the theatrical context. The anonymous manuscript treatise *Il Corago o vero* (early 1630s) encapsulates contemporary theatrical practice in Florence in remarkably comprehensive terms: while, in recitative, 'the meaning of the poetry is fully corroborated line by line, word by word', the aria is 'incapable of perfectly imitating the affections'; the aria cannot provide 'the appropriate expression required for each particular line or word', because it maintains a certain rhythmic and melodic 'personality' or a single affection throughout the piece to conform to the text with a limited number of verbal-poetic images.⁵⁰ The author of *Il Corago*

⁴⁸ Quoted in Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 116-117.

⁴⁹ Doni, *Discorso sesto sopra il recitare in scena*, published in his *Annotazioni sopra il Compendio de' generi e de' modi della musica* (Rome, 1640), 294; quoted in Carter, 'Resemblance and Representation', 120-122.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Bianconi, 178.

reaches the conclusion that the combination of recitative with aria, analogous to the coexistence of musical ‘prose’ and ‘poetry’, represents a positive resource for dramatic music rather than a problematic tension between semantic and musical needs. Given that the composers of monody in the 1630s were exposed to such discussions, what they might ideally have aimed to do was to relieve the tedium of the narrative type of recitative without any loss of understanding of the text, while exploiting elements of musical interest and coherence.

The musical setting of *Quando gli uccelli* contains characteristics of both recitative and aria. On the one hand, the comic effect on the whole results from the rapid declamation, vacillating around one note. These declamatory lines are always syllabic, their poetic metre flawlessly matching the written note-values, enhancing the understanding of each word. In addition to the primary accent on the *sdrucchiolo* at the end of each twelve-syllable line, the secondary accent falls on the 4th or 6th syllable. This position of the secondary accent is a characteristic of the eleven-syllable line which can offer the freest flow of accentuation of all Italian metrical types and support for prose declamation particularly well.⁵¹ On the other hand, the composer creates a free flow of melodious phrase by breaking off the prevailing uniformity of *ottava rima* poetry. Except for in the opening line, the standard recitative phrase takes up one and a half bars, while melodious phrases are irregularly inserted and extended up to three bars by ornamentation and repetition, interrupting the regular flow of declamation. These insertions allude to a fundamental feature of Italian poetry, the so-called ‘*versi sciolti*’ (blank verse) which is characterised by its irregular alternation between the eleven- and seven-syllable lines, thereby engendering abrupt interruptions of speech and

⁵¹ Bianconi, 177.

obscuring the ending points of the line.⁵²

Employing the elements of both consistency and variety, the composer maintains structural coherence and musical interest in the through-composed setting. The variety of melodious phrases belongs to the tradition of literal imitation, that is, word-painting or madrigalism. The composer exploits the opportunity for musical illustrations of particular images offered by the poet (see Example 4.3.4 above): for instance, a coloratura phrase consisting of an ascending octave and a melisma on the word ‘volerlan’ (fly) in bars 3-4; an arching line reaching the highest note on the word ‘monti d’acqua’ (mountains of water) in bar 30. In bar 8, the harmony is darkly tinted by an implied chromatic inflection (the shift from F# to F, thus from G major down to D minor), preparing for the word ‘Morti’ (Death). The lines including words of sensory antitheses (black versus white and sweet versus bitter), effectively suspend time with dissonances and varied harmonies: in bars 10-11, the abrupt leap of a minor sixth from D down to F# creates extreme clashes on the accented augmented fifth and the major seventh against Bb and G in the bass; bars 26-29 show an excursion to the most distant key in this piece, A major. All these melodically and harmonically appealing phrases break up the sequence of the declamatory soliloquy in order to avoid any possible accusation of tediousness. The interspersed melodic and rhythmic variations of the monotone phrase irregularly enter against metrical beats, creating an impression of spontaneity and discursiveness, as characterised in the metrical freedom of the blank verse. However, the resulting effect of these deviations stays only momentarily, because

⁵² Poets such as Torquato Tasso (*L’Aminta*, 1573), Giambattista Guarini (*Il Pastor fido*, 1584), Gabriello Chiabrera (*Scherzi e canzonette*, 1599), and Giambattista Marino (*Rime*, Part II, 1602) contributed to the liberation of the content and style of Italian poetry through their experiments with blank verse in their pastoral plays, sonnets, and canzonas (Gianturco, ‘The Italian Seventeenth-Century Cantata’, 44-45).

the music always resumes its declamatory framework with the *sdrucchioli* feet at the end of each line.

This priority of the semantic way of thinking gives way to the suspended affection in the musical climax, which naturally matches the textual climax in the last line of each stanza. As the sudden shift of mood from the playful to the regretful requires a heightened expression, all the resources previously used for the purpose of variation highlight this single line in a most exaggerated way. In the first stanza, the climactic line begins with a series of accented dissonances, the second and the fourth, on the word 'Prima' (Before) which is repeated twice in bar 14. The repeated 'prima' on the fourth stretches time for as long as a minim, the longest note-value of the piece. Then, the word 'voi' (you) is repeated four times, each time more emphatically on a higher degree. The resulting sound effect is vivid and amusing in its exaggerated suspension of time, describing breathless calls towards the abandoning lover. Similarly, the last line of the second stanza builds up a variety of rhythmic and harmonic deviations, beginning with a Bb major chord after shifting from a D major chord in bar 31. The major techniques employed are the same: repetitions of keywords, such as 'All'ora' (Only then), 'finiranno' (cease), and 'i miei ramarich' (I regret), and accented dissonances, such as F# against Bb and G in the bass in bars 32-33, and G# against A in the bass in bar 35. The repetition of 'miei ramarich' significantly stretches the length of the piece through the longest melisma of the piece. This single line out of eight lines takes up more than one third of the total number of bars, engendering the significant suspension of the single clear affect, that is, a lament. After the extended arioso line, the next stanza continues the recitation and brings the listener back to the imaginary world.

Going beyond any style categorisation as a lament, a comic aria, or recitative arioso, this canzonetta illustrates how sensitively the composer responds to the textual features by keeping the balance between coherence and variety. Although the canzonetta contains a more structured frame, more fragmentary ornamentations, and is in a lighter mood than that of a madrigal, and has a less discursive character than that of the narrative recitative, its genre has potential: it allows freedom from any strict classification as a single compositional style, providing the composer with the opportunity of experimenting with fantastic, playful, and affectionate moments. The humorous character of this canzonetta primarily results from the sense of incongruity: the poem hovers between the two worlds of opposing affections and laws, and its poetic metre also distorts the epic style and strict versification of the *ottava rima* by the *sdrucchioli* feet. Experimenting with the contemporary expressive devices invented in the dramatic context through a most condensed form, Merula enhances the contrast between opposing moods and styles. The purpose of all local deviations is simply to highlight the meaning of the text. Just as the poem juxtaposes the imaginary playful world and harsh reality, the music represents this fantastic opposition of the two worlds through two distinct realms of perception, the semantic (intellectual recitative) and the affective (sensuous aria).

Other songs in the same collection, *Curtio precipitato*, also display the composer's inventiveness in meeting textual and musical needs through extremely diverse styles and techniques: the opening song *Curtio precipitato*, which lends its name to the collection, is a dramatic recitative in the *conciato* style. *Conza lavez e colder* highlights a comic mood through a speech-like style, with the dactyl

rhythm restlessly running on the arching lines in the bass. *Hor ch'è tempo di dormire*, in which the composer sets the 12-stanza poem to a genre called 'canzonetta spirituale', juxtaposes Mary's lullaby for baby Jesus and her lament at her vision of the crucifixion. This piece relentlessly oscillates between two opposing affections, joyful and mournful, through variations over the semitone ostinato bass of A-Bb, and abruptly ends with a declamatory phrase. One important feature of this collection is its display of an unusual variety of styles, ranging from speech-like declamation to highly ornamented variations on popular tunes. Here the composer's inventiveness is reflected in the way he commands given expressive resources in a subversive and exaggerated manner, as I examined in his canzonetta. Silke Leopold also points out that in this collection Merula tends to commit a deliberate breach of rules, such as 'false' musical accents and coloratura passages 'exceeding the conventional tessitura' and length.⁵³ Given this freedom, Merula's collection is not considered as a serious imitation of common practice but as a 'parody', specifically of Monteverdi's styles.⁵⁴

Parody is an important concept in music, not only as a type of imitation but also as a manifestation of humour. In the realm of the arts, it is concerned with an ingenuous subversion of models, such as stylistic characteristic, common practice, and expectation. Without such a concept of model, parody cannot even exist. Just as a pun or an imitation of natural sounds requires of the audience minimum knowledge of normal syntax and the original sound source in order to perceive it as humorous, parody is also based on a knowledge of compositional conventions

⁵³ Leopold, Silke, 'Curtio precipitato – Claudio Parodiato', *The Well-Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. John Caldwell, Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg, 69-70.

⁵⁴ Leopold, 66.

which would otherwise provide models to imitate for the purpose of study. One of the important effects of parody is to lead the reader to view the conventional rules from a new angle rather than negating or invalidating them. I will take a couple of examples of musical parody from the programmatic movements of Charpentier's incidental music for theatrical comedy.

Returning to the 'fantasia with interruptions' in *Le Malade imaginaire*, in which I examined the comical representation of a melancholic in chapter 4.2.2, we can find an example of parodying music (or our preconceptions of it). Haunted by the unremitting melodies (music, as the audience hears) and confused between music and non-music in the auditory illusion (as he hears), Polichinelle ends up singing his own music 'la la la', which he believes to be proper music, or a 'lament' as he intended to sing after failing to serenade his mistress. By contrast, his 'la la la' is, in reality, a speech, or anything but musical recitative. This is a twist of the conventional association of the syllables 'la la la' with music (melody). Therefore, the comic effect must be amplified by a most non-musical performance of these syllables. In the following scene, Polichinelle also plays a 'prelude' on the lute, but again he does not play any music in reality, producing verbal sounds, 'plin, tan, plan', in imitation of the lute sound. Charpentier's *intermède* to Molière's *Le Mariage forcé* (1672) shows other examples of parody. The instrumental trio entitled *Les grotesques* is an air in a light mood, reminiscent of the wavy melodies in Caronte's drinking song (Example 4.3.7). The grotesque in sound is built up by the sudden dislocation of one or more notes in a chord, for instance, the F# in the violin I in bar 1 and the D in the violin II in bar 3 (Example 4.3.7, all such clashes are indicated by asterisks). A most grotesque moment comes out in bar 10 when the clash between the F and the F# is heard.

Example 4.3.7. Charpentier, *Les grotesques*, from *Le Mariage forcé*, bars 1-11.

The image shows a musical score for four instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Continuo. The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 8, and the second system contains measures 9 through 11. Above the Violin I staff, there are three asterisks (✕) marking specific notes in measures 1, 3, and 5. Above the Violin I staff in the second system, there are three asterisks (✕) marking notes in measures 9, 10, and 11. A '5' is written above the fifth note in measure 8 of the first system. The Continuo part is written in a lower register than the other instruments.

Other devices of deliberate dislocations of notes involve breaches of harmonic rules, such as parallel octaves and fifths, and the strange registral distance between the parts, which make the overall sound incongruous, empty, and unstable. Although dissonances used here are passing notes, the unexpected clashes serve to interrupt the overall harmonic flow and make it stumble. Such a deliberate breach of conventional rules and subversion of expectation might even evoke in the audience's imagination an out-of-tune situation or some performer's mistakes. The following song, *O, la belle symphonie!*, employs onomatopoeia, a literal imitation of the sounds of dogs, cats, and birds, which represent the 'sweet songs' of the paradise world 'Arcadia' by repetitive notes, such as 'caou', 'houpf', 'miaou', 'oua', and 'hin han'. These overtly comic texts follow exaggerated melisma set to words 'the lovely symphony!' (Example 4.3.8). From the halfway point of this song, phrases of the preceding trio *Les grotesques* are inserted, adding to the feeling of incongruity. The juxtaposition of the melismatic 'symphony' and the 'sweet songs' of Arcadian animals, which are all part of 'superb concert and the sweet harmony', seems to parody the ornamental style of the Italian singers.

Example 4.3.8. Charpentier, *O, la belle symphonie!* from *Le Mariage forcé*, bars 10-20.

The musical score consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system covers bars 10-15, and the second system covers bars 16-20. The vocal lines (Soprano, Alto, and Bass) and the piano accompaniment are shown. The lyrics are: 'O, la belle symphonie - - - - -' and '-e! Ou'el-le est dou-'. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and sixteenth notes, with some chromatic inflections.

In addition to these immediate humorous effects of musical parody, deviations from conventional rules also serve to create the impression of playfulness through abstract concepts such as grotesqueness, eccentricity, and discursiveness. As mentioned above, seventeenth-century garden designs illustrate similar playfulness by juxtaposing natural wild landscape and the well-arranged artificial garden and by highlighting the contrast between free fantastic and geometrically ordered spaces (see Figure 4.3.3). Such a disguise of the naturalistic setting (for instance, a wooded landscape with man-made grottos, hills, and winding paths) can be compared with musical artifices for variety. Frescobaldi's ornamentation through chromaticism catches such playful and discursive effects, analogous to the visual confusions, as intended in *anamorphic* arts or the *Arcimboldesque* style, or as encapsulated in the phrase like 'a delightful confusion' of an ever-changing view of gardens. While a rhythmically simple scalar figure moves against the unadorned 'la, sol, fa, re, mi' theme, a chain of quavers winding along stepwise keeps creating aurally confusing and ambiguous moments through chromatic inflections (Example 4.3.9).

Example 4.3.9. Frescobaldi, *Capriccio IV sopra la, sol, fa, re, mi*, bars 57-60.

The musical equivalent of the multi-sectional garden with contrasting themes might be the toccata: in a simple division into two, the wild naturalistic space corresponds to free virtuosic passagework, and the well-arranged one to the fugal section. After alternations between these contrasting sections, toccatas often highlight freedom in their last and climactic section by driving all possible temporal and harmonic deviations towards the ending, as if a most fantastic naturalistic grotto and fountain are saved for the last delightful moment, after all the excursions through winding and ordered paths in the garden. In this privileged space of freedom and fantasy, any rhythmic complication, successive dissonances, and turbulent motion can be displayed and mingled together before reaching resolution on the last chord. Toccatas by Frescobaldi, Rossi, and Froberger contain such virtuosic fantasy sections (Example 4.3.10; see also Rossi's toccata in Example 4.2.9.c).

Example 4.3.10. (a) Frescobaldi, *Toccatà IX*, Second Book of *Toccatè* (1627), ending.

(b) Froberger, *Toccata III*, (1649), ending.

In this regard, Bacon shows his extraordinary insight into music, parallel to his keen knowledge of the art of gardening and botany: he compares the movement from a dissonance to a consonance with human passions, and the effect of avoiding or extending the cadence with that of ‘deceiving expectation’, employed in both music and rhetoric.⁵⁵

A remarkable musical translation of the contrast between the spaces of fantasy and order, based on the awareness of variety in the art of the garden, is found in Johann Adam Reincken’s *Hortus musicus* (Musical garden, Hamburg, 1687), a collection of six suites for two violins, a viola da gamba, and continuo. In his Latin foreword to this collection, Reincken emphasises his intention to suggest a model composition in order to drive out incapable composers from the ‘divine musical garden’ (*divinae Musices horto*), a notion which sounds determined yet idealistic, or even like a ‘quixotic’ mission. Whether or not he was aware of the mirroring scene of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*, he compares his intention with a ‘mirror’ (*speculum*), in which incompetent composers can notice their faults and poor judgment. Therefore, his musical gardens represent both ‘ingenuous’ (*ingenuis*) and ‘free’ (*liberalibus*) musical cultivation and amusement for both

⁵⁵ Bacon, *On the Advancement of Learning*, Book 2, V:3, ed. Johnston, 85.

soul and body.⁵⁶ The basic design is specified in all six suites: the opening movement entitled ‘sonata’ stylistically resembles a multi-sectional toccata, followed by a series of dance movements (allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue). The sonata highlights variety and freedom through virtuosic passagework, imitative and chordal passages, and extended fugal sections. The solo sections for violin or viola da gamba in particular display a series of figures over the walking bass line (Example 4.3.11.a).

Example 4.3.11. Johann Adam Reincken, *Hortus musicus* V. sonata, extracts from bars 76-117.

76 Solo. Adagio.

V1

B.c.

.....

84

V1

B.c.

89

V1

B.c.

.....

94

V1

B.c.

98 Presto. (Allegro.)

V1

B.c.

.....

⁵⁶ Reincken, Johann Adam, *Hortus musicus* (Hamburg, 1687), ed. Thierry Mathis, Magdeburg: Edition Walhall, 1997, foreword.

The sonata and the following movements often share thematic materials or characteristic figures. One prominent technique is the prolongation of the V-I progression through obsessive repetitions of a single figure (*suspirans* in the examples below) over the walking bass, suspending time (Example 4.3.12.a).

Example 4.3.12. Johann Adam Reincken, *Hortus musicus V*.

(a) Sonata, bars 8-12.

Allemande, bars 3-5.

Courant, bars 5-9.
Example 4.3.12. Reincken, *Hortus musicus V*, (b) Allemande, bars 25-28.

In his keyboard work entitled *Holländische Nachtigall*, Reincken also freely and persistently repeats a single figure (a descending minor third) or a single note (G) for the vivid representation of the nightingale's call (Example 4.3.13). This programmatic piece certainly exemplifies the seventeenth-century enthusiasm for literal imitation in the humorous vein, as illustrated in Kircher's transcription of birds' calls (Figure 4.3.5).

Example 4.3.13. Johann Adam Reincken, *Holländische Nachtigall*, bars 13-24.

Reincken's command of such instrumental idioms is based on his experiments

with new harmonic sonorities, operatic expressions (such as recitative and monody), and with various figures codified in treatises such as Bernhard's *Tractatus* (c. 1660) and Wolfgang Caspar Printz's *Phrynis Mytilenaeus* (1676-1679).⁵⁷ Furthermore, fugues in gigue and the fugal sections of the sonata are often constructed on two themes that are harmonically invertible and can be readily inserted into invertible counterpoint.⁵⁸ Such concerns with proportions, affinities, and permutations belong equally well to the well-arranged garden, as portrayed in the extravagant title page of the *Hortus musicus* (Figure 4.3.6). Given the Italian garden plan in Figure 4.3.3.b, the magnificent pavilion in the foreground looks as if located on the edge of the free, naturalistic side of the garden, thus representing the best viewing point from which one can see the panoramic vistas of every part of the whole garden.

Figure 4.3.6. Reincken, *Hortus musicus*, title page.



⁵⁷ Butt, 'Germany – Netherlands', 194-195.

⁵⁸ Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 351.

Techniques employed in seventeenth-century humorous music closely relate to those of the dramatic vocal or improvisatory instrumental genres. They involve the interruption of rhythmic and harmonic flow, exaggeration of certain melodic or rhythmic characteristics, and other breaches of conventional rules. Taking these aspects as deviations from the norm, humour is a significant realm of fantasy: in terms of the composer's intentions and technical concerns, humour in music presumes the subversive relationship between an imitation and its model, or between a deviation and the norm from which the deviation derives; it serves to amuse or surprise the senses on the one hand, and to cultivate the intellectual play with the norms, based on the composer's command of the rules of counterpoint and rhythmic and harmonic conventions, on the other. In this realisation of musical humour, imitation again emerges as a central concept: the imitation of 'nature', which is personified as the artist with ingenuity and a sportive mood. However, its methodology is founded on the accurate observation of natural phenomena, which demonstrates a significant departure from the speculative and occult sciences. In seventeenth-century imitation of nature or representation of naturalness, the space of fantasy was an important element in the artists' attempts to match nature's complexity and variety, involving topics such as the grotesque, disorder, and deformity. The composers' searches for fantastic and alienating imagery and sonorities share the same base for their free playful experiments with given materials.

Conclusion

The term and notion of musical fantasy draw attention to freedom or deviation from given tonal, harmonic, and temporal frameworks. The notation of seventeenth-century unmeasured preludes or Frescobaldi's and Froberger's instructions for performance (to play according to the '*affetti*' or the performer's 'discretion' without observing any beat) encapsulate such interpretative possibilities and artistic license, which are to be perceived through the performed sound, beyond any notational entity. Seventeenth-century fantasy makers and witnesses testify to their aesthetic experiences of the fantastic, transporting moment with terms such as *sprezzatura* (artistic negligence denoting the effortlessness characteristic of genius artists), *prosopopoeia* (rhetorical figure of personification or animation of the inanimate), *katharsis*, transcendence, elevation, sweet melancholy, delightful confusion, and *lusus* (joke).

The varied properties of seventeenth-century musical fantasy, which I traced in dramatic vocal and improvisatory instrumental genres, highlight both 'universality' (with the common human experience of 'non-real' situations, as suggested by recent literary criticism of fantasy literature) and seventeenth-century 'distinctiveness' (thus relating to opposing aesthetic standpoints, such as the disputes on reason and the senses). Seventeenth-century descriptions of fantasia and the *stylus phantasticus* manifest the perception of 'freedom' from (or deliberate breach of) the conventional

rules, thus pointing to the ‘universality’ of fantasy. This freedom developed along with the growing artistic urge towards variety and individualised expression, but continued to be based on the composer’s ability to command the rules of counterpoint that represented the immutable cosmological order and perfection around 1600. Such aesthetic standards of a certain era, from which any sense of freedom or deviation could be conceived, underline the ‘distinctive’ character of seventeenth-century musical fantasy. The disputes on musical styles and practices illustrate a significant reversal of thought concerning those standards towards the end of the seventeenth century: the contrapuntal order, previously representative of humanist rationalism, was challenged by the growing significance of the senses and imagination, and now criticised as irrational complexity by empiricist rationalism which advocated simplicity, naturalness, artistic license, and the delight to the senses.

Fantasy as the artist’s free imagination was a recognised part of artistic practice and a sign of the artist’s individuality even before the second half of the sixteenth century when the term ‘fantasia’ came to appear frequently in musical treatises and repertoire. Resources range from the cultural and intellectual (such as humanism and scientific revolution) to the religious and ontological (the Reformation). Although the present thesis does not cover these resources in detail, examples of fantasy elements extracted from sixteenth-century visual and literary sources attest to how important the notion of fantasy was to contemporary artistic representation and perception. Fantasy is a mode of imitation (philosophical *mimesis*, conceptualised by Plato and Aristotle as a copying of reality or a representation of the world; or rhetorical *imitatio*, discussed by

Cicero and Quintilian as beginning with a model in literary composition), a central concept for artistic representation. In exploring ‘resemblances’ to an original (or a norm) and ‘deviations’ from the latter, imitation and fantasy together point to an important aspect in seventeenth-century musical culture: together with a growing interest in the relationships between an original and its copy, and between nature and art, they enhance the appreciation of a human creative product that was knowingly ‘false’ or ‘artificial’. The growing sense of the artist’s individuality also highlights the significance of fantasy and artistic license, especially in the major representational modes of internalisation and theatricalisation. This tendency is musically exemplified in Monteverdi’s *seconda prattica* with an artistic urge towards expression of the meaning of the text or the *affetti* by exploring varied styles and idioms.

Among the metaphorical, illusive, and reflective subjects – lament, melancholy, and humour – that I chose in order to illustrate seventeenth-century musical fantasy, most remarkable is melancholy. Positive connotations of melancholy as genius or an inspired state of mind, and its association with personalised expression and the mysterious sonority of the lute originated in ancient sources, such as Plato’s divine madness and Aristotle’s association of the melancholic humour with extraordinary talent. Neo-Platonic thought placed a special emphasis not only on self-reflection (*Idea*) but also on the expressive and evocative power of the arts, by connecting the intellect and the affective within artistic composition. The association of musical elevation or meditation with ‘bitterness’ explored by dissonances (*ligature* and *durezza*) and chromaticism implies the significance of fantasy as spontaneous and

sensuous perception. Representative of the power of music (in imitating the cosmological order, exerting rhetorical persuasion, and even in healing the soul and body), the most fantastic popular character was Orpheus, a lutenist (or lyre player), as portrayed by Ovid, Ficino, Monteverdi, and Kircher, among others.

On the other hand, styles and idioms employed to represent fantasy involve the artist's intention and ability to create emotions or moods in the mind of the audience or viewer, rather than necessarily having first been possessed by such emotions himself. The analogy between music and rhetoric, and the concept of emotion as a motion of bodily vapours encouraged seventeenth-century composers to experiment with deviations from tonal, harmonic, and rhythmic frameworks, and other deliberate breaches of conventional rules. In order to make the fantastic impression, animated sound quality, and spontaneous appeal to the senses, composers not only explored temporal and spatial elements such as temporal suspension, interruption, repetition, dissonance, and chromaticism, but also experimented with new sonorities and imitation of vocal and other instrumental idioms. The inquisitive and subversive nature of fantasy, in its interaction with an assumed norm, paradoxically confirms the identity of the norm, enhances our perception of it, and even establishes a new norm (as exemplified by the fact that many forbidden dissonances and other breaches of the conventional rules were later codified in Burmeister's and Bernhard's lists of figures, and integrated into convention).

Seventeenth-century fantasy makers made use of all possible dazzling effects supported by the knowledge system and technology of their time in order to build up a sense of digression, incongruity, and ambiguity, and to transport the audience to a fantastic, alienated world, as implied in literary and visual fantasy. What I have observed in their conception and realisation of musical fantasy is the contextualised freedom springing from within (the given rules) rather than a negation of any oppressing power: it is not a ‘revolutionary’ but a ‘reforming’ source that originates in the norm, challenges it, and gradually turns deviations into a new norm through practitioners’ experience and consensus. The distinctive character of fantasy or artistic license in seventeenth-century dramatic and improvisatory genres is the fact that it was allowed as ‘temporary’ digression or indulgence before the restoration of order, or metrical and harmonic re-orientation. Musical fantasy in the seventeenth-century context also highlights an essential property of all music-making: individual experience of a musical work results from the reciprocal process of perception, where what is represented through conventions and deviations is individually sensed through the performed sound – a sensory medium as implied in the Greek root of fantasy, *phantazein*; to make [mental images] visible.

Appendix

**Customs of French royal funerals reconstructed through statements about
sixteenth- and seventeenth- century royal funerals.¹**

As soon as the king is dead, clergymen begin their chants and prayers for the soul of the deceased. For the first two days and nights, the church bells sound continuously; each day a musical Requiem is chanted. Funeral orders such as embalming and mourning prior to the funeral ceremony often take several weeks. There are two important phases of the royal funeral: *salle d'honneur* and *salle de funébre*. For about two weeks, the body in its coffin is placed in a richly decorated chamber (equipped with a seating area for the mourners), and attended by few signs of mourning except the religious Masses. After the coffin is carried into the 'hall of honour', that is, the great hall of the palace lavishly decorated with sumptuous blue and gold draperies, the focus shifts from the encoffined body to the king's effigy displayed nearby. Now the king-in-effigy appears in full majesty in the robes he wore at his coronation. During this period, meals are served to the dead king at dinner and supper time – as if he were living –, and afterwards given to the poor. After the effigy has been displayed for about two weeks, the great hall is changed into the 'hall of funeral' for mourning in a lugubrious form, decorated in black, and the encoffined body is laid in the place of the effigy, covered with black velvet. The funeral ceremony follows a few days later. To announce this ceremony, criers walk throughout the city of Paris, ringing their bells and pronouncing with a low voice, 'all noble and devout persons, pray for the soul of

¹ Basic sources are Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, Genève: Librairie E. Droz, 1960, chapters on the funeral of François I in 1547; and Nicholas Oaks, ed., *The Funerall Pompe and Obsequies of the Most Mighty and Puissant Henry the Fourth*, London, 1610.

the most high, most puissant, and most excellent prince, by the grace of God, king of France, most Christian, most imperial, and most victorious, incomparable for magnanimity and clemency, who is dead; pray unto God that He may receive his soul [...]’² Similarly, at the funeral service, death in reality and redemption in faith are indispensable elements. Following a funeral oration and the ceremony of casting holy water upon the king’s body, first the phrase ‘the king is dead’ is proclaimed and repeated three times; then all mourners fall to their knees and weep. After a while, the phrase ‘God save the king’ is proclaimed, and repeated in the same way, followed by music.

² *The Funerall Pompe*, fol. B1.

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