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Il Nuovo Proteo

Observations on Behaviour, Interaction, and Performance in Early Modern Italian Music

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to examine how the early modern discourse on behaviour and interaction emerging in Italian courtly circles influenced contemporary musical practice and debates thereof. The broader cultural context is drawn from courtesy books, written by authors arching from Baldassare Castiglione to Torquato Accetto, which not only reveal multi-layered moral concerns and complex systems of etiquettes, but also provide an intriguing ground for tracing significant ongoing aesthetic transformations during the era concerned.

In Part One of the thesis I begin the discussion by setting out an overview of the culture of courtesy books; I reflect on issues relating to their production, their literary form and the epistemological connotations thereof, and in particular their readership. Subsequently, I provide a reading – latently governed from a musical perspective – of key volumes from the genre, in which I trace the core behavioural tropes of the courtier. I am particularly interested in how these tropes fare against the virtue ethical system of the time, and I argue for the growing importance of simulation and dissimulation within this dialogue. My examination culminates in the creation of a theoretical model I label as the *continuous conversational performer* – a metaphorical equivalent of the late sixteenth-century courtly participant, whose behavioural matrix is governed by a reinterpreted system of tropes and virtues.

In Part Two I embark on my quest to seek connections between the behavioural patterns originally closely associated with the nobility and musical discourses of the time, including contributions by practising professional musicians. I project the gained knowledge from Part One onto various musical theoretical and aesthetic exchanges (including the Galilei-Zarlino debate), and I argue that the skills and values of the *continuous conversational performer* manifest themselves in methods of delivery within musical performance. At the heart of this section is the inner perspective of the musical performer, where I introduce the notion of *performative mindsets* – a theoretical framework that reflects on multiple strands of communicative strategies emerging from the different approaches to the potential role of the musical performer in the era concerned.

Part Three is dedicated more directly to musical practice, and I explore how the behavioural matrix of the *continuous conversational performer* may have played out in various practical scenarios and musical environments. The protagonists of this

section are primarily associated with the courts of Ferrara, Florence, Mantua, and Rome, and with the so-called ‘new music’ of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. My central focus here is on examining texts written by professional musicians that explicitly deal with a broad range of matters relating to performance. I offer novel insights into Giulio Caccini’s musical interpretation of the Castiglionian notion of *sprezzatura*; I examine the toolbox of expressive singing through the lens of courtly behavioural ideals; and, finally, I argue that ultimately the tropes and virtues of the *continuous conversational performer* come to full fruition in the newly emerging genre of court opera.

To seem we do not see, when we see most clearly.

Torquato Accetto: On Honest Dissimulation

If there is a sense of reality, there must also be a sense of possibility.

Robert Musil: The Man without Qualities

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EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The musical examples in this thesis are based on seventeenth-century printed editions. I have aimed to follow the original publications as closely as possible, and I kept the modernisation of the material to the minimum. When I have transcribed written texts from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, I have retained their original spelling and punctuation; the only changes I have made are to 'u's that function as 'v's and vice versa. All English translations are modern translations, and unless otherwise indicated, my own.

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Glasgow, March 2020

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

INTRODUCTION

In Baldassare Castiglione's seminal dialogue on courtly behaviour, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, from 1528, one of the key conversationalists, Count Ludovico da Canossa makes the following remark and conceives perhaps one of the book's most well-known concepts:

> However, having already thought a great deal about how this grace [*grazia*] is acquired, and leaving aside those who are endowed with it by their stars, I have discovered a universal rule [*regula universalissima*] which seems to apply more than any other in all human actions or words: namely, to steer away from affectation [*affettazione*] at all costs, as if it were a rough and dangerous reef, and (to use perhaps a novel word for it) to practise in all things a certain nonchalance [*sprezzatura*] which conceals all artistry and makes whatever one says or does seem uncontrived and effortless.[1]

As the discussion continues, and the other parties of the noble company join in to offer their thoughts on Count Ludovico's universal rule, we read multiple observations on how this certain *sprezzatura* manifests itself in different life situations. We hear about the garments of the courtier, about nonchalant posture and about the humble self-presentation of the arms-carrying nobleman. Next, some more specific subjects, figures and art forms are put under scrutiny, at which point Giuliano de' Medici offers a remark concerning music:

> It certainly holds true in music, in which it is very wrong to have two perfect consonances one after the other; for our sense of hearing abhors this, whereas it often likes a second or a seventh, which in itself is a harsh and unbearable discord. This is because to continue in perfect consonances produces satiety and offers a harmony which is too affected [*affettata*]; but this disappears when imperfect consonances are introduced to establish the contrast which keeps the listener in a state of expectancy, waiting for and enjoying the perfect consonances more eagerly

[1] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* trans. George Bull (London: Penguin, 2003), I:XXVI, 67. "Ma avendo io già piú volte pensato meco onde nasca questa grazia, lasciando quelli che dalle stelle l'hanno, trovo una regula universalissima, la qual mi par valer circa questo in tutte le cose umane che si facciano o dicano piú che alcuna altra, e ciò è fuggir quanto piú si po, e come un asperissimo e pericoloso scoglio, la affettazione; e, per dir forse una nova parola, usar in ogni cosa una certa sprezzatura, che nasconda l'arte e dimostri ciò che si fa e dice venur fatto senza fatica e quasi senza pensarvi." Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, (Turin: Einaudi, 1965), I:XXVI, 44.

> and delighting in the discord of the second or seventh, as in a display of nonchalance [*sprezzata*].[2]

Shortly after this comment, which attempts to create a connection between nonchalance and musical compositions, Count Ludovico speaks again:

> Similarly, in dancing, a single step, a single unforced and graceful movement of the body, at once demonstrates the skill of the dancer. When a musician [*musico*] is singing and utters a single word ending in a group of notes with a sweet cadence, and with such ease that it seems effortless, that touch alone proves that he is capable of far more than he is doing. Then again, in painting, a single line which is not laboured, a single brush stroke made with ease, in such a way that it seems that the hand is completing the line by itself without any effort or guidance, clearly reveals the excellence of the artist, about whose competence everyone will then make his own judgement.[3]

As we can see, alongside dancers and painters, the effortless and suggestive performing actions of the musician are portrayed here as an inspiring model to be potentially imitated by the courtier in order to achieve his behavioural *sprezzatura*.

Several decades later, in what can be seen as an almost dialogic response, the Roman-Florentine performer-composer, Giulio Caccini, who was the son of a carpenter, borrowed the same terminology, created by a nobleman, and implemented it into a musical context. In the preface to his *L'Euridice* from 1600, he writes:

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[2] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, I:XXVIII, 69. "Questo ancor … si verifica nella musica, nella quale è vicio grandissimo far due consonanzie perfette l'una dopo l'altra; tal che il medesimo sentimento dell'audito nostro l'aborrisce e spesso ama una seconda o settima, che in sé è dissonanzia aspera ed intollerabile; e ciò procede che quel continuare nelle perfette genera sazietà e dimostra una troppo affettata armonia; il che mescolando le imperfette si fugge, col far quasi un paragone, donde piú le orecchie nostre stanno suspese e più avidamente attendono e gustano le perfette, e dilettansi talor di quella dissonanzia della seconda o settima, come di cosa sprezzata." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, I:XXVIII, 47.

[3] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, I:XXVIII, 70. "Medesimamente nel danzare un passo solo, un sol movimente della persona grazioso e non sforzato, súbito manifesta il sapere de chi danza. Un musico, se nel cantar pronunzia una sola voce terminata con suave accento in un groppetto duplicato, con tal facilità che paia che cosí gli venga fatto a caso, con quel punto solo fa conoscere che sa molto piú di quello che fa. Spesso ancor nella pittura una linea sola non stentata, un sol colpo di pennello tirato facilmente, di modo che paia che la mano, senza esser guidata da studio o arte alcuna, vada per se stessa al suo termine secondo la intenzion del pittore, scopre chiaramente la eccellenzia dell'artifice, circa la opinion della quale ognuno poi si estende secondo il suo giudicio e 'l medesimo intervience quasi d'ogni altra cosa." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, I:XXVIII, 48.

> In this manner of song, I have used a certain *sprezzatura*, which I have judged has something of the noble, it seeming to me that with it I have come as close as possible to natural speech.[4]

This intergenerational exchange of thought, between two figures of different social standing, raises several intriguing questions on a broader musical and cultural level: to what extent has courtly behaviour influenced the musical thinking of early modern Italy? Is it possible to trace the patterns of courtly interaction and social values of the courtier in the language of music, or in the language musicians used to talk about music in the era concerned? What were the historical circumstances that led certain concepts, originally closely associated with the nobility, to appear in the thinking of a wider range of social groups?

In his relatively recent study on institutions and intellectual life in sixteenth-century Italy, Giuseppe Gerbino gives a sharply observed, yet simultaneously mildly disheartening answer to these questions:

> The court trains musicians, produces music, and elaborates ideas about music in a highly integrated setting incorporating cultural traditions and behavioural codes. Its magnum opus is not the scholarly tradition of speculative music but an enduring value system defining what music is and does, which European elites internalised as a set of social norms and philosophical beliefs… While it is not easy to trace the internalisation of this system of musical values in every detail, much more can be learned from the public ceremonies and private entertainments that permeated life at court.[5]

In accordance with this statement, the scholarly literature focusing on both public and private courtly festivities and music's role within them is vast and wide-ranging, providing an invaluable insight into the cultural and intellectual mechanisms and

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[4] Tim Carter and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, eds., *Composing Opera: From Dafne to Ulisse Errante*, Practica Musica 2 (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1994), 39. "Nella qual maniera di canto, ho io usata una certa sprezzatura, che io ho stimato, che habbia del nobile, parendomi con essa di essermi appressato quel più alla natural favella." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 38. For Caccini's further references to *sprezzatura* see Chapter 5, esp. 127-129.

[5] Giuseppe Gerbino, "Institutions and Intellectual Life: The Italian Peninsula," in *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 389-390.

economics of the court.[6] However, studies attempting to examine the abovementioned internalisation process of courtly social norms in a musical context – the question that ultimately lies at the heart of the present thesis – are relatively scarce.

From this latter category, I would like to point to three monographs that focus specifically on the Italian peninsula and which made a particularly significant contribution to the field.[7] Stefano Lorenzetti's study from 2003, *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'Italia del Rinascimento,* provides a compelling overview of how music shaped and moulded itself into the male and female identity of the late-Renaissance nobility.[8] His primary references, similarly to the present study, are drawn from courtly behavioural manuals, a genre which from Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* onward came to be of wide-ranging prominence.[9] Lorenzetti, focusing on these sources, extensively examines archetypes of noble courtly identities and how humanistic education influenced the interest of the nobility in music. Furthermore, he reflects on the conscious identity-construction and self-presentation of the courtier and music's role within these, with a particular focus on how such processes are in dialogue with public performances. In the closing section of his study, Lorenzetti provides an outlook of the seventeenth century, highlighting how the courtier transformed into the early modern gentleman.

Richard Wistreich, whilst also looking primarily at the connections between noble identity and musical performance, approaches the field in a more centred manner, through a case study of the courtier and singer Giulio Cesare Brancaccio.[10] Extrapolating the detailed biographical information of the book's protagonist onto the musical life of the time, Wistreich makes intriguing insights into the development of singing techniques throughout the sixteenth century, the intertwining of amateur and professional musical

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[6] For some examples of this see J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, *Italian Renaissance Festivals and their European Influence* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992); and Nina Treadwell, *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: The 1589 Interludes for La Pellegrina* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008).

[7] For a seminal study that falls into the same abovementioned category, but instead focuses on France see Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[8] Stefano Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'italia del Rinascimento: Educazione, mentalità, immaginario* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003).

[9] For my discussion on matters relating to the readership of courtly behavioural manuals see Chapter 1, 27-31.

[10] Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007).

performances, the issues surrounding this, and how this is connected to the performance of one's identity.

In Andrew Dell'Antonio's *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (2011) we find a different core angle, which circulates around the act of listening and noble understanding of sonic events.[11] Dell'Antonio points towards early seventeenth-century elite connoisseurs as well-prepared listeners, who would have the virtuously trained ability of experiencing musical performances in the 'appropriate' manner, which would then be followed by the act of 'discourse-about' as a reflection on the previously perceived performance.

Regardless of the apparent contrasts in their subject matter, there is a distinct connecting thread in the above three studies, namely that they all approach their discussion largely from the nobility's viewpoint and how music influenced noble identity and behaviour. As opposed to this, in the present study, my aim is to recast the discourse to a certain extent, and to focus on how the behaviour of the nobility reached wider social circles, including practising professional musicians, and how these behavioural patterns shaped the musical thinking of the era concerned.[12]

To be able to attempt such claims however, my discussion will inevitably have to start and lead through the noble courtly identity formation process. The key sources that I evaluate in order to understand the nature of these mechanisms, and from which I draw the broader cultural framework of the thesis, are, as hinted previously, Italian courtesy books of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although I make references to such practices, my primary concern is not how the subject of music, or for that matter other courtly activities, are discussed and approached in this literature, but to examine the discussions about, and varied advice on the courtier's 'general' mentality, self-presentation, and skills of interaction. I am particularly interested in observing the inner

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[11] Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011).

[12] There is one 'pilot study' by Richard Wistreich, following a similar logic, which ought to be highlighted in this context. In his article, Wistreich provides a broad overview of how elements of Italian noble singing, and in particular the *trillo,* migrated to various contrasting cultural and ideological traditions of early modern European countries. My considerations operate both geographically and temporally on less of a macroscale, where, as we will see later, rather than focusing on one particular musical aspect, I investigate on a more general level. For Wistreich's article see Richard Wistreich, "'Nach der jetzig Newen Italienischen Manier zur guten Art im singen sich gewehnen': The 'Trillo' and the Migration of Italian Noble Singing," in *Migration und Identität: Wanderbewegungen und Kulturkontakte in der Musikgeschichte*, ed. Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Silke Leopold (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), 138-150.

workings of courtly society as a series of 'everyday performances', and therefore the research of historians such as Stephen Greenblatt, Wayne A. Rebhorn, Frank Whigham, and Harry Berger Jr., amongst others, prominently aid my reading of the primary source material.[13] The majority of this examination takes place in Part One, *Setting the Stage: The Construction of the Continuous Conversational Performer*. In Chapter 1 I provide an overview of the culture of courtesy books, by reflecting on contextual issues, the literary form of the volumes and the epistemological connotations thereof, and in particular questions surrounding readership. Afterwards, in Chapter 2, I draw a relatively broad temporal arch between Castiglione's 1528 *Il Cortegiano* and Torquato Accetto's 1641 *Della dissimulazione onesta,* and I also provide a reading of key volumes from the genre that fall within this time frame. My primary interests are examining core behavioural tropes that emerge from the courtesy books, and tracing how these fundamental tools of self-presentation and interaction were shaped throughout the era concerned. I am particularly interested in the moral connotations of the behavioural tropes and how they compare with the virtue ethical system of the time. The re-evaluation of the cardinal virtues – an ongoing key phenomenon in the era concerned – is particularly important in this context, and my fundamental argument here is to highlight how the original four virtues (*prudence*, *fortitude*, *justice,* and *temperance*) began a growing dialogue with the notions of *simulation* and *dissimulation*.[14] I close the chapter by introducing the figure of the *continuous conversational performer* – a metaphorical equivalent of the late sixteenth-century courtly participant, whose behavioural matrix is governed by a reinterpreted system of tropes and virtues, and whose deeds ought to manifest themselves on the level of words and gestures with equal attention. Whilst up to here, my reflections may seem to be somewhat distant from a 'direct' musical approach, at this point I begin to explicitly connect my theoretical model to the musical world, and in particular to musical performance of the time. I close Part One by providing an initial overview of the type of musical contributors, including

[13] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1980); Wayne A. Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1978); Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1984); Harry Berger Jr., *The Absence of Grace: Sprezzatura and Suspicion in Two Renaissance Courtesy Books* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

[14] The research of the Hungarian scholar, Éva Vígh proves to be particularly valuable regarding this field of research. Cf. Éva Vígh, *Éthos és Kratos között: Udvar és udvari ember a 16-17. századi Itáliában* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 1999).

professional musicians, who in my view would have had access and responded to the *continuous conversational performer* and its behavioural matrix.

In Part Two, *Between Semblance and Substance: The Inner Perspective,* I focus the lens onto the shifting musical landscape of sixteenth-century Italy, and within that on the diverse emerging approaches concerning the ongoing re-evaluation process of music's communicative power. With a particular emphasis on *simulation* and *dissimulation,* I project the *continuous conversational performer's* behavioural tropes and virtues onto the various musical aesthetic debates of the time, and I argue that these skills and values manifest themselves in methods of delivery within musical performance. In Chapter 3, the central theoretical system I introduce and use as the main framework for my arguments is the notion of *performative mindsets*, which I model after Judith Butler's theories on 'being performative'. I essentially treat these *performative mindsets* as communicative strategies within musical performance, influenced by and operating within the performative behavioural matrix of the *continuous conversational performer*.[15] I argue for the existence of four different *performative mindsets* (*to project*, *poetic furore*, *to become,* and *to represent*) and I pair each notion with key musical figures of the time. As part of my discussion I provide a novel take on the debate between Gioseffo Zarlino and Vincenzo Galilei from the perspective of the *performative mindsets*. Furthermore, I reflect on the role of professional musical performers and performance in the era concerned from a theoretical point of view, I highlight the intensifying importance of the dichotomy between 'natural' and 'artificial', and I offer observations on the emergence of 'instrumentality'.

Part Three, *Social Norms as/in Performance Practice: The Continuous Conversational Performer on the Musical Stage,* is dedicated more directly to musical practice. Here, my key concern is to explore how the behavioural matrix of the *continuous conversational performer* may have manifested itself in various practical scenarios and musical environments. The protagonists of this part are individuals who were associated in some shape or form with the so-called 'new music' of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[16] In Chapter 4, I offer concise reflections on the Ferrarese *concerti*

[15] For more on Judith Butler's theories on gender and performativity see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999).

[16] The earlier historical roots of what has been described as 'new music' around 1600 have been covered by multiple scholars. A few examples from the literature that reflect on this matter include Howard Mayer Brown, "The Geography of Florentine Monody: Caccini at Home and Abroad," *Early Music* 9, no. 2 (April 1981): 147-168; Tim Carter, "Printing the 'New Music'," in *Music and the Cultures of Print,* ed. Kate van Orden (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 3-38; and Dinko Fabris, "The Role of Solo Singing to the Lute in the Origins of the *Villanella alla Napolitana,* c. 1530-1570," in *Trossinger*

delle dame and Vincenzo Giustiniani's remarks on their manner of performance. The social status of the members of the famed ensemble and the musical 'services' they provided is surrounded by intriguing issues, and thus the inclusion of this discussion conveniently serves a dual purpose. On one hand, it allows me to raise questions relating to certain tensions between established etiquettes associated with musical performances by noble amateurs, compared to those from professional musicians. On the other hand, it provides an ideal ground to present an initial exploration of the *continuous conversational performer's* behavioural matrix as a model for musical performance. Whereas in this projection my analysis stems from the observations of Giustiniani, the noble *virtuoso* of taste,[17] in Chapter 5, I change gears and shift the focus to examining texts, written by professional musicians or individuals who were active as elite performers, which specifically deal with a broad range of matters relating to performance. I start by returning to the very first thought introduced in the dissertation, the intergenerational exchange between Castiglione and Caccini. Although the Roman-Florentine performer-composer's multiple direct references to the notion of *sprezzatura* have received extensive musicological attention throughout the past decades, I argue that observing his descriptions of the Castiglionian notion through my model of the *continuous conversational performer* can enrich any possible interpretations and our understanding of Caccini's *sprezzatura.*[18] In addition to this fresh take, I propose that the manner in which Caccini approaches and 'translates' the originally noble ideal of *sprezzatura* into a musical-expressive tool, exemplifies one of the key ways in which I see the behavioural matrix of the *continuous conversational performer* materialise itself in a professional musician's thinking, resulting in the model's appearance in musical practice. Following my examination of Caccini's *sprezzatura,* I include two case studies where I trace further alignments of the tropes and virtues of the *continuous conversational performer* with musical writings on performance. The first of my case studies looks at Ottavio Durante's preface to *Arie devote* from 1608. Durante's volume is heavily influenced by Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (1602), and my main interest is to understand how the *continuous conversational performer's* behavioural

Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 2: Gesang zur Laute, ed. Nicole Schwindt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), 133-145. Throughout the dissertation my interest lies on how the model of the *continuous conversational performer* and its behavioural matrix corresponds with and operates within the 'new music' at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[17] I am borrowing the term '*virtuoso* of taste' from Andrew Dell'Antonio, who in turn took it from Marc Fumaroli. For further remarks on this terminology see Chapter 4, 105n1.

[18] For a detailed review of the relevant secondary literature see Chapter 5, 130-138.

matrix manifests itself in the toolbox of what would have been considered as expressive singing by individuals associated with the 'new music'. Furthermore, I reflect to a small degree on Durante's compositions included in the collection, and how they correspond with the advice included in his preface. My aim with this additional angle is to further our understanding of this particular source, which has only been examined relatively scarcely up to this point. In my second case study I turn to what was at the at the time, the fledgling musical genre of court opera. The source I seize for my reflections is the preface to Marco da Gagliano's 1608 piece, *La Dafne*. As compared to other texts of a similar nature from the time, Gagliano's writing is particularly rich in detail in terms of reflections on various matters relating to the performance practice of his opera. In my analysis of the Florentine musician's writing I pursue a multi-layered approach. Firstly, I reflect on his descriptions of the various performers involved in a production of the piece; secondly, I consider the nature and interaction of the operatic characters these performers would have played; and finally, I question to what extent Gagliano himself provides a 'performance' through his writing, and whether this can be paralleled with the tropes and virtues of my theoretical model. Ultimately, this source presents particularly fertile ground for me to make my final argument of the thesis; namely, that it was the music-theatrical endeavours at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries where the behavioural matrix of the *continuous conversational performer* was able to blossom to its fullest.

PART ONE

SETTING THE STAGE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CONTINUOUS CONVERSATIONAL PERFORMER

1

THE CULTURE OF COURTESY BOOKS

1.1 Contextual reflections

During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the genre of courtly behavioural manuals gained immense popularity. Drawing primarily on the impressively wide-ranging catalogue of courtesy books compiled by Ruth Kelso, Stefano Lorenzetti identifies three hundred and twenty-one items printed in Italy between 1500 and 1639. According to his charts, the height of the production can be placed in the decade between 1580 and 1589. Geographically, he refers to Venice, Florence, Bologna, Rome, Naples, Milan, Ferrara, and other smaller printing centres; Venetian presses being responsible for over 50% of the production, followed by the combined forces of the smaller presses at 16.51%, and with Florence in third place with close to 8% of the total output.[1]

At first glance, many of the courtesy books might give the impression to the twenty-first century reader that their content depicts the creation of a system of rigidly calculated manners manifesting in circuitous ceremonies, and societal structures where 'self-expressive' attitudes have no validity.[2] The unsuspecting reader might imagine lengthy descriptions of superficial interpersonal exchanges between effete courtly characters, where pretence is the everyday currency and behaving correctly with appropriate etiquette

[1] Ruth Kelso, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century, with a Bibliographical List of Treatises on the Gentleman and Related Subjects Published in Europe to 1625* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1929). For Lorenzetti's selection see Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità,* 5. As part of his charts, he also includes six items that were printed before 1500. In general, for more background information on the subtleties of the printing process see Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità*, 1-8.

[2] Norbert Elias' influential analysis of courtesy literature from 1939 interprets the genre as a pivotal component of what he described as the 'civilising process' of Western society. In his reading, the manners described in these volumes helped to control violence, and the included codes of conduct via continuous self-surveillance led to a level of self-regulation that can be seen as fundamental components of 'civility' and modern state formations. Whilst Elias' insights (which heavily rely on Freudian language) make significant and astute observations on the literature in question, his progressivist and universalistic approach, and consequent disregard of diversity between different cultures, have been frequently raised as criticism towards his work. For a concise and useful overview of Elias' theories in relation to courtesy literature of the era concerned see Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6-12; and for Elias' original volume see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).

is the key to success. On some levels, there is indeed a certain truth to this, and one might choose to perceive and dismiss the courtesy books as the codifying manuals of a (thankfully) bygone cultural milieu. However, on closer examination, a large part of this literature reveals complex sociological questions pervaded with multi-layered moral concerns and diverse ethical considerations. Furthermore, these ethical considerations not only manifest in etiquettes, but also provide a fascinating ground for the aesthetic transformations of the time.

To offer a brief contextual overview of the courtesy books from the era concerned, Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* serves as a particularly effective launch pad. First, it is worth summing up the key themes of the four parts of this exceptionally influential work, which emerge from the dialogues of its nobly born interlocutors, whilst attempting to define the ideal courtier. In the first book we find explorations into what it is that makes one noble, exchanges on the matter of 'arms versus letters', discussions surrounding the merits and disadvantages of the Tuscan language compared to a hybrid 'courtly language', and opinions on the benefits of knowledge about the arts for the courtier. In the second book, offerings on the art of conversation, and thoughts on the customs of joking stand out as central points of discussion. The third book primarily deals with the ideal court lady (*donna di palazzo*). And finally, the fourth book is almost entirely concerned with the relationship between the courtier and the 'prince' (albeit the complete volume closes with a short conversation on the nature of love).[3]

At this juncture, I do not intend to evaluate and analyse in detail the various responses that surface from Castiglione's characters on the above subject matters, but I will instead use a selection of them as guiding points for concisely reflecting on underlying concerns of courtesy literature in a broader sense. The first matter to shed further light on is the ties between the nobility and the genre in question.

The polemic surrounding the matter of what makes one noble had already been frequently discussed prior to the sixteenth century, with the two standardly repeated opposing poles of the debate being virtue versus birth.[4] The Cinquecento saw the continuation of the debate along the same fundamental parameters, but it is important to

[3] For an overview of the content of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* with a somewhat more detailed breakdown see Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 25-32, esp. 27-28.

[4] For a concise overview on the traditions of defining nobility see Matthew Vester, "Social Hierarchies: The Upper Classes," in *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, ed. Guido Ruggiero (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 228-231.

note that in the second part of the century in particular, the nature of noble identity came under intensifying scrutiny – as Stefano Prandi highlights, in the decades between 1540 and 1600, forty-four books were published in Italy that explicitly discuss the subject of *nobilità*.[5] The new codes of conduct that the courtesy books disseminated assumed an important role within this question, and the notion of 'showing and doing' the right actions as described in these volumes became a central matter for elite participants of courtly culture.

The inclusion of the 'arms versus letters' debate in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* can be interpreted as another theme that relates to issues surrounding the nobility in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[6] Castiglione addressed his volume to noble knights (*nobili cavalieri*),[7] and through the exchanges of his interlocutors it becomes clear that the model he propagates for his courtier is one that combines the knowledge of martial arts with proficiency in the subjects of the *studia humanitatis* (the educational program of the humanists); in other words, he points to a balance between arms and letters. Castiglione's stance encompasses multiple important aspects, and therefore it is worth elaborating on it further.

The nobility in Castiglione's time was facing challenges regarding its traditional roles. On one hand, the changing nature of warfare (in particular the increasing importance of gunpowder) meant that their military functions and value were under threat. On the other hand, the changing political landscape of Italy, in which centralised principalities gained increasing importance, meant that their role in decision-making processes was also in danger.[8] Thus, Castiglione's suggestion of a simultaneous cultivation of arms and letters can be seen as an attempt to carve out a new type of 'vocation' for the aristocracy that corresponded with the shifting social climate of the time.[9] The fact that Castiglione's proposed education and mode of intellectual expression for the courtier (i.e. the 'letters' part of the above duality) is based on humanism ought to be emphasised. As we know, the

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[5] Stefano Prandi, *Il 'Cortegiano' ferrarese: I 'Discorsi' di Annibale Romei e la cultura nobiliare nel Cinquecento* (Florence: Olschki, 1990), 218-220. For further remarks on the increasing attention to the nature of noble identity in the second half of the sixteenth century see Vester, "Social Hierarchies," 236-237.

[6] For an overview, together with further references to relevant sources, on the subject of 'arms versus letters' see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 253-257.

[7] Cf. Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, III:I, 214.

[8] Cf. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 35.

[9] Cf. Prandi, *Il 'Cortegiano' ferrarese*, 198-202.

roots of humanism can be found in independent city-republics of the fourteenth century; however, as Peter Burke argues, with the pursuit of creating a connection between the nobleman and the humanist, Castiglione ultimately achieves a significant feat, and "adapts humanism to the world of the court and the court to the world of humanism".[10] This accomplishment proved to be highly influential indeed, and a humanistic approach remained an important feature of much of the courtesy literature in the era concerned. In particular, the significance of rhetoric as a key component of humanistic thought needs to be highlighted. On one hand, this discipline became a foundational principle for the courtier in the art of conversation, a subject matter which pervades courtesy literature through and through. On the other hand, rhetoric, and the power of words, turned into a pivotal mode of political action for the courtier of the time.

The theme of the relationship between the courtier and the 'prince' – or for that matter any patron of superior social standing to the courtier a courtesy book may be considering in this context – is of central importance when exploring the possibilities of the potential political actions and function of the courtier. Unsurprisingly, the nature of this dynamic is frequently considered in courtesy literature, and the various stances that emerge from contributors to the genre differ relatively widely. An important reason for this breadth of viewpoints to highlight is that, in the principalities, an increasingly 'absolutistic' approach to power rose to the surface as the sixteenth century progressed, which slowly saw the courts transform themselves into centralised bureaucracies, where increasingly specialised professional roles within the social system began to emerge with growing clarity.[11] In the present context I would like to include an observation which points to a broadly applicable undercurrent relating to the subject matter in general. With the inclusion of discussions on aspects such as codes of behaviour in the presence of the 'prince', or potential ways in which the courtier may operate in the surrounding of the 'ruler', courtesy books open up the possibility for expressing political stances on behalf of their writers, that relate to the governance of the court. More directly, these stances may manifest themselves in the description of environments which courtiers believe they may strive for, or in

[10] Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 34. For a further discussion on 'courtly humanism' and the relevance of humanism in the transformation of aristocratic knights into refined courtiers see Aldo Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry, & Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 218-224.

[11] For a reading that reflects on these stances from the perspective of the possibilities of courtiers in the changing power dynamics of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries see Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier,* 119-124.

creating idealised models which reflect the qualities they value (or even believe they possess), and see as suitable ways of contributing to, or being in service of, decision-making processes. In this sense, courtesy books – both in terms of the act of their production and their content – can be seen as attempts to subtly influence (and in some cases educate) 'princes', whilst they simultaneously represent the self-interest of their writers.[12]

1.2 The literary form of the courtesy books and some epistemological connotations

Having concisely discussed contextual aspects relating to the production of courtesy literature, it is worth now turning the focus to matters concerning the literary form of the

[12] To mention just one example from the courtesy literature, this duality can be successfully traced in Giovanni Andrea Gilio's dialogue on the court, which appeared in print as part of his *Due dialogi* in 1564. Relatively little is known about Gilio's life, but it is certain that he belonged to the clergy, and he served as a prior in the small town of Fabriano. He seems to have largely lived a relatively withdrawn life as a provincial priest, with most of his time dedicated to fulfilling his church duties, studying, and writing. In the extended title to his dialogue on court, Gilio explains that he aims to discuss moral and civil matters that, in his view concern 'learned courtiers' (*letterati cortigiani*) and all other gentlemen, and he aims to reflect on how such individuals can be of use to their ruler. Throughout Gilio's dialogue, the fact that the courtier ought to be primarily an educated person who operates in the domain of 'letters' remains a central stance. He also hints towards specialisations within his idealised model by highlighting that some are more suitable for reading and learning, others for writing, and some are best for contemplation. Furthermore, Gilio's courtier is keen to 'serve' his ruler with his knowledge, which is supplemented by virtuous behaviour. In his arguments, it is palpable that Gilio aims to communicate his own take on the subject and actively shape the discourse regarding the roles of courtiers. Apart from recognising Gilio's writing as an intellectual endeavour, a more pragmatic purpose of his dialogue ought to be considered too. As it has been suggested by Clare Robertson, it is plausible that Gilio intended his *Due dialogi* as an appeal to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to whom the volume is dedicated, for patronage. If we observe Gilio's views on the ideals and role of the courtier with this angle in mind, the hypothesis arises that he intended to create a model that resonated in reality with his own profile. In other words, Gilio perhaps hoped that he himself would be perceived as the learned, morally impeccable, and keenly serving courtier he writes about, and that displaying this would lead to his advancement within the Farnese household. As far as we know he did not succeed in achieving the desired patronage, but nevertheless, this consideration points to an intriguing instance of tying self-fashioning to self-interest on Gilio's part. For Gilio's biography see Michele Di Monte, "Gilio, Giovanni Andrea," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 54, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-andrea-gilio_(Dizionario-Biografico), and Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters*, ed. Michael Bury, Lucinda Byatt, and Carol M. Richardson, trans. Michael Bury and Lucinda Byatt (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2018), 5-9; for Gilio's summary of the objective of his work see Gilio, *Due dialogi* (Camerino: Antonio Gioioso, 1564), title page; for his remarks on 'specialised courtiers' see Gilio, *Due dialogi*, 12r-12v; for Clare Robertson's arguments see Clare Robertson, *'Il gran cardinale': Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 205.

genre in question. The vast majority of sixteenth-century courtesy books were written as a dialogue between two or more interlocutors. To understand the relevance of this, we need to briefly examine the culture and nature of Renaissance dialogues as an epistemological vehicle. Throughout the Renaissance, following the traditions of the Antiquity and the Middle-Ages, the dialogue was in extensive use by a broad range of authors – including Petrarch, Leonardo Bruni, Lorenzo Valla, Giovanni Pontano, Leon Battista Alberti, Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Pietro Bembo, Pietro Aretino, Sperone Speroni, and Torquato Tasso – to offer multiple takes on subjects such as politics, ethics, religion, arts, language, education, law, war, economy, music, and even the dialogue itself.[13]

In terms of their argumentation style, Burke singles out four typological categories, these being 'catechism', 'drama', 'disputation', and 'conversation'. The types of text that are classified as 'catechism' are recognisable by their didactic nature, where there is a clear master and disciple relationship defined between the interlocutors. In the case of 'dramas', the situation in which the dialogue takes place is just as important as the dialogue itself, and their content often touches the borders of comedy. The third category, 'disputation', contains multiple elaborate points of view expressed by the conversing parties; however, there is a preference given to one of the characters, and as a result of this, the dispute ends with a clear dialectical conclusion. The final category, 'conversation', shares its multiple points of view character with writings that are classified as 'disputation', but in terms of epistemological style we find a very different approach. The meanings of the arguments develop through dialogic communication, facilitating the distinct perspectives of the participants. The closing of these conversational dialogues can thus normally be characterised as having an end rather than a conclusion.[14]

Virginia Cox takes a slightly different approach to creating a typology of dialogues, and she uses the identity of the participating parties as a defining aid. She parallels this with the writing style of classical models, and identifies 'Lucianic', 'Platonic' and

[13] Providing an extensive discussion on the dialogues specifically written about music is not the direction this study aims to take. For an excellent discussion on the subject see Cristle Collins Judd, "Music in Dialogue: Conversational, Literary, and Didactic Discourse about Music in the Renaissance," *Journal of Music Theory* 52, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 41-74.

[14] For more on these categories see Peter Burke, "The Renaissance Dialogue," *Renaissance Studies* 3, no. 1 (1989): 3-4.

'Ciceronian' dialogues.[15] The participants of the 'Lucianic' dialogue are completely fictitious, whereas in the 'Platonic' and 'Ciceronian' writings we find existing (albeit often fictionalised) historical figures. The way these figures are treated from a historiographical standpoint, however, shows considerable differences. In the case of the 'Platonic' approach, the participating characters are either persons from the writer's own time or perhaps one generation detached, but their depiction manifests itself on a more symbolic level, and they represent identifiable philosophical stances. In contrast to this, the 'Ciceronian' dialogue pursues a historically more meticulous approach which emphasises the flesh-and-blood nature of the speakers (who are usually contemporaries of the writer), and it aims to depict verifiable conflicts between these individuals. It is important to note that Italy was the only geographical region in Europe where the 'Ciceronian' style dominated the dialogue production.

Next, I would like to single out a few historical developments and connotations of the dialogue culture that bear relevance to the present study. In Italy, throughout the sixteenth century, the language of dialogues went through significant changes and the original Latin format gradually transformed into vernacular Italian.[16] Additionally, the role of the questioning voice also diminished radically in the final decades of the century. Whereas Castiglionian dialogue falls clearly into Burke's category of 'conversation', later works take up increasingly 'catechistic' or 'monologic' tendencies, peaking in the dialogue theory of the early seventeenth-century cardinal, Sforza Pallavicino.[17]

A particularly important aspect of the dialogue culture is that ultimately, despite all of its stylistic formats, it draws attention to the act of conversation, communication, and learning through discourse. This latter notion was relatively common throughout the sixteenth century – as Stefano Guazzo points out in 1574, "the beginning and the end of knowledge are founded on conversation."[18] Thus, even though we can see an increasing rise in written culture, especially in the form of treatises, the dialogue represents a primarily

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[15] Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 9-21.

[16] Cf. William J. Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance, 1550-1640* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 5.

[17] For a detailed study on late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century tendencies in dialogue theories see Jon R. Snyder, *Writing the Scene of Speaking: Theories of Dialogue in the Late Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989).

[18] "... che 'l principio e 'l fine delle scienze dipende dalla conversazione." Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversazione* (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana, 2003), I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

aural/oral world, where listening, talking, and arguing are central concepts. The epistemological relevance of this is astutely summarised by Cox:

> … it seems safe to suggest that the use of the dialogue form may be seen as a symptom of an unease with the conventions which govern the transmission of knowledge within society, and a desire to reform them by returning to a study of the roots of persuasion. If a writer, or group of writers, can no longer recognise themselves in the conventionalised 'addresser' of the prevailing monological genres, it makes sense to bring addresser and addressee together out into the open and leave them to thrash out for themselves a new and more acceptable statute of discourse.[19]

The courtesy books correspond closely to the previously outlined observations on the dialogue culture, and in terms of Burke's typology, the majority of these books fall under the category of 'disputation' and 'conversation'. The Cinquecento's changing patterns of knowledge communication manifests itself in behavioural manuals too: whereas in Castiglione we witness the communal quest of a group of equals searching for the nature of the ideal courtier, by the early seventeenth century, the likes of Lorenzo Ducci provide clear teaching-like instructions to the reader on the art of courtly behaviour in the form of a treatise.[20] Regarding Cox's categorisation, the courtesy books, similarly to the broader Italian dialogue literature of the time, operate in the 'Ciceronian' vein, thus achieving the desired verisimilitude and decorum through presenting documentary-like scenes taken from real life, which are often constructed from the author's supposed memories. The language of the courtesy books is almost exclusively vernacular Italian, with occasional Latin interjections so characteristic of the era. As I pointed out earlier, several of the included subject matters are pervaded with complex moral connotations; however, these stances are often presented to the nobility and the courtier in a 'softened' form, in order to convey the intended message with the semblance of nonchalance.[21]

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[19] Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue,* 7.

[20] Cf. Lorenzo Ducci, *Arte aulica nella quale s'insegna il modo che deve tenere il Cortigiano per divenir possessore della gratia del suo Principe* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1601).

[21] For an article that considers this phenomenon in detail, particularly in reference to Castiglione see Jennifer Richards, "Assumed Simplicity and the Critique of Nobility: Or, How Castiglione Read Cicero," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 460-486.

1.3 Questions of readership

Much of the content of the courtesy books can be understood as a set of various modes of self-presentation, through which 'refinement' and acts associated with the nobility can be displayed. Thus, courtesy books inherently encompass the ability to be tools for granting a sense of superiority for nobles over the lower classes. Consequently, in terms of the readership of the courtesy books, the primary group that ought to be considered is the social class with which the genre is associated at its core, the nobility. In the case of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, Burke's survey about readers of the book confirms that the majority were male and legally noble.[22] The rank of these nobles, however, is not uniform, as rulers, members of the higher nobility, and those coming from the lower ranks of this social class can be found in equal measure on the list of users.[23]

Before offering further insights into who else may have read courtesy literature, it is worth briefly considering how these works may have been consumed, and the changes that occurred in the printing techniques and editorial approaches of *Il Cortegiano* throughout the sixteenth century provide a good starting point for these reflections. Whereas the first version of the book appeared in a folio format, the later editions – of which there were many (*ca.* fifty-nine in Italy throughout the sixteenth century) – were prepared in more convenient and manageable sizes, mostly as octavos but also as pocket-size duodecimos. Furthermore, from the middle of the sixteenth century, it became customary for publishers to add annotations and indexes to the main body of text.[24] The result of these processes was that the book essentially transformed into a manual which

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[22] Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 144. For the complete list of readers Burke managed to compile see Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 163-178.

[23] Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 144-145.

[24] For more details on the printing history of *Il Cortegiano* in Italy see Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 39-45. It is worth singling out Lodovico Dolce, the Venetian polygraph, in this context. Dolce worked for the Giolito press towards the middle of the century, and in his capacity as editor, he participated in the production of multiple editions of *Il Cortegiano* along the principles mentioned above. Dolce shows a further tie to Castiglione, which can be discovered in his writing on art theory. In his most well-known writing on the subject, *L'Aretino* (1557), we find that one of his interlocutors advises painters to apply *sprezzatura* with their approach to colour and the finish in figures. With this reference, Dolce displays his understanding of the Castiglionian connection between art and behaviour, and he reinforces the notion's aesthetic potentials. For Dolce's reference to the notion see Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della pittura, intitolato L'Aretino* (Venice: Giolito, 1557), 40v. For a discussion from the secondary literature on *sprezzatura* as an aesthetic ideal in art see John Peacock, *Picturing Courtiers and Nobles from Castiglione to Van Dyck: Self Representation by Early Modern Elites* (London: Routledge, 2020), 114-132.

could be used in a highly pragmatic manner for accessing the specific information about courtliness a given reader might be looking for. In my view, this development can be linked to Frank Whigham's examination of the courtesy literature, where he puts forward the argument that the books of the genre "formally invite … particulate consumption".[25] Jennifer Richards counters Whigham's proposition by highlighting that whilst such "fragmented reading" was characteristic of the era concerned, and some of the books, including Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo,* do indeed invite particulate consumption, other volumes, like Stefano Guazzo's *La civil conversazione,* were intended to be recognised as conversations rather than as prescriptive manuals.[26] Furthermore, regarding *Il Cortegiano,* Richards suggests that Castiglione did not intend to write a work that would be read with the purpose of rapidly gathering information about courtliness, but instead specifically aimed for a text which would be approached with patient attention.[27] This proposition regarding Castiglione's intention may well be true, and indeed, Richards' emphasis on a more nuanced treatment of the body of literature ought to be kept in mind. However, for my further observations, I will explore the path that the new form of *Il Cortegiano,* which facilitated easy access to behavioural codes, may have encompassed.

Firstly, this occurrence can be interpreted as a sign of the growing relevance of displaying courtliness based on the behavioural codes presented in courtesy books. In other words, both established and aspiring courtiers would have been expected to display certain manners in order to be accepted in elite courtly environments. Secondly, the accessibility and wide-ranging presence of *Il Cortegiano* opens up the question, to what extent was the book consumed by lower classes? As Anna Bryson remarks, whilst behavioural codes cannot be separated from the nobility and the ideals of 'gentility', it cannot also be assumed that only this particular social class would have been concerned with striving for a display of such codes.[28] Whigham comments along similar lines, and highlights that, although the codes of conduct included in *Il Cortegiano* and similar volumes may have indeed originally

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[25] Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege,* 28-29.

[26] Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness,* 12-13.

[27] Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness,* 43-64, esp. 63-64. Richards projects this proposition onto sixteenth-century English readers of *Il Cortegiano,* and she argues that particularly university graduates (including Roger Ascham, John Cheke, Gabriel Harvey, and Thomas Smith) with various social backgrounds were interested in the book as a conversational treatise, exploring its contribution to the ideology of consensus, rather than seeking advice on behavioural codes appropriate to courtly culture.

[28] Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 34-35.

been intended to protect and reassure the status of the nobility, they simultaneously provided access to knowledge on how one may be able to appear noble, and thus created tools for ambitious non-nobles to emulate the 'properties' of the classes above them.[29] In this sense, sixteenth-century courtesy books would become a building block in the pursuit of climbing the social ladder for those in a mobile position;[30] and even if this endeavour would not necessarily lead in all cases to a fundamental change in one's status, displaying originally noble values may have led to securing more prestigious courtly positions. The upper echelons of society may not have welcomed the acts of those attempting to enter their ranks, but nevertheless, courtesy books, with their imitable codes within, inevitably opened a gate to the realm of the elites.

Next, I will consider a selection of individuals coming from relatively modest social backgrounds who were practitioners of cultural and artistic endeavours and also consumers of courtesy books. The first person to highlight in this context is the polygraph Anton Francesco Doni, son of a scissor-maker, who led an adventurous and multifaceted life, and was famous for his sharp-witted and provocative personality.[31] Doni was also an amateur musician and in musicological discourse he is primarily known through his publication, *Dialogo della musica* (1544).[32] However, on this occasion I would like to consider two different points regarding his engagement with courtly surrounding. Firstly, it is worth highlighting Doni's reference to Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* in his book on books, *La libraria* (1550).[33] It is, of course, not too surprising to find *Il Cortegiano* included in this context, as the bold aim of Doni's first version of *La libraria* was to create what can be

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[29] Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege,* 18-22.

[30] A good example of a non-noble who would have been considered socially mobile, and refers to the importance of engaging with courtesy literature, is the lawyer Argisto Giuffredi. We know that he owned a copy of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano,* and in a volume he himself wrote (*Avvertimenti cristiani, ca.* 1585), he refers to Castiglione's writing in one breath alongside della Casa's *Galateo,* and he advises his sons to follow the precepts described in them. The fact that he highlights these two books paired together seems to point to the idea that he may have also approached them as a 'particulate consumer'. For more on Giuffredi see Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 48, 52.

[31] For a vividly written study on Doni's activities as a writer see Douglas Biow, *In Your Face: Professional Improprieties and the Art of Being Conspicuous in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 157-185.

[32] Cf. Anton Francesco Doni, *Dialogo della musica* (Florence: Girolamo Scotto, 1544); for an article from the secondary literature that deals with Doni's *Dialogo* see James Haar, "Notes on the 'Dialogo della Musica' of Antonfrancesco Doni," in *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. Paul Corneilson (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 271-299; some aspects of the source are also discussed in Judd, "Music in Dialogue," 41-74, esp. 45-51.

[33] Cf. Anton Francesco Doni, *La libraria* (Venice: Giolito, 1550), 29-30.

described as a comprehensive catalogue with commentary on writers and their books written in the vernacular, available in print at the time.[34] Nevertheless, Doni's description is noteworthy, as he gives high praise to Castiglione, and to the elegant language and beautiful reasoning used throughout *Il Cortegiano*.[35] The second point to draw attention to is a remark of Doni's that can be found in his *Tre libri di lettere* (1552), a volume including a collection of his letters. In a letter from 1542 sent to Pietro Aretino, he explains his hopes to succeed as a writer, or perhaps to become a courtier one day.[36] The ambitious Doni managed to create enough wealth for himself through his writing activities so that later in his life he could retire in a villa he acquired, but he never achieved a position (or patronage for that matter) in a court on any level, even though he attempted to do so multiple times throughout his adult life.[37] Perhaps his courtly failures can be related to the fact that, whilst Doni was well aware of Castiglionian manners, and he could have attempted to use them to his advantage, his rash character ultimately stood in the way of fashioning a persona suitable for the courtly environment.

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[34] Doni wrote multiple further versions of *La libraria* – just to mention one example, in the second version he refers solely to books written in the vernacular still in manuscript form. For a concise discussion on the various volumes of *La libraria* see Biow, *In Your Face*, 161-162.

[35] Cf. Doni, *La libraria*, 29-30.

[36] Cf. Anton Francesco Doni, *Tre libri di lettere* (Venice: Francesco Marcolino, 1552), 42-44, with his reference to becoming a courtier ["ma io voglio un di farmi Cortegiano"] on 44. For a while Aretino and Doni were friendly with each other, but later on they fell out. In terms of Aretino's engagement with courtliness it is worth highlighting his sardonic parodies, *La Cortigiana* (1534) and *Ragionamenti* (1534, 1536). Doni, expressing his potential plans to try his luck as a courtier, points to an intriguing phenomenon: there was a tendency amongst polygraphs to take a critical position on courtly life, but nevertheless, for financial reasons, some of them were keen to pursue employment in the very same surrounding. Lodovico Domenichi, who, similarly to Aretino, was friends with Doni for a while – in fact, Domenichi appears as one of the interlocutors in Doni's *Dialogo della musica* – makes for a noteworthy example in this regard. Domenichi successfully secured a courtly position when he became official historian for Cosimo I de Medici in 1552. However, he also published a dialogue in which, whilst displaying an in-depth understanding of the skills one ought to possess to be able to operate in a courtly milieu, he sides with the interlocutor who maintains a critical voice regarding the court. For the relationships between Aretino and Doni, and Domenichi and Doni see Biow, *In Your Face*, 173-174, 176-177; for more on the dynamic between polygraphs and courts see Claudia di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere: Lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988), 242-318; for details on Domenichi's life see Angela Piscini, "Domenichi, Ludovico," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 40, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-domenichi_(Dizionario-Biografico); for Domenichi's presence in Doni's *Dialogo della musica* see Haar, "Notes on the 'Dialogo della Musica'," 273-278; for Domenichi's dialogue on the court see Lodovico Domenichi, *Dialoghi, cioè D'amore, De rimedi d'amore, Dell'amor fraterno, Della fortuna, Della vera nobiltà, Dell'imprese, Della corte, Della fortuna, et Della stampa* (Venice: Giolito, 1562).

[37] Cf. Eric Cochrane, *Italy 1530-1630* (London: Routledge, 2014), 61-62.

Three practitioners of the visual arts are also worth pointing to in the present context. Rosso Fiorentino, Giorgio Vasari, and Gian Paolo Lomazzo all came from artisan class families, and all three can be tied in one way or another to courtesy literature.[38] We know that Rosso Fiorentino already owned a copy of *Il Cortegiano* in 1531.[39] Vasari, who had an illustrious career in the Medici court of Florence, regularly used Castiglionian ideals such as *grazia* and descriptions alluding to *sprezzatura* as notions for expressing aesthetic judgement over the work of other artists.[40] In the case of Lomazzo, we find a direct reference to Castiglione in his 1590 *Idea del tempio di pittura*, and, similarly to Vasari's approach, aesthetic evaluations that closely resonate with Castiglionian concepts.[41] The phenomenon of connecting artistic endeavours with language originally describing noble courtly behaviour is of key importance to the present thesis, and is the guiding principle I apply in my musical analyses. The musicians I refer to throughout the dissertation predominantly, but not exclusively, fall into the category of artisans who were employed in courtly environments at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and rose to prominent positions within their respective courts; however, I will save further remarks on this matter until the end of Part One.

1.4 The expansion of the conversation

Multiple aspects of the expanding readership I depict above can be, to some extent, traced in and paralleled with how the writers of key courtesy books approach inclusivity towards a wider spectrum of social classes. As we know, in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* a group of nobly born individuals make up the interlocutors of the dialogue, who discuss the appropriate behaviour of aristocrats, which they see as adaptable for other courts besides their own in Urbino. Between the members of the group there is a sense of amicability, and

[38] For concise summaries of the lives of the three artists see Roberto Ciardi, "Giovanni Battista di Iacopo, detto il Rosso Fiorentino," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 56, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-di-iacopo-detto-il-rosso-fiorentino_(Dizionario-Biografico); Barbara Agosti, "Vasari, Giorgio," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 98, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giorgio-vasari_(Dizionario-Biografico); Roberto Ciardi, "Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 65, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-paolo-lomazzo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

[39] Cf. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 48.

[40] Cf. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 53.

[41] Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del tempio di pittura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Ponto, 1590), 31, 52.

they converse on an equal playing field. However, throughout the book, the focus is almost exclusively on the upper classes, and interaction with the lower ranks is scarcely mentioned – a notable exception to this is when Castiglione suggests that a noble courtier should avoid physical altercations with men from a lower class, in case there is a chance of defeat.[42] From this viewpoint, Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* can thus be described as an 'elitist' work.

Immediately after its 1528 publication, *Il Cortegiano* quickly gained popularity, and as I highlighted previously, regardless of its intended audience, the nobility should not be the only readers taken into account as consumers of the book. In della Casa's *Il Galateo* (1558) a picture emerges where the writer seems to be subtly embedding a reaction to the phenomenon of socially mobile individuals entering elite courtly circles aided by studied codes of conduct. The premise of della Casa's 'catechistic' dialogue is an older man providing advice to a young noble about codes of conduct appropriate for his social standing. However, an intriguing detail can be found when looking at the subtitle, which reads as follows:

> Treatise of *messer* Giovanni della Casa in which, under the persona of an ignorant old man [*idiota*], he instructs a young student on what to do and what not to do in common conversation…[43]

As we can see, della Casa, who was in reality a learned person (*dotto*) of high social standing, attempts to disguise himself as an unlearned 'outsider' from the lower ranks (*idiota*). The statement certainly encompasses the possibility of being interpreted as a sign of inclusiveness, pointing towards the idea that good manners can be understood, acquired, and applied by all and on every level. However, as Harry Berger Jr. argues, there are multiple hints throughout *Il Galateo* suggesting that its seemingly transparent opening stance is more ambiguous and less forward and outward-looking than modern readers might wish it to be.[44] One example of these obscurities is how the layers of pretence are treated throughout the work. It never becomes truly clear whether the *idiota* himself is, or

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[42] Cf. Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 35.

[43] Giovanni della Casa, *Galateo, or, the Rules of Polite Behaviour*, trans. M. F. Rusnak (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 83. "Trattato di messer Giovanni della Casa, nel quale sotto la persona d'un vecchio idiota ammaestrante un suo giovanetto, si ragione de modi, che si debbono o tenere, o schifare nella comune conversatione…" Giovanni della Casa, *Il Galateo, overo de' costumi* (Venice: Nicolò Bevilacqua, 1558), title page.

[44] Berger Jr., *The Absence of Grace*, 179-228, esp. 194-214.

only pretends to be, unlearned, as there are several occasions where there is clear mockery of too much pretending as such on the part of the narrator. In other instances, the *idiota's sprezzatura* manifests itself in a rather clumsy and unacceptably revealing manner, especially in terms of the usual 'classical reference-dropping', which paradoxically often sound more like stilted interjections than nonchalant insertions. Ultimately, one cannot help but assume that della Casa is consciously distancing himself from his constructed narrator and makes sure that although he creates a credible enough character, at the same time he exercises a not-so-subtle criticism of the *idiota* who merely obtained, but was not born with, noble behavioural grace.

Nearly two decades later, Stefano Guazzo's *La civil conversazione* (1574) points to a new episode in the expansion of behavioural codes within society. The four sections of the book are presented as a dialogue between Guglielmo Guazzo, a melancholic knight and brother of the author, and Annibale, the doctor. Through the power of conversation, Annibale heals both the mind and body of the disillusioned Guazzo, and in doing so, he introduces him to the rules of civility and the ethics and etiquettes of societal interaction.[45] As Annibale points out, he acts and delivers his thoughts as a citizen rather than a philosopher:

> And thus you will cease to marvel, and will not charge me with a mortal sin, if in discussing the civil conversation I shall accidentally speak more of the things, which in my view, echo the present times, than of what is written in books: and [you will not charge me] if in this, I shall speak as a mere citizen rather than as a philosopher, without heeding to attain with my eloquence the laurel of praises and titles, which you have granted to me, and which I neither wish to, nor must endure, because it is not appropriate for me.[46]

[45] Richards provides the alluring phrase, "Guazzo clearly attributes to conversation the power of self-transformation" to describe the process Annibale guides Guglielmo through. Cf. Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 23.

[46] "E però cesserà in voi la maraviglia, né mi attribuirete a peccato mortale s'io nel discorso della civil conversazione vi dirò per aventura più di quelle cose che per mio aviso richieggono i tempi presenti che di quelle che sono scritte ne' libri: e se in ciò vi parlerò più tosto da puro cittadino che da filosofo, senza curare d'acquistarmi con miei discorsi quella eccellenza di lodi e di titoli che m'avete dati, i quali non voglio né debbo patire, poiché non mi si convengono." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, II, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235. Translated by Elisabetta Toreno; slight alterations by myself.

The fact that Guazzo chooses this particular stance for Annibale has an important implication, as it points towards is the prioritising of an active and experience-based knowledge associated with the citizen over the contemplative and theoretical considerations of the philosopher. Furthermore, it subtly alludes to the idea that Guglielmo ought to recognise that engaging with the world in all of its social diversity is more beneficial for him than devoting himself to solitude. The breadth of identities involved in this conversation is well represented in the opening sentence of the second book of *La civil conversazione*:

> The first concern is about the manners suitable for all people in conversing outside of the house. Then, it is about the manners that suit the particular conversations among us, young and old, noble and common people, the princes and the poor, the educated and the ignoramuses, citizens and foreigners, clerics and laymen, men and women.[47]

What shines through rather distinctively is that, although there is a hierarchical system in place and the court remains a relevant physical entity, Guazzo's dialogue refers to the ongoing shaping of modern society that is manifest in cities, academies, and the countryside, and in which the depicted behavioural models can be equally applicable and pervasive on all levels.[48]

[47] "Si discorre primieramente delle maniere convenevoli a tutte le persone nel conversare fuori di casa, e poi delle particolari che debbono tenere, conversando insieme, giovani e vecchi, nobili e ignobili, prencipi e privati, dotti e idioti, cittadini e forastieri, religiosi e secolari, uomini e donne." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, II, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

[48] Richards points out that indeed the only group that is excluded from Guazzo's civil conversation are those at the very bottom of the social hierarchy, labourers. However, she adds the intriguing remark that regardless of this attempted inclusivity, Guazzo's dialogue style, which often shows what in Burkian terms can be described as 'catechistic' tendencies, makes his writing feel authoritative rather than inviting. Cf. Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 33-35.

2

ENTERING THE COURT

2.1 Interpretative aspects

This chapter is dedicated to a reading of the courtesy books where my primary focus is on the courtier's mentality, self-presentation, and skills of interaction. Explicit activities described in the courtesy books are of lesser interest here, partly because I see them as a manifestation of the courtier's mentality, or as self-fashioning acts, and partly because a key aim of my reading is to locate behavioural notions that, in my view, can guide and influence the fabric of courtly society on a broad level, and can thus be imitated both directly and indirectly by various social identities, towards whom the courtesy books were not necessarily directed in the first place. For much of the following reflections I remain seemingly distant from music *per se*, but it is important to emphasise that my selection within what I see as 'universal' thoughts of the courtesy books is always latently governed from a musical perspective.

The temporal arch I draw begins with Castiglione's 1528 *Il Cortegiano* and reaches to Torquato Accetto's 1641 *Della dissimulazione onesta*. The three most widespread works of the genre, Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, della Casa's *Il Galateo*, and Guazzo's *La civil conversazione*, are pivotal to the discourse; however, I treat these works as part of a broader web of literary activity and discuss a range of lesser-known courtesy books with equal attention, with the aim of highlighting imitation and variation within repeated courtly behavioural norms.

2.2 Participating in the fabric of courtly society

In 1639 Pio Rossi described the nature of the court as "perpetual motion, an ocean unceasingly rising and falling, [with] its own ebbs and flows – a sea of transparent glass, that is yet fragile and at its breaking point when its primacy shines" and ultimately, the aim of the behavioural manuals was to prepare the courtier for participating and navigating

within this milieu.[1] An active engagement with their surroundings was fully expected from the courtier; however, how this engagement manifested itself was just as malleable as the continuously changing nature of the court throughout the era concerned. Before tracing these changes through examining more closely the sociological mechanisms and ethical considerations embedded in courtesy books, I would like to single out five behavioural tropes relating to self-presentation and interaction, that, albeit with a degree of variation, occur as recurring themes in the manuals.

Observation of the self and the fellow participants of the court is the foundation of the courtier's actions. On a notable instance from 1634, Matteo Peregrini drew attention to the three faces of *prudence* of which "one looks at the Prince, another looks at the companions, and all of those who can either hinder or annihilate it, and the third is especially inward looking."[2] The old principle of *nosce te ipsum* ('know thyself') is prevalently present as the basis of self-observation from Castiglione onward, and is often pointed out as the knowledge that must precede all other knowledge.[3] However, on an increasing level, the aim of knowing others gets elevated to an equal status. In a witty remark that appears in his 1569 discourse on the court, Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio quotes an older, more experienced courtier who goes as far in advising the preparing youngsters as to say, "my sons, the Ancients used to say *nosce the ipsum*, that is 'know thyself', and that to know oneself was a very difficult task. And I tell you, he would say that nowadays one must say *nosce alio*, that is 'know others'; this is how much life has changed in the

[1] "[La corte è un] perpetuo vomito: un'Oceano, c'ha i suoi flussi, e reflussi continui: le sue elevationi, e cadute: Mare di vetro trasparente, ma fragile, & altretanto prossimo alla sua frattura, quando brilla d'avvantaggio." Pio Rossi, *Convito morale per gli etici, economici, e politici* (Venice: Guerigli, 1639), 118.

[2] "[Hor la Prudenza, che qui hà da scorger il Servidore felicemente alla gratia del Prencipe, hà tre faccie:] Una guarda il Prencipe. L'altra guarda i Compagni, e tutti coloro, che possono, o impedirla, o levarla: La terza stà rivolta particolaumente in lui medesimo." Matteo Peregrini, *Della pratica comune a prencipi, e servidori loro* (Viterbo: Diotallevi, 1634), 234.

[3] "Self-knowledge must precede all other knowledge. The courtier who knows himself as well as his prince will never deceive himself in any way." Cf. Torquato Tasso, *Tasso's Dialogues: A Selection, with the Discourse on the Art of the Dialogue*, trans. Carnes Lord and Dain A. Trafton (Berkeley, CA: University of Californa Press, 1982), 177. "La cognizion di se stesso dee preceder tutte l'altre; ma chi se medesimo conosce e conosce il principe, non può in modo alcuno ingannarsi, tuttoché al principe non si manifesti." Tasso, *Il Malpiglio, overo de la corte* (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana, 2003), http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000594.

world since."[4] In *Il Malpiglio*, Tasso joins this stance, although his character Forestiero Napolitano presents his argument in a softened version when pointing towards the utmost importance of diligently examining other men's opinions.[5]

Good judgement or *bon giudizio* appears regularly as another key behavioural trope, and it is used as a tool for the acute understanding of a given situation, thus enabling the appropriate action and reaction within. Unico Aretino, the alter ego of the Petrarchist poet Bernardo Accolti speaks about *good judgement* in the *Cortegiano* as follows:

> And all that need be said, I think, is that the courtier should possess good judgement [*bon giudizio*], the need for which was rightly mentioned by the Count yesterday evening. If he does have it, then he needs no other instructions about how to practise what he knows at the right time and in the proper manner. To attempt to provide him with more precise rules would be too difficult and surely superfluous.[6]

The notion of *good judgement* shows a close relationship with the cardinal virtue of *justice*, and thus the right measure within is strongly based on the Aristotelian golden mean. How the gradual intertwining of *giustizia*, *giusto* and *giudizio* came into being I discuss in the later part of the chapter.

The ability of *adaptability* (aided by *observation* and *good judgement*) is the third trope that I would like to consider. In terms of the courtier's skills of interaction, this behavioural pattern stood in particularly high regard. Federico Fregoso in the *Cortegiano* highlights that one "must change his style and method from day to day, according to the

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[4] "[Mi viene qui a mente un piacevole detto di un vecchio ed esperto cortigiano. Diceva egli a' giovani che entravano nella corte:] 'Figliuoli miei, soleano dir gli antichi 'Nosce te ipsum', cioè 'Conosci te stesso', e che il conoscere se stesso era cosa malagevolissima. 'Ed io' diceva egli 'vi dico che oggi bisogna dire 'Nosce alios', cioè 'Conosci gli altri', tanto è egli mutato il viver del mondo da quel tempo a questo." Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio, *Discorso intorno a quello che si conviene a giovane nobile* (Pavia: Girolamo Bartoli, 1569), 52r-52v.

[5] Cf. Tasso, *Il Malpiglio*, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000594.

[6] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, II:VI, 112-113. "…e credo che basti in tutto questo dir che 'l cortegiano sia di bon giudicio, come iersera ben disse il Conte esser necessario; ed essendo cosí, penso che senza altri precetti debba poter usar quello che egli sa a tempo e con bona maniera; il che volere piú minutamente ridurre in regola, saria troppo difficile e forse superfluo…" Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, II:VI, 98.

nature of those with whom he wants to converse".[7] In Lodovico Domenichi's dialogue on the court, Francesco Sardo takes this to a further level, when he describes "those, who can counterfeit the affects of the soul at all times, and alter their facial expression according to their advantage, and whether indifferently, or tenderly, are able to mimic every person." He concludes his take on this heightened degree of *adaptability* and ability to change by pointing out that "after all, those, who can easily imitate, can express everything."[8] Almost a century later, in Torquato Accetto's 1641 treatise *Della dissimulazione onesta,* the notion of adaptability was still present, but appeared in a more passive light: "it is sometimes acceptable to change one's cloak, so that we are dressed for the seasons of fate."[9]

The *persuasiveness* of the courtier is the fourth trope that appears frequently throughout the literature. The following anecdote told by Castiglione's Fregoso carries intriguing moral connotations:

> What clearer proof do you want of the force of opinion? Do you not remember that once when drinking a certain wine one moment you were saying that it was absolutely perfect and the next that it was really insipid? And this was because you were persuaded that you were drinking two different kinds of wine, one from the Riviera of Genoa and the other from this locality? And even when the mistake was discovered you simply refused to believe it, so firmly entrenched in your mind was the false opinion which, of course, arose from what others had said.[10]

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[7] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* II:XVII, 124. "…ogni dí muti stile e modo, secondo la natura di quelli con chi a conversar si mette." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano,* II:XVII, 113.

[8] Sardo: "…Coloro, che contrafanno a tempo tutti gli affetti dell'animo, si mutano di uiso, come torna lor bene, e asciutti, & molli, sono accommodati a contrafare d'ogni sorte persone. Si come quegli che ageuolmente imitano, & esprimono tutte le cose." Domenichi, *Dialoghi,* 289.

[9] "...pur si concede talor il mutar manto per vestir conforme alla stagion della fortuna." Torquato Accetto, *Della dissimulazione onesta* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), 18.

[10] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* II:XXXV, 145. "Ma che piú chiaro segno volete voi della forza della opinione? Non vi ricordate che, bevendo voi stesso d'un medesimo vino, dicevate talor che era perfettissimo, talor insipidissimo? E questo perché a voi era persuaso che erandui vini, l'un di Rivera di Genoa e l'altro di questo paese; e poi ancor che fu scoperto l'errore, per modo alcuno non volevate crederlo, tanto fermamente era confermata nell'animo vostro quella falsa opinione, la qual però dalle altrui parole nasceva." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano,* II:XXXV, 139.

What we see here is not only fascinating from the persuasive courtier's perspective, but also on the level of authority-based self-deception that one notices on the receiver's end.

The final trope that requires our attention is perhaps the most universal one, that needs to accompany the courtier's self-presentation on all levels. In della Casa's words *ease* "is nothing other than that lustre which shines from the appropriateness of things that are suitably ordered and well-arranged one with the other and together", and adds that "without this measure, even the good is not beautiful and beauty is not pleasing."[11] The *Cortegiano's* Cesare Gonzaga confirms della Casa's words and emphasises that "the courtier has to imbue with grace [*grazia*] his movements, his gestures, his way of doing things and in short, his every action. And it appears to me that you require this in everything as the seasoning without which all other attributes and good qualities would be almost worthless."[12] Annibale from Guazzo's *La civil conversazione* offers his opinion on *ease* as well:

> During this discourse, you have not strayed from the duties of the perfect courtier, from whom is demanded the most diligent care and artistry in his actions, and in a manner that such an artistry is disguised, appearing to be accidental, thus that he may receive more admiration.[13]

The five behavioural tropes, *observation, good judgement, adaptability, persuasiveness,* and *ease* share the fact that they are always supposed to manifest in both the *words* and the *gestures* of the courtier. This twofold level of attention is highlighted

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[11] Della Casa, *Galateo,* 69. "E non è altro leggiadria, che una cotale quasi luce, che risplende della convenevolezza, delle cose, che sono ben composte e ben divisate l'una con l'altra, e tutte insieme; senza la qual misura eziandio il bene non è bello; e la bellezza non è pacevole." Giovanni della Casa, *Il Galateo, overo de' costumi* (Modena: Einaudi, 1990), 58.

[12] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, I:XXIV, 65. "…che 'l cortegiano ha da compagnare l'operazion sue, i gesti, gli abiti, in somma ogni suo movimento con la grazia; e questo mi par che mettiate per un condimento d'ogni cosa, senza il quale tutte l'altre proprieta e bone condicioni sian di poco valore." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, I:XXIV, 41-42.

[13] "Voi non vi sete punto discostato in questo discorso dall'ufficio del perfetto corteggiano, a cui è comandato che nelle sue azzioni ponga diligentissima cura e faccia il tutto con arte, ma in maniera che l'arte sia nascosta e paia il tutto a caso, accioché ne venga più ammirato." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235. Translated by Elisabetta Toreno; slight alterations by myself.

throughout the behavioural manuals, and to some extent as an imitation of this mentality, pervades the present study too.

We can also suspect from looking at these tropes, that their social, moral, and ethical connotations encapsulate a rich variety of interpretations and indications. What is the result of such diligent observation of the self and the other? What is the right measure in terms of *good judgement*? How does *adaptability* effect interaction and self-presentation? How far is *persuasiveness* morally acceptable? Is *ease* something that is simply present in one's action or does it have to be achieved artificially? If so, can it still be described as natural *ease*? In the following sections I will attempt to answer these questions, by highlighting certain social changes that took place during the sixteenth century.

2.3 The theatre of lights and shadows

In his 1486 *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola paralleled the desirable human condition with Proteus, the ancient sea-god of change. Pico assigns the following words to God when summarising this idea to the first man, Adam: "We have made you neither of heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, so that with freedom of choice and with honour, as though the maker and moulder of yourself, you may fashion yourself in whatever shape you shall prefer."[14] The favourable symbolism of Proteus is a recurring theme in early modern Italy, representing the infinite possibilities of mankind's morphing abilities. It appears in a wide range of contexts, including in advice regarding the courtier's everyday *adaptability*. Giraldi Cinzio speaks of it as follows:

> Since there are various types of people in courts, may it be honourable and useful to the young courtier that he carries himself in a manner that his conversation be welcome to everyone. And he must adapt, almost like a new Proteus, to the customs of others, and consider the times, the ages, the places, the worth and rank of each individual: wherefore he will appear as good-natured, courteous, graceful, affable,

[14] "Nec te celestum neque terrenum, neque mortalem neque immortalem fecimus, ut tui ipsius quasi arbitrarius honorariusque plastes et fictor, in quam malueris tutte formam effingas." Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Discorso sulla dignità dell'uomo,* ed. Francesco Bausi (Parma: Ugo Guanda, 2003), 10.

> and desirous to serve and to please everyone, inasmuch his strength and sense of rectitude will allow.[15]

However, this idealised and effortlessly accommodating behavioural pattern of the god of change has evoked a darker symbolism too, and several thinkers of the era used it to allude to the nefariously untrustworthy, chameleon-like adulator, who in Giovanni Andrea Gilio's words, has "the eyes of a basilisk, the teeth of a wolf, the beak of a raven, the claws of an eagle, the heart of a fox, the fur of a panther, the voice of a harpy, the trail of a river horse, the tail of a crocodile, and of a dog, of a chameleon and an octopus".[16] Pio Rossi elaborates further on this:

> Many, in the manner of Proteus, in order to get into someone's grace, cunningly take on different forms, and change at the right time, adapting to the other person's moods, so that they can deceive them more readily: and adulators exert this especially on the most important individuals, counterfeiting I should say, rather than imitating the natural inclination of the Prince.[17]

What we find in Rossi's description is not only the dismissal of adulation but a distinct scepticism towards the notion of deception. Deception as a behavioural tool has often been associated with the art of *persuasiveness,* and its perception had varied manifestations. On one hand, its close relation to the courtier's wit or *acutezza* might emphasise its positive qualities in rhetorical display. As della Casa notes "witty remarks are nothing else but deceptions, and deceptions, being subtle and artificial, must be carried

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[15] "Ora, perché nelle corti varie sono le qualità delle persone, sie ad onore e ad utile al Giovane portarsi con ognuno di modo che a ciascuno riesca grata la sua conversazione. Et dee, quasi un altro Proteo, accomodarsi a' costumi di tutti, considerando i tempi, l'età, i luoghi, le dignità e i gradi d'ognuno: laonde si mostrerà gentile, cortese, grazioso, affabile e desideroso di servire e di compiacere a ciascuno, per quanto potranno le forze sue ed il rispetto dell'onesto." Giraldi Cinzio, *Discorso,* 40v.

[16] "L'adulatore e occhio di basilisco, dente di lupo, rostro di coruo, artiglio d'aquila, cor di volpe, pelle di pantera, voce di hiena, orma di hippotamo, coda di crocodillo, e di cane, camaleonte, e polipo..." Gilio, *Due dialogi,* 61v.

[17] "Molti à guisa di Proteo per entrare in gratia di qualch'uno malitiosamente prendono diverse forme, e si tramutano à tempo, accomodandosi à suoi humori, per più facilmente inganarlo, il che da gli adulatori sopra tutti viene esercitato co i Grandi, contrafacendo più tosto, che imitando l'inclinatione naturale del Principe." Rossi, *Convito Morale,* 13.

out only by astute men with a ready wit and, who above all are capable of improvising."[18] As a result of such guiding comments and further improvisations on this theme, the subtle game between successful deceit (*inganno*) which requires and results out of wit (*ingegno*) turned into a stock element of interpersonal exchange ideals.[19] On the level of everyday deeds, Guazzo's Annibale sums up highly pragmatically that a deceit is good if it leads to a good end, and the deceived person benefits from the ruse. (As an example he mentions doctors administering pomegranate juice for their patients instead of wine.[20]) However, on the other hand, the moral and ethical connotations of deception in terms of distorting truth and thus presenting a semblance of it has also created cutting remarks such as Giovanni Battista Guarini's: "honesty is nothing else but the art of seeming honest."[21] These aforementioned connotations are what has led to the often-cited idea of the court being one grandiose collective deception, where one must play the fox with foxes, and delude art with art, to paraphrase Guazzo.[22] The heightening levels of pretence towards the latter part of the Cinquecento is summarised with astute sharpness by Guarini:

> This is the century of appearing, in which we wear masks all year round. So long as we appear to be, and we care not to be who we are. This plague has seized courts as well as schools. And few are the literates nowadays, who would not be satisfied with the appearance, because to appear has as many benefits and ripens as many fruits as knowledge does.[23]

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[18] Della Casa, *Galateo*, 45. "E perciò che niuna altra cosa sono i motti che inganni, e lo ingannare, sì come sottil cosa et artificiosa, non si può fare se non per gli uomini di acuto e di pronto avedimento, e spetialmente improviso…" Della Casa, *Il Galateo*, 36-37.

[19] In Giovanni Donato Cucchetti's pastoral play, *La Pazzia*, one of the main characters provides a line full of wit: "Che'ingegno ho piu di lui, arte e inganno" ["I have got more deceit, art, and ingenuity than you"]. Cf. Giovanni Donato Cucchetti, *La Pazzia, favola pastorale* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1581), A1/S1.

[20]Cf. "Questo è inganno buono e dirizzato a lodevol fine e utile all'ingannato. Sì come noi medici inganniamo talora gli infermi, dando loro il sugo de' granati per vino." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

[21] "Ch'altro infin l'onestate, non è che un'arte di parere onesta." Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido* (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana, 2003), http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000799.

[22] Cf. "Bisogna ad imitazione loro rallegrarsi in vista e sogghignare e volpeggiar con le volpi, e beffar l'arte con l'arte istessa." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

[23] "Questo è un secolo d'apparenza, & si và in maschera tutto l'anno. Pur ch'altri appaia d'essere, non si cura d'essere da dovvero. La qual peste s'è avventata dalle Corti alle scuole. Et pochi letterati son hoggidì, che della sola scorza non si contentino, poiche tanto giova, & frutta il parere, quanto il

Not only are we provided with hints of a highly theatrical way of life from these behavioural discussions, but several thinkers of the time explicitly compared the court with the stage on which they would all perform their ascribed roles. Yet again, whilst some draw our attention towards the shining lights of the play, others warn us to beware of the shades. Tasso gives the following enthusiastic and encouraging words to Forestiero Napolitano in his dialogue *Il Gianluca* from 1586:

> … when I first saw Ferrara: the city appeared to me in its entirety and not just one single painted scene, and bright and filled with a thousand shapes and a thousand semblances. And the actions then seemed similar to those of theatre representations in different languages and with many characters; and since I was not satisfied with being a mere spectator, I wanted to become one of the characters in this comedy, and to blend in.[24]

Guazzo's Annibale shows a more level-headed stance, and although he acknowledges the world as stage, he emphasises the power of good-mannered conversation, as in his take, that is the key to one's control over his own fortune:

> Similarly, someone else used to say that this world was but a theatre and that we were the histrionics that perform its comedy, and the gods were the spectators, among whom by accident were the philosophers. But because today fewer are the divine spectators here, and because most of us have turned our minds towards negotiating those things that you have told me, I propose the conversation, not because we may make use of it mainly in the markets and in the comedy of life, and in all those matters exposed to the wheel of fortune, but because, in conversing, one learns the honest customs and virtues, through which one dispenses and preserves justly the good of fortune, and comes to attract the favours, the kindness, and the grace of others.[25]

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sapere…" Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Lettere, parte seconda* (Venice: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1596), 76-77. Translated by Elisabetta Toreno; slight alterations by myself.

[24] "… quando prima vidi Ferrara: e mi parve che tutta la città fosse una meravigliosa e non più veduta scena dipinta, e luminosa e piena di mille forme e di mille apparenze, e l'azioni di quel tempo simili a quelle che son rappresentate ne' teatri con varie lingue e con vari interlocutori; e non bastandomi l'essere divenuto spettatore, volli divenire un di quelli ch'eran parte de la comedia, e mescolarmi con gli altri." Torquato Tasso, *Il Gianluca, overo delle maschere* (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana, 2003), http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000227.

[25] "Soleva parimente dire un altro che questo mondo era una scena e noi gli istrioni che rappresentiamo la comedia, e gli iddii gli spettatori, fra i quali per aventura comprendeva i filosofi. Ma perché oggidì sono pochi qua giù i divini spettatori, e perché quasi tutti siamo rivolti col pensiero a contrattare quelle

A few decades later, Rossi gives us the disillusioned polar view, when comparing the court to the stage:

> The court can resemble a stage [*scena*], which, from the distance, only shows the wonders and the splendour of gemstones, of the gold of lights, of grandeur, of artifice, of symmetry, and of thousands of other charms [*vaghezza*]. But within, one finds only anguish, discontent, darkness, wreckage, broken and dilapidated joists, wood, scaffolds, and spiderwebs, filth, and pettiness in a thousand forms, which the eager spectators in a theatre, do not see.[26]

And finally, Accetto's words from 1641 depict an ever-changing world, in which taking the role of the spectator is the preferable one, but even that part may give considerable displeasure:

> It is worth speaking in more detail about a few things that one needs to tolerate, which is the same as saying to dissimulate, since many are the disappointments of the spectator in this grand theatre of the world, where comedies and tragedies are played every day. And I am not speaking now about the inventions of the ancient and modern poets, but of the real changes of the world itself, which, from time, and because of human contingencies acquires another face and custom.[27]

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cose che avete raccontate, io propongo la conversazione non perché abbiamo a valercene principalmente ne' mercati e nelle comedie, e nell'altre cose esterne sottoposte alla fortuna, ma perché nel conversare s'apprendano i buoni costumi e le virtù, per mezo delle quali si dispensino e si conservino drittamente i beni della fortuna e si venga ad acquistare il favore, la benivolenza e la grazia altrui." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235. Translated by Elisabetta Toreno; slight alterations by myself.

[26] "La corte può rasomigliarsi ad una Scena, che chi la mira di fuori, non vede altro, che meraviglie e splendori di gemme, e di oro de lumi, di grandezze, di artificio, di simettia, e di mill'altre vaghezze; ma chi la mira di dentro, non vitrova altro che angustie, scontenti, oscurità, rottami, asse tronche, legni fessi, pontelli, tele d'aragni, immonditie, e mill'altre meschinità, che gli avidi spettatori non vedono nel teatro." Rossi, *Convito morale*, 117.

[27] "Convien di trattar di alcune cose più in particolare che ricercano d'esser tollerate, ch'è lo stesso a dir dissimulate, poiché sono molt'i dispiaceri dell'uomo ch'è spettator in questo gran teatro del mondo nel qual si rappresentano ogni dì comedie e tragedie; e or non dico di quelle che son invenzioni de' poeti antichi o moderni, ma delle vere mutazioni del mondo stesso, che da tempo in tempo, in quanto agli accidenti umani, prende altra faccia e altro costume." Accetto, *Della dissimulazione onesta*, 43.

It is this 'chiaroscuro-like' duality of thought that binds several pairs of notions together throughout the era concerned. The concept that the existence of light depends on the existence of darkness takes central place in the thinking of several thinkers of the time;[28] however, the morally appropriate walking of the line with the aid of *good judgement* became increasingly ambiguous. An intriguing aspect of everyday courtly behaviour and its ethical challenges that transpires from the courtesy books is that there are considerable similarities with ethical debates surrounding the subject of rhetoric. In the next section I will discuss a few of these overlaps by providing a comparative analysis of two dialogues by Sperone Speroni and Francesco Patrizi, that are driven by fundamentally contrasting stances, and thus make useful representations of the different moral connotations surrounding rhetoric in the sixteenth century.

2.4 *Vir bonus dicendi peritus*?

Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo della rettorica* is set in Bologna in 1530. The disputing parties of the dialogue are three Venetians, the 'author' and man of the church, Gian Francesco Valerio, the poet Antonio Brocardo, and their younger acquaintance Marcantonio Soranzo, who was also a close friend of Giovanni della Casa. From a typological point of view, the dialogue is Ciceronian, however in terms of Burke's system, its genre is somewhat ambiguous, as on one hand we are dealing with a 'disputation' between Valerio and Brocardo – with the latter receiving the approving nod from Speroni – whilst, on the other hand, the purpose of their arguments is to teach a lesson to the barely participating Soranzo, thus latently shifting the dialogue style towards a 'catechism'.

[28] Cf. della Casa, *Galateo,* 65. "But just as in seeing darkness one learns what light is, and silence one learns what sound would be, so also you will be able to perceive, in looking at my dark and hardly appealing ways, what the light of pleasant and praiseworthy manners may be. Returning to the analysis, which will shortly come to a close, let us say that pleasant manners are those which delight or at least do not annoy any of the senses, the desires, or the imagination of those with whom we live. This is what we have been talking about till now." / "…ma, perciò che in vedendo il buio si conosce quale è la luce et in udendo il silentio sì si impara che sia il suono, sì potrai tu, mirando le mie poco aggradevoli e quasi oscure maniere, scorgere quale sia la luce de' piacevoli e laudevoli costumi. Al trattamento de' quali, che tosto oggimai arà suo fine, ritornando, diciamo che i modi piacevoli sono quelli che porgon diletto o almeno non recano noia ad alcuno de' sentimenti, né all'appetito, né alla imagination di coloro co' quali noi usiamo: e di questi abbiamo noi favellato fin ad ora." Della Casa, *Il Galateo,* 55.

Soranzo's lesson is established by Valerio and Brocardo offering to him the opportunity to pick any topic on which he wishes to receive his daily intellectual profit. Soranzo chooses rhetoric, and after a brief exchange on the subject's importance in civic life, Brocardo points out that it would be impossible to explain all parts of rhetoric in the short amount of time they have at their disposal, and that therefore Soranzo should narrow down the topic to his most burning question. As a response Soranzo formulates the following query: "considering the fact that the function of the orator is to persuade his audience by delighting, instructing, and moving them, by which of these three means does he put his desire into effect in a way that is most suited to his art and will win him the greatest praise for himself?"[29] Brocardo quickly singles out delight as the virtue with which oratory acquires the beauty and force needed to persuade the listener. In his first argument, he supports this claim by stating that both teaching and moving can be too forceful when aiming to reach an audience, whereas delight possesses the necessary *ease*, thus making the persuasion most pleasing for the listener. As part of this stance he includes an intriguing remark on how moving the emotions can be particularly challenging, as it not only requires the orator to understand the process of moving in terms of planning his own actions, but also demands him to observe and adapt to the particular temperament and behavioural patterns of the different kinds of audiences he aims to move at any given time.

At this point Valerio states that he has not yet been convinced, and Brocardo should elaborate further on his standpoint. He gladly obeys and this time he provides an eloquent simile between rhetoric and painting: just as the painter uses his brush to imitate nature, so the orator paints the truth with his pen and tongue. Brocardo goes a step further and argues that just as the artist, who has the ability to paint the appearance of his subject without in-depth knowledge of its essence, so the orator may depict a representation of the truth regarding the subject in question. He explicitly warns against deceiving people, but states that whoever believes that the representation of the truth is the truth itself is an ignoramus,

[29] Wayne A. Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates on Rhetoric* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 133. "Cioè, che fendo ufficio dell'Oratore il persuader gli ascoltanti dilettando, insegnando, & movédo, in qual modo di questi tre, piu convenevole all'arte sua con maggior laude di se, rechi ad effetto il suo disiderio." Sperone Speroni, *Dialoghi: Nuovamente ristampati & con molta diligenza riveduti & corretti* (Venice: Francesco Lorenzini, 1560), 121v.

just like those "plebeians [who] take paintings and statues, our human creations, and make them their God and worship them like God."[30]

As Brocardo proceeds in his argument he introduces his key claim that delighting is the same in essence as moving. The way he supports this thought is based on his observation that certain emotions and experiences, even if they are unpleasant in themselves, can cause pleasure. The examples he gives are delight in weeping, or how the choleric man who is moved to anger experiences great pleasure from releasing its heat. Valerio interrupts here, and points out that to 'reduce' moving to delighting (and thus to calming) would be a mistake, as the orator's actual purpose is to "have the greatest, most violent power over our souls, for he can persuade us to do good deeds, accomplishing with words in one hour what the philosopher, living virtuously for many years, can achieve for himself only with great difficulty".[31] Brocardo disagrees and repeats that reaching a balance through delightful moving is more valuable than tempering the emotions. At the same time, Brocardo highlights a crucial similarity between his stance and Valerio's, namely that "what orators teach their listeners is not the knowledge of truth, but merely opinion and an image of truth, so that calming emotions, which oratory can produce in people's souls, is not a virtue, but a simulacrum of virtue."[32]

In the next section of the disputation, Brocardo pairs the three branches of oratory with the three aims and styles, which results in him establishing that judicial speeches should have the high style and are supposed to move the listener, deliberative speeches work best with the plain style and should teach, and finally, epideictic speeches operate most successfully with the middle style and their aim is to delight. As we can expect, this categorisation results in Brocardo aiming to demonstrate why the delighting epideictic speeches are the supreme branch of oratory. He deliberately refutes here the old Ciceronian stance, where judicial and deliberative rhetoric are considered as chief. Brocardo

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[30] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates*, 114. "...che l'idolatra plebeio, le dipinture, & le statue, nostre humane operationi, faccia suo Dio, & come Dio le riverisca..." Speroni, *Dialoghi,* 123r.

[31] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates*, 118. "(Ilche è noto per se medesimo) ma componendo gli affetti, quelli muova, & sospinga; che grandissima violenza dee esser quella dell'Oratore ne nostri animi, qual'hora a ben fare ne persuade, cosa oprando con le parole in una hora, che in molti anni virtuosamente vivendo, a gran pena suole acquistarsi il philosopho." Speroni, *Dialoghi,* 126r.

[32] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates,* 118. "...che la dottrina del l'Oratore a gli ascoltanti insegnata non è scienza di verita, ma opinione, & di vero similitudine, simelemente la quiete de sentimenti, che ne gli animi humani suol generare la oratione non è virtù, ma dipintura della, virtù." Speroni, *Dialoghi,* 126r.

summarising his arguments on the topic declares that "I can only conclude that epideictic rhetoric must be the chief among them [the branches], for its end is what is honourable, its subject matter is virtue, and its function is to delight the mind and admonish to do good."[33] As a supplement to this claim, he adds that although deliberative and judicial rhetoric might be more necessary for humankind, the greater art is always born where there is less necessity, and those things that appear last are the first when judged in terms of perfection, thus making the epideictic the most noble of all.

The final section of the dialogue is dedicated to a defence against those who call rhetoric not a civic virtue, but 'perverse adulation'. Brocardo speaks again and draws attention to the fact that rhetoric takes human activities as its subject, thus making it an essential part of civic life and therefore, he claims, it should be part of the state's practices. Regarding the morally questionable components of persuasion he recaps the stance that the semblance involved in the act is delightful, as indeed, what the orator says is "not believed or known so much as it persuades us".[34]

In comparison to Speroni, Francesco Patrizi expresses a radically opposing view in his 1562 *Della retorica dieci dialoghi.* In this essentially Neoplatonic series of dialogues – usually written as 'catechisms', where Patrizi himself in the role of Socrates questions various people – we find fierce criticism of rhetoric, especially regarding its presumed universality and the perception that it appeals more to the prudent than the masses. In the seventh book, which I will be drawing on here, Patrizi speaks to the humanist Florio Maresio about the qualities of the orator.

After a short historical overview on oratory in Ancient Greece and Rome, the dialogue quickly turns to the first critical point, as Patrizi begins to enquire about the orator's relationship to truth. He establishes that when giving a speech the orator only provides semblances of the truth, and since in Patrizi's view there is only one truth, the person who can argue for multiple possibilities either does not know what the truth is or seeks to deceive others. This being a conscious deception makes the orator an evil man. To counter this, Maresio questions whether it is acceptable if "one person deceives another for

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[33] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates*, 121. "...con diligenza considerando, nó posso altro, che credere, che la causa dimostrativa sia infra tutta la principale; il cui fine è honestà; la cui ma teria è vertù, & il cui ufficio è il dilettar l'intelletto, & di ben fare ammonirlo." Speroni, *Dialoghi*, 130v.

[34] Rebhorn, Renaissance Debates, 127. "...non credute, non sapute ma persuase…" Speroni, *Dialoghi*, 144v.

the good of the person deceived."[35] Patrizi accepts this proposition, but immediately reverses the argument and points out that in reality the orator would rather act in his own self-interest. Patrizi applies this stance to judicial rhetoric, where the orator would often aim to deceive the judge (who, if he himself becomes deceived, displays his own ignorance), and highlights that even if it appears that the orator persuades his listeners in the service of someone else, he is deceiving to serve his own benefit. Patrizi concludes that "the orator always strives for victory, he does not care for justice or duty."[36] Maresio points out that the orator sometimes defends a good cause, therefore he is between good and evil. Patrizi seems to acknowledge this, but he draws our attention to the fact that only good men can be valued, and the orator is to be feared due to his power over others, being in reality a liar and conman. We arrive here at a remarkable point in the dialogue, as Maresio warns Patrizi that "in a marvellous manner you have made us reach the worst conclusion thanks to all your clever subtleties."[37] Patrizi apologises and points out that indeed he has been harsh, and that he should not generalise, as the fact that one might be ignorant in one subject does not make one ignorant in all other subjects. In this vein, the two interlocutors attempt to develop more precision by separating deliberative rhetoric from judicial. Regarding this particular branch of rhetoric, Patrizi argues that if a tyrant rules, he has no need for orators, as he knows by himself how to be bad, and in the case of the philosopher king being in power, he knows by himself how to be prudent. As a short digression from the forms of government, Patrizi interjects with a remark about how perhaps the name 'orator' cannot be universally applied to all branches of rhetoric, as one who knows how to deliver judicial speeches, has no understanding of deliberative discussions. As a response Maresio emphasises that this defect is not the fault of the art of oratory, but of the orator himself. Patrizi urges Maresio to move the discussion back to questions about systems of government. He then expresses his enthusiasm for republics, where 'doctors' interpret the written law, and govern the multitude. There is yet again no need for orators here, as all

[35] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates*, 186. "Ma è puo poi essere, ch'altri inganni altrui, per bene dell ingannato." Francesco Patrizi, *Della retorica* (Venice: Francesco Senese, 1562), 38v.

[36] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates*, 188. "...che l'oratore sempre, da quel capo la stuzzichera, che egli conoscera, o credera valere per la sua vittoria." Patrizi, *Della retorica,* 39r.

[37] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates,* 192. "Non puo certamente. Et l'havete voi, o Patritio, in maravigliosa maniera fatto pessimamente arrivare con le vostre argutie." Patrizi, *Della retorica,* 40r.

they would do is exercise power over the multitude whose minds are ignorant and controlled by emotions.

The dialogue closes with Patrizi and Maresio enacting a myth, which is supposed to demonstrate the unfortunate, but unceasing, success of orators. The myth tells the story of Fame, the daughter of Words, who tells Jupiter about the plot the Titans are planning against him. As a reward Jupiter gives Fame the ability of omnipresence, the power of confusing truth and falsehood, and the aptitude of rewarding orators, kin of Words, with fame and immortality. However, before the story is presented, the author-Patrizi gives some remarkable words to Maresio to flatter the dialogue-Patrizi: "you understand rhetoric in a way that is very different from that of all other people who pursue eloquence, the number of whom is infinite nowadays – although for all that, there's still no one who's a complete orator."[38] Maresio does not settle with pointing out the uniqueness of Patrizi, but also adds how he has been persuaded by him: "Quite a grand new interpretation, Patrizi, and one with such an appearance of truth it cannot help but be believed – and as far as I am concerned, I am disposed to do so."[39] The reader cannot help but wonder, did the author-Patrizi actually manage to escape wielding the power of persuasion and provide the truth, rather than just the semblance of it?

2.5 Shifting virtues

After the previous observations on the inner mechanics of the court, we now take a step back, and examine how the ethical dilemmas of rhetoric just discussed correspond with the broader tendencies of moral philosophy throughout the sixteenth century.

The system of cardinal virtues (*prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude*) formed a pivotal part of the ethical discourse of the time. Its origins can be traced back to the Antiquity and its presence is distinctly palpable throughout the Middle-Ages, when the

[38] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates,* 201-202. "Voi intendeste, o Patritio queste oratorie cose, per altra molto diversavia, da quello, di tutti gli altri huomini; che studiano all'eloquenza, i quali sono hoggidi infiniti, & con tutto cio, non vi ha veruno, che compiuto oratore sia." Patrizi, *Della retorica,* 42v.

[39] Rebhorn, *Renaissance Debates,* 202. "Grande & nuovo divisamento è stato il vostro o Patritio, & tanto ha faccia di vero, che egli non si puo, non credere, & per me sono io disposto a farlo." Patrizi, *Della retorica,* 42v.-43r.

Christian morality considered the practice of cardinal virtues, complemented by theological virtues (*faith, hope, charity*), as the path for returning to God.[40] When analysing sixteenth-century Italian courtesy books it becomes clear that Aristotelian ethical norms were being re-interpreted and began to appear in a new light. The treatment of the hierarchy of the cardinal virtues became pluralistic, and their examination received a versatile and more individualistic understanding. As Éva Vígh suggests, this indicated that rather than recognising universal ethical codes, we have to consider multiple ethical stances, which mirror the diverse social (courtly) behavioural attitudes of the time.[41]

Sixteenth-century intellectuals who engaged with the subject developed new insights about the original four virtues, and it can be observed that simultaneously novel ethical concepts emerged in their writing, which were elevated to an equal level with the traditional ones. When discussing *fortitude,* a large number of thinkers from the time showed an increasing interest in its negative counterparts, and they included reflections in their discussion on questions surrounding weakness and cowardice. Machiavelli, in his *Il Principe* from 1513/32, encouraged the princes of the Italian peninsula to revive *fortitude* in its classical sense;[42] however, due to the turbulent political circumstances of the principalities, the virtue of *fortitude* developed a close association with persistence, and as the age of Counter-Reformation began, it gradually transformed to represent patience. By the mid-seventeenth century, as the reinterpretation of traditional moral values continued, we find that, for example, in Accetto's *Della dissimulazione onesta* even the semblance of weakness can sometimes appear to mean *fortitude*.

The position of *justice* within the system of cardinal virtues remained essential; however, the questions of how to be 'just' and with what means to reach this state, increasingly became the focal points of the discussion surrounding this ethical value. The complex nature of judging the right measure when *justice* was under consideration had already been underlined by Aristotle, and the sixteenth century expanded the complexity

[40] In particular Cicero's *De officiis* ought to be mentioned as a key foundational source for the system of the cardinal virtues. For a concise discussion on this 'Ciceronian connection' in the era concerned see Scaglione, *Knights at Court,* 52-55. For a brief overview on virtues in medieval ethics see Thomas M. Osborne, Jr., "Virtue," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Ethics*, ed. Thomas Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 150-171.

[41] Cf. Vígh, *Éthos és Kratos között,* 108.

[42] Cf. Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe* (Turin: Einaudi, 1961), 96-99.

of this balancing act even further.[43] We find a clear trace of this when comparing the 'Prince's' expected attitude towards *justice* in Machiavelli's *Il Principe* to several later interpretations from the early seventeenth century.[44] Throughout this evolution the new ethical concepts of *devotion*, *truthfulness*, and *piety* began to supplement *justice*, and its connection with etiquette emerged – particularly in the sense of *giusto*, meaning appropriate or suitable behaviour.[45]

In courtly society, the virtue of *temperance* was embodied in the art of personal detachment or self-restraint, with the aim of representing (the semblance of) a measured life. *Temperance*, in this sense, became a method and possibility for determining the Aristotelian concept of golden mean, or *giusto mezzo*.[46] Therefore, it was considered not just as an individual virtue, but it evolved into a premise of practising other cardinal virtues, clearly highlighting the strengthening bond between ethics and etiquette. As I will highlight

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[43] Cf. Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. David Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), V:XI, 80-101.

[44] Cf. Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, 82-85.

[45] Torquato Tasso's *Il Beltramo, overo de la cortesia* (1586) provides a particularly good example of the intertwining of ethics and etiquettes. In the following exchange between Forestiero Napoletano and Beltramo we find a particularly intriguing discussion on the connection between courtesy and *justice*: "F. N. Tell me, *signor* abbot, does only unjust courtesy count [as violence], or in some ways courteous injustice too? A. B. Without doubt I believe – and I have heard *signor* Luigi Gradenico, who is very highly esteemed within those who philosophise, to speak about this in Venice – that courtesy is a type or part of injustice, which differs greatly from [the courtesy of] those whom we usually describe as unjust: namely, the unjust [person] takes always more to himself and cedes less for others. But the courteous [person] takes the less to himself and cedes the more to others. Thus, to take more or to take less to ourselves are types of injustice, and between these two sides takes place *justice*, which takes neither more nor less but in equal measure to itself: therefore, we might say that courtesy is a generous injustice." / "F. N. Diteci, signor abbate: è la cortesia ingiusta o l'ingiustizia cortese in modo alcuno? A. B. Io stimo senza fallo, e l'udi' già dire in Vinegia dal signor Luigi Gradenico, assai lodato tra' filosofanti, che una specie o parte d'ingiustizia sia la cortesia, assai diversa da quella di coloro che sono communemente chiamati ingiusti: percioché l'ingiusto prende sempre il più e a gli altri dà il meno; ma il cortese prende il meno per sé e dà a gli altri il più; e il prendere il più e il meno sono specie d'ingiustizia, e fra l'una e l'altra sta la giustizia, la qual non prende il più né 'l meno, ma l'eguale: sì ch'egli diceva che la cortesia è una ingiustizia generosa." Torquato Tasso, *Il Beltramo, overo de la cortesia* (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana, 2003), http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000576.

[46] Here, Tasso's *Il Malpiglio* gives a useful explanation on how to approach the golden mean: "F. N. Well now, do you believe that any mean can be excessive? G. M. I see what you are driving at. If something is excessive, it is neither a mean nor a virtue." Tasso, *Tasso's Dialogues,* 36-37. "F. N. Or credete voi ch'alcuna mediocrità sia mai soverchia? G. M. Veggio quel che volete conchiudere, che, s'ella è soverchia, non è mediocrità né virtù." Tasso, *Il Malpiglio,* http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000594.

later on, this notion of a consciously controlled (self-restrained) inner condition would lead to further new virtues, strongly connected with the dichotomy of semblance and substance.

In the case of *prudence*, a key factor to emphasise is the notion itself dividing into two. The conflict between the theoretical ideals (philosophical knowledge or universal truth) and practical connotations (foresight or caution) of *prudence* has been present since Antiquity, but it was sixteenth-century culture which pointed to this difference on an increasingly sharper level. The practical side obtained growing relevance, and as Mario Santoro points out, it carried with itself the practice of *versatilitas* in a social context, where the courtier is expected to be able to react to every situation with acumen and flexible agility.[47] *Prudence*, in this sense, therefore carries within itself both the aim to be achieved and the means by which it is achieved. Furthermore, as Vígh emphasises, in the vein of the highlighted duality of theory and practice, by the end of the sixteenth century the notions of moral character and habit appear as two separate ideas when *prudence* is being discussed.[48] As an additional significant change, Jeremy Robbins notes that as we embark on the seventeenth century, the discourse surrounding *prudence* increasingly shifts from the motive of self-preservation to the notion of self-interest.[49]

Numerous treatises of the sixteenth century suggest that *prudence* remained the most dominant of the cardinal virtues; however, particularly from the second half of the century, it also emerges from the relevant discourse that the sole possession of it no longer sufficed for an effective navigation through the changing social landscape of the time. The newly developing, supplementary ethical categories and behavioural attitudes appear in a broad variety, yet it is the interrelating notions of *simulation* and *dissimulation* which mirror the occurring ideological shifts in the most distinct way. Their development spans from Machiavelli to their peak over a century later with Accetto – and, as I will demonstrate, by then they not only represented a new cardinal virtue, but also stood for novel aesthetic mentalities.

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[47] Cf. Mario Santoro, *Fortuna, ragione e prudenza nella civiltà letteraria del Cinquecento* (Naples: Liguori, 1967), 53.

[48] Cf. Vígh, *Éthos és Kratos között*, 110.

[49] Jeremy Robbins, *Arts of Perception: The Epistemological Mentality of the Spanish Baroque, 1580-1720* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 99.

2.6 Simulation and dissimulation in key dialogues and treatises

The two sides of this social phenomenon, *simulation* and *dissimulation*, whilst being intertwined and bound to the art of pretence, nonetheless represent opposing norms. On the one hand, aided by *dissimulation* one hides thoughts and attributes, whilst on the other, *simulation* enables the expression of thoughts and attributes that one does not possess.[50]

For Machiavelli *simulation* and *dissimulation* were key characteristics of the 'Prince', and he indicated the cultivation of them in a rather crude manner:

> But one must know how to colour one's actions and to be a great simulator [*simulatore*] and dissimulator [*dissimulatore*]. Men are so simple, and so much creatures of circumstance, that the deceiver will always find someone ready to be deceived.[51]

When discussing *prudence*, Castiglione in his *Cortegiano* emphasises the importance of *discretion* by drawing our attention to the fact that the courtier always has to be ready to exercise tact by judging the place, time, and person with whom he interacts.[52] In this sense, *discretion* becomes a variant of *prudence* and suggests the behavioural trope of *adaptability* as the key attribute of the courtier in everyday social interaction.[53] Here we can perceive the appearance of Castiglione's universal rule (*regula universalissima*), the notion of *sprezzatura*.

When creating this neologism – based on the Latin *expretiare* (*ex+pretium*), originally meaning 'despise' or 'neglect' – Castiglione's main intention was to introduce a

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[50] Cf. "Simulo et dissimulo ita differunt: simulamus enim esse ea quae non sunt, dissimulamus ea non esse quae sunt." *Novissima Polyanthea* (Venice: Guerigli, 1616), 1224.

[51] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin, 2003), 57, with slight alterations to the translation by myself. "Ma è necessario questa natura saperla bene colorire, et essere gran simulatore e dissimulatore: e sono tanto semplici li uomini, e tanto obediscano alle necessità presenti, che colui che inganna troverra sempre chi si lascerà ingannare." Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, 65.

[52] Cf. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, II:VII, 115-116.

[53] Jon R. Snyder's *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), 209n19 points out: "the term *dissimulazione* appears (in some) form a total of nineteen times [in *Il Cortegiano*], but only a handful of them are truly significant. By comparison, both 'prudence' (fifty-four times) and 'secrecy' (thirty-three times) appear with considerably greater frequency."

behavioural pattern for imitating the God-given metaphysical gift of *grazia*. The most comprehensive description of *sprezzatura* comes from one of the *Cortegiano's* main conversationalists, Count Ludovico:

> However, having already thought a great deal about how this grace [*grazia*] is acquired, and leaving aside those who are endowed with it by their stars, I have discovered a universal rule [*regula universalissima*] which seems to apply more than any other in all human actions or words: namely, to steer away from affectation [*affettazione*] at all costs, as if it were a rough and dangerous reef, and (to use perhaps a novel word for it) to practise in all things a certain nonchalance [*sprezzatura*] which conceals all artistry and makes whatever one says or does seem uncontrived and effortless. I am sure that grace [*grazia*] springs especially from this, since everyone knows how difficult it is to accomplish some unusual feat perfectly, and so facility in such things excites the greatest wonder; whereas, in contrast, to labour at what one is doing and, as we say, to make bones over it, shows an extreme lack of grace [*disgrazia*] and causes everything, whatever its worth, to be discounted. So we can truthfully say that true art is what does not seem to be art; and the most important thing is to conceal it, because if it is revealed this discredits a man completely and ruins his reputation. I remember once having read of certain outstanding orators of the ancient world who, among the other things they did, tried hard to make everyone believe that they were ignorant of letters; and, dissembling [*dissimulando*] their knowledge, they made their speeches appear to have been composed very simply and according to the promptings of Nature and truth rather than effort and artifice. For if the people had known of their skills, they would have been frightened of being deceived.[54]

[54] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* I:XXVI, 67. "Ma avendo io già piú volte pensato meco onde nasca questa grazia, lasciando quelli che dalle stelle l'hanno, trovo una regula universalissima, la qual mi par valer circa questo in tute le cose umane che si facciano o dicano piú che alcuna altra, e ciò è fuggir quanto piú si po, e come un asperissimo e pericoloso scoglio, la affettazione; e, per dir forse una nova parola, usar in ogni cosa una certa sprezzatura, che nasconda l'arte e dimostri ciò che si fa e dice venur fatto senza fatica e quasi senza pensarvi. Da questo credo io che derivi assai la grazia; perché delle cose rare e ben fatte ognun sa la difficultà, onde in esse la facilità genera grandissima maraviglia; e per lo contrario il sforzare e, come si dice, tirar per i capegli dà somma disgrazia e fa estimar poco ogni cosa, per grande ch'ella si sia. Però si po dir quella esser vera arte che non pare esser arte; né piú altro si ha da poner studio, che nel nasconderla: perche se è scoperta, leva in tutto il credito e fa l'omo poco estimato. E ricordomi io già aver letto esser stati alcuni antichi oratori eccelentissimi, i quali tra le altre loro industrie sforzavansi di far credere ad ognuno sé non aver notizia alcuna di lettere; e dissimulando il sapere mostravan le loro orazioni esser fatte simplicissimamente, e piú tosto secondo che loro porgea la natura e verità, che'l studio e l'arte; la qual se fosse stata conosciuta, aria dato dubbio negli animi del populo di non dover esser da quella ingannati." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano,* I:XXVI, 44-45.

In other words, sprezzatura is also a result of *dissimulation* and *simulation*: the effort has to stay hidden while striving to express *grazia*. As such, it becomes a behavioural skill which can be achieved by the diligent *observation* of the 'natural', and as Jon R. Snyder suggests, "[*sprezzatura*] is expressly designed to uncouple representation from intention."[55]

At the same time *sprezzatura* stands for the utmost rhetorical tool of conviction, showing an artful perfection whilst avoiding artificial affectation. As Castiglione suggests, the measure for finding the golden mean between these two is *good judgement*. Just like the Machiavellian virtues of the 'Prince', *sprezzatura* is built on semblance; the only difference is that Castiglione hides to an extent Machiavelli's crude presentation of the substance. Seeing Castiglione's universal rule in the light of *dissimulation,* he tacitly approves the art of pretence, and turns it into the 'constant' in surroundings where the premise of all other existing principles is 'change'. The fact that throughout almost the entire *Cortegiano* this artful pretence appears in a convincingly positive light, without particular ethical or moral connotations, makes the treatise, "a Neoplatonic *exemplum* of an aesthetic legitimation of the moral" where for Castiglione's courtiers "the ethic of social life takes its point of departures in aesthetics – that is to say, the values of the beautiful are the basis of the values of the good."[56]

Opposing Castiglione's mentality, *simulation* and *dissimulation* feature on several occasions in dialogues against the court as negative attributes, and they are associated with dishonesty or falsehood. For one key example, in Domenichi's *Dialogo della corte,* one of the interlocutors, Sardo, observes that courtiers of the time have to do everything according to the will of others, they have to constantly simulate and dissimulate, they are never allowed to say anything according to their own will, and they have to adapt their nature to others while hiding and pretending certain habits by putting aside their probity.[57] Ironically, however opposed Domenichi's Sardo is to the idea of *simulation/dissimulation,* he adds a few pages later that he wishes he could and would have pretended more, as this way he

[55] Snyder, *Dissimulation,* 75.

[56] Giorgio Patrizi, "Il 'Libro del Cortegiano' e la trattatistica sul comportamento," in *Letteratura Italiana* 3/2, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 856. Quoted after Snyder, *Dissimulation,* 76.

[57] Cf. Domenichi, *Dialoghi,* 275-276.

would have had a more fortunate life.[58] Similarly to Domenichi's *Dialogo della corte*, in Giraldi Cinzio's writing the notion of *simulation* is reprehensible, but regarding *dissimulation* we find a disagreement, as he describes this as something to strive for. Giraldi Cinzio talks about a "certain gentle *dissimulation*" which can serve as the key to acceptance in courtly life.[59]

For Giovanni Andrea Gilio *simulation* compares to *adulation* and it is therefore unacceptable:

> Oh, wrecking, masked *adulation*, enemy of God, of truth, and of good principles. Companion of lies, friend of flattery, daughter of the Devil, mistress of the courts, hostelry of the fickle, possessor of futile things, servant of fear, guide of the depraved. Veil of false hearts, coloured deception, insatiable desire, mystification of reason, corruption of the intellect, cause of every vice, sentinel of every evil.[60]

In the overwhelming majority of the relevant literature of the time, *adulation* appears as a severe ethical misconduct, and therefore its relationship with *simulation* spawned a fairly broad discussion among the writers of courtly manuals. For example, Guazzo, in his *La civil conversazione*, sees a clear difference between the two and points out that whoever adulates simulates, but not everyone who simulates adulates.[61] In Sabba da Castiglione's *Ricordi* we find similar arguments, and in addition he introduces the symbol of the 'chameleon' as a positive analogy by pointing out that a prudent man shall resemble one, and just like the colourful morphing of the chameleon, he has to assimilate

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[58] Cf. Domenichi, *Dialoghi*, 287-288.

[59] "... una certa gentile dissimulatione..." Cf. Giraldi Cinzio, *Discorso*, 37v.

[60] "O adulation pessima, adulation mascherata, adulatione nemica di Dio, contraria à la verità, & a' buoni costume, compagna de le bugie, amica de le lusinghe, figliuola del Diavolo, signora de le corti, albergo de gli animi vili, posseditrice di cose vane, serva del timore, guida de malvagi. Velo di cuori doppi, colorata fintione, dessiderio insatiabile, offuscamento di ragione, prevertimento d'intelletto, cagione d'ogni vitio, sentina d'ogni male." Gilio, *Due dialoghi*, 61v. Translated by Elisabetta Toreno; slight alterations by myself.

[61] Cf. "Io vi faccio quella differenza che è tra 'l genere e la spezie, perché gli è vero che chi adula simula, ma non chiunque simula adula." His broader discussion on the matter follows after this short excerpt. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

to the conditions of his surroundings.[62] In other words, if *simulation* is governed by *prudence*, it is fully acceptable.

For most of the sixteenth century the ambiguous attitude towards *simulation* and *dissimulation* remained largely present. However, towards the final decades of the Cinquecento much of the negative indications began to fade, and only *adulation* persisted as an ethical impropriety. Pio Rossi gives a characteristically witty and intricate summary of the spirit of the era:

> The more deceptive duplicity is, the simpler it appears. The age of Janus is reborn, because the greater part of the good men of this century shows itself as Janus. But [it does so] because of duplicity, not of *prudence*. Or notwithstanding *prudence*, since nowadays *prudence* is founded on duplicity.[63]

Sharing this mentality is perhaps what prompted Accetto to construct his short yet remarkably intriguing and significant treatise, *Della dissimulazione onesta*. The title of the work is already revealing as it points to the idea that *dissimulation* could be paired with *honesty* at the time of the publication. In the preface Accetto draws attention to the seemingly somewhat paradoxical nature of his writing, and he emphasises that in order to be able to present an 'authentic' guide to *dissimulation* he himself had to dissimulate certain aspects.[64] Throughout the concise treatise Accetto continues to present his views in a densely suggestive language, filled with hidden allegories. In other words, not only the content itself focuses on *dissimulation*, but the form and style also complement the subject matter – implying a reader with the ability for intertextual understanding. Accetto remains slightly sceptical concerning *simulation*; however, in a revealing metaphor he paints a social picture where it is a 'natural' part of human actions. Yet again, we can sense here the presence of *chiaroscuro*, representing the (ethical) acceptance of the ever-changing game of *simulation* and *dissimulation*:

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[62] Cf. Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi* (Venice: Paolo Gherardo, 1554), 34.

[63] "La Doppiezza tanto più è doppia, quanto più semplice si dimostra. L'età di Giano rinasce, poiche buona parte degli huomini di questo secolo si mostrano Giano; ma per doppiezza, non per prudenza. Anzi anchor per prudenza, poiche oggidì la prudenza consiste nella doppiezza." Pio Rossi, *Convito morale per gli etici, economici, e politici, portata seconda* (Venice: Guerigli, 1657), 128.

[64] "…perché lo scriver della dissimulazione ha ricercato ch'io dissimulassi…" Accetto, *Della dissimulazione onesta*, 8.

> … and since nature has wanted that in the order of the universe there shall be day and night, it thus suits that in the cycle of human deeds there shall be light and shadow: I speak of the progression, manifest and hidden, according to the course of reason, which is the rule of life and its occurrences.[65]

Accetto, aided by Tasso's words, goes further still and also attaches an aesthetic level to the notion:

> Even if one considers all that nature creates in this world, besides what happens to mankind, one knows that beauty is but subtle *dissimulation*. I speak of the beauty of the objects that are subjected to changes, and among these are the flowers, and among the flowers is their queen. And one will find that the rose appears beautiful, because at first it hides its ephemerality. And, with an almost plain surface in vermillion, it commands the gaze in a manner that persuades that she is immortal red. But not for long, as Torquato Tasso said: she does not appear that she was once desired / by a thousand maidens and a thousand lovers; because her *dissimulation* cannot last. And much can be said of a face of roses, before all that shines on earth and among the most beautiful ranks of Love; and although mortal beauty is spoken of as an otherworldly quality, when one considers the reality, it is but a cadaver dissimulated by the magnanimity of age, which is still to be deemed upon discovering those parts and those colours that will succumb to the might of time and death. A degree of *dissimulation* from nature is thus beneficial, as long as it is contained within those elements, for what it is the truest the way of saying, which asserts that not everything that glitters is gold. But what glitters in the Heaven is always in true conformity with itself, because there all is beautiful inside and out.[66]

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[65] "…e come la natura ha volute che nell'ordine dell'universo sia il giorno e la notte, cosí convien che nel giro delle opere umane sia la luce e l'ombra, dico il proceder manifesto e nascoto, conforme al corso della raggione, ch'è regola della vita e degli accident che in quella occorrono." Accetto, *Della dissimulazione onesta,* 16-17.

[66] "Dico il bello de' corpi che stanno soggetti alla mutazione, e veggansi tra questi i fiori, e tra' fiori la lor reina; e si troverà che la rosa par bella, perché a prima vista dissimula di esser cosa tanto caduca, e quasi con una semplice superficie di vermiglio, fa restar gli occhi in un certo modo persuasi ch'ella sia porpora immortale; ma in breve, come disse Torquato Tasso: quella non par che disiata avanti / fu da mille donzelle e mille amanti; perché la dissimulazione in lei non può durare. E tanto si può dir di un volto di rose, anzi di quanto per la terra riluce tra le piú belle schiere d'Amore; e benché della bellezza mortale sia solito dirsi di non parer cosa terrena, quando poi si considera il vero, già non è altro che un cadavero dissimulato dal favor dell'età, che ancor si sostiene nel riscontro di quelle parti e di que' colori che han da dividersi e cedere alla forza del tempo e della morte. Giova dunque una certa dissimulazion della natura, per quanto si contiene tra lo spazio degli elementi, dov'è molto vera quella proposizione che afferma di non esser tutt'oro quello che luce; ma ciò che luce nel Cielo ben corrisponde sempre, perché ivi tutte le cose son belle dentro e fuori." Accetto, *Della dissimulazione onesta,* 27-28. Accetto

2.7 The continuous conversational performer

In an elegant and incisive manner, Lorenzetti describes the Castiglionian nobleman as a "new-style orator who has replaced the forum with the court … [and whose] actions are designed for continuous and pervasive persuasion". Furthermore, he emphasises that "every aspect of [the new-style orator's] education fits into a rhetorical context that underlies its implicit finality, within 'general rhetorics', in which all arts participate with a substantially analogous function."[67] Andrew Dell'Antonio, following this train of thought, develops and adapts Lorenzetti's notion to the early seventeenth century, and suggests that "what distinguishes the connoisseur of the 1630s from his Castiglionian 'grandfather' is the idea that while the arts are interdependent, they become unique in that each demands a varied set of 'critical competencies'."[68] Indeed, in terms of the changing nature of nobility, and in particular regarding its approach towards 'external subjects' (including various artistic disciplines), and the ongoing tendency of an increasing division between professional and amateur identities, Lorenzetti's 'new-style orator' and Dell'Antonio's 'connoisseur' are astute and accurate metaphors for noble mentalities. However, taking into consideration the previously described 'expansion of the conversation', the behavioural tropes and their ethical connotations, and the theatrical-rhetorical nature of the courtly milieu, I propose a slightly different approach, and an alternative terminology that may enhance our understanding of the nature of cultivated courtly participants, particularly of those who operated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The first component of this concept that needs to be considered is the 'performance-like' character of courtly life. By this notion I refer to everyday interaction seen as performance, or as Erving Goffman puts it, "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers".[69]

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quotes Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata,* XVI:14:78. Translated by Elisabetta Toreno; slight alterations by myself.

[67] Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità,* 116. Quoted after Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice,* 8-9.

[68] Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice,* 9.

[69] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin 1990), 32. Goffman in this section (28-82) argues of course on a broader sociological level, and he does not directly refer to courtly life; however, his treatment of self-presentation and performance is particularly well adaptable to early modern social codes and interaction. In terms of the notion 'as performance' see Richard

This tendency has been discussed fairly broadly by multiple historians, and the work of Wayne A. Rebhorn proves to be particularly helpful in this instance.[70] Rebhorn, when referring to Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, highlights that there are multiple occasions in the book where participants of the dialogue use specific theatre metaphors, a notable example being when Count Ludovico describes agile and graceful self-presentation whilst vaulting on horseback as a finer show (*spettaculo*) than any other. As a conclusion to these observations, Rebhorn proposes that Castiglione's ideal courtier is essentially a "performer who produces beautiful spectacles continually for an appreciative audience".[71] The composed consciousness of this continuous play is particularly noteworthy and suggests that in some ways the courtier is always onstage. Furthermore, it is important to recognise the idea that the audience which Rebhorn refers to is in fact a gathering of other courtiers, who therefore, if we take into account the ever-present nature of being in character, are also in constant performance, whilst simultaneously receiving and judging the ongoing acts of others.[72] Through the multiplying production and broadening reception of the courtesy books, which essentially provide a script for these performances, a sense of widening theatricality is noticeable as well. However, the 'everyday performer' of the latter part of the sixteenth century and his social performances are not only encouraged by the 'Castiglionian beautiful', but also influenced by the shifting virtue ethical system, and the increasing importance of *simulation* and *dissimulation*.

The second key factor in theorising the late sixteenth-century courtly 'performer' that I would like to draw our attention to is the notion of *conversation*.[73] To paraphrase Giraldi Cinzio's remark from his 1569 *Discorso*, *conversation* is not simply a verbal exchange, but an essential platform that can function as the connecting dialogue between

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Schechner, *Performance Theory* (London: Routledge, 1988), 290-332; and Victor Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York, NY: PAJ Publications, 1980), 72-98.

[70] Cf. Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances*. See also Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, esp. 162-163; Whigham, "Interpretation at Court," 623-639; Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance*, 129-142; David M. Posner, *The Performance of Nobility in Early Modern European Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), esp. 1-21.

[71] Cf. Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances*, 23-51, esp. 23.

[72] Cf. Whigham, "Interpretation at Court," 633-634.

[73] For a general overview on the notion of conversation in early modern Europe see Peter Burke's *The Art of Conversation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), esp. 89-122.

cultural and political discussions.[74] In a similar vein, Guazzo (via Annibale) identifies this notion as the culmination of all courtly skills.[75] He discusses how it depends on the *good judgement* and *adaptability* of the involved parties and notes that taking part in civil *conversation* is an honest, laudable, and virtuous kind of living in the world.[76] Furthermore, he emphasises that it is within the notion of *conversation* that knowledge manifests itself, rather than in solitary endeavours. He likens this method of thinking to music, where he states that "it is not possible to appraise the music that one cannot hear."[77] Guazzo's Annibale eloquently elaborates further on the crucial importance of active interaction and points out:

> And you see that we use this instrument [i.e. speech] to teach, to ask, to deliberate, to negotiate, to advise, to give counsel, to correct, to debate, to judge, and to express the affection of our soul, through which means men come to love each other and be together. And I conclude, at last, that one cannot obtain knowledge, unless imparted by others. So here it is, *signor cavaliere*, conversation is not only beneficial, but also necessary for the perfection of man, who must confess that he is similar to a bee that cannot live alone.[78]

A disputation-driven communication as a method of enquiry also makes an important part of the complex construction of *conversation*:

> But above all, they have the power of awakening the intellects towards those virtuous contests that are born among the learned men, who learn from debating. And, what

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[74] Cf. Giraldi Cinzio, *Discorso*, 40-43.

[75] For an insightful and concise discussion on the centrality of *conversation* in Guazzo's thought see Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, 257-262.

[76] Cf. "...e insomma che la conversazione civile sia onesta, lodevole e virtuosa." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

[77] "E sì come non si stima la musica che non s'ode..." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

[78] "E voi vedete che di questo istromento ci serviamo in insegnare, in dimandare, in conferire, in negoziare, in consigliare, in correggere, in disputare, in giudicare e in isprimere l'affetto dell'animo nostro, co' quali mezi vengono gli uomini ad amarsi e a congiungersi fra loro. E conchiudo, alla fine, che non si può ricevere alcuna scienza se non ci è insegnata da altrui. Eccovi adunque, signor Cavaliere, che la conversazione è non solamente giovevole ma necessaria alla perfezzione dell'uomo, il quale bisogna confessare che sia simile ad un'ape che non può viver sola." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

> they learn thus, they then know better and explain better, and they retain more tenaciously in their memory. And, as they compete with each other in trying to prevail with reason, they come to the full knowledge of things: and for this reason it is said that a disputation is the accurate examination of the truth.[79]

The subject that is recommended to become well-versed in, in order to succeed in the described disputation, is evidently rhetoric and its persuasive powers. In the second book of *La civil conversazione*, Annibale points out that he is not an educated rhetorician, yet he immediately goes on to provide an in-depth insight into the art of eloquence and how oratory pervades the citizen's everyday life. As part of his arguments, moral considerations appear that are similar to those we have seen earlier in the works of Speroni and Patrizi. Annibale shows a certain amount of scepticism towards selfish and ill-willed manipulation, but ultimately sides with the subject's beneficial nature, and even underlines delivery (*pronuntiatio*) as an exceptionally important element of rhetoric.[80]

As an amalgamation of the above aspects, it can be argued that the late sixteenth-century courtly participant may be described in a metaphorical sense as a *continuous conversational performer* (henceforth CCP). As opposed to Lorenzetti's 'new-style orator' and Dell'Antonio's 'connoisseur', the CCP is not automatically a refined nobleman, but he can equally be a cultivated non-noble individual who operates in the behavioural matrix of the courtly elite. He interacts in continuous and rhetorically driven *conversation*, in which his successful performances, guided by his *good judgement* in terms of the five cardinal virtues, are based on *observation* and *adaptability*, and are delivered with *persuasiveness* and *ease* on the level of both words and gestures. (For a diagram of the behavioural matrix of the CCP see Figure 2-1.)

The CCP model is founded on the proposition that the highly stylised public self-presentation and interaction of courtly elites can be interpreted and understood as a series

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[79] "Ma sopra tutte l'altre cose hanno forza di risvegliar gli intelletti quelle virtuose contese che nascono fra letterati, i quali disputando imparano, e quel che in tal modo imparano lo sanno meglio e meglio l'espongono e più tenacemente lo fermano nella memoria, e mentre cercano a prova l'un l'altro di prevaler con ragioni, si viene al perfetto conoscimento delle cose: e perciò si suol dire che la disputa è il cribro della verità." Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, I, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235. Translated by Elisabetta Toreno; slight alterations by myself.

[80] Cf. Guazzo, *La civil conversazione*, II, http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000235.

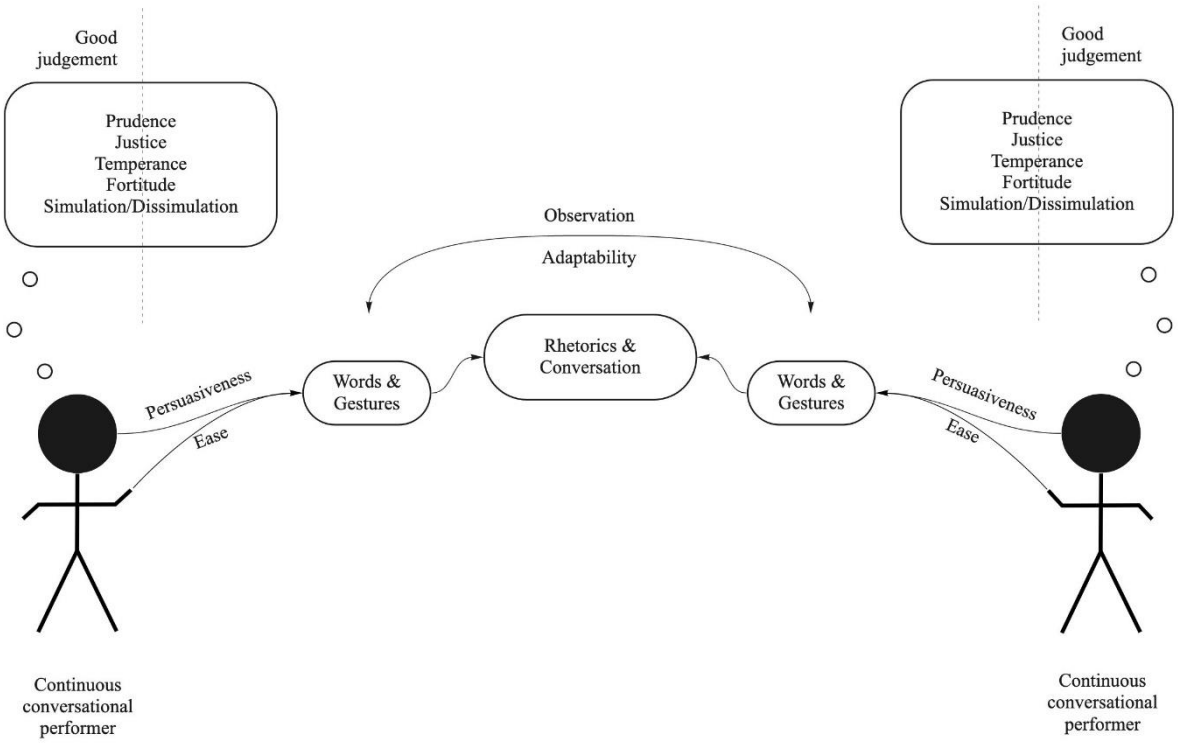

Figure 2-1. The *continuous conversational performer's* (CCP) behavioural matrix

of performances. This aspect pertains as a core axiom for several of the observations I put forward in my forthcoming musical reflections; however, what I am equally interested in within my investigations is to what extent musical stage performances of the era concerned mirror or allude to 'everyday behaviour'.

As I have presented in my previous arguments, my central stance is that the behavioural matrix of the CCP can be applicable to a wider social spectrum than that of the realm of the nobility, albeit it is worth addressing to what degree my theoretical model can be connected to the amateur musical performances of cultivated nobles of the time. To explore this matter, I offer a discussion in Chapter 4 of the thesis that takes us to the court of Ferrara in the last third of the sixteenth century.[81] Here, the focus of my reflections are various issues relating to the *concerto delle dame*, the famed ensemble of Alfonso II d'Este's lavish courtly musical establishment. Within this context, I not only test the CCP's behavioural matrix as a model for musical performance, but I also reflect on the tensions

[81] Cf. Chapter 4, 105-113.

between established etiquettes associated with musical performances by noble amateurs, compared to those from professional musicians (*musico*).

The dynamic between noble amateur and professional musical cultures brings me to two intertwining subjects that ought to be considered at this juncture: the matter of 'access points' between these two seemingly contrasting musical poles, and my overall selection process for the type of musical contributors that I will examine in my imminent analyses.

My foremost interest is in professional musicians coming from relatively humble backgrounds who rose to the top tier of the musical economy, fulfilling, for example, the position of *maestro di cappella* in a significant musical centre, or performing as a *virtuoso* soloist in a prosperous courtly environment. Three individuals are worth singling out as representatives of this category at this point, as they feature as central figures in my discussions: the Venetian Gioseffo Zarlino, the Roman-Florentine Giulio Caccini, and the Florentine Marco da Gagliano.[82] A further important detail about these three individuals is that they all incorporate terms or arguments taken directly from Castiglione's *Cortegiano* into their written works, and I discuss these references in detail later on.[83]

A significant aspect to add here is that at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – the decades which the majority of my musical investigations focus on – particularly in courtly surroundings, the social background of contributors to key musical developments present a remarkably complex and varied concoction. Several individuals within this matrix would not be appropriate to be described as professional musicians (nor would they have looked at themselves as such), as they had noble origins (coming often from a lower tier of this class), and whilst in many cases they would have been paid for their musical services, their identities were not fully constructed around the act of music-making. To single out a couple of examples, both Giovanni de' Bardi and Emilio de' Cavalieri can be mentioned in this category.[84] Francesco Rasi, the *virtuoso* tenor, who sang

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[82] For biographical details on these individuals see Zarlino, Chapter 3, 76; Caccini, Chapter 5, 114; Gagliano, Chapter 5, 123.

[83] Cf. Zarlino, Chapter 3, 77; Caccini, Chapter 5, 127-129; Gagliano, Chapter 5, 160-162.

[84] Giulio Cesare Monteverdi in his *Dichiaratione* (1607) to the letter that appeared in his brother Claudio's *Il quinto libro de madrigali* (1605) lists 'musicians' with a noble background as a 'special category'. Besides Bardi and Cavalieri, Monteverdi refers to Cipriano de Rore, Carlo Gesualdo, Alfonso Fontanella, Giovanni del Turco, and Tomaso Pecci as part of this group – cf. Margaret Murata, ed., *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History: The Baroque Era*, rev. ed. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton,

central roles in virtually all court operas also had an aristocratic background, however he presents an even more interesting case than the previous two individuals. Rasi shared the musical stage in many cases with non-nobles, and he even appeared on courtly payrolls as a *cantore* and as a *musico* (with the added title of *cavaliere*), but on multiple occasions during his life he took issues with being referred to as a professional musician.[85] Vincenzo Galilei too had noble roots; his primary musical education was in the aristocratic art of solo singing to the accompaniment of the lute, but later on he also went through rigorous theoretical training under the tutelage of Zarlino, which was financially supported by Bardi. Throughout his life, he was active as both a practitioner and a theorist.[86] Whilst, with the exception of Galilei, I do not aim to position these individuals with noble ties by birth at the centre of the discussion, their 'mixed' identities form an important part of my musical reflections. On one hand, given their social status, they can be effectively connected to the CCP model and its behavioural matrix; and on the other hand, the fact that there can be close ties drawn between them and prominent non-noble *musici* (which I will elaborate on shortly), strengthens the proposition that there was an ongoing exchange and discourse between these social groups, which, in my view, can be translated as an 'access point' for certain professional musicians to elite behavioural ideals.

The word *discourse* is important in this context, and it ought to be elaborated on further. I view the behavioural matrix of the CCP as a model that represents a broad intellectual and aesthetic stance, and therefore I am not only interested in the direct link of connecting amateur noble musical performances to professional musical performances, but I also consider intellectual *conversations* about music in the era concerned as environments the model can be present in. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the court, the university, the church, and the learned academies can be counted as the key cultural centres where such discussions about music would take place, and different methods of knowledge

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1998), 31. Harris B. Crist describes such individuals as 'professional amateurs' – cf. Harris B. Crist, "The 'Professional Amateur': Noble Composers, Court Life, and Musical Innovation in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2004).

[85] For the payrolls I am referring to see Susan Parisi, "Musicians at the Court of Mantua during Monteverdi's Time: Evidence from the Payrolls," in *Monteverdi*, ed. Richard Wistreich (London: Routledge, 2016), 423, 434; for the documents about Rasi's dissatisfaction with being called a *musico* see Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1993), 570-571. I discuss Rasi's identity and his role in court operas further as part of my case study on Marco da Gagliano's *La Dafne* – cf. Chapter 5, 155-171, esp. 169-170.

[86] For further aspects on Galilei's life and work see Chapter 3, 78.

transmission between these 'institutions' show a highly intricate web of connections.[87] At this point, I confine myself to highlight only one example that (partially) represents an exchange of this kind, but that simultaneously encompasses individuals of varied social standing, therefore making this case of particular relevance in the present context. The intellectual network that I am referring to includes Girolamo Mei, Galilei, Bardi, Zarlino, and Caccini. Mei, the Florentine humanist living in Rome, famously collaborated with the theorist-practitioner Galilei on rethinking the expressive ends of music, which led Galilei to become a proponent of monody. Consequently, Galilei engaged in his epochal dispute with the Venetian *musico* (and priest) Zarlino, which touched on an extensive range of subjects and spanned over a decade. Multiple topics were also discussed in the informal academy led by the courtly aristocrat Bardi, who was at the same time a patron of Galilei. Finally, as it is well-known, the professional performer-composer Caccini refers to his presence in these circles, and he emphasises that he learned more from these erudite discussions than from more than thirty years of counterpoint.[88] As we can see, this web involves a broad range of cultural spaces, and shows a dialogue between contrasting identities. Throughout the dissertation I refer to multiple elements taken from this intellectual interconnectedness and argue that the behavioural matrix of the CCP can be traced within it.

Up until this point, I have aimed to refer to relatively concrete environments in which, in my view, the type of professional musicians I have singled out as central to my investigations would have had access to the CCP model; however, I would now like to introduce a further, more abstract, 'access point' to the discussion. Mirroring my previous pursuits of exploring the notion of performance in 'everyday' self-presentation and interaction of courtly surroundings, I am also interested in, in a broader sense, the role of

[87] For a concise introduction on the role of these cultural spaces and the connection between them in the era concerned see Gerbino, "Institutions and Intellectual Life," 381-393. Regarding universities on the Italian peninsula at the time, it is worth noting that as the *studia humanitatis* gradually replaced the scholastic learning traditions based on the *septem artes liberales* and gained prominence as an educational programme in these institutions, music ceased to be part of the curriculum. Nevertheless, there were scholars employed by universities who showed significant interest in music; as an example Francesco Patrizi can be mentioned, who worked as a professor of philosophy at the University of Ferrara between 1578 and 1591, before taking up a position at the University of Rome in 1592. I discuss some of his views on music in Chapter 3, 89-90.

[88] Cf. Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 2009), 3.

performance and performers in professional musical circles, and how this can be connected to the large-scale musical paradigm shifts that took place in the era concerned. In order to be able to comment on these matters in relation to the CCP's behavioural matrix, I propose the existence of a dissemination model of the behavioural codes included in the courtesy books based on theories of performativity as understood by Judith Butler. Since this 'access point' stands as the foundation of my following chapter, I will elaborate on its detailed mechanisms as I see them manifest in that context.[89]

Having provided observations on spaces and forms in which individuals from contrasting social backgrounds interacted with each other, and some initial details on the musical contributors I intend to consider in my forthcoming reflections, the key question arises – how did the world of music with all its complexities actually respond to the CCP model?

[89] Cf. Chapter 3, 72-74.

PART TWO

BETWEEN SEMBLANCE AND SUBSTANCE: THE INNER PERSPECTIVE

3

THE PERFORMATIVE MINDSETS OF THE PERFORMER

3.1 Overview

Lodovico Domenichi, in his mid-sixteenth-century *Dialogo della corte*, inadvertently foreshadowed one of the central symbolic elements of the paradigm shift that took place in the musical thinking of Italy later in the century:

> Lario: I still cannot decide, however determined I am to try [to understand], what exactly the Court is.
> Sardo: You wish to relinquish your good fortune, and bring grief to yourself voluntarily?
> Lario: On the contrary, I want to get from strength to strength, just like the good musician [*sonator*] wants to become a good tragic hero [*tragico*].
> Sardo: Well put, a tragic hero indeed.
> Lario: And that you do not think that I speak without reason, I beg you, listen to what I wish to say…[1]

Infused with a pinch of sarcasm, here Domenichi makes an intriguing connection between courtly theatricality and a musician's desire to recite tragedy on the stage. As we know, at the turn of the century, through the birth of opera and other new forms of dramatic entertainment, hybrid genres were created, providing suitable platforms for the ambitions of the musician in question. However, the notion of words acting as the 'mistress' of harmony in representational-theatrical monody, was only one of the strands of exploration that ran through late sixteenth-century Italy, as part of a quest that can be described in general terms as music being re-evaluated regarding its communicative powers.[2]

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[1] "Lario: Io non me ne sono anchora risoluto, anchor ch'io habbia diliberato voler provare, che cosa è Corte. / Sardo: Et lasciando cosi gran bene, precipitarvi volontariamente in tanto male? / Lario: Anzi passare di bene in meglio, apunto come fa colui, che di buon sonator cerca farsi buon Tragico. / Sardo: Ben diceste Tragico. / Lario: E accioche voi non crediate, chàio favelli senza ragione, state a udire quel chàio voglio dirui…" Domenichi, *Dialoghi*, 281.

[2] Cf. Gerbino, "Institutions and Intellectual Life," 386; Ruth Katz, *The Powers of Music: Aesthetic Theory and the Invention of Opera* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 16.

Further notable paths concerning this process of discovery were, amongst others, Nicola Vicentino's attempts to create an expression-based chromatic and enharmonic model of music, the rational polyphonic constructions of Gioseffo Zarlino, where music's power stems from the spheres, and the theories of scholars, such as Girolamo Mei, who were influenced by humanist thought, and were seeking inspiration in sources from Antiquity.[3] Altogether, this latter occurrence had a particularly wide-ranging influence, thus making the musical-intellectual discourse strongly inspired by the interpretation of ancient Greek and Latin writings, together with their correspondence to 'modern' musical practices and theoretical ideas.

My intention in this chapter, however, is not to focus primarily on the relation between existing or putative discrepancies between the 'ancient' and 'modern', but to trace how the contemporary social conditions we have seen described in the courtesy books shaped and contributed to the emerging stances on music's communicative powers. Instead of aiming to highlight direct overlaps between the language of the courtesy books and musical texts, I extrapolate the behavioural tropes and virtues of the CCP onto the changing musical landscape of the time and argue that these skills and values manifest themselves in methods of delivery within musical performance. There is a particular focus on the rising importance of *simulation* and *dissimulation*, how this corresponds to music's relationship with the spheres and the 'artificial' human realm, and also how this simultaneously shapes music's increasingly ambiguous position between the *quadrivium* and the *trivium*. The central idea that I introduce and use as the main tool of investigation in this chapter is the notion of *performative mindsets,* through which I trace how the inner perspective of the musical performer comes into action and engages with the required musical-communicative aim and effect.

The narrative leads through the turbulent debate between Gioseffo Zarlino and Vincenzo Galilei, whose exchange I discuss from the perspective of mindsets. Simultaneously, I use Vincenzo Galilei as the link leading to the rise of monody and the representational style of the early seventeenth century, which I approach through Galileo

[3] Cf. Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice,* trans. Maria Rika Maniates (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice: 1558); Claude V. Palisca, *Girolamo Mei (1519-1594), Letters on Ancient and Modern Music to Vincenzo Galilei and Giovanni Bardi: A Study with Annotated Texts* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1977).

Galilei's 'instrumentality'. However, before we embark on this discussion, let us briefly take a closer look at what exactly I mean by the notion of *performative mindsets*.

3.2 Performative mindsets – what and why?

Ever since J. L. Austin's coining of the term 'performative' and the publication of his *How to Do Things with Words* in 1962, the notion of 'performativity' has received wide-ranging scholarly attention from numerous academic disciplines.[4] The concept, which is an essential part of Austin's theory of language, together with speech acts, was originally aimed to show how words not only describe but also *do* something and therefore have the ability to *make* the world.[5] In the past nearly six decades, fields including linguistics, philosophy, and more recently performance studies and musicology, amongst others, have adapted, shaped, reshaped, criticised, and disputed this notion.

With regards to musicological attention, the notion of performativity has been increasingly present since the late 1990s, particularly in the works of scholars associated with 'new musicology', and other strands concerned with the idea of shifting the focus of musical analysis from text to act. This latter development has been discussed under the label of the 'performative turn' by Nicholas Cook, contributing to his overall stance of foregrounding the notion music as performance.[6] In this approach the notion functions, as Carolyn Abbate puts it, as an umbrella concept that "sees the performance event as a polysemic text to be analysed in its many conflicting domains".[7] In other contexts, the performative has been presented as an overall research method, and on occasion it has also been used by reference to Austin's original linguistic model of speech acts, to develop parallel methods of musical text interpretation and analysis. However, in its broadest and most frequent occurrence, similarly to its application in performance studies, the word

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[4] Cf. John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962). The book was published posthumously, and its content is based largely on the William James Lectures Austin delivered at Harvard University in 1955.

[5] Cf. James Loxley, *Performativity* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 2.

[6] Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 24-32.

[7] Carolyn Abbate, "Music: Drastic or Gnostic?," *Critical Enquiry* 30, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 507.

'performative' functions as an adjective, that denotes the performance aspect of any object or practice under consideration.[8] Given the slightly elusive and multifaceted nature of the term, it is of great importance to clarify how it is applied in the context of the present study, and to provide an explanation of how it operates in the notion I have labelled as *performative mindsets.*

At the most fundamental level, 'performative' in the abovementioned word pairing does indeed simply indicate the performance element of the mindsets that I will outline in the coming sections of the chapter. However, I would like to attach a further dimension on top of this foundation, in which by 'performative' I refer to my adaptation of Judith Butler's theories of 'being performative' onto the courtly environment of early-modern Italy. In Butler's wide-ranging philosophical thought, she notably argues that gender is "tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through stylised repetition of acts".[9] These stylised repetitions of acts are in other words a series of performances; however, she strongly emphasises that "in no sense can it be concluded that the part of gender that is performed is therefore the 'truth' of gender; performance as a bounded 'act' is distinguished from performativity insofar as the latter consists in a reiteration of norms which precede, constrain, and exceed the performer and in that sense cannot be taken as the fabrication of the performer's 'will' or 'choice'; further, what is 'performed' works to conceal, if not to disavow, what remains opaque, unconscious, un-performable."[10]

Considering the historical narrative that I have laid out in detail in Part One, in my view, Butler's dialectic can be very convincingly applied to the identity formation process

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[8] I include here a non-exhaustive list of different uses of performativity in musicology: Austinian speech act theory as textual analysis – Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004); Jerry Swinkin, *Performative Analysis: Reimagining Music Theory for Performance* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2016). Performativity via performance studies – Mauro Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi's Staging of the Self* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012). Performativity as a research method – Daniela Kaleva "Performative Research: A Performance-Led Study of *Lamento D'Arianna* with Historically Informed Rhetorical Gesture," *Musicology Australia* 36, no. 2 (2014): 209-34. Her approach in this article is strongly influenced by Brad Haseman, "A Manifesto for Performative Research," *Media International Australia* 118, no. 1 (February 2006): 98-106. Performativity as a tool of interpretation – Lawrence Kramer, *The Thought of Music* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016); Lawrence Kramer, *Interpreting Music* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011).

[9] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 179.

[10] Judith Butler, "Critically Queer," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1, no. 1 (1993): 24.

of the CCP. In this projection, the courtesy books codify a series of norms (behavioural tropes) and regulatory schemas (virtues) which through reiteration, repetition, citation, quotation, imitation, and variation manifest themselves into stylised acts, thus resulting in the behavioural matrix of the CCP having a performative nature. It is very important to note however, that this behavioural matrix is being shaped as such for the first time, and therefore its performativity is characterised by ambiguity and fragility.

What I am particularly interested in is tracing to what degree and in what manner, music and musicians are in dialogue with or affected by this performative behavioural matrix. The emphasis here is not on translating the behavioural matrix into a musical analytic language, but on observing the stylistic and axiological shifts of the era concerned via courtly performativity. In other words, I aim to examine how the 'everyday performances' produced by the newly arising behavioural codes of the sixteenth century led to the performative identity of the CCP, resulting in the re-evaluation of the mechanisms of music's communicative powers and methods of delivery. For this very reason, the duality of performativity and performance as a conscious act, and how this operates, is an essential aspect of the forthcoming argumentations.

As I am treating the subject from a social angle, and how that affects the musical, pairing the performative with the notion of 'mindset', as in a specific take on reality or way of approaching one's surrounding, seemed an appropriate choice. Thus, in essence, in this context *performative mindsets* stand for communicative strategies within performance, influenced by and operating within the performative behavioural matrix of the courtly environment.

3.3 An insight into the Gioseffo Zarlino-Vincenczo Galilei dispute

One of the most extensive musical disputes of sixteenth-century Italy, fuelled by blatantly opposing aesthetic stances, took place between the Venetian Gioseffo Zarlino and his former pupil, the Florentine Vincenzo Galilei. The theoretical treatise that initially served as the starting point of the debate was Zarlino's highly influential and successful *Le istitutioni harmoniche* from 1558. In his extensive work Zarlino created an 'ideal' theoretical system grounded in ancient philosophy and laid out the criteria for the 'perfect musician', who according to him was expected to be able to compose, to sing or play with

the ‘proper rules’, and to understand the scientific foundations of music.[11] Additionally, Zarlino discussed both ancient Greek musical history and codification of the rules for contrapuntal composition, and provided guidelines for correct text underlay in polyphonic music.

Vincenzo Galilei, originally a keen disciple of Zarlino, began to correspond with the humanist Girolamo Mei in 1572. It was largely down to Mei’s influence that Galilei turned into a critic of his former mentor and an ardent advocate of monody. This ideological shift resulted in the output of his 1581 publication, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna*, which, if somewhat incoherently, summarised the theoretical and aesthetic position of the Florentine Camerata.[12] As a response to this, Zarlino compiled his *Sopplimenti musicali* in which he aimed to extend the philosophical and scientific foundations of his theory. Published in 1588, the work never specifically names Galilei, yet it constantly refers to an ‘unnamed disciple’ who betrayed his teacher; this character providing the opponent in the imagined dialogue. Parallel to the critique, Zarlino also subtly incorporated several of Galilei’s theories into his own system, thus providing further reason for continuing this dispute. Galilei’s final riposte came in the form of a comparatively short volume with a vehement rhetorical tone, the *Discorso intorno all’opere di Messer Gioseffo Zarlino* from 1589. As an aim he set out to discuss the impracticality of the syntonic tetrachord, temperament, mathematics, the relation between ‘artificial’ and ‘natural’, and how his *Dialogo* influenced Zarlino when writing the *Sopplimenti*. He did not quite sufficiently cover these subjects, but succeeded in compiling an effective attack on Zarlino, accusing him of plagiarism and ridiculing his teachings, amongst other insults.[13]

Over the course of their dispute, they covered an enormously broad range of topics including music theory, tuning systems, mathematics, sacred polyphony, secular instrumental music, Neoplatonic philosophy, Aristotelian metaphysics, and the interpretation of ancient Greek and Latin sources. Several details of these aspects have

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[11] Cf. Lucille Corwin, “*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino, Part 1: A Translation with Introduction” (PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2008), I:XI, 250-257.

[12] Prior to the publication of the *Dialogo*, Vincenzo Galilei compiled another discourse in 1578 with similar content; however, this source is now lost.

[13] Both Zarlino and Galilei died soon after the publication of the *Discorso* (in 1590 and 1591 respectively); however, their debate was continued by Giovanni Maria Artusi and Ercole Bottrigari (who were then joined by Monteverdi). Artusi agreed with many of Galilei’s ideas, but he rejected his disrespectful tone towards Zarlino and also defended Zarlino’s theoretical system.

received scholarly attention by, amongst others, Claude V. Palisca, Karol Berger, Maria Rika Maniates, and Randall E. Goldberg.[14] My intention is certainly not to offer here a comprehensive analysis from a new perspective on Zarlino's and Galilei's manifold theoretical disagreements, but to focus on the social connotations of the debate: how the two writers mirror diverse behavioural attitudes of the time, and in particular, how these might manifest in indications for performers on the level of mindsets.

When looking at the personal background of Zarlino and Galilei we find two contrasting characters exemplifying opposing types of the courtly environment. Zarlino, a cleric and Franciscan priest, succeeded Cipriano da Rore and became *maestro di cappella* of S Marco, Venice in 1565. He collaborated with the prestigious Accademia Venetiana della Fama, and dedicated all his works to people of authority, including Vincenzo Diedo, Patriarch of Venice, and Pope Sixtus V.[15] Throughout most of Zarlino's writings one can notice the influence of a late-scholastic mentality. As Goldberg indicates, a strong parallel can be found between how Zarlino "defends his theoretical systems as a fact of nature, and furthermore, a gift from God", and the morality of Thomas Aquinas, "who sought to prove God's existence through a synthesis of theology and Aristotelian philosophy".[16] A further characteristic of Zarlino's output is a distinct striving for 'truth', both in musical and ethical questions. Whereas the musical questions are grounded in reason and logic and derive from a universal order (*musica mundana*), the ethical questions manifest themselves in Zarlino

[14] Cf. Claude V. Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Karol Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th Century Italy* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1980); Maria Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Randall E. Goldberg, "Where Nature and Art Adjoin: Investigations into the Zarlino-Galilei Dispute, Including an Annotated Translation of Vincenzo Galilei's *Discorso intorno all'opere di messer Gioseffo Zarlino*" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2011).

[15] For more on Zarlino's biography see Bernardino Baldi, *Vite inedite di matematici italiani*, ed. Enrico Narducci (Rome: Bulletino di bibliografia e storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche XIX, 1887), 633–40; Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 184-188; Rebecca Edwards, "From Aaron to Zarlino: Music Theorists in the Social and Cultural Matrix of Sixteenth-Century Venice," in *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 361-365.

[16] Goldberg, "Where Nature and Art Adjoin," 91. Further indications on the topic may also be found in Chadwick Jenkins, "*Ridotta alla perfettione*: Metaphysics and History in the Music-Theoretical Writings of Giovanni Maria Artusi" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2007).

seeing himself as a prudent and rightful religious reformer who intends to eliminate growing heresy in musical science.[17]

In terms of Zarlino's relation to courtly behavioural literature and its identity-types, we find some direct correspondences, and I propose to draw a few allusive remarks too. We know that he was a reader of Castiglione, whom he refers to in Part Four of his *Le istitutioni harmoniche*. The passage that he picks is from the second book of *Il Cortegiano,* where the noble company discusses how impressionable courtiers can be, and Federico Fregoso points out the following:

> … if the truth were told, you yourself and all of us frequently, and at this very moment, rely more on the opinions of others than on our own. And to prove this, consider that not so long ago, when certain verses were presented here as being by Sannazaro, everyone thought they were extremely fine and praised them to the skies; then when it was established that they were by someone else their reputation sank immediately and they seemed quite mediocre. Then again, when a motet was sung in the presence of the Duchess, it pleased no one and was considered worthless, until it became known that it had been composed by Josquin des Près.[18]

Zarlino takes over the wording of this particular section very closely, and then projects its sentiment onto a similar occasion of which he was aware. As he puts it, the same "malignity" and "ignorance" was directed towards his former mentor Adrian Willaert when in Rome, on an occasion where one of his motets for six voices was sung with great success and enjoyment whilst it was being ascribed to Josquin, but when it turned out that it was a composition of the master from Flanders, the singers lost interest and refused to sing it again.[19]

It is remarkable that Zarlino concentrates on one of the few references we find in *Il Cortegiano* to a recognised musical figure of the time; however, considering his watchful

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[17] Cf. Goldberg, "Where Nature and Art Adjoin," 92.

[18] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, II:XXXV,144-145. "E che sia 'l vero, non è ancor molto tempo, che essendo appresentati qui alcuni versi sotto 'l nome del Sanazaro, a tutti parvero molto eccellenti e furono lau- dati con le maraviglie ed esclamazioni; poi, sapendosi per certo che erano d'un altro, persero súbito la reputazione e parvero men che mediocri. E cantandosi pur in presenzia della signora Duchessa un mottetto, non piacque mai né fu estimato per bono, fin che non si seppe che quella era composizion di Josquin de Pris." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, II:XXXV, 139.

[19] Cf. Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche,* IV:XXXVI, 346-347.

stance on music's dignity, it is hardly surprising that it was this particular passage that caught his attention, as ultimately what he saw in Castiglione's insight was a springboard that would allow him to deliver a broader critical comment about ignorance in his own field of interest. Altogether, this protective attitude, which I will discuss further later on, is a key element of Zarlino's character. One often gets the sense from his tone of writing that his outlook is a musical mirror of Giovanni della Casa's graceful take on ethics and etiquette, which on the one hand shows a progressive elaboration of behavioural codes, and on the other hand is simultaneously imbued with an anxious protectiveness over ensuring that this knowledge is only used by those who truly understand it and belong within its exclusive and tight-knit system.[20]

As I hinted earlier, in Vincenzo Galilei's case we find a different type of the courtly life models. He came from a noble Florentine family whose financial status declined in the late fifteenth century. As a young man he quickly became part of courtly circles, and in Giovanni de' Bardi, an old family friend, he found a generous patron. It was Bardi who supported Galilei's Venetian studies with Zarlino and later, after Galilei's return to Florence, helped him make acquaintances within noble circles. Once back in Florence he integrated himself into the (secular) intellectual life of the city and built up several connections within the thriving scene of learned academies.[21] Although he never became an ordinary member of any of them, it was within these organisations that he met several intellectuals, including Girolamo Mei, who had a fundamental impact on his approach towards music.[22] In addition to his profile as a theorist, Galilei was also a practitioner, being active as a highly regarded player and teacher of the lute.[23]

When looking at Galilei's theoretical writings we find that they are not as systematic as Zarlino's neatly rationalised systems. However, they do show a stronger sense of an experimental nature and a 'down-to-earth' mentality, thus making his symbolic courtly

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[20] Cf. Chapter 1, 32-33.

[21] The most relevant of these which Galilei was in contact with, were the Accademia degli Alterati, the Accademia degli Umidi, and the Accademia Fiorentina.

[22] For more on Galilei's biography see Chiara Orsini, "Vincenzo Galilei (1520?-1591): La professione di un musico pratico e teorico 'tra aspirazioni e realtà'," in *Vincenzo Galilei: Atti del convegno di studi svoltosi: nell'Aprile 1987 presso la Biblioteca Comunale*, ed. Donata Bertoldi and Renzo Cresti (Pontedera: Bandecchi & Vivaldi, 1988), 89-105; and Chiara Orsini, "Vincenzo Galilei," *Il Fronimo* 16, no. 62 (January 1988): 7-28.

[23] He also published a treatise on lute intabulation, titled *Il Fronimo* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1584).

counterpart Stefano Guazzo, who would ultimately put interaction and active engagement with everyday life above solitary contemplation.[24] In accordance with this stand, the general tone of Galilei's output often operates in a conversational manner. Just to mention one at-hand example, his best known theoretical piece, the *Dialogo* is conceived as a 'Ciceronian conversation' between the two interlocutors of Galilei's patron, the poet, playwright, literary critic, and noble host of the Camerata, Giovanni de' Bardi, and the composer Piero Strozzi.[25] Furthermore, besides choosing a dialogic literary form in the case of his *Dialogo*, if we consider that his primary target audience included musical amateurs, patrons and the nobility in general, his tone of voice makes immediate sense and turns into the effective rhetorical device of the persuasive courtier. Continuing this logic, it can be argued that the attitude of Galilei strongly mirrors in several ways the sixteenth-century shift in the interpretation of virtues and behavioural attitudes. It is also noticeable that Galilei was very much part of the 'performing and theatrical court' – and this mentality undeniably makes a mark, not only on his content and presentation but also on the driving force behind his arguments. This shows clearly in the following key passage from his *Dialogo,* where he encouraged musicians, by mirroring the ancient Greek example, to observe actors and imitate their actions, with the aim of becoming able to integrate this theatricality within their tools of expression for any given musical performance:

> Bardi: In the same way that among the many the two famous orators [Isocrates and Corax] I named expressed the affections in their orations, and this goes for every ancient musician of worth. If they [modern musicians] want to understand how the orators did it, I will content myself to show them where and from whom they may learn this without much effort or trouble, indeed with the greatest joy and this is how.

[24] Cf. Chapter 1, 33-34.

[25] It is certainly important to note that Zarlino also wrote a work in dialogue format – his 1571 *Dimostrationi harmoniche*, where the 'documented event' takes place in April 1562, and the interlocutors are Zarlino, Willaert, Merulo, Francesco dalla Viola, and Desiderio. In Burke's typology this dialogue would belong in the category of 'catechisms', as what we are dealing with in the writing is a combination of naive leading questions posed by Desiderio, which are responded to with learned answers, usually delivered by Zarlino, the authority. The content is centred around Zarlino confirming and defending the theories that he laid out in his *Le istitutioni*. As the title of the work suggests, ultimately, we are dealing here with a set of demonstrations upon which the dialogue form has been superimposed. Altogether, the tone of it is strongly 'monologic', and it certainly does not compare with Galilei's *Dialogo,* in the sense that the latter would be aimed to describe the fundamental theoretical stances of the writer. For an excellent overview of how the *Dimostrationi harmoniche* fits into the musical dialogue culture of the sixteenth century see Judd, "Music in Dialogue," 41-74, esp. 51-59.

> When they go for their entertainment to the tragedies and comedies recited by the *zanni*, let them restrain their immoderate laughter and instead observe if they would in what manner and at what pitch (high or low), volume of sound, accents and gestures, speed or slowness of articulation a gentleman speaks quietly with another. Let them pay attention to the difference with respect to all these qualities when one of them speaks with his servant, or a servant to another. Let them consider when this happens to be a prince talking with his subjects and vassals, or a suppliant pleading, how a furious or excited person speaks, how a married woman, a girl, the mere tot, a clever harlot, someone in love speaking to his beloved when he is trying to bend her to his will, how someone who laments, or one who cries out, how a timid person, or one exulting in joy sounds. From these characteristics, observed with attention and diligently examined, they could take the norm of what suits the expression of any other idea that might come to hand.[26]

This particular proposition was not well received by Zarlino, who, filled with rage, responded in his 1588 *Sopplimenti* as follows:

> *O bel discorso*, truly worthy of the great man he imagines himself to be! From it we may gather that what he actually wishes is to reduce music greatly in dignity and reputation, when, to learn imitation, he bids us go to hear the zanies in tragedies and comedies and to become out-and-out actors and buffoons. What has the musician to do with those who recite tragedies and comedies?[27]

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[26] Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music,* trans. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 224-225, with slight alterations to the translation by myself. "Nell'istesso modo che gli esprimevano tra i molti, quelli due famosi oratori poco di sopra nominati, nelle orationi loro, & appresso ciascuno antico musico di pregio: & se di ciò vogliano intendere il modo, mi contento mostrargli dove & da chi lo potranno senza molta fatica & noia, anzi con grandissimo gusto loro imparare, & sarà questo. Quando per lor diporto vanno alle Tragedie & Comedie, che recitano i Zanni, lascino alcuna volta da parte le immoderate risa; & in lor vece osservino di gratia in qual maniera parla, con qual voce circa l'acutezza & gravità, con che quantità di suono, con qual forte d'accenti & di gesti, come profferite quanto alla velocità & tardità del moto, l'uno con l'altro quieto gentilhuomo, attendino un poco la differenza che occorre tra tutte quelle cose, quando uno di essi parla con un suo servo, overo l'uno con l'altro di questi; considerino quano ciò accade al Principe discorrendo con un suo suddito & vasallo; quando al supplicante nel raccomandarsi; come ciò faccia l'infuriato, ò concitato; come la donna maritata; come la fanciulla; come il semplice putto; come l'astuta meretrice; come l'innamorato nel parlalre con la sua amata mentre cerca disporla alle sue voglie; come quelli si lamenta; come quelli che grida; come il timoroso; e come quelli che esulta d'allegrezza. Da quali diversi accidenti, essendo da essi con attentione avvertiti & con diligenza essaminati, potranno pigliar norma di quello che convenga per l'espressione di qual si voglia altro concetto che venire gli potesse tra mano." Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* (Florence: Marescotti, 1582), 89.

[27] Gary Tomlinson, ed., *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History: The Renaissance*, rev. ed. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1998), 188. "O bel discorso veramente degno da grande Huomo, com'egli si repute; dal quale si può ben comprendere, che ei vuole in fatto ridur la Musica in gran dignità &

It ought to be emphasised that Zarlino did not disagree with Galilei on many things regarding the interpretation of ancient Greek and Latin writings on music. He acknowledged that ancient music was monodic, did not deny recitations of dramatic subjects, and accepted that *affetti* were admirable in their own right. Furthermore, he added that *affetti* actually have their place in contemporary performance, but only in the case of solo recitations of narrative to the sound of an instrument.[28] However, what he fully rejected was the assumption that these facts would have anything to do with the perfection of modern polyphony. Additionally, as we see in his writing, the idea of musicians morphing into actors was also completely absurd for Zarlino – for him, such a mindset would be beneath the dignity of music and musicians.

3.4 To project – in trace of Zarlino's hypothetical mindset

Regarding an alternative, preferred mindset for performers, Zarlino did not give any specific indications. However, drawing on his own aesthetic values we can begin to set up a hypothesis which expresses his ideal stance. Focusing on key chapters from the first book of *Le istitutioni harmoniche,* I will attempt to summarise in the following passages what Zarlino would have expected from the performer.[29]

Before I discuss in detail a potential mindset, we need to clarify Zarlino's typology of musicians. He dedicates the entire Chapter 11 of his book to this matter and creates the following three categories:

a) Theorists, which name derives from the science, shall call themselves: musicians (*musico*).
b) Practitioners, which name derives not from science but from the execution of the

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reputatione; quando essorta che si vada ad ascoltar nelle Comedie & nelle Tragedie i Zanni, & si diventi in tutto & per tutto Histrioni ò Buffoni, per poter'imitare ogn'uno; ma che hà da fare il Musico con quelli che recitano Tragedie ò Comedie?" Gioseffo Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1588), VIII:XI, 317.

[28] Cf. Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali*, VIII:VIII, 309-311.

[29] The chapters I refer to in this section are: 'On Human Music', I:VII; 'Division of Music into Speculative and Practical: Through Which One Differentiates Between the Musician and the Performer', I:XI; 'On the Subject of Music', I:XVIII; 'What Sonorous Number Is', I:XIX.

science, shall call themselves: composer (*comporre-compositore*), singer (*cantare-cantore*), or player (*sonare-sonatore*).

c) 'Manual worker', which term derives from the work that one does with their hands, shall call themselves: organist (from organ); kitharist (from kithara) etc.

In Zarlino's system these categories do not only exist within themselves, but they also have a clear hierarchy. The musician (theorist) is above the practitioner, and both are above the 'manual workers' who just play their instruments – even though this category may also belong to the practitioners. What is particularly interesting is the fact that the name musician is first and foremost given to a theorist, and furthermore, that composers belong to the category of practitioners. He gives the following reason for his theory-driven standpoint:

> The latter [practice] is inferior to the former [theory] in the same way that the appetite is inferior to reason, and this must be so because each art and each science naturally holds as more noble the intellect that produces work than the process of work itself.[30]

And he continues as follows:

> Therefore, since knowledge [*sapere*] comes to us from our soul and practice follows from the body as its deputy, it is manifest that the soul conquering and superseding the body in nobility is even more noble than its operations, so much so, that if one's hands were not to work as reason commands them to do, they would exhaust themselves in vain and fruitlessly. There is no doubt that the science of music cognition is worthier than execution.[31]

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[30] Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 251. "Questa alla prima non altramente si sottomette, di quello che fa l'appetito alla ragione, & e il dovere: concisia che ogni arte, & ogni scienza naturalmente ha per piu nobile la ragione con la quale si opera, che l'istesso operare." Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 251.

[31] Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 251. "Onde havendo noi dall' Animo il sapere, & dal Corpo, como suo ministro, l'opera; e cosa manifesta, che l'animo vincendo & superando di nobilta il corpo, quanto alle operationi sia ancora piu nobile: tanto piu, che se le mani non operassero quello, che dalla ragione gli e commandato, vanamente & senza frutto alcuno si affaticarabbeno. Si che non e dubbio, che nella scienza della Musica e piu degna la cognitione della ragione, che l'operare." English & Italian: Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 251.

Even though it appears that in Zarlino's mind, idea and intellect always come before practice, he soon adds that in an ideal situation the two go hand in hand, as a complete separation would result in pointless musical endeavours. In Zarlino's view a member of this idealised category deserves an exclusive title: "he who puts everything that pertains [to music] into practice will further his knowledge and will be able to call himself a perfect musician."[32]

Although, through the 'perfect musician' Zarlino does accord a relevance to practice, nevertheless, this still leaves the question open as to which mindset he expects the 'perfect musician' to enact (if at all) in a performance situation. To find some clues regarding this, we need to look into the elaborate theoretical systems of the spheres that Zarlino creates earlier on in his treatise. Zarlino remodelled the Boethian division of music (*musica mundana*, *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis*) and created an alternative system which consisted of *musica animastica* and *musica organica*. He defined *musica animastica* as "harmony that arises from the combination of various things joined together in one body regardless of their discrepancies, such as the measure of the four elements, or of other qualities in a living body".[33] Thus, both *musica mundana* and *musica humana* belong within it. On the other hand, *musica organica* encompasses music for 'natural' (voice) and 'artificial' (winds, strings, and percussion) instruments.[34]

Regarding Zarlino's hypothetical mindset of the performer it is *musica humana* (see Figure 3-1) which proves to be the most helpful for our understanding. In Zarlino's definition of 'human music', the essence lies in the harmony of the soul and the body, which are connected by the spirit. The soul can be divided into further parts, to which he provides three separate systems:

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[32] Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 254. "Il quale se alle cose appartinenti alla prattica dara opera, fara la sua scienza piu perfetta. & Musico perfetto si potra chiamere." Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 254.

[33] Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 184. "... harmonia, che nasce dalla compositione di varie cose congiunte insieme in un corpo; avenga ch tra loro siano discrepanti; come e la misura de i quattro Elementi, overo do altre qualita in un corpo animato." Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 184.

[34] Cf. Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 184.

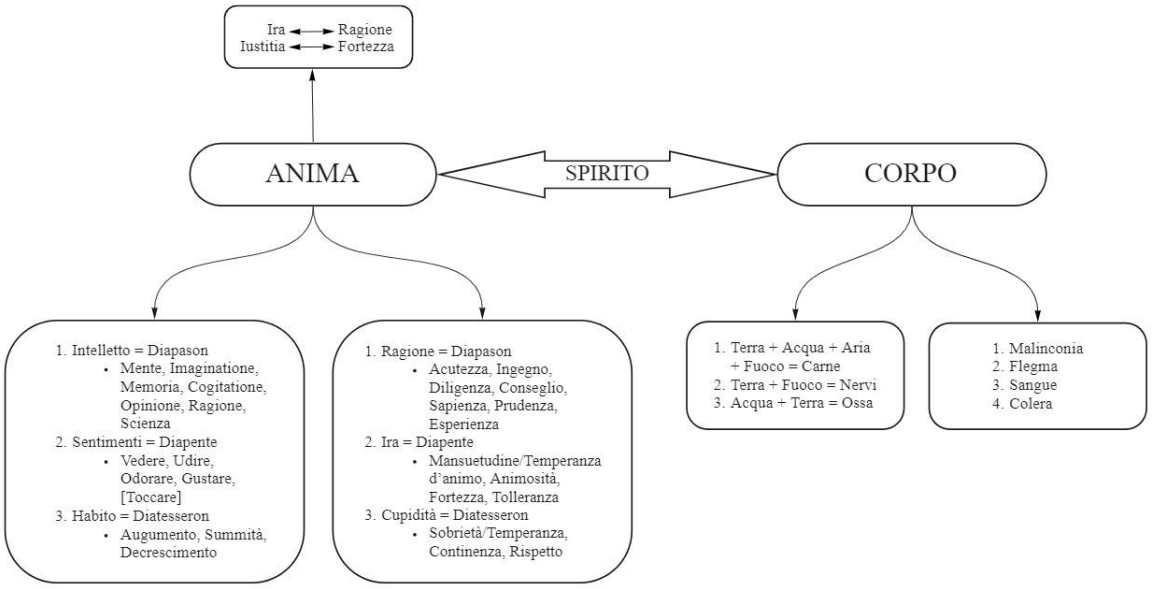

Figure 3-1. 'Human music' according to Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (1558)

I. a) Intellect, which corresponds to the diapason (2:1, octave) and thus contains seven species or seven intervals: mind, imagination, memory, thought, opinion, reason, and knowledge.

b) Feeling, which corresponds to the diapente (3:2, fifth) and thus contains four species or four intervals: sight, hearing, smell, and taste.

c) Character, which corresponds to the diatessaron (4:3, fourth) and thus contains three species or three intervals: growth, summit, and decline.

II. a) Reason, which corresponds to the diapason, and thus contains seven species or seven intervals: wit, ingenuity, diligence, guidance, wisdom, prudence, and experience.

b) Anger, which corresponds to the diapente and thus contains four qualities or four intervals: mildness or temperance of the soul, animosity, fortitude, and tolerance.

c) Cupidity, which corresponds to the diatessaron, and thus contains three qualities or three intervals: sobriety or temperance, forbearance, and respect.

III. Interaction of anger and reason, or justice and fortitude, which equal the mitigation of low and high pitches, dissonances and consonances.

From the three systems, what is particularly interesting is the division of the intellect in the first system, and the parts of reason and anger in the second. It is noticeable that the language Zarlino uses is very strongly influenced by the ethical ideals of the time, the idea of virtues and patterns of behaviour. He acknowledges that these notions are all part of existence, but what is striking is that they stand only as a theoretical construction, are never translated into practice, and are not recommended to be utilised during the act of performance. At the end of his chapter on *musica humana* Zarlino spells this out very clearly:

> But because such matters belong more to the realm of philosophy than to that of music, I will refrain from addressing them further, contenting myself with having said these few things. Having demonstrated the variety of animastic music [*musica animastica*] – something that pertains very little, if at all, to our subject – I will make no further mention of it.[35]

If performance does have validity for Zarlino, but (human) behavioural attitudes do not influence it, we can rightly ask the question: what then is the alternative driving force? A few chapters later, Zarlino sets out to define the true subject of music and comes to the following conclusion:

> And because musicians, wishing to find the rationale of every musical interval, use sounding bodies [*corpus sonorus*] and relative numbers to know the distances between sound and sound and between voice and voice, and to know how the one differs from the other in lowness and highness, putting together these two parts, number and sound, and making a compound, they say that the subject of music is sonorous number.[36]

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[35] Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 234. "Ma perche queste cose s'appartengono piu alli ragionamenti della Filosofia, che a quelli della Musica, lasciero di parlarne piu oltra, contentandomi di haverne detto queste poche, & dimostrato la varieta della Musica animastica; della quale, come di quella, che nulla o poco fa al nostro proposito, non ne faro piu mentione." Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 234.

[36] Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 309. "Et perche i Musici, nel voler ritrovar le ragioni d'ogni musicale intervallo, so serveno de i corpi sonori, & del Numero relato, per conoscere le distanze, che si trovano tra suono & suono, & tra voce & voce; & per sapere quanto l'una dall'altra sia differente per il grave & per l'acuto, mettendo insieme queste due parti, cioe il Numero, & il Suono; & facendo un composto dicono, che il Soggetto della Musica è il Numero sonoro." Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 309.

Zarlino, as a true musician would – at least according to his own judgment – approaches the topic from a heavily theory-driven standpoint and sets out 'sound' itself as music's governing principle. In the passage above he brings up two key terminologies which require further attention: sounding bodies and sonorous number. The latter is explained by Zarlino in a fairly straightforward manner: he says that it is "the number that is related to vocal and instrumental sounds" and "defines the quantity of the sound that it produces".[37] Opposed to this, the question of what exactly a sounding body is, is significantly more complex. The primary function of a sounding body is to produce a quantity of sounds that can be measured objectively.[38] Inanimate objects are more suitable to fulfil these requirements, as they are not affected by subjectivities of the human body. However, Zarlino clearly considers treating animate bodies similarly – he is just not convinced as to whether or not they can serve the purpose "cleanly" enough.

In conclusion we can say that Zarlino makes the following four claims:

a) Theory is the governing principle; however a 'perfect musician' implements that theory in practice.
b) Virtues, attitudes, and behavioural patterns are part of *musica humana* – but only on the level of philosophy, rather than as an active deed.
c) The true subject of music is sound, and the number of sounds which are produced by sounding bodies.
d) Animate bodies cannot serve as objectively measurable sounding bodies; nevertheless, there is a parallel between the two.

If we combine these statements, the following mindset emerges: the 'perfect musician' as a performer is someone who produces sounds, but instead of doing so as an active deed – as the parts of the soul are only philosophical constructions and not sources of inspiration or driving forces – he resonates with the spheres and projects the sounds coming from it (see Figure 3-2). Thus, performance is a state of mind and body, but not an act. In an

[37] Cf. Corwin, "*Le istitutioni harmoniche* of Gioseffo Zarlino," 310.

[38] Zarlino is constructing a monochord here.

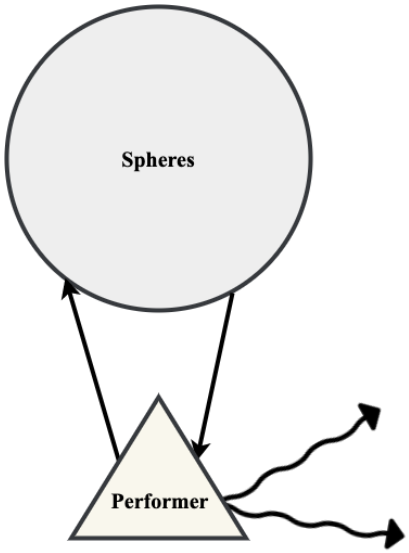

Figure 3-2. Performative mindset 1 – *to project*

allegorical sense, in the mindset of *projecting*, the performer can be seen as a vessel being filled with the harmony of the spheres.

3.5 Excurse – Poetic *furore*

Before we embark on discussing in detail what I see as Vincenzo Galilei's proposed *performative mindset*, I would like to take a brief excursion and draw the attention to an alternative mindset which in my view can be treated as a connecting link between Zarlino's spheres-inspired projecting state of mind and performance as an act.

Associated primarily with Platonist and Neoplatonist philosophical thought, music as part of magic, and vice versa, had been a prevalent concept throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Marsilio Ficino and the Florentine Platonic Academy that was led by him, were particularly prominent advocates for exploring music's magical properties and for how not only sound but also performance could be connected to what we call the supernatural and the spheres.[39] In terms of the sounding material, Ficino emphasises in his

[39] For a general overview on Ficino see Angela Voss, *Marsilio Ficino* (Berkeley CA: North Atlantic Books, 2006). For the most comprehensive study on Ficino and his thoughts on magic and music see Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993). For a good introduction into the history of the Florentine Platonic

key volume, *De vita coelitus comparanda* from 1489 that its tones (*tonis*) are "first selected for a kind of norm of the stars, then they are composed among themselves for the same kind of congruity, and become almost a common or shared form, in which a certain heavenly power arises".[40] As an addition to his notes on sonic arrangement, he also discusses the notion of poetic *furore* as an approach to performance. Poetic *furore* manifests itself in a ritual where an adequately trained performer (or magus) surrenders his spirit in a frenzied state to unite with the divine powers of the spheres. The progression for reaching this desired state of *furore* is divided into four parts by Ficino. First, the troubled and unsettled parts of the soul need to be soothed. Secondly, the now calm soul is directed as a single entity towards the mind. Thirdly, this entity is raised above the mind. Finally, to complete the process, the entity is supposed to unite with the supernatural.[41] For Ficino, Orpheus served as a role model for such a metamorphosis, therefore these magical rituals would usually take the shape of a solo performance of Orphic hymns accompanied by a lyre.

In the sixteenth century the tradition of poetic *furore* remained present, and in many instances its nature continued to be treated with a purely Platonic approach. A notable contributor to this school of thought is Francesco Patrizi, whose work on critiquing rhetoric I discussed in Chapter 2. He wrote two studies on poetic *furore*, the first one of which was published in 1553 under the title *Discorso della diversità dei furori poetici* as part of a short book of his called *La città felice,* and the second of which is a section in the first volume of his famed work, *Della poetica,* from 1586. The majority of these discourses are directed towards the claimed necessity of divine inspiration in poetry, and in the later work the

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Academy see Arthur Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).

[40] Charles Boer, *Marsilio Ficino: The Book of Life* (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, 1980), 160. *De vita coelitus comparanda* is the third book of Ficino's *De vita libri tres*. "… sic ex tonis primo quidem ad stellarum norma electis: deinde ad earundem congruitatem inter se compositis communem quasi formam fieri, atque; in ea coelestem aliquam suboriri virtutem." Marsilio Ficino, *De vita libri tres* (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1549), 232.

[41] Cf. Marsilio Ficino, *Opera omnia* (Basel: 1576), 1282. For a more detailed description of the division of the *furore* see Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 170-183; and Wouter Hanegraaff, "The Platonic Frenzies in Marsilio Ficino," in *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer*, ed. Jitse Dijkstra, Justin Kroesen, and Yme Kuiper (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 553-568.

arguments are laid out as a defence of poetic *furore* against the Aristotelian Lodovico Castelvetro's denial of the notion's importance.[42]

Della poetica does not only provide notes on poetry, but one of its volumes reveals some noteworthy musical stances too. In the ninth book of Patrizi's work, titled *Se l'antiche poesie, imitarono, con armonia, e con ritmo*, we find fierce criticism of Aristotelian imitation, and its relation to songs accompanied by harmony and rhythm. The following passage shows some intriguing indications:

> The poet singing his poems and his song accompanied by the harmonic sounds of the kithara or lyre or aulos or other such instrument, considered as pure song, realises an expression of his ideas [*concetti*] but no imitation or resemblance whatever. But when sound and harmony, as that of kitharists and aulos players, is considered of itself, it realises neither expression nor resemblance, but as Plato said, confusion, and it is a thing full of rudeness. But when the kitharist or aulete turns into a kitharode or aulode (that is, a singing kitharist or aulete), then he does realise some imitation and resemblance, not of ideas or affections or characters, but of their expression, that is of sung speech.[43]

The most distinctly noticeable comment here is that pure instrumental sound has absolutely no value in Patrizi's eyes. Furthermore, it is remarkable how he points towards the notion that conceits are the theme of expression, but that these conceits do not equal the imitation of ideas, affections or characters. Although Patrizi was a devout Platonist, with this viewpoint paired with his dedication to poetic *furore*, he points to an interesting

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[42] Cf. Francesco Patrizi, *La città felice* (Venice: Giovanni Griffio, 1553); Francesco Patrizi, *Della poetica* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1586). For an insightful description of these two works see Baxter Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism: The Late Renaissance in Italy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962), 414-420.

[43] Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought,* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 405. "Ma il poeta, cantando i poemi suoi, e il canto accompagnando con suoni armoniosi di citara, o di lira, o d'aulo, o d'altro tale, nel cantare quanto è al puro canto, e in se solo considerato, espressione de concetti suoi facea, ma imitazione, o somiglianza non facea veruna. Ma quanto in se solo considerato il suono, e l'armonie, come di citaristi, o di auleti, ne espressione, ne simiglianza, non operava, ma come Platone disse, confusione, e cosa piena di rozzezza. Ma quanto poi al canto l'accompagnava, e di citarista divenia citaredo, e di Aulete, auledo, cioè a dire, citarista, e aulete cantante, facea qualche imitazione, e simiglianza, non già di concetti, o di affetti, o di costumi, ma delle loro espressioni, cioè del parlar cantato." Patrizi, *Della poetica*, IX, 191.

and slightly blurred combination of the humane and the 'spherical', where concepts operate on earthly terms, but the divine inspiration remains central for expression.

We find another fascinatingly mixed, yet completely reshaped and different formulation of poetic *furore* in Lorenzo Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini's oration *Del furor poetico*, which he delivered in front of the Florentine Accademia degli Alterati in 1587.[44] The speech is pervaded with fierce criticism of the Platonic concept of the *furore*, since in Giacomini's take, relying on divine inspiration as a source of artistic creation would mean that ultimately the earthly creator has no real responsibility for his work and that the existence of artistic craft in itself would be pointless too. Claude V. Palisca interprets this stance as a complete rejection of poetic *furore*; however, others, including Bernard Weinberg, Gary Tomlinson, and more recently Eugenio Refini, have convincingly argued that what we are dealing with in Giacomini's case is a reworking of the mechanisms of the *furore* from a more distinctly Aristotelian point of view.[45] As a result of this hybridisation, what Giacomini strives to express is the idea that a process of transformation is absolutely central, but the merging needs to be driven by bodily humours rather than divine unification:

> The man who wishes to rise to the heights of poetry or of eloquence or of philosophy has need of temperate spirits, inclining rather towards the cold ones, in order to think, investigate, discourse, and judge […]; to continue in such operations, he seeks an abundance of humours neither weak nor easily dissipated, but stable and firm, which move through vigorous and powerful imaginations; but in order to execute well in conformity with the idea conceived within himself, he needs warmth so that the expression may be effective.[46]

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[44] The transcript of the speech appeared in print in Giacomini's *Orationi e discorsi* (Florence: Sermartelli, 1597).

[45] Cf. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance*, 405-407; Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 215-216; Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticisms in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. I (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 322-324; Eugenio Refini, "Longinus and Poetic Imagination in Late Renaissance Literary Theory," in *Translations of the Sublime: The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' Peri Hupsous in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre*, ed. Caroline Van Eck, Stijn Bussels, Maarten Delbeke, and Jürgen Pieters (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 33-53.

[46] Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticisms*, 323; also quoted in Refini, "Longinus and Poetic Imagination," 39. "L'huomo che altezza de la Poesia o del Eloquenza, o de la Filosofia dee salire, per pensare, investigare, discorrere, e guidicare, ha bisogno di spiriti temperati, che inclinino nel freddo …; per continuare in queste operationi, ricerca copia di spiriti non deboli, ne facili a risolversi, ma stabili, e

As he continues, he points out that it is the 'warmth' of the spirits that leads to his conception of *furore* and its required concentration, which according to Giacomini can actually be called 'divine', precisely because it is not inscrutable and "it proceeds from Nature, which is the daughter of God, and from an excellent Nature … [which is] the human soul combined with a subject having that temperament."[47] These comments of course fairly directly refer to poetry, but in another oration from just a year before he also made a few important remarks on music. The central theme of his *De la purgatione de la tragedia* is how a purgation or purification of the emotions takes place in relation to being exposed to affects.[48] Similar to his approach to poetic *furore*, Giacomini addresses the topic from the perspective of bodily humours and spirits, as he calls them. He highlights how particular humoral dispositions make one more receptive to certain affects, and points towards the idea that purging the excess of these spirits is beneficial for each individual. This latter thought encompasses the growing important tendency of the time, that balance in all things is the ultimate aim. Moreover, reaching this balance, through experiencing the full palette of affects, including unpleasant ones, is a desirable journey. Additionally, he highlights the fact that the method of purging the affections is through mirroring the experienced passions of the performer. In Giacomini's view these mechanisms apply not only to the spoken word of tragedies, but to music too. Based largely on Aristotelian stances, he discusses how the ethical musical modes (e.g. Dorian) are not particularly suitable for purgation, whereas the likes of Phrygian and Mixolydian are particularly effective for arousing affects.[49] As result of this reasoning he favours the Aristotelian stance over Plato's ideal, and confirms that not only ethical music, but also music that arouses the passions is morally acceptable, and even desirable.

Giacomini's considerations bring us into somewhat ambiguous territory, and in many ways, as we will see shortly, very close to what Galilei lays out and applies in a more

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fermi, che muovon con vigorosi, e potenti fantasmi, ma per bene eseguire secondo l'idea in se conceptua, ha bisogno di calore, accioche con efficacia esprima." Giacomini, *Orationi e discorsi*, 59-60.

[47] Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, 323. "… procede de la Natura, che è figliuola di Dio, e da Natura eccellente dico dal anima humana a soggetto di tal temperamento congiunta." Giacomini, *Orationi e discorsi*, 61.

[48] Cf. Giacomini, *Orationi e discorsi*, 29-52. For an intriguing take in which the author discusses Giacomini in relation to homeopathy and allopathy see Federico Schneider, *Pastoral Drama and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 33-41.

[49] Cf. Giacomini, *Orationi e discorsi*, 42.

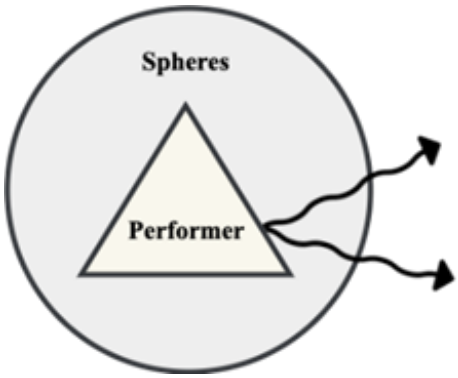

Figure 3-3. Performative mindset 2 – *poetic furore*

directly musical context. Giacomini's physiological approach to explaining the nature of poetic *furore* and his advocacy for the act of the purgation process shows an attempt at recasting the discourse surrounding divine and spherical inspiration's role in creation and performance. However, it is very important to note that the emphasis here is not on denying the need for the magical but on the imperative of designing a more human conception of it. In other words, the proposed direction here is not to insert one's spirit into the sphere, but to awake the sphere in one's own spirit.

As we have seen in the arguments laid out above, poetic *furore* has been approached, shaped, and reshaped in multiple ways; however, in terms of treating it as a mindset, I propose the following core properties for it. *Poetic furore* is a performance-based act of uniting the soul or spirit with the spheres (see Figure 3-3). Pretence, *simulation* and *dissimulation*, being earthly qualities, do not form a part of this process. *Poetic furore* involves magical transformation, and this metamorphosis of the able individual, is (usually) based on leaving one's inner self behind, in order to capture objective beauty from the outer supernatural. *Poetic furore* claims *to be* and not *to seem*.

3.6 To become

Vincenzo Galilei approached the act of performance in a fundamentally different manner from Zarlino. In the earlier quoted passage from *Dialogo* on how musicians ought to observe *zannis*, he detaches imitation from the spheres and places it on the ground with

human interaction. What we find in his remarks is not only the idea that oratory is paired with theatricality, but the implication that theatricality mirrors everyday conversation. The sounding voice of characters from different social standings, with their respective characteristics and the myriad of situations in which these mix with each other, feature as key ideals here.[50] The musical imitation of such a model points towards an emphasis on character- or situation-based affects aided by a suitably delivered enactment.

To a certain extent, Galilei's overall view of the relationship between practice and theory, as described in his *Dialogo,* ties in with his earthly treatment of imitation. Without a doubt, theory features as a fundamental component, but on multiple occasions he emphasises a strongly pragmatic and experiment-based approach to knowledge. In a notable instance, when discussing consonances in the music of the Ancients, he points out, via Bardi, that "the goal of the arts is an action, something different from understanding."[51] In his take, 'understanding' is paired with the sciences. He makes it clear that 'doing' without 'understanding' is not a worthy pursuit for a self-respecting connoisseur, but nevertheless, the fact that action receives an end status bears an undeniable relevance.

The way Galilei treats the hierarchy of musicians is not as categorically clear as it was in the case of Zarlino either. There is an evident agreement between the two theorists that those who play, compose, and also write with excellence merit the highest praise, but beyond that, the further categories that appear for Galilei seem to take him on a different path. Firstly, he describes a group whose members are not as well-rounded as those individuals capable of amalgamating the three components of musical activities, but whose extensive knowledge of music make them worthy of esteem. Secondly, he singles out those who teach the virtues, as they are rare and more excellent than those who simply delight with their buffoonery. Thirdly, he points towards those "whose knowledge is joined to the best habits, which are most to be desired in the perfect musician and in every other talented person, who through example and scholarship make practitioners and listeners scholarly

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[50] Emily Wilbourne in her recent study, *Seventeenth-Century Opera and the Sound of the Commedia dell'Arte* (Chicago, Il: The University of Chicago Press, 2016) provides some intriguing propositions on how the sonic text of late sixteenth century theatre and *commedia dell'arte* shaped the expressive language of early operas, thus highlighting further important prospects of Galilei's proposed connection between musicians and *zannis.*

[51] Galilei, *Dialogue*, 261. "& le arti hano per fine l'operate, cosa diversa dall'intendere." Galilei, *Dialogo della musica,* 105.

and well mannered".[52] It is clearly noticeable that in this system of division knowledge receives a strong emphasis. However, in an earlier section of the *Dialogo* those who are not able to apply theory in action receive some gentle criticism too:

> Bardi: I will never fail to satisfy you in all that I can do and know. What happens to the orator sometimes happens also to the learned and knowledgeable player and contrapuntist. They know how to write and demonstrate their knowledge with excellence and can tell you every minimal detail of how to play and compose well. But we find their imagination [*fantasia*] so barren of invention and their fingers and hands - whether from defect of nature, from little practice, or some other circumstance - so weak and inept at obeying what reason commands that they cannot express by their means the affections in the manner intended and etched in their minds. These are reasons why neither one nor the other satisfies in action. Consequently, they resign from the undertaking, seeking, like the orator, to compensate for this defect with the pen, with which many have succeeded admirably.[53]

To mark further desirable attributes and values of the musician, Galilei provides some additional indications. In the above quote we have already seen the enormous importance of imagination and we can also sense that its absence counts as an almost cardinal defect. When singling out other favourable qualities Galilei lists intelligence (*ingegno*), good judgement, felicitous memory, graceful disposition of the hands and their occasional marvellous effect on the listeners. On the side of objectionable characteristics, besides the

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[52] Galilei, *Dialogue*, 373. "… quando quel saper loro sia congiunto à ottimi costumi; i quali principalmente si devono desiderare nel perfetto Musico, & in ciascun'altro virtuoso; accioche con il suo essempio & con la sua scienza faccia scienziati & costumati quelli che lo pratticano & che l'ascoltano." Galilei, *Dialogo della musica,* 148. The referenced categories that are listed here stem from the section 'Which musicians deserve fame more than others'. Galilei, *Dialogue*, 373-374.

[53] Galilei, *Dialogue*, 342. "Bar. Non mancherò compiacervi in tutto quello che potrò & saprò mai. L'istesso che all'Oratore occorre alcuna fiata, avviene parimente nel dotto & sciente sonatore, & Contrapuntista; i quali saperanno scrivere & dimostrare quel saper loro per eccellenza, & avvertiranno cia scuno minimo particolare accidente che conviene al ben sonare & al ben comporre; ma troverassi poscia di questo la fantasia così priva d'inventioni, & le dita & le mani di quello, ò per difetto di natura, ò per haverle poco esercitate, ò per qual sia altro accidente; così deboli & male atte à ubidire à quanto dalla ragione le viene comandato, che non potendo con esse esprimere quelli affetti nella maniera che gli intende & gli ha nella sua idea scolpiti, son cagioni che ne uno ne l'altro nell'operare non sadisfanno interamente, & che si tolgano dall'impresa; cercando essi ancora come l'Oratore à tal difetto con la penna supplire: con la quale ne sono riusciti alcuni mirabilmente." Galilei, *Dialogo della musica,* 138.

already mentioned lack of imagination, we find weak hands, poor writing, slow *ingegno*, lack of grace, dullness, and rough hearing.[54]

However, ultimately when discussing the noblest, most important and principal part of music, Galilei refers to the thoughts and states of the soul expressed by means of words. He famously dismissed not only word painting and extreme intervals, but polyphony too, as in his view the interwoven imitative intricacies of multiple melodies are a "supreme hindrance in moving the soul to any affection".[55] Instead he propagated the notion of using few notes mirroring naturalness in both speaking and singing, which then if well expressed and understood by the listeners can move them to the desired affect.[56] In other words, in his ideal, the complex conceptual content of expressions is presented under the semblance of simplicity. Galilei goes a step further and gives some closer hints on how effective persuasion can take place, when he describes the key method to it as "to induce in another the same affection that one feels oneself".[57] With the addition of this indication not only the sonic material is pervaded with semblance, but the level of musical performance on which it operates is steered towards the domain of semblance and substance as well.

The *performative mindset* that emerges from Galilei's indications is based on *becoming* what one expresses. Its toolbox is filled with the concepts that stem from the observed interactions of the world's great theatre and that are enacted in a sincere process. Similarly, to *poetic furore*, it is a performance-based morphing action, but morphing in *becoming* is not directed towards uniting with the spheres but with inner human affect and passion (see Figure 3-4), thus placing the subjective on the level of the objective.[58]

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[54] For the listed favourable and objectionable characteristics cf. Galilei, *Dialogue*, 342-344.

[55] Galilei, *Dialogue*, 217. "... sommo impedimento à commuovere l'animo ad affettione alcuna." Galilei, *Dialogo della musica*, 87. This phrase originates from Girolamo Mei's letter to Galilei dated 8 May 1572 – cf. Palisca, *Girolamo Mei (1519-1594), Letters*, 97.

[56] Cf. Vincenzo Galilei, *Dubbi intorno a quanto io ho detto dell'uso dell'enharmonico, con la solutione di essi* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale), MS Galilei 3, Fol. 67r-67v. The relevant passage is translated in Claude V. Palisca, "Galilei and Some Links between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody," *The Musical Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (July 1960): 347.

[57] Galilei, *Dialogue*, 224, with slight alterations to the translation by myself. "... & di quella il co durre altrui per quel mezzo nella medesima affettione di se stesso." Galilei, *Dialogo della musica*, 89.

[58] What is particularly interesting and simultaneously shows a somewhat paradoxical nature about Galilei's thinking, is how he remains connected with the Platonist tendencies of Florence, the Camerata, and the Alterati, and yet nears so distinctly with his descriptions to an earthly theatrical realm. For further connections between Galilei's thinking and poetic *furore* see Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance*

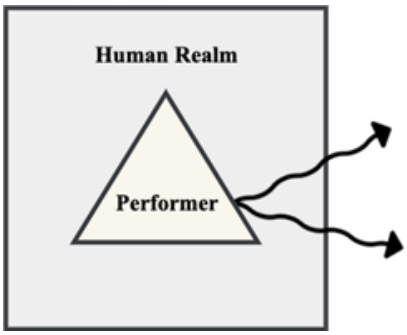

Figure 3-4. Performative mindset 3 – *to become*

Relating this mindset to pretence is unavoidable, but this connection is ambiguous, and ultimately, *becoming*, given its idealistic nature, denies pretence. In his *Dialogo* Galilei takes a correspondingly equivocal stance towards simulation-based persuasion. In one instance he describes a situation whereby a lecturer gives an excellent philosophy lesson with complex ideas delivered in an exquisite manner supported by sonorous voice and suitable gestures. Galilei points out that such an event can fully persuade the unassuming listener, but questions what one would think of the outstanding orator if it would turn out that the entire lecture was memorised and delivered without a proper understanding of the subject. He proposes that the listener's admiration for the performer would immediately be decreased by such a revelation of deception, thus pointing towards the idea that persuasion is only acceptable if it is underlaid by knowledge and driven by sincerity, even if there is no material difference. Additionally, in terms of the moral character of the musician he points out that "it is impossible to find a man who is both truly a musician and full of vices; when the latter is the case, it is difficult, indeed impossible to be virtuous and make others virtuous."[59] With such comments Galilei points vaguely towards an ideal where a virtuous honest inner self enacts affects hand in hand with its own virtuous state. The connotations and potential consequences of this new ground are not questioned by him, but nevertheless

Magic, 141-142. Also, for some intriguing points about Platonism and performance in Florence, and the Duke's role as a Neoplatonic Magus within this, see Nina Treadwell, *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: The 1589 Interludes for La Pellegrina* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 30-45.

[59] Galilei, *Dialogue*, 373. "… che egli è impossibile di trovare un huomo che sia Musico veramente, & che sia vitioso: & essendo così fatto, farà difficile anzi impossibile, che egli sia virtuoso & che faccia virtuosi altri." Galilei, *Dialogo della musica,* 148. Note that in Galilei's original version, he uses the word *virtuoso* for both the player and the listener.

by establishing this theatrical-rhetorical foundation of delivery,[60] he simultaneously and unavoidably opens up scope for 'honest *simulation* and *dissimulation*' as a desired virtue – which soon manifests itself in a further *performative mindset*.

3.7 To represent

In 1612, Galileo Galilei, the son of Vincenzo, wrote the following letter to Lodovico Cardi da Cigoli, describing the means of artistic expression in an intriguing fashion:[61]

> There is an imperfection, and a thing that greatly decreases the praise due to sculpture: for the farther the medium of imitation is from the things being imitated, that much more is the imitation marvellous… Would we not admire a musician, who, through singing, represents the feelings and passions of a lover, and moves us to have compassion for him, much more than if he were to do so through weeping? And this is because singing is a means not only different from, but contrary to the expression of sadness, and tears and plaints are very similar to it. And would we not admire [the musician] much more if he did so without voice, with the instrument alone, with musical dissonances and pathos-filled sounds, since the inanimate strings are less able to awaken the secret *affetti* of our soul, than the voice is in telling of them?[62]

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[60] It has to be noted that Vicentino had already advised singers to observe orators as a model for delivery in 1555, but he never pointed towards theatrical interaction as inspiration. Cf. Vicentino, *L'antica musica,* 301-302. Vicentino and Galilei also shared the belief that music's main aim was to arouse passions in the listeners, but while Vicentino proposed chromaticism as the compositional device to achieve the desired effect, Galilei's choice of tool was monody.

[61] For an excellent take on Galileo's relationship with the courtly surroundings see Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993). For an article specifically discussing the importance and role of music in Galileo's life see Dinko Fabris, "Galileo and Music: A Family Affair," in *The Inspiration of Astronomical Phenomena VI, Proceedings of a Conference Celebrating the 400th Anniversary of Galileo's First Use of the Telescope* (Venice 2009), ed. Enrico Maria Corsini (San Francisco, CA: Astronomical Society of the Pacific, 2011), 57-72.

[62] "È a loro imperfezione, e cosa che scema grandissimamente il pregio alla scultura: perciocché quanto più i mezzi, co'quali si imita, son lontani dalle cose da imitarsi, tanto più l'imitazione è maravigliosa … Non ammireremmo noi un musico, il quale cantando e rappresentandoci le querele e le passioni d'un amante ci muovesse a compassionarlo, molto più che se piangendo ciò facesse? e questo, per essere il canto un mezzo non solo diverso, ma contrario ad esprimere i dolori, e le lagrime et il pianto similissimo. E molto più l'ammireremmo, se tacendo, col solo strumento, con crudezze et accenti patetici musicali, ciň facesse, per esser le inanimate corde meno atte a risvegliare gli affetti occulti dell'anima nostra, che la voce raccontandole." Galileo Galilei to Lodovico Cigoli, dated 26 June 1612. Transcribed in Antonio Favaro, ed., *Le opere di Galileo Galilei,* vol. 11 (Florence: Barbera, 1901), 341-

It is immediately apparent that in Galileo's view, unlike in his father's arguments, an effective expression of the affects does not necessarily depend on the performer directly feeling the passion that he wishes to be communicated. Instead, Galileo appears to be propagating a certain distance from the 'natural' and suggests that representation (based on observation and imitation) is more likely to move the soul and awaken its 'secret *affetti*'.

If we take into account the CCP's behavioural matrix, which as I argued earlier has a performative relation with Vincenzo Galilei's thinking and led him to turn to the *zannis'* everyday-life-influenced interaction, in order to find inspiration for artistic expression – or as Zarlino put it, he proposed that musicians become out-and-out actors and buffoons – and we combine this with Galileo's proposed inner distance, we end up with a rather intriguing amalgamation. In this mix, our musical performer resembles an actor, who represents the affects with the utmost success, and yet he does not directly feel them. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to suggest that this performance ideal or method of expression is an early manifestation of what was labelled by Denis Diderot just over 160 years later as the 'paradox of the actor'.[63] Diderot in his concise essay from 1773, takes the foremost actor David Garrick as an example of someone who could express every emotion, yet claimed not to have felt anything whilst doing so, and argues that indeed "extreme sensitivity makes middling actors; middling sensitivity makes the ruck of bad actors; and in complete the absence of sensitivity is the possibility of a sublime actor."[64] With this proposition, Diderot

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42. Also quoted in Rebecca Cypess, *Curious and Modern Inventions: Instrumental Music as Discovery in Galileo's Italy* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 18. In this context the quote is used to support her arguments centring around what she calls the 'paradox of instrumentality' – a convincing framework attempting to explain how the correspondence between the apparent opposition of material instruments and the ephemeral affetti that they were used to represent took place in early modern Italy. Cf. Cypess, *Curious and Modern Inventions*, 13-51.

[63] Cf. Denis Diderot, "Paradoxe sur le comédien," in *Oeuvres esthétiques*, ed. Paul Verniére (Paris: Bordas, 1988), 229-381. For an intriguing discussion on the connections between acting, *sensibilité*, and musical performance in the late eighteenth century, see Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 154-159. For a study which examines the 'paradox' from a psychological perspective in the context of twenty-first-century opera performance, see Klaus R. Scherer, (Thomas Moser, Gillian Keith, Lucy Schaufer, Bruno Taddia, Christoph Prégardien, contrib.), "The Singer's Paradox: On Authenticity in Emotional Expression on the Opera Stage," in *The Emotional Power of Music: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Musical Arousal, Expression, and Social Control,* ed. Tom Cochrane, Tom Bernardo Fantini, and Klaus R. Scherer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 55-74.

[64] Denis Diderot, *The Paradox of Acting,* trans. Walter Herries Pollock (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883), 17, with slight alterations to the translation by myself. "C'est l'extrême sensibilité qui fait les acteurs médiocres; c'est la sensibilité médiocre qui fait la multitude des mauvais acteurs; et c'est le

fundamentally challenges the old Horatian thought of – 'If you would have me weep, you must first feel grief yourself' (*Si vis me flere dolendum est primum ipsi tibi*).[65]

Galileo is nowhere near as detailed or explicit as Diderot; however, much his enthusiasm for representation over actual tears points towards the potent and virtuous power of the similarly paradoxical notion of 'honest *simulation* and *dissimulation*'.

A further highly interesting point in Galileo's writing is the remark on instruments as admirable 'artificial' tools. The reason for his fascination with instruments is that to him they appear to be even further away from the natural, and therefore their capability of moving the passions of the listener is even more wonderous. At this point it is worth briefly taking a look back at Galileo's father, and how he approached the questions of instruments and artificiality, as his stances show an interesting foreshadowing of what manifests itself so clearly within his son's proposition. In Vincenzo's *Dialogo* we find a sense of equivocality about instruments and their capacity of expression. In one instance he describes their abilities as follows:

> Bardi: Do not doubt it at all – although Zarlino disagrees in chapter seven of the second part of his *Istitutioni* – that the sound of an instrument artfully made without the use of words had the capacity, according to Aristotle, as I cited above, to imitate moral character and had a very great ability to impress on the souls of listeners a large part of the affections that an expert player wished.[66]

The favourable light in which instrumental music appears here is clear, but Vincenzo discusses the matter only on a very few occasions in the *Dialogo*. This phenomenon is not particularly surprising, because, as we know, the priority of his arguments here was to show how monodic melodies which express the conceits of a given text ought to be the key to reclaiming the power of ancient music. The wordless sounds of instruments are of course

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manque absolu de sensibilité qui prépare les acteurs sublimes." Diderot, "Paradoxe sur le comédien," 313.

[65] Horace, *Ars Poetica,* lines 102-103, https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/arspoet.shtml.

[66] Galilei, *Dialogue,* 226. "Non ne dubitate punto, se bene il Zarlino è di contrario parere nel capo 7. Della seconda parte delle sue institutioni, che il suono dello strumento fato dall'arte senza l'uso delle parole, haveva secondo cheo io vi accennai di sopra, & come vuole Aristotile, natura d'imitare il costume, & d'haverlo in se, & grandissima facultà d'operare ne gli animi degli uditori gran parte degli affetti che al perito sonatore piacevano." Galilei, *Dialogo della musica,* 90.

not really compatible with this framework, thus their use in their own right remains peripheral and questionable. However, the way Vincenzo treats the notion of artificiality suggests a very different and significantly increased role of instruments and artfully crafted tools in general. His *Dialogo* already points towards a critique of Zarlino's Boethian-inspired division, where vocal music is seen as 'natural' and instrumental as 'artificial', but it is in a lesser-known treatise of his, the *Discorso intorno all'opere di messer Gioseffo Zarlino* from 1589, where he takes this notion to an undoubtedly more elaborate level. The most revealing arguments appear in the fourth chapter of the treatise, which is designed as a rebuttal to Book One, Chapter 6 of Zarlino's *Sopplimenti*. Galilei systematically attacks the notion of vocal music being 'natural' and astutely presents his stance in which he claims that artful singing is a result of an 'artificial' moulding of the voice. In his words:

> Laughter and tears are natural to men, Mr. Gioseffo, and we laugh and cry naturally without having to learn from art. But to sing – and, even more, in a regulated fashion – is taught by art. Although the material of singing, which is the voice (as has been said), is had from nature, to know how to form the intervals at will, consonant as well as dissonant (be they of whatever measure and proportion), is taught by art.[67]

Additionally, he establishes that the 'artificial' and 'natural' are "operative causes, each of which is perfect in its genus".[68] To prove this statement, he often draws on the corporeal domain – in a notable instance he points out, for example, that nature is responsible for the mechanisms of bodily humours, whereas it is only 'art' that can reset a dislocated bone.[69] With such stances he essentially elevates the 'artificial' to the same level as the 'natural', and sets up a dialogue between them where each side has its merits and shortcomings, and where the exchange between the two can lead to mutually beneficial results.

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[67] Goldberg, "Where Nature and Art Adjoin," 356. "Messer Gioseffo, & si ride & si piagne naturalmente senz' haver l'apparato dall'arte; ma il cantare, & vie più regolatamente s'apprendre dell'arte, & quantunque la materia del cantare che è la voce come si è detto, si habbia dalla natura, il saper poi a posta sua formar gl'intervalli tanto consonanti quanto dissonanti & siano pur di qual si voglino misura & proportione, si apprende dall'arte." Vincenzo Galilei, *Discorso intorno all'opere di messer Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia* (Florence: Marescotti, 1589), 99.

[68] Goldberg, "Where Nature and Art Adjoin," 334. "L'arte, & la natura sono cause operatrici, ciascuna delle quali è nel suo gener' è perfetta." Galilei, *Discorso*, 74.

[69] Cf. Galilei, *Discorso*, 75.

He underlines this suggestion by going even further in favour of the 'artificial'. In the following key statement, he wittily turns around Zarlino's stance:

> What is made according to nature cannot be properly corrected by means of those things that are made by art. These words concluded the truth every time if, on the contrary, he would have said this: "What is made according to nature can be very properly corrected by means of those things that are made by art."[70]

As we can see, he proposes that the 'artificial' can make the 'natural' even better – and at the centre of this system he positions humans as artificers able to make these improvements. He adapts this process of creation directly to musical instruments too:

> Likewise, artificial instruments are never made in imitation of those that nature uses, for this similitude is not important to the artisan. But it is indeed important to him to be able to attain with his instrument the proposed goal. When the fabricators of these instruments wish to correct or improve anything lacking in them, they cannot otherwise correct it with the example or model made by nature, as Zarlino says, but rather with regard to the goal or true use that is expected of it.[71]

Turning our attention back to Galileo, in his view, as we remember, instruments should be marvelled at even more than the sounds of voices. If we observe this statement in the 'light of artifice', and pair it with the theory of mindsets, we find that instruments can symbolically be identified as the material manifestation of a social mentality, where truth or the 'natural' does not overrule ingenious deceit. Following this logic, it can be argued that perhaps this aesthetic stance made a significant contribution to the shifting attitudes towards instrumental repertoire in the early seventeenth century, which

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[70] Goldberg, "Where Nature and Art Adjoin," 330. "*Che quello che è fatto secondo la Natura non si può ben correggere con il mezzo di quelle cose che son fatte dall'arte*, le quai parole concludevano la verità tuttavolta, che per il contrario havesse detto così. Che quello che è fatto secondo la natura si può molto ben correggere col mezzo di quelle cose che son fatte dall'arte." Galilei, *Discorso*, 70.

[71] Goldberg, "Where Nature and Art Adjoin," 332-333. "Talmente che gli strumenti artifiziali, non si fanno mai ad imitatione di quelli che usa la natura; percioche all'artefice non importa questa similitudine; ma gl'importa bene il poter conseguire con il suo strumento, il fine propostosi. Quando poi i fabricatori di questi strumenti, vogliono correggere o migliorare alcuna cosa la qual manchi in essi, non possano altramente correggerla con l'essemplare o modello fatto dalla natura come il Zarlino dice; ma si bene col riguardare al fine, o vero uso che s'aspetta da quello." Galilei, *Discorso*, 73-74.

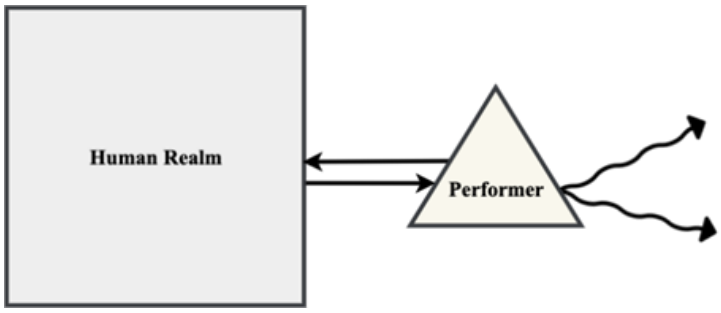

Figure 3-5. Performative mindset 4 – *to represent*

manifested itself in the "rise of the first substantial published body of independent, idiomatic instrumental music in the European tradition", as described by Rebecca Cypess.[72] Furthermore, with the addition of *adaptability* as an idealised behavioural trope of early-modern Italy, the hypothesis arises that the musical forms for instruments such as sonatas, canzonas, and toccatas, as approached in *stile moderno,* with their multitude of affects following each other in rapid succession arranged under one larger structural entity, also mirror the outlined mindset. The continuous change of the musical material provides here a quintessential playground for the instrumentalist to shift from one affect to the next and to represent each of them with virtuous artifice, thus showing a fascinating entanglement, where both form and delivery are underpinned by a truly protean nature.[73]

In broader terms, the mindset of *representing* (see Figure 3-5), which, as I argued for earlier, surfaces from Galileo's observations, operates with pretence and artificiality based on the extension of human imagination manifesting itself in multiple possibilities of self-representation. In regard to the inner condition of the performer we find here a shift towards the acceptance of *simulation* and *dissimulation,* not only in Vincenzo Galilei's theatrical 'passionate self' sense, but also as a deliberately imagined inner fiction. The representation, however 'honest', accepts its 'artificiality' and takes away the negative connotations from its admittedly fictional nature. The performances of this mindset act fully and firmly on the

[72] Cypess, *Curious and Modern Inventions*, 3.

[73] The fact that the violin emerged as perhaps the most popular melody instrument of the time fits well into this picture too – as Giovanni Battista Doni points out, it is its adaptable and malleable nature that makes it the most appealing of all the instruments. Cf. Giovanni Battista Doni, *Annotazioni sopra il compendio de' generi e de' modi della musica* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1640), 337– 38. Cypess also discusses Doni's take on the violin, Cf. Cypess, *Curious and Modern Inventions*, 31, 118.

disenchanted earthly grounds of the human realm, and its emergence, aided by shifting behavioural patterns and values, marks a key moment in music's intensifying dialogue with modernity.[74]

Throughout this chapter I have argued that the behavioural tropes and the shifting virtue ethical system of the CCP, and in particular the rise of *simulation* and *dissimulation*, can be traced in the changing musical landscape of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. I introduced the theoretical framework of *performative mindsets*, which in my view emerge from the various strategies of sixteenth-century musical contributors striving to grasp the desired effects of the power of music. The four mindsets, Zarlino's *projecting*, the Neoplatonist *poetic furore,* Vincenzo Galilei's *becoming,* and Galileo Galilei's *representing* show an increasing level of engagement with the disenchanted earthly human realm, 'artificiality', and the notions of *simulation* and *dissimulation*. In Part Three we turn our attention more directly to musical practice.

[74] As Torquato Accetto puts it "dissimulation remains here on the earth, where all its business is to be found." / "... e per conseguenza la dissimulazione rimane in terra, dove ha tutti i suoi negozii." Accetto, *Della dissimulazione onesta*, 58. For a rather tempestuously gloomy take on Vincenzo Galilei's thoughts in connection with the Weberian notion of 'disenchantment', see 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. Suzanna Clark and Alexander Rehding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 17-29.

PART THREE

SOCIAL NORMS AS/IN PERFORMANCE PRACTICE: THE CONTINUOUS CONVERSATIONAL PERFORMER ON THE MUSICAL STAGE

4

AN OPENING SCENE

4.1 A *virtuoso* of taste and the *concerti delle dame*

In his *Discorso sopra la musica* from *ca.* 1628, Vincenzo Giustiniani, the wealthy banker, intellectual, art collector and *virtuoso* of taste, marked 1575 and the years around it, as the period when a 'new style of singing' appeared in the musical scene of Italy.[1] He explains that this manner of singing was chiefly performed with one voice and accompaniment, but as part of his remarks, he also includes the following well-known description of the

[1] Cf. Hercole Bottrigari and Vincenzo Giustiniani, 1. *Il Desiderio or Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments;* 2. *Discorso sopra la musica*, trans. Carol MacClintock (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), 69. As I have mentioned previously, the term '*virtuoso* of taste' comes from Andrew Dell'Antonio, who in turn borrowed it from Marc Fumaroli. As Dell'Antonio describes, *virtuosi* of taste were members of the leisure class, usually coming from families of the lower nobility, who cultivated the act (and art) of collecting and evaluating cultural artifacts. They directly engaged with artists in the process of collection, but it is important to emphasise that their role was distinctly separate from the creation of artworks, and their 'performance' manifested itself instead in applying their taste to sophisticated and high-level discourse about the artifacts. In Dell'Antonio's reading, Giustiniani's account of changes in the musical landscape of Italy that took place during his lifetime can be described as a 'sonic gallery', where the pieces of his 'aural collection' are exhibited in thematically arranged 'rooms', each of them symbolising a particular musical 'school'. Cf. Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy*, 39-44 (concise summary of the role and activities of *virtuosi* of taste), 52-60 (Giustiniani as *virtuoso* of taste, discussion on his 'sonic gallery' on 58-60). For two further extensive readings of Giustiniani's *Discorso* see John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto,* vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 84-120; and Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597,* vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 46-52. Giustiniani as an art collector (particularly due to his early patronage of Caravaggio) has been extensively covered by art historians. Introductory overviews on his collection include Luigi Salerno, "The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani I-III," *The Burlington Magazine* 102, no. 682 (January 1960): 21-27, no. 684 (March 1960): 92-15, no. 685 (April 1960): 135-148; and Rudolf Preimesberger, "Liebe zu Skulptur und Malerei: Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1637) – Ein Sammler und seine Sammlung," in *Wettstreit der Künste: Malerei und Skulptur von Dürer bis Daumier (Ausstellungs-Katalog München/Köln),* ed. Ekkehard Mai and Kurt Wettengl (Wolfratshausen: Edition Minerva, 2002), 99-109. For an article on art as part of Giustiniani's noble identity see Christina Strunck, "Türme und Territorium: Vincenzo Giustiniani als adeliger 'Konzeptkünstler'," in *Fürst und Fürstin als Künstler: Herrschaftliches Künstlertum zwischen Habitus, Norm und Neigung,* ed. Annette C. Cremer, Matthias Müller, and Klaus Pietschmann (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2018), 117-141.

Ferrarese and Mantuan *concerti delle dame,* in which the style is seized in an ensemble context:

> The ladies of Mantua and Ferrara were highly competent, and vied with each other not only in regard to the timbre [*metallo*] and disposition [*disposizione*] of their voices but also in the design of exquisite *passaggi* delivered at opportune points, but not in excess… Furthermore, they moderated or increased their voices, loud or soft, narrowing or widening [them] according to the sections [of the song], now dragging it out [*strascinarla*], now speeding it up, with the accompaniment of a sweet, interrupted sigh, now singing long *passaggi* legato or detached, now *gruppi*, now leaps, now with long *trilli*, now with short, and now with sweet *passaggi* sung gently, to which sometimes one heard an echo answer unexpectedly. They accompanied the music and the ideas [*concetti*] with appropriate facial expressions, glances, and gestures, with no awkward movements of the mouth or hands or body which might not express the feeling of the song. They made the words clear in such a way that one could hear even the last syllable of the word, which was never interrupted or suppressed by *passaggi* and other embellishments, and with many other particular artifices and observations that will be of note to persons more experienced than I.[2]

As Anthony Newcomb highlights, within this passage Giustiniani refers to the heyday of the Ferrarese vocal group, which can be placed within the years of 1583 and 1589, and to the Mantuan imitation of the former, established by Vincenzo I Gonzaga between 1587 and 1589.[3] The ensemble active in Ferrara, and its mode of operation in

[2] Bottrigari and Giustiniani, 1. *Il Desiderio*; 2. *Discorso*, 69, with some alterations to the translation by myself. "... et era gran competenza fra quelle dame di Mantova et di Ferrara, che facevano a gara, non solo quanto al metallo et alla disposizione delle voci, ma nell'ornamento di esquisiti passaggi tirati in opportuna congiuntura e non soverchi ... e di più col moderare e crescere la voce forte o piano, assottigliandola o ingrossandola, che secondo che veniva a' tagli, ora con strascinarla, ora smezzarla, con l'accompagnamento d'un soave interrotto sospiro, ora tirando passaggi lunghi, seguiti bene, spiccati, ora gruppi, ora a salti, ora con trilli lunghi, ora con brevi, et or con passaggi soavi e cantati piano, dalli quali tal volta all'improvviso si sentiva echi rispondere, e prinipalmente con azione del viso, e dei sguardi e de' gesti che accompagnavano appropriatamente la musica e li concetti, e sopra tutto senza moto della persona e della bocca e delle mani sconcioso, che non fusse indirizzato al fine per il quale si cantava, e con far spiccar bene le parole in guisa tale che si sentisse anche l'ultima sillaba di ciascuna parola, le quale dalli passaggi et altri ornamenti non fusse interrotta o soppressa, e con molti altri particolari artificj et osservazioni che saranno a notizia di persone più esperimentate di me." Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1903), 107-108.

[3] Cf. Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, vol. 1, 51. For further imitations of the Ferrarese vocal group see Newcomb, *The Madrigal in Ferrara*, vol. 1, 90-103.

terms of the social status of its members and the function it fulfilled throughout the years of its existence, is particularly notable; therefore, prior to analysing the above quote from Giustiniani in detail, I will take a brief look at these aspects.

In the narrative that is often presented regarding the ensemble's history, two distinct stages are pointed out.[4] In the first stage, a group of singing ladies is mentioned, active in the 1570s, who were all noblewomen and part of the court owing to their social rank, enjoying its benefits regardless of whether or not they sang. In the second stage, beginning at the turn of the following decade, a new group of women is highlighted, who, unlike their predecessors, largely did not come from noble families, but were selected into the ensemble based primarily on their musical abilities. These women were required by Duke Alfonso II d'Este to perform, were made part of the inner circle of the court as a result of their artistic merits, and to secure their positions (and simultaneously disguise their origins) were 'ennobled' through marriages. However, as Laurie Stras stresses in her recent study of women and music in sixteenth-century Ferrara, the seemingly well-defined change from one ensemble set-up to the other is more complex than the manner in which it is frequently understood.[5]

The first aspect which needs further elaboration concerns the impetus for and circumstances of performing in the case of the singers active in the earlier stage of the ensemble. In the customary courtly etiquette of noble 'amateur' performances, privacy (i.e. narrow circle of equals or close to equals familiar with each other), the free (i.e. appropriate) and (seemingly) spontaneous choice of the performed material by the performer(s), and in given situations the courteous negotiation in urging the other(s) to perform, were considered key elements.[6] Given the social status of the ladies associated

[4] This approach was established by Anthony Newcomb – for his discussions on the topic see Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, vol. 1, 7-11; and Anthony Newcomb, "Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians?: Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 90-115.

[5] Cf. Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 3-11, 168-240. Stras' volume considers the female presence in the musical scene of Ferrara on a broad spectrum, including tracing roots back to the first half of the sixteenth century, and exploring the musical practices of convents, alongside the courtly surrounding. In my concise discussion on the *concerto delle dame* I have limited my references to what most directly concerns the history of the courtier women associated with the ensemble, and their relation to the present study.

[6] These elements of etiquette were all in place largely to retain control over the carefully crafted public image of the courtier and to clearly distance themselves from professionals. The Castiglionian ideals of

with the first version of the vocal group, one might assume that they would have operated along the mentioned rules. However, a 1571 performance of the Bendidio sisters, two key contributors to the ensemble, points to a different picture. In the summer of that year, Alfonso II was forced to greet Princes Rudolph and Ernest of Austria – nephews of Duchess Barbara, Alfonso's wife at the time – and their company travelling through Northern Italy, in the border town of Brescello where the Duke's court temporarily resided due to the earthquake that shattered Ferrara in late 1570. The contemporary sources show that as part of entertainments honouring the foreign dignitaries, despite their mother passing away only a few days prior to the event, Lucrezia and Isabella Bendidio were commanded to rehearse and perform by Alfonso II, concentrating on specific repertoire requested by him.[7] In addition to the clearly documented 1571 performance, Stras speculates that in 1574, when the king of France, Henri III, visited the court of Ferrara, a similar dynamic took place, and the ladies (or at least Lucrezia) were required by the Duke to perform in front of an 'outsider'.[8]

The second point regarding the two-stage narrative that it is necessary to highlight concerns the family background of the members of the second group of singers. From the three ladies – Laura Peverara, Anna Guarini, and Livia d'Arco – principally associated with this formation, Livia d'Arco's noble origin has been acknowledged in modern scholarship for a long time. However, Elio Durante's and Anna Martellotti's relatively recent research has shown that Laura Peverara was also a daughter of a nobleman, not an artisan as previously thought.[9] Additionally, Stras points out that, based on a taxonomy by Torquato Tasso which provides a hierarchy of the noble families of Ferrara, Anna Guarini's

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performance and the public-private dichotomy is succinctly summarised in Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances*, 23-51; and for a study that refers to the mentioned aspects of etiquette from a more directly musical point of view see James Haar, "The Courtier as Musician," in *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. Paul Corneilson (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 20-37.

[7] For a complete account of the relevant sources and a detailed discussion on the event and the performance see Stras, *Women and Music*, 169-177.

[8] Cf. Stras, *Women and Music*, 182, 214-216.

[9] Cf. Elio Durante and Anna Martellotti, *'Giovinetta peregrina': La vera storia di Laura Peperara e Torquato Tasso* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2010), 31-59. Durante and Martellotti also show that Peverara was born in 1563 and not in 1550, as previously thought. This later date of birth places Peverara in the same age group as her singing partners, Anna Guarini and Livia d'Arco, and it also leads to a reconsideration of her relationship with Torquato Tasso. Cf. Durante and Martellotti, *'Giovinetta peregrina'*, 26.

status ought to be reconsidered too.[10] Indeed, the father of Anna, poet and court secretary Giovanni Battista Guarini, did not have an 'official' noble title, but on Tasso's list the Guarinis are mentioned in the same category that includes principal families of the court, such as the Bendidio and the Macchiavelli.[11] If we take into account Laura's rehabilitation into nobility, and the elevated family status of the Guarinis, the narrative that the second three ladies became part of the inner circle of the court based solely on their musical talent, and that their social standing by birth was significantly different to their predecessors, needs to be treated with caution.

Judging from records about the Bendidio sisters, it is clear that Alfonso II began to tamper with the etiquette of performances given by nobles already by the beginning of the 1570s. Seeing the success from the unusual approach of showcasing exceptional female virtuosity displayed by women, who, whilst belonging to the courtier class, could be directed on a level that would resemble the treatment of a *musico,* he soon realised that developing this model further and utilising it would bring an additional level of magnificence and adoration to him and his court from his most distinguished guests, for whom such events would be reserved as a form of exclusive flattery. During the decade of 1570 new talents appeared as part of the ensemble, namely Leonora Sanvitale and Vittoria Cybo Bentivoglio, and further performances took place displaying the outstanding skills of the Ferrarese noblewomen, but the real shift towards a fully-fledged manifestation of Alfonso II's ambitious plan only began in 1579, when his new wife, Margherita Gonzaga, arrived in his court. The creation of the new Duchess' *famiglia* started right away, and as part of this process Laura Peverara, Anna Guarini, and Livia d'Arco were soon added as

[10] Cf. Stras, *Women and Music*, 219. Tasso's complete taxonomy listing the hierarchy of the Ferrarese noble families is transcribed in Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara: Appendix: Original Language Source Material* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 29, https://www.cambridge.org/files/8815/3475/9294/Appendix_Original_Language_Source_Material.pdf ; and for the complete original context of Tasso's words see Torquato Tasso, *Il Forno, overo de la nobiltà* (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana, 2003), http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000475.

[11] Cf. Stras, *Women and Music: Appendix,* 29. In Tasso's taxonomy, there is also a higher tier included than that which the Guarini, Bendidio, and Macchiavelli families are part of. In this even more illustrious group, amongst others, the Bevilacqui and the Turchi are mentioned. The Macchiavelli family was without a doubt noble, but interestingly, Stras highlights that although the Bendidei are usually presented as nobles in the relevant literature, she cannot find a record that clearly supports this claim. Cf. Stras, *Women and Music*, 144 (incl. n13).

ladies-in-waiting to Margherita's newly forming household.[12] The new *concerto delle dame* or *musica secreta*, operating in the manner as envisioned by the Duke, began to perform in the early 1580s, and soon became the widely admired crown jewel of Alfonso II's musical establishment.[13] Although, as we have seen, the new group of women did not represent a fundamental shift in terms of their social standing by birth, and their operational

[12] In 1583 the Modenese Tarquinia Molza was also added to Margherita's household. She was from an older generation than the other women (born in 1542), and she had already sung in front of Alfonso II in Modena in as early as 1568. During her time in Ferrara – which ended in 1589 when her and Giaches de Wert were banished from the court due to a love affair deemed as inappropriate between them – she acted as more of an instructor than a regular member of the *concerto*. Francesco Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia* from 1577 provides an important primary source on Molza. The manuscript book consists of four dialogues, of which the first one proves to be particularly intriguing. This section includes nine orations which praise Molza's extraordinary personality and abilities, including her exceptional musical skills. From a musical standpoint, the interlocutor whose contributions prove to be the most insightful, is the Neapolitan nobleman and lutenist-composer, Fabrizio Dentice. In his oration we find remarks that allude to an extent to Giustiniani's description of the *concerto*, particularly in terms of Molza's at ease and varied voice-production, and her graceful control over her head and body whilst making music. (This latter remark is directed primarily at her viol playing, but by all likelihood it can be understood as an ideal for self-accompanied song, or for singing in general too.) The passages from Patrizi's *L'amorosa filosofia* I refer to can be found in Laurie Stras, "Recording Tarquinia: Imitation, Parody and Reportage in Ingegneri's 'Hor che 'l ciel e la terra e 'l vento tace'," *Early Music* 27, no. 3 (January 1999): 358-378, esp. 362-363. (Stras' study also provides intriguing insights into Molza's 1568 performance.) For a further essay on Molza's musical profile see Joanne M. Riley, "Tarquinia Molza (1542-1617): A Case Study of Woman, Music, and Society in the Renaissance," in *The Musical Woman: An International Perspective* 2, ed. Judith Lang Zaimont, Catherine Overhauser, and Jane Gottlieb (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1988), 470-493.

[13] Between 1577 and 1583 the warrior-courtier Giulio Cesare Brancaccio also sang occasionally with the ensemble, and Alfonso II's increased tampering with the courtly performance etiquette of nobles can be traced particularly clearly in the *virtuoso* bassist's relationship to the Duke's project. Brancaccio did not seem to have a particular issue with the occasion when he performed with Lucrezia Bendidio, Leonora Sanvitale, and Vittoria Cybo Bentivoglio in 1577. In 1581 he felt that the 'rule of privacy' was violated, when he was asked to perform with the *concerto* in front of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and his entire retinue. Furthermore, in 1583 when the Duke of Joyeuse was visiting Ferrara, the *musica secreta* provided private entertainment for the illustrious guest, yet when Brancaccio was called upon to participate, he refused to join – by this point it seemed to have particularly offended him that he would have been required to learn and rehearse specific pieces prepared for the planned performance. This treatment made him feel as if he resembled a *musico*, a status he would consider as offensive. As a result of his refusal to perform he was dismissed from the court. What shines through from these episodes is that the function and status that had crystallised itself by the 1580s and was 'accepted' by the ladies, could ultimately not be aligned with what Brancaccio, a nobleman of an older generation (born probably in the 1520s), would have considered as suitable to his identity as a courtier. For a biographical angle on Brancaccio's presence in Ferrara between 1577 and 1583 see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 104-115; and for a detailed discussion on how the performances Brancaccio was asked to provide during the time in question conflicted with his noble identity see Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 239-251.

model was not the result of an abrupt change, they possessed a wider range of musical skills, and essentially became a frequently used 'institutionalised' artistic unit with a special role in the system of courtly entertainment.[14] Bearing in mind these factors, the 'second' group can be seen as an entity with a different musical identity, but it is more fitting to consider them as part of an evolutionary chain rather than treating them as a radically new phenomenon.

The fact that the *concerto delle dame* operated in essence, both in terms of skills and function, at the level of expert professional musicians; and yet regarding their social status, the fact that its members belonged to the courtier class shows an intriguing entanglement of profiles. Considering this duality, it is worthwhile examining how the group's manner of delivery, as described by Giustiniani in the passage I cited previously, fares against courtly behavioural ideals and the model of the CCP. Richard Wistreich draws attention to Giustiniani's depiction of the conscious attention to physicality in terms of regulated bodily movements and the effective use of the eyes whilst performing, and how this aligns particularly closely with Castiglione's advice on how courtiers, taking their cue from oratory, ought to deliver spoken word.[15] Based particularly on the virtue of *temperance* and on the trope of *observation,* I consider this type of calculated and heightened awareness of what I like to call the 'bodyset' as a fundamental component of

[14] Cf. Stras, *Women and Music*, 217, 220.

[15] Cf. Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer*, 143-144. To mention just one further example from the courtesy books, della Casa's words in the following passage show a similarly distinct parallel with Giustiniani's observation on the 'body awareness' of the *concerti*: "One should also pay attention to how one moves his body, especially when speaking, for it often happens that one is so concerned with what he is thinking that he does not pay attention to anything else. There are some who shake their heads, who gaze into space, who raise one eyebrow to the middle of their forehead while lowering the other to the chin. They twist up their mouths. They spray spit in the face of whoever is listening. You will also find those who talk with their hands so much it looks like they are catching flies. These are unpleasant tics and rude mannerisms. I once heard it said – I have frequented learned men a lot, as you know – that a worthy man whose name was Pindar used to say that everything that has a sweet and refined taste was flavoured by the hand of grace and charm." Della Casa, *Galateo*, 78-79. "Vuolsi anco por mente come l'uom muove il corpo, massimamente in favellando, perciò che egli ragione che poco gli cale d'altro; e chi dimena il capo e chi straluna gli occhi e l'un ciglio lieva a mezzo la fronte e l'altro china fino al mento, e tale torce la bocca, et alcuni altri sputano addosso e nel viso a coloro co' quali ragionano; trovansi anco di quelli che muovono sì fattamente le mani come se essi ti volessero cacciar le mosche: che sono difformi maniere e spiacevoli. Et io udii già raccontare (ché molto ho usato con persone scientiate, come tu sai) che un valente uomo, il quale fu nominato Pindaro, soleva dire che tutto quello che ha in sé soave sapore et acconcio fu condito per mano della Leggiadria e della Avenentezza." Della Casa, *Il Galateo*, 66.

the actions of the CCP too, and thus a clear overlap occurs in this sense. However, to further expand on possible connections, I would argue that Giustiniani's words also lend themselves suitably to a more detailed reading through key elements (i.e. behavioural tropes and virtues) of the CCP's behavioural matrix.

The appropriate gestures and other physical movements with which, according to Giustiniani, the ladies accompanied their songs, provide a useful steppingstone to the first aspect that I would like to highlight. Directly after emphasising how they aptly matched their 'bodyset' to the music and the given ideas (*concetti*) within it, Giustiniani remarks that the words of the songs were delivered with such a clarity that every single syllable could be understood without any difficulty. If we pair these components with each other, the idea of an oratorical thinking emerges within performance, which instantly alludes to the behavioural trope of *persuasiveness* from the CCP. The second angle worth noting can be tied to Giustiniani's description of the rapid changes the ladies executed in both their dynamic shadings and the expressive colours within their vocal quality – yet again, perfectly matched to the affect of the music performed. To translate this to the behavioural tropes, the members of the *concerto delle dame* seem to have had a protean ability to shift with *ease* from one expression to another based on *observing* the musical material, and to utilise their *good judgement* to appropriately *adapt* their vocal tools to any given situation. A similar analogy can be drawn from the manner in which the ladies appeared to seize various forms of ornamentation according to Giustiniani; however, particularly in the case of the *passaggi*, a further aspect needs to be taken into consideration. We know that on many instances diminutions were pre-written for the Ferrarese *concerto*, which the members then performed from memory. For interested listeners there was a book available in which they could follow the musical material being performed,[16] but others may have easily been under the impression that what they heard was an exceptionally skilful manifestation of a practice generally recognised as improvised. Such a semblance of spontaneity must have been particularly impressive in the case of multiple-voice compositions with diminutions executed simultaneously by the participating singers.[17] Thus, whilst Giustiniani's remark of "exquisite *passaggi* delivered at opportune points, but

[16] Cf. Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, vol. 1, 25-27, 59.

[17] The two- and three-voice madrigals from Luzzascho Luzzaschi's *Madrigali per cantare et sonare a uno, e doi, e tre soprani* (Rome: Simone Verovio, 1601) exemplify (and 'document') this type of practice utilised in the court of Ferrara.

not in excess" points primarily to the tropes of *good judgment* and *observation* – the latter gaining particular importance when multiple voices are at play – aided by *temperance* in terms of determining the right measure and moment for implementing ornamentation, the potential for the virtue of *simulation/dissimulation* ought to be taken into additional consideration in the case of the *concerto delle dame*. In all, what transpires from the practices cultivated in the Ferrara, is that Alfonso II encouraged an operational model for the famed vocal group of the court where the lines between amateur and professional cultures were purposefully blurred and tampered with, and the manner of delivery – as described by Giustiniani – was imbued with courtly behavioural ideals with the aim of providing the utmost *meraviglia* for its elite listeners.

In the passage I previously analysed, Giustiniani depicts 'professional' performers in action, and indeed his words can be paired suitably with elements of the CCP's behavioural matrix. However, it cannot be forgotten that although as a well-educated nobleman Giustiniani would have received a certain amount of musical training, he was predominantly a noble listener who cultivated the art of conversing about music, so he was by no means a *musico*.[18] In the following chapter, I will shift my focus to texts written by professional musicians or individuals who were active as performers which explicitly deal with various matters of performance and/or provide detailed guidance on performance, and I will trace in what manner the behavioural tropes and virtues of the CCP manifest themselves in these works.

[18] In the first few passages of his *Discorso,* Giustiniani himself clearly describes his 'musical status' and the musical training he received – cf. Bottrigari and Giustiniani, 1. *Il Desiderio*; 2. *Discorso,* 67-68. Regarding the 'discourse-about' as opposed to playing music, Giustiniani highlights that, whilst in past times the nobility would engage in music making themselves as 'amateurs', in his own age, the execution is left to 'professionals', and the fashionable and suitable pastime for the aristocracy is to engage instead in artful conversation about the musical events they experienced. Cf. Bottrigari and Giustiniani, 1. *Il Desiderio*; 2. *Discorso*, 76-77. For the relevant passage, together with a brief discussion, see also Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 51-52.

5

FROM TEXTS TO ACTS

5.1 Overview of the contributors and their writing on performance

In this chapter, the first investigation I will pursue focuses on Giulio Caccini and his multiple references to the notion of *sprezzatura,* found within his various publications and personal correspondence.[1] Caccini's rise from a humble background to a celebrated *musico* of the Florentine Medici court needs little introduction, and his role and pivotal importance as a performer, teacher, and composer in the development of the 'new style of singing', monody, and court opera has received wide-ranging scholarly attention.[2] His direct quotation of Castglione's *sprezzatura,* and the manner in which he associated the notion with what he called the 'noble manner of singing', has also been extensively discussed and interpreted with intriguing variety in musicological literature;[3] however, I argue that my model of the CCP and its behavioural matrix – in particular the trope of *ease,* and the virtue of *simulation/dissimulation* – can contribute further shades to our understanding of Caccini's musical *sprezzatura*.

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[1] Caccini's references to *sprezzatura* provide the richest ground for discussing the notion in a musical context. However, another Florentine *musico,* Marco da Gagliano also makes mention of a musical *sprezzatura* in his preface to his court opera *La Dafne*. This piece of writing forms the basis of a case study I include in this chapter, and I will discuss in detail Gagliano's reference to the Castiglionian notion within my essay – cf. Chapter 5, 160-162.

[2] For an overview on Caccini's life and works see Kimberly Beck Hieb, "Giulio Caccini," *A-R Online Music Anthology* (2017), https://www.armusicanthology.com/ViewerPlus.aspx?music_id=773; and Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians,* 119-180. For a summary and contextual discussion on Caccini's claims about his singing style see Hill, *Roman Monody,* vol. 1, 57-120, esp. 57-59. A selection from the studies that deal with his place within the development of Florentine monody and the 'new style of singing' include Brown, "The Geography of Florentine Monody," 147-168; Tim Carter, "On the Composition and Performance of Caccini's 'Le nuove musiche' (1602)," *Early Music* 12, no. 2 (May 1984): 208-217; Victor Coelho, "The Players of Florentine Monody in Context and in History, and a Newly Recognized Source for 'Le nuove musiche'," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 9, no. 1 (2003), https://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/coelho.html; Fabris, "The Role of Solo Singing to the Lute," 133-145.

[3] I provide a detailed review of the relevant secondary literature as part of my discussion on *sprezzatura* later on in the chapter – cf. Chapter 5, 130-138.

Following my observations on *sprezzatura*, I change course, and rather than expressly interpreting a singular notion, I include two case studies, each of which focus respectively on a singular text, in which I seek and highlight various possible alignments with the complete behavioural matrix of the CCP. The two texts I analyse are the prefaces to Ottavio Durante's *Arie devote* and Marco da Gagliano's *La Dafne*. Whilst both publications appeared in print for the first time in 1608 – the former in Rome, and the latter in Florence – the identity of each writer and the nature of their works are significantly contrasting, which I will outline in the following.

In his narrative, shortly after remarking on Ferrarese and Mantuan practices, Giustiniani goes on to assess Florentine and Roman performers. He recognises Vittoria [Archilei] for being the person who almost "originated the true method of singing for females", and praises Giulio Romano [Caccini], Giuseppino [Cenci], Giovanni Domenico [Puliaschi], and [Francesco] Rasi for their broad tenor/bass vocal range, exquisite figures and *passaggi,* extraordinary stylishness, and outstanding ability to deliver words with clarity.[4] As a continuation of this illustrious list of singers, Giustiniani also singles out three remarkable falsettists, namely, Simoncino, Ludovico [Gualtero], and Ottavio Durante.[5] Durante is included here in an elite list of performers, but besides this reference, only a couple of further nuggets of information are known with certainty about his musical activities.[6] Firstly, he is recognised as the writer-composer of *Arie devote,* and secondly, a

[4] Cf. Bottrigari and Giustiniani, 1. *Il Desiderio*; 2. *Discorso*, 70-71.

[5] Cf. Bottrigari and Giustiniani, 1. *Il Desiderio*; 2. *Discorso,* 71. It has not yet been identified with certainty to whom exactly the name Simoncino refers, but Claudio Annibaldi suggests that the individual in question may be Simone Papa – cf. Claudio Annibaldi, review of *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto,* by John W. Hill, *Early Music History* 18 (October 1999): 387n33.

[6] It has also been speculated that Durante was for a time *maestro di capella* in Viterbo. The first person who reports on such a position is François-Joseph Fétis in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens* – cf. François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie général de la musique, Tome troisiéme* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie, 1866), 87-88. Wilhelm Matejka argues that Fétis is false in this regard, and that his entry is the reason that others, like, for example, Robert Eitner, have repeated the same mistake in their respective writing. Matejka's position is founded on Prospero Mandosio's *Bibliotheca Romana* from 1692 – a volume I also discuss later – and on Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* from 1732, in which the entry on Durante is essentially a shortened version of Mandosio's description. For Matejka's reasoning see Wilhelm Matejka, "Ottavio Durante und seine 'Arie Devote' (1608): Eine Korrekur," *Die Musikforschung* 31, no. 4 (October/December 1978): 443-444. It may very well be true that Durante never worked as *maestro di capella,* but to fully confirm this, I believe further archival research would be required.

letter he sent to Ranuccio I Farnese in 1618 confirms that he sought financial support from the Duke of Parma for the publication of a second volume to *Arie devote*, alongside other books on various subjects.[7]

General biographical details on Durante are also rather scarce and occasionally somewhat puzzling, but in order to get a sense about his identity and activities it is worth including a summary of what we know about him. In the second volume of his *Bibliotheca Romana* from 1692, the Roman intellectual and writer, Prospero Mandosio, referred to Durante as an individual well-versed in the fields of humanities and theology.[8] Furthermore, in this description, Mandosio singled out three volumes written by Durante: *Arie devote* (1608), a dialogue titled *Il prencipe virtuoso* (1614), in which a theologian and a philosopher educate a young prince on a broad range of subjects they consider of importance for the prince to become a virtuous ruler, and a second dialogue titled *Combattimenti dell'huomo con gli inimici dell'humana natura* (1619) which focuses on matters of morality.[9] As part of another publication by Mandosio, titled *Theatron,* which

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[7] In the letter the following planned volumes are mentioned by Durante: 1. *La 2.a [3a.] parte del Prencipe virtuoso, che tratta delle virtù,* 2. *Combattimenti dell'huomo con gli inimici dell'humana natura,* 3. *Le cose memorabili per la sanità del corpo humano cavata da gli scritti di Castore mio padre, e di Giulio mio fratello,* 4. *Il marinaro distinto in tre parti,* 5. *Le quattro stagioni perpetue con le lunationi de tutti dli anni,* 6. *La 2.a parte dell' Arie devote, che contengono la maniera del cantar con affetto.* Cf. John Walter Hill and Wilhelm Matejka, "Durante, Ottavio," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994-2008), *Personenteil*, 5:1678-1679. The MGG entry falsely claims that none of the above works were ever printed. Ruggero Guerrieri's research shows that *Combattimenti dell'huomo con gli inimici dell'humana natura* (Viterbo: Pietro et Agostino Discepoli, 1619) did in fact appear in print – cf. Ruggero Guerrieri, *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica del comune di Gualdo Tadino* (Gubbio: Scuola tipografica Odersi, 1933), 713. (The Grove article on Durante – also written by Hill – repeats this mistake. A further inaccuracy regarding the letter in this entry is the claim that the first volume of *Il prencipe virtuoso* was written by Durante's father. The article also suggests that the volume was printed five years prior to Ottavio contacting Ranuccio I Farnese, which is somewhat misleading. *Il prencipe virtuoso* is in reality Ottavio's work and although it may have already been ready for print in 1613, it was only published in Viterbo in 1614 by Girolamo Discepolo. Cf. John Walter Hill, "Durante, Ottavio," *Grove Music Online* (2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08378. For more on *Il prencipe virtuoso* see Chapter 5, 116n9.)

[8] Cf. Prospero Mandosio, *Bibliotheca Romana, seu Romanorum scriptorum centuriae ... volumen secundum* (Rome: Francesco Lazzari, 1692), 134.

[9] Cf. Mandosio, *Bibliotheca Romana*, 134. *Il prencipe virtuoso* is dedicated to Pope Paul V, and it is worth noting that, as its title page shows, the educational subjects for the prince that Durante includes are rather wide-ranging, and include not only matters of morality, ethics, and etiquette, but also topics relating to natural sciences. *Combattimenti dell'huomo con gli inimici dell'humana natura* is dedicated to Andrea Maidalchini. An intriguing part of the title page is that under his real name, Durante includes the nickname 'Incognito Ardente'. Whether this points to an affiliation with a particular Academy is yet

discusses chief papal physicians, and thus includes an entry on Castore Durante – Ottavio's distinguished father, who fulfilled such a role serving Pope Sixtus V – a further reference can be found regarding Ottavio. In this context, Mandosio includes a similar description of him to that which can be found in *Bibliotheca Romana,* but highlights a further volume penned by Ottavio, which, to Mandosio's knowledge, examined medical questions under the title *Rimedii per le infermità del corpo humano*, and only survived in a manuscript format in the collection of the famous bibliophile, Antonio Magliabechi.[10] We know that Durante died in 1620, and that sometime in the early years of the 1610s he was accidentally injured by a harquebus shot, which resulted in him retiring to his villa near Viterbo, where he spent the rest of his life.[11] This change in circumstance may explain Durante's flurry of publishing activity in his final years, which, as Ruggero Guerrieri's research shows, was even more extensive than Mandosio's references suggest.[12] What is rather intriguing, however, is the fact that there are barely any records about Durante's activities before 1608, which, as we know, is the date *Arie devote* was published. Durante was born to Castore (1529-1590) and his first wife, Bartolomea Filareti da Valentano (d. 1574/76) sometime

to be confirmed. For the information on the title pages, together with a few additional notes on the volumes see Guerrieri, *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica,* 712-714.

[10] Prospero Mandosio, *Theatron in quo maximorum Christiani orbis pontificium archiatros* (Rome: Francesco Lazzari, 1696), 55-56. As Guerrieri confirms, *Rimedii per le infermità del corpo humano,* did survive in a manuscript format – cf. Guerrieri, *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica,* 714-715. It may well be possible that this volume is the 'result' of what Durante was referring to as his third planned book in the letter to Ranuccio I Farnese, which he described as a work that will be largely put together from his father, Castore's, and his brother, Giulio's writings on health – cf. Chapter 5, 116n7.

[11] Cf. Mandosio, *Bibliotheca Romana,* 134. The information on the accident stems originally from the preface of *Il prencipe virtuoso* – cf. Guerrieri, *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica,* 713. The preface of *Arie devote* does not mention anything about his accident, suggesting that the date of him retiring to his villa would have fallen sometime between 1608 and 1614.

[12] The two other works Guerrieri reports on are: 1. *Breve instruttione per le preghiere sante che potrebbe fare ogni anima christiana* from 1616, dedicated to Sforza Pallavicino. (The dedication is somewhat puzzling, as the later prominent cardinal, Francesco Maria Sforza Pallavicino was only eight years old at this point. His grandfather, also called Sforza Pallavicino, had been dead since 1585. Perhaps it is Cardinal Pallavicino's father Marquis Alessandro Pallavicino who is referred to by Durante.) The work only survives as a manuscript. 2. A volume, which we only know of from a letter Durante received in 1615 from the secretary of Pope Paul V, Porfirio Feliciani. In this letter Feliciani expresses the pope's gratitude and good wishes for a work Durante sent to him earlier. This writing is described in the letter as 'breve et facil modo d'incaminarsi al Cielo'. (It is likely that this description is not a reference to *Il prencipe virtuoso*.) Cf. Guerrieri, *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica,* 715.

towards the middle of the sixteenth century, but the exact date is unknown.[13] On the title pages of his publications, Ottavio refers to himself as 'Romano', which may point to his birthplace, but it is more likely that he used this distinction to emphasise the Roman citizenship he was entitled to as a result of his father previously receiving such a status, due to his merits at the papal court and his professorship in botany, which he held at the Archiginassio Romano. Various sources suggest that, like his father and his brother, Giulio, Ottavio was a physician.[14] However, unlike his two relatives, whose various stages of their careers in medicine are well-documented, in Ottavio's case no such clear records are known.[15]

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[13] On Castore Durante's biography and publications see Dennis E. Rhodes, *La vita e le opere di Castore Durante e della sua famiglia* (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1968), 9-47, 57-68. One detail that ought to be highlighted about Castore Durante is that, whilst he came from a very prominent Gualdo Tadinese family, had an illustrious career as a physician and botanist, and his second wife, Ortensia Rusconi was a noblewoman, he himself was not an aristocrat. (Matejka's article falsely claims that Castore was a nobleman – cf. Matejka, "Ottavio Durante," 443.) Rhodes' volume includes a short discussion on Ottavio's life and works too, but – apart from an important reference by Giulio Durante (Ottavio's brother) on Ottavio (see Chapter 5, 118n14), a few quotes from *Il prencipe virtuoso* that make references to Giulio and Castore, and another excerpt from the same volume that highlight an old memory of Ottavio making a visit to the house of the Dominican scholar Alfonso Chacón in Rome – the materials he presents are largely a shortened repetition of Guerrieri's research. Cf. Rhodes, *La vita e le opere*, 51-55.

[14] In the entry on Castore Durante in *Dizionario storica della medicina* (1762), in a brief sentence it is hinted that both Giulio and Ottavio were physicians – cf. *Dizionario storico della medicina, Tomo II*, ed. S. Eloy (Naples: Benedetto Gessari, 1762), 303. Both Guerrieri and Rhodes repeat this claim – cf. Guerrieri, *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica*, 712; Rhodes, *La vita e le opere*, 23, 51.

[15] To mention a few details about Castore: his medical studies at the University of Perugia, his first 'praxis' in Gualdo Tadino, and his position as the chief physician of Sixtus V are all documented. Regarding Giulio: he studied medicine and graduated from the University of Siena in 1579, and he published two volumes on medical matters – *Trattato di dodici bagni singolari* (Perugia: Pietro Paolo Orlando, 1595), and *Trattato della peste et febre pestilentiale* (Venice: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1600). On the title page of both these works he refers to himself as *medico del Collegio Romano*. An intriguing detail is that both of these works are dedicated to Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, the brother of Vincenzo. Rhodes highlights a further important piece of information that can be found in Giulio's *Trattato della peste*: in this volume Giulio refers to Ottavio as "... Signor Ottavio mio fratello, che hoggi non è de gl'ultimi Astrologi de' nostri tempi..." ["Signor Ottavio, my brother, who today is not the hindmost astrologer of our time…"] – cf. Rhodes, *La vita e le opere*, 51. Giulio included this reference in a chapter of his book which deals with how one can predict future plagues – cf. Durante, *Trattato della peste*, 4v-6v (Ottavio reference on 5v). In the sixteenth century astrology still had its ties with medicine, in fact, some universities taught astrology as part of their medical curriculum. Therefore, this remark from Giulio may be considered as another hint towards Ottavio being active as a physician. For two introductory overviews on medicine and astrology in Renaissance thought see Hiro Hirai, "The New Astral Medicine," in *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 267-286; and Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum, "Astronomy, Astrology, and Medicine," in *Handbook of Archaeoastronomy and Ethnoastronomy*, ed. Clive L. N. Ruggles (New York, NY:

Based on the biographical evidence that survives for the final decade of Durante's life, we can say with certainty that he was a learned man with an interest in a wide range of subjects, particularly concerning questions relating to morality, theology, medicine, natural sciences, and music. Furthermore, we know that Durante possessed considerable wealth, and that he had connections with high-ranking members of the Roman Catholic clergy, including Pope Paul V, Porfirio Feliciani, and Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, and also with prominent families such as the Pallavicino, the Maidalchini, and Farnese.[16] In the case of *Arie devote*, Durante's ties to the Roman elite are evident in the dedication, which is addressed to Cardinal Montalto, the grandnephew of Pope Sixtus V, with whom Durante's father, Castore was affiliated. However, as John W. Hill has demonstrated, Durante was not part of Montalto's household or clientele as a musician, and the association between him as a composer and the cardinal is solely through the dedication.[17] Altogether, regarding Durante's 'musical identity', to describe him as a 'mere' *musico* is certainly not fitting, yet at the same time, as a performer he appears to have been of such a high standard that Giustiniani, the *virtuoso* of taste, decided to include him in his select record of singers associated with Roman circles between *ca.* 1575 and 1620.

The *Arie devote*, Durante's sole known musical publication, is also in many ways a testament to and manifestation of his skills as an outstanding singer. Like Caccini's

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Springer, 2015), 117-132. Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) is an excellent volume on Gerolamo Cardano, whose intellectual output focused heavily on both medicine and astrology. Grafton's study is wide-ranging and provides a good contextual overview of the role and workings of astrology in sixteenth-century Italy. Additionally, it is worth noting that Cardano had an intellectual interest in music too, and he wrote two treatises on the subject. Both these discourses are titled *De musica*; the first one is from 1546 and the second from 1576. For a discussion on Cardano's views on music see Ann E. Moyer, *Musica Scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 158-168. For further details on Giulio Durante's life see Guerrieri, *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica,* 715-716; Rhodes, *La vita e le opere*, 48-51.

[16] These connections are indicated by the dedications of Durante's publications, and his personal correspondence – cf. Chapter 5, 116n7, 116n9, 117n12. It is easily possible that Durante also had a closer connection with the Giustiniani family, at least his brother dedicating his publications to Benedetto Giustiniani seems to point to this – cf. Chapter 5, 118n15. In Hill, "Durante, Ottavio," Ottavio is described as a nobleman, and Augusta Campagne in her volume *Simone Verovio: Music Printing, Intabulations, and Basso Continuo in Rome around 1600* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2018), 109, also states the same. However, to my knowledge, there is no indication that would confirm an aristocratic status in the case of Ottavio, at least not based on the history of his ancestors – cf. Chapter 5, 118n13.

[17] For a detailed description about the composite of Cardinal Montalto's household and clientele see Hill, *Roman Monody,* vol. 1, 21-56; for Durante's place in the circle of acquaintances see 43-44.

influential publication, *Le nuove musiche* from 1602, Durante's work is divided into two parts: a preface which consists of a discussion on good singing, supplemented by some advice on composition, and a set of pieces that aim to represent musical demonstrations of the stances expressed in the preface.[18] The level of detail Durante includes in his preface is more modest than what can be found in Caccini's writing, but it is equally intriguing in terms of its content, sharing several similarities with the information provided in *Le nuove musiche*. These overlaps are not mere allusions – as the following passage shows, Durante explicitly pays tribute to Caccini, and he himself directs the reader to his Florentine source of inspiration for further guidance on the matters at hand:

> There would be other admonitions, but for the sake of brevity I omit them, leaving the rest to the writings of S. Giulio Caccini, since this is a small stream that springs from the fount of his virtues.[19]

[18] To this day, Durante's work has not appeared in full in a modern edition. Four seventeenth-century copies have survived of *Arie devote*: three of them are dated 1608 and can be found in the library of the Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia in Rome, and one is dated 1624 and is kept in the Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna. The copy in Bologna lacks the preface, the index, and the middle gathering. For a detailed comparison of the extant prints see Campagne, *Simone Verovio,* 79-83. A digitalised copy of the 1624 version is available in the online database of the Biblioteca della Musica, Bologna at http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=6219. The preface and the index are excluded, but the middle gathering has been digitalised based on one of the Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia copies (I-Rsc G.CS.2.D.16.1), thus making the full musical content available on the above link. The preface on its own has been transcribed on multiple occasions. The most faithful transcription of the 1608 print can be found in the Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music's JSCM Instrumenta online resource series: Jeffrey Kurtzman and Anne Schnoebelen, *A Catalogue of Mass, Office and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy: 1516-1770*, JSCM Instrumenta, 2 (2014), http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/vol-2/. The specific catalogue entry on Arie devote is available as "Durante 1608 D3975" at https://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/vol-2/catalogue/Durante%201608%20D3975.pdf. Throughout the chapter I use this transcription as a reference point for the original Italian text, and I provide my own English translations. For a transcription of the original Italian together with a complete English translation see Donald C. Sanders, "Vocal Ornaments in Durante's 'Arie devote'," *Performance Practice Review* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 60-76. For a transcription of the original Italian together with a complete German translation see Hugo Goldschmidt, *Die italienische Gesangsmethode des XVII. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart* (Breslau: Schlesische Buchdruckerei, 1890), 28-33.

[19] "Altri avvertimenti ci sarebbero, che per brevità li tralascio, rimettendomi nel resto alli scritti del S. Giulio Caccini, poiche questo è un picciol'rio che scaturisce dal fonte delle sue virtù." Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 3.

The second part of Durante's volume, unlike Caccini's publication, which is made up of secular compositions, consists of sacred pieces.[20] The texts Durante set to music are largely drawn from the Old and the New Testaments, and his selection clearly shows an anti-Calvinist tendency. Eighteen of the twenty texts included are in Latin, and the remaining two in Italian. The two Italian texts provide a frame to the collection: the opening, 'Scorga Signor', being a prayer for a good beginning, and the closing, 'Signor, che del peccato', illustrating the Catholic doctrine of personal sin.[21] The arias of the collection are richly adorned with *passaggi* and *affetti,* and the majority of them are designed for a solo voice with a figured bass accompaniment. However, in some of the pieces there is text-underlay in the continuo line,[22] suggesting that these arias ought to be considered as compositions for two voices and accompaniment. As Augusta Campagne remarks, a unique passage is printed on one of the pages (the last system of 'Angelus ad pastores', the second aria of the collection), which reveals much about the performance practice of the arias with text added to the continuo line.[23] Contrary to the standard two stave layout of the publication, at the passage in question the music is notated on three staves: one shows the melody, the second includes an ornamented version of the bass, and the third is an unornamented version of the bass. The second stave is marked 'solo', which leads Campagne to the convincing conclusion that in the case of the two-voice pieces, the second voice sings the ornamented version of the bass line, whereas the instrumental accompaniment 'simplifies' the material, and whilst doubling the core notes of the second voice, it builds the continuo realisation on top of this plain, unornamented version.[24]

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[20] For a complete list of the pieces included in *Arie devote* see Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 4.

[21] In Matejka's argument, the arrangement of the texts throughout the collection represents a thematic progression – cf. Matejka, "Ottavio Durante," 444.

[22] These particular arias are: 'Angelus ad pastores', 'Magnificat octavi toni' (specifically the *Et exultavit* and *Quia respexit* settings), 'Miserere mei Deus' (specifically the *Miserere mei Deus, Et secundum, Tibi soli peccavi, Asperges me, Docebo iniquos vias tuas,* and *Tunc acceptabis sacrificium justitiae* settings), and 'O Rex gloriae'.

[23] Campagne, *Simone Verovio,* 228-229.

[24] Campagne highlights that the same method of doubling and simplifying ornamented lines can be found in the intabulations of Luzzaschi's *Madrigali* from 1601. She also provides a thorough discussion on the figured bass in *Arie devote* – cf. Campagne, *Simone Verovio,* 228-232. Regarding the bass lines of the collection, it is worth noting that there are a couple of occasions (bar 12 of 'Iam quod quaesivi', and bar 9 of the *Redde mihi* section of 'Miserere mei Deus'), which include similar ornamental patterns that are characteristic of the two voice compositions, but are not equipped with a text. This raises the

Although Durante may not fit into the category of 'clear-cut' professional musicians, his qualities as a performer, and the fact that he produced a publication inspired by Caccini, a *musico,* who was clearly influenced by the 'noble manner of singing', qualifies *Arie devote* as a suitable testing ground for the CCP's behavioural matrix. As in the case of *Le nuove musiche,* much of the preface of Durante's work can be considered as a text that not only operates in tandem with the pieces included in the collection, but also encompasses a broader educational use, and thus contains helpful information for the performance practice of various kinds of song associated with *seconda prattica*. In essence, I treat this source as the representation of a toolbox which a singer of Durante's calibre would see as essential for expressive singing, and my primary aim throughout the case study is to examine how and to what extent this toolbox aligns with the behavioural tropes and virtues of the CCP. Throughout my essay I will also examine to an extent the relationship between Durante's preface and the musical material, as I believe the addition of such an aspect reveals a further valuable layer about both Durante as a performer-composer, and how the model of the CCP may be present in *Arie devote*. With this dual approach, my aim is not only to show a manifestation of my theoretical model in practice, but also to shed fresh light on a source, which, whilst certainly not unknown, has received relatively small scholarly attention to this day.[25]

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question as to whether an added voice singing an ornamented version of the continuo line may be applied in pieces other than the ones that appear with text in the bassline. Given that the basslines, whether or not they include text, are often presented in a similar manner by Durante, the contrary may also be considered, leading to the assumption that the two-voice compositions can also operate as pieces for solo voice with the instrumental accompaniment realising a simplified bass line.

[25] The key sources, together with their respective focuses, that have appeared in print to this day are: Goldschmidt, *Die italienische Gesangsmethode* – which provides a German translation of the preface and discusses its content in tandem with Caccini throughout the book; Matejka, "Ottavio Durante," 443-446 – which is primarily concerned with Durante's identity, and the compositions of the collection; Sanders, "Vocal Ornaments in Durante's 'Arie devote'," 60-76 – which provides an English translation of the preface and focuses on its content from the angle of ornamentation; Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, "Ottavio Durante's Preface to 'Arie Devote' (Rome 1608)," in *Music in the World of Ideas,* ed. Helen Geyer, Maciej Jabłoński, and Jan Stęszewski (Poznań: Ars nova, 2001), 55-62 – which provides perhaps the most insightful analysis of the compositional advice that is included in the preface, yet whilst the remarks on performance are not ignored, they are left somewhat in the background; Campagne, *Simone Verovio,* esp. 79-84, 228-232 – which discusses questions relating to the printing technique of *Arie devote,* examines from this angle the surviving seventeenth-century copies, and also reflects on Durante's compositions from a *basso continuo* angle; Sven Schwannberger, "Studio et Amore: The Art of Singing in the 17th Century as described in Italian and German sources" (PhD diss., Universität Paderborn, 2019) – where throughout the thesis the preface of *Arie devote* is used as a short singing treatise.

As opposed to the sense of opacity that surrounds Ottavio Durante's life, the biography of Marco da Gagliano is relatively well-documented, and his musical career and status present a significantly more straightforward case.[26] He was born in 1582, studied music with Luca Bati, and in 1602 he became Bati's assistant at S Lorenzo, Florence. After the death of Bati in 1608, Gagliano succeeded him as *maestro di capella* at S Lorenzo, and in the following year he was given the title of *maestro di capella* to the grand duke of Tuscany, which position he held until his death in 1643. Besides his distinguished career as a *musico*, he also took holy orders, first being made a canon, later being elevated to the rank of apostolic prothonotary.

The year of 1608 was not only pivotal in Gagliano's career for securing a prestigious position in the musical establishment of the Florentine court, but also for the premier and publication of his first court opera, *La Dafne*.[27] The piece was commissioned by Vincenzo I Gonzaga, who gave Gagliano the task of composing a new musical setting of Ottavio Rinuccini's adaptation of the Daphne myth from Ovid's Metamorphoses, which served in the previous decade as the libretto for Jacopo Peri's identically titled *favola in musica*, now largely lost.[28] The Mantuan Duke originally intended for Gagliano's *La Dafne* to be performed at the wedding celebrations of Francesco IV Gonzaga, son of Vincenzo, and Margaret of Savoy. The festivities were due to take place in the Carnival season of 1608, but they were eventually postponed and only started at the end of May of the same year. Gagliano's piece was not deferred to the new date, and thus its first performance took place in Mantua in February 1608; however, rather than fulfilling its initially planned purpose, it was presented as honouring Ferdinando I Gonzaga's elevation to the rank of cardinal.[29]

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[26] For Gagliano's life and musical career see Edmond Strainchamps, "Gagliano, Marco da," *Grove Music Online* (2001), https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10482.

[27] For a detailed discussion on Gagliano's activities in the year of 1608 see Edmond Strainchamps, "Marco da Gagliano in 1608: Choices, Decisions, and Consequences," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 6, no. 1 (2000), https://sscm-jscm.org/v6/no1/strainchamps.html.

[28] Rinuccini revised and extended his original libretto for Gagliano's new setting. For a comprehensive comparison of the different versions of the libretto see Marco da Gagliano, *La Dafne*, ed. Suzanne Court (Albany, CA: PRB Productions, 2007), xiii-xxv.

[29] The actual wedding celebrations included a large number of events of various sorts, including Monteverdi's *L'Arianna* and *Il ballo delle ingrate.* A selection of the relevant literature which discuss the 1608 wedding celebrations in more detail, and specifically the two Monteverdi pieces mentioned include: Edmond Strainchamps, "The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli: New Light on Monteverdi's 'Arianna'," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 155–186; Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim

The figure of Ferdinando, who became the Duke of Mantua a few years later, played a further important part in *La Dafne*, as he actually composed a few songs that form part of the complete work. Ferdinando was passionately devoted to music, and in March 1608 he did not only accept the role of protector of the Accademia degli Elevati – the music-dedicated academy founded by Gagliano – but also became a member of the group as a composer.[30] For a period of time there was an active musical exchange between Gagliano and Ferdinando; as Edmond Strainchamps highlights, Ferdinando may have studied music with Gagliano, and he certainly often sent compositions to him for advice and revisions.[31] Precisely how this exchange manifested itself in the case of *La Dafne* is uncertain, but we know from Gagliano that Ferdinando was involved in the creation of three pieces.[32]

Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 77-99; Tim Carter, "New Light on Monteverdi's 'Ballo delle ingrate' (Mantua, 1608)," *Il Saggiatore musicale* 6, no. 1/2 (1999): 63-90; Bonnie Gordon, "Nuptial Voices: The Power of Song in the 1608 Mantuan Wedding Festivities," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35, no. 2 (May 2005): 349-384.

[30] Cf. Edmond Strainchamps, "New Light on the Accademia degli Elevati of Florence," *The Musical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (October 1976): 517-519. When Gagliano writes in his preface to *La Dafne* about Ferdinando's compositions, he discretely withholds his actual name, and instead describes him as one of the "principal academicians, a great protector of music and someone who understands it greatly." / "… sono composizione d'uno de' nostril principali Accademici, gran protettore della musica e grande intenditore di essa." Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera*, 65-66. For a somewhat broader, yet concise account of Ferdinando I Gonzaga's life and interests see David S. Chambers, "The 'Bellissimo Ingegno' of Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587-1626), Cardinal and Duke of Mantua," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 113-147.

[31] Cf. Strainchamps, "Marco da Gagliano in 1608," par. 4.1.

[32] These songs are: 'Chi da' lacci d'Amor vive disciolto', sung by Venus, 'Pur giacque estinto al fine', sung by Apollo, and finally the opening section of Apollo's lament, 'Un guardo, un guard' appena', up to the line 'Non chiama mille volte il tuo bel nome'. Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera,* 66. Based on the correspondence between Gagliano and Ferdinando I Gonzaga, David Chambers suggests that in one of the pieces Gagliano made some improvements. From the three songs, 'Chi da lacci d'Amor' seems to have been particularly well received – Peri complimented it in a personal letter to Ferdinando, and Gagliano reported to him that the song was altogether very popular in Florence. Cf. Chambers, "The 'Bellisimo Ingegno'," 125. The passage in Gagliano's preface to *La Dafne* that deals with Ferdinando's contributions –"Restami solo a dire (per non usurpare le lodi dovute ad altri, e arrichirmi quasi cornacchia dell'altrui penne) che l'aria del l'ottava, 'Chi da lacci d'Amor vive disciolto', e quella che canta Apollo vittorioso del Fitone, 'Pur giacque estinto al fine', insieme con l'altra cantata pur dal medesimo nell'ultima Scena, 'Un guardo, un guardo appena', infino, 'Non chiami mille volte il tuo bel nome'. Le quali arier lampeggiano tra l'altre mie come stelle, sono composizione d'uno de' nostri principali Accademici, gran protettetore della Musica e grande intenditore di essa." – is translated by Suzanne Court as: "It only remains for me to say (lest I usurp praises due to others and like a crow, dress myself up in other birds' feathers) that the music of the *ottava,* 'Chi da' lacci d'amor vive disciolto', and that which Apollo sings at his victory over the dragon, 'Pur giacque estinto al fine', together with the other song also sung by him in the final scene, 'Un guardo un guardo appena', and finally, 'Non chiami mille volte il tuo bel nome', which shine among my own like stars, are compositions by one of

The printed version of *La Dafne* appeared a few months after its premier, in October 1608. In the publication Gagliano included an extensive preface, and he described the purpose of his writing in the following manner:

> And although I used all diligence and satisfied the exquisite taste of the poet, nonetheless I would believe that the inestimable delight which was aroused not only in the populace but also among princes and knights and the most elevated wits did not spring entirely from my art, but also from some directions that were adopted in the said performance. Therefore, together with the music, I have wanted to share them with you so that in the best way that I can, I may make them seen by you in these pages. For in such matters the music is not everything: there are many other necessary requirements, without which every pleasant sound [*armonia*], however excellent, would have little effect.[33]

One of the key points that emerges from the above quote is the notion that the material included in the preface is largely drawn from the composer's memories of a performance of his own piece, of which, given its wide-ranging success, he felt its nuances were worth documenting for future reference.[34] In other words, Gagliano's writing does

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our principal academics, a great patron of music and a connoisseur of the same." Based on her interpretation of the word *infino* as 'finally', Court proposes that there is a mistake in the print of the preface, and that Gagliano actually meant to point to the aria 'Non curi la mia pianta', rather than to 'Non chiama mille volte il tuo bel nome', which is a line from the preceding stanza. This hypothesis would make the number of compositions contributed by Ferdinando increase by an additional piece. However, besides the alternative translation, Court does not provide any further evidence to support her proposition, and to my knowledge, there is indeed no clear proof that would confirm her suggestion. For her translation and brief remark see Gagliano, *La Dafne* (2007), xin19.

[33] Carter, *Composing Opera*, 47, with slight alterations to the translation by myself. "E benchè io ci usassi ogni diligenzia, e soddisfacessi all'esquisito gusto del Poeta, non di meno voglio pur credere che l'inestimabil diletto che ne prese non pure il popolo, ma i Principi e Cavalieri e i più elevati ingegni, non nascesse tutto dall'arte mia; ma ancora da alcuni avvertimenti che si ebbero in detta Rappresentazione, però insieme con le Musiche ho voluto farvi parte di essi a fine che nel miglior modo che io possa la faccia vedere ancora a voi in queste carte, percio che in simili affari non è tutto la Musica, sonci molt'altri requisiti necessarii, senza i quali poco varrebbe ogni armonia, ancor che eccellente." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 46.

[34] At a later point in the preface, Gagliano makes an explicit remark about the future application of his suggestions, by highlighting that much of what he discusses is "generally required and can perhaps be used in whatever other performance one might wish". (Cf. Carter, Composing Opera, 54-55.) The language he uses here is somewhat vague, but it certainly encompasses the possibility that he is making a broader reference, and he intends to suggest the performance of other pieces composed in the representational style could equally make use of the content of his preface.

not only provide advice for the subsequent life of the piece, but also describes a past event in detail. This duality of prescription and description is also present to some extent in the prefaces of other early operatic works.[35] Furthermore, the aesthetic ideals of Gagliano altogether share multiple similarities with the information provided by Caccini, Peri, and Emilio de' Cavalieri (via his publisher Alessandro Guidotti as his spokesman) in the introduction to their respective 'music-dramas'.[36] However, Gagliano's writing stands out in terms of the level of detail he includes, particularly concerning certain elements of performance, which, as he puts it, are necessary to be added to the music in order to make a piece of this kind convincingly persuasive.

In addition to the primary content of the preface that provides a uniquely elaborate insight into various performance-practice related questions regarding one of the earliest operatic endeavours, Gagliano also includes an additional part in his writing, in which he depicts a broader context for *La Dafne's* musical genre and supplies us with his own narrative about the young history of music-theatrical undertakings. The manner in which Gagliano discusses his view on the values and ideals of court opera and its place within the 'hierarchy' of musical genres carries further important angles for my analysis of his writing. Therefore, in my case study on the preface of *La Dafne,* I turn my focus not only to the direct advice on, and description of the performance of his piece, but I consider Gagliano's text in its entirety, providing a close reading of the full material through a lens guided by my model of the CCP's behavioural matrix. Whilst in Durante's *Arie devote* we find the perspective of an expert singer-performer, in Gagliano's case we deal with an 'outside' angle, where the writer makes observations on performance, but he was not part of the action on stage *per se*. That said, in my view, Gagliano delivers a 'performance' through his writing, and therefore I will also trace how his persona in the preface fares against the behavioural tropes and virtues of the CCP. With the multiple layers of interpretation I will use throughout the case study on Gagliano's preface to *La Dafne*, my fundamental aim is to understand how the CCP may have manifested itself in the new genre of court opera that incorporated the 'new manner of singing', and to highlight that,

[35] Mauro Calcagno highlights that the fact that the first printed versions of early operas served simultaneously as a material commemoration of the courtly spectacle in which they were originally performed, and as a model for subsequent courtly festivities, points by default to a double status as a descriptive and prescriptive text. Cf. Calcagno, *From Monteverdi to Opera,* 18.

[36] In my case study I refer to a number of these overlaps – see Chapter 5, 155-171.

ultimately, the music-theatrical endeavours at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the place where the various elements of my theoretical model come to full fruition in practice.

5.2 Striving for natural ease – observations on Giulio Caccini's *sprezzatura*

Castiglione's 'universal rule', the notion of *sprezzatura*, appears in a musical interpretation by Caccini multiple times in his various texts that include extensive discussions on performance between 1600 and 1614. In the relevant secondary literature, numerous (and occasionally significantly contrasting) readings emerge of Caccini's references to the notion. Before I embark on discussing these analyses, and how my take, guided by the CCP's behavioural matrix, compares with these, and provides further considerations to the existing interpretations, it is worth recapping the occasions on which Caccini referred to the word *sprezzatura*. His first mention of it occurs in the preface to his court opera *L'Euridice* published in 1600:

> I have sometimes tied the notes of the bass, so that in passing through the many dissonances that are there within the note should not be restruck and the ear thereby offended. In this manner of song, I have used a certain *sprezzatura*, which I have judged has something of the noble, it seeming to me that with it I have come as close as possible to natural speech. Nor, too, have I avoided the juxtaposition of two octaves, and two fifths, when two sopranos singing with other inner parts produce *passaggi*, thinking that thus, with their charm [*vaghezza*] and novelty, they will delight more greatly, and especially since without these *passaggi* all the parts are without such errors. [37]

This description is followed shortly by appearances of the word on three occasions in his influential treatise and collection of songs *Le nuove musiche* from 1602:

[37] Carter, *Composing Opera*, 39. "… havendo legato alcune volte le corde del basso, affine che nel trapassare delle molte dissonanze, ch'entro vi sono, non si ripercuota la corda, e l'undito ne venga offeso; Nella qual maniera di canto, ho io usata una certa sprezzatura, che io ho stimato, che habbia del nobile, parendomi con essa di essermi appressato quel più alla natural favella: Ne ho ancora fuggito il riscontro delle due ottave, e due quinte, qunado due soprani cantando con l'altre parti di mezzo fanno passaggi, pensando perciò, con la vaghezza e novità loro, maggiormente di dilettare, e massimamente poi che senza tali errori." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 38.

> Seeing, as I am saying, that these kinds of music and musicians offered no pleasure other than what pleasant sounds [*armonia*] could give – solely to the sense of hearing, since they could not move the mind without the words being understood – it occurred to me to introduce a kind of music in which one could almost speak in pleasant sounds [*armonia*], using in it (as I have said elsewhere) a certain noble *sprezzatura* of song, passing sometimes through several dissonances while sustaining the pitch of the bass note (except when I wanted to use it in a regular way and with the inner parts, played on the instrument to express some affect, as those lines are not of much other use).[38]
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> –
>
> And thus they [i.e. the annotated musical examples] may serve as models to recognise similar places in those pieces where the [i.e. 'ornamental *affetti*'] will be most necessary, according to the affects of the words. Whence may appear that noble manner (as I call it) which, not subjecting itself to regular measure [*misura*], often halves the duration of notes, according to the ideas [*concetti*] of the words. From this is born that kind of singing with *sprezzatura*, as it is called.[39]
>
> –
>
> Without measure [*misura*]; almost speaking in pleasant sounds [*armonia*] with the *sprezzatura* mentioned above.[40]

Twelve years later, Caccini refers to *sprezzatura* in a letter he sent to Virginio Orsini:

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[38] Murata, *Strunk's Source Readings,* 100, with some alterations to the translation by myself. "Veduto adunque, si com'io dico, che tali musiche e musici non davano altro diletto fuor di quello che poteva l'armonia dare all'udito solo, poi che non potevano esse muovere l'intelletto senza l'intelligenza delle parole, mi venne pensiero introdurre una sorte di musica, per cui altri potesse quasi che in armonia favellare, usando in essa (come altre volte ho detto) una certa nobile sprezzatura di canto, trapassando talora per alcune false, tenendo però la corda del basso ferma, eccetto che quando io me ne volea servire all'uso comune, con le parti di mezzo tocche dall'instrumento per esprimere qualche affetto, non essendo buone per altre." Solerti, *Le origini*, 57.

[39] Murata, *Strunk's Source Readings*, 108, with some alterations to the translation by myself. "Et acciochè servano per esempio, in riconoscere in esse musiche i medesimi luoghi, ove saranno più necessari secondo gli affetti delle parole; avvenga che nobile maniera sia così appellata da me quella cha va usata senza sottoporsi a misura ordinata, facendo molte volte il valor delle note la metà meno secondo i concetti delle parole, onde ne nasce quel canto poi in sprezzatura, che si è detto." Solerti, *Le origini*, 68.

[40] Murata, *Strunk's Source Readings*, 108, with some alterations to the translation by myself. "Senza misura; quasi favellando in armonia con la suddetta sprezzatura." This reference appears as part of Caccini's demonstration of 'ornamental *affetti*' in the solo madrigal 'Deh, dove son fuggiti'.

> I have given some of my music to the press, if not yet all of it, together with a discourse, in which I come to demonstrate my taste for the true and noble manner of singing, and how through that new style invented by me and called singing in *sprezzatura*, almost like a new speaking in pleasant sounds [*armonia*] without observing the measure [*misura*], the practice of representing stories [*favole*] in singing was introduced in Florence.[41]

And finally, the notion occurs in the preface to Caccini's new collection of songs, *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scrivele* from 1614 – the publication he refers to in the above letter:

> It is advisable for him who professes to sing alone well, with affects, to know three things. These are: affect, variety of affect, and *sprezzatura*… *Sprezzatura* is that elegance given to a song by the flowing of several quavers or semiquavers on various chords, which when done at the right time relieve the song of a certain restricted narrowness and dryness and make it pleasant, unrestrained [*licenzioso*], and airy, just as in common speech, eloquence and fluency make pleasant and sweet the matters being expressed. And with respect to this eloquence, I would liken to the rhetorical figures and colours, the *passaggi*, *trilli*, and other similar ornaments, which can be introduced sparingly in every affect.[42]

As we know, as part of the initial discussion in which Castiglione introduces the concept of *sprezzatura* via Count Ludovico da Canossa, two observations concerning music are paralleled with the notion by the conversing noble gathering.[43] In the first

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[41] "Ho dato alla stampa, se bene non per ancora il tutto, alcune mie musiche con un Discorso in esse nel quale io vengo a dimostrare qual sia stato il gusto mio intorno alla vera e nobile maniera di cantare, e come mediante quel nuovo stile inventato da me et appellato canto in sprezzatura quasi che una nuova favella in armonia senza osservanza di misura, fu introdutto in Firenze l'uso di rappresentar favole cantando..." For a longer (although not a complete) transcription of the letter see Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians*, 157.

[42] "Tre cose principalmente si convengon sapere da chi professa di ben cantare con affetto, solo. Ciò sono lo affetto, la varietà di quello, e la sprezzatura... La sprezzatura è quella leggiadria la quale si dà al canto co 'l trascorso di più crome e semicrome sopra diverse corde, co 'l quale, fatto a tempo, togliendosi al canto una certa terminata angustia e secchezza, si rende piacevole, licenzioso e arioso, sì come nel parlar comune la eloquenza alle figure e a i colori rettorici assimiglierei i passaggi, i trilli e gli altri simili ornamenti, che sparsamente in ogni affetto si possono tal'ora introdurre." Solerti, *Le origini*, 74-75.

[43] For both quotes in full see Introduction, 9-10.

instance, Giuliano de' Medici refers to compositions, and he expresses that too many perfect consonances in direct succession result in the feeling of satiety in the listener, and lead to affectation (*affettazione*), the chief foe of *sprezzatura*, whereas dissonances by themselves are too harsh to hear. The combination of the two, presented artfully and in the right measure, however, shows a display of *sprezzatura,* and creates expectations and pleasure in the audience. The second musical remark, uttered by Count Ludovico, concerns performance, and describes how in a *musico's* singing the seemingly effortless introduction of a subtle musical figure that suggests the otherwise dissimulated full palette of skills of the performer resembles the way a courtier's behavioural *sprezzatura* ought to manifest itself. In Caccini's musical interpretations of the notion we also find references to both performance and composition, and accordingly, his words have been approached through these two lenses in the relevant secondary literature. Text expression as a core aim of Caccini's *sprezzatura* is a recurring shared emphasis from modern commentators, but as I have highlighted previously, several other aspects of the existing readings show intriguing variety. The different interpretations that can be found in the vast number of scholarly works referring to the notion encompass subtle divergences, but ultimately five key strands emerge within: *sprezzatura* as rhythmic freedom, *sprezzatura* as tempo modification, *sprezzatura* as an ornament, *sprezzatura* as vocal quality, and *sprezzatura* as a mentality. The works I review as part of my examination of *sprezzatura* in relation to the CCP's behavioural matrix are key representations of one, or a combination of a few, of the above-mentioned aspects.

In H. Wiley Hitchcock's modern edition of *Le nuove musiche* a full account of Caccini's references to *sprezzatura* is provided, other than his mention of the notion in his letter to Virginio Orisini.[44] Hitchcock's primary emphasis is on interpreting *sprezzatura* as rhythmic freedom, which he supports by pointing to Caccini's *senza misura* remark in his exemplary madrigal 'Deh, dove son fuggiti', his mention of the occasional halving of the note values, and the first part of the passage from *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scrivele* detailing the notion's connection with flowing passages. This latter reference is translated by Hitchcock somewhat ambiguously, and it is presented in the following manner: "*sprezzatura* is that charm lent to a song by a few 'faulty' eighths or sixteenths on

[44] Cf. Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, 2-13, esp. 3, 3n10, 9, 12.

various tones, together with (similar 'slips') made in the tempo."[45] Furthermore, Hitchcock speculates on a connection between Caccini's comment from *L'Euridice* – which is repeated in a similar way in the first mention of the notion in *Le nuove musiche* – discussing *sprezzatura* as a 'negligent' approach to counterpoint, and Giuliano de' Medici's observation from *Il Cortegiano* on consonance-dissonance treatment in compositions.[46] I agree with Hitchock's proposition that in terms of a mentality one can draw up parallels between Caccini's thinking and Castiglione's discourse on *sprezzatura*; however, Hitchcock only touches upon this intriguing aspect, and in my view this overlap can be further explored, which I will attempt in a broader sense at a later point of my analysis.

Karsten Lüdtke in his wide-ranging study on tempo modifications in early modern Italy, dedicates a relatively extensive discussion specifically to Caccini's references to *sprezzatura*.[47] He observes the notion from the perspectives of both composition and performance, discusses rhythmic flexibility, and presents a well-reasoned case for his view in which *sprezzatura's* most suitable mean of realisation is various alterations in the tempo within Caccini's pieces, that ought to enhance the convincing delivery of the texts. On one hand, he supports his key claim by arguing that when Caccini mentions the approximate halving of the notes in their values, the logical consequence of such an effect is the speeding up of the beat. On the other hand, he provides a thorough analysis of Caccini's 'Deh, dove son fuggiti', in which he emphasises how, unlike in the previous sections of the poem used in the madrigal, at the point when the performance instruction *senza misura, quasi favellando in armonia con la suddetta sprezzatura* appears, Caccini does not observe in his musical setting the verse structure, and essentially writes out a 'sped up affect', which in Lüdtke's view ought to be performed with a matching tempo modification and a speech-like rhythmic freedom.[48] He also highlights the fact that Caccini uses *sprezzatura* in his

[45] Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, 3n10.

[46] Caccini, *Le nuove musiche*, 3n10.

[47] Cf. Karsten Lüdtke, *Con la sudetta sprezzatura: Tempomodifikationen in der italienischen Musik der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 2006), 75-89. In terms of Lüdtke's overall propositions on tempo modifications in early seventeenth-century Italian music, it needs to be noted that he has a tendency of translating his primary sources with a bias, in order to strengthen his theory of gradual slowing down and speeding up. For another study discussing tempo modifications from a somewhat different angle in the era concerned see Domen Marinčič, "'Now Quickly, Now Again Slowly': Tempo Modification in and around Praetorius," *De musica disserenda* 15, no. 1-2 (2019):47-69.

[48] For Lüdtke's analysis of 'Deh, dove son fuggiti' see Lüdtke, *Con la sudetta sprezzatura*, 86-89.

example madrigal as part of a set of ornaments that include the likes of *scemar di voce*, *esclamazione*, and *trillo* – which leads Lüdtke to the proposition of considering *sprezzatura* as an additional tool of expressive embellishment.

Timothy J. McGee in his discussion on late Renaissance monodic style echoes this latter suggestion from Lüdtke.[49] McGee quotes Caccini's passage from *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scrivele*, and remarks that in this context too, *sprezzatura* is likened to rhetorical figures, *passaggi, trilli,* and other similar embellishments. McGee does not provide any further detailed discussion on *sprezzatura*, and he leaves the notion to linger with the curious label of a "somewhat enigmatic ornament".[50]

In John W. Hill's reflections on Caccini's *sprezzatura,* tempo fluctuations, and in particular, rhythmic freedom are again given the central positions. Hill's primary interest is to argue that Caccini's aim was to capture "the *sprezzatura* of improvised and semi-improvised recitational singing in musical notation", and to show that the rhythmic treatment of the melodies that aim to imitate ordinary speech in Caccini's compositions represent the notion's key manifestation.[51] Hill does not fully exclude the idea of an added *sprezzatura* when performing Caccini's notated music, but he leaves this train of thought somewhat unexplored. In addition, when briefly venturing into the mentality aspect of the notion, Hill partially quotes Nino Pirrotta's somewhat ambiguous definition of *sprezzatura* which describes the idea as an "apparently inborn spontaneity and relaxed self-confidence that must characterize the performance of the perfect courtier, no matter how difficult the task".[52] In terms of result, the manifestations of *sprezzatura* may indeed point to the attributes mentioned by Pirrotta and Hill, but to ignore the importance of the conscious striving and the dissimulation thereof that feeds into the process of reaching a self-presentation of this nature, is a significant omission. Furthermore, to equate *sprezzatura*

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[49] Cf. Timothy J. McGee, "Vocal Performance in the Renaissance," in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, ed. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 324-327, esp. 326.

[50] McGee, "Vocal Performance," 326.

[51] Cf. Hill, *Roman Monody,* vol. 1, 58-120.

[52] Cf. Hill, *Roman Monody,* vol. 1, 109. For the original context of the quote see Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 245-246, and more broadly 245-257.

with an inborn quality – a characterisation that, at least in a Castiglionian sense, would be more fitting for *grazia* – is a questionable proposition.[53]

Susan McClary's analysis of the song 'Amarilli mia bella' from *Le nuove musiche* includes a similarly debatable take on *sprezzatura* as we have seen in Pirrotta's description of the notion.[54] McClary, whilst discussing the piece's tonal, intervallic, and harmonic progressions, observes that the musical material is "tethered temporally to the exigencies of the poetic phrases, allowing for an expressive effect Caccini (following Castiglione) called *sprezzatura,* an attitude of nonchalance or unstudied grace". She then continues that "each tiny lyrical phrase points in the same direction as the others, but the harmonic choices offer various shades of colouring, a spectrum of accents, before the inevitable final appears", and she concludes this thought process by adding that "a singer who focuses on that very low level of activity and nuance may hope to pull off that quality of aristocratic ease so valued in the Renaissance courts."[55] Her pairing of *sprezzatura* with ease within performance, especially in the sense that she seems to point towards a concept which is in dialogue with multiple nuanced elements of the musical material makes great sense; however, her equating the term with both 'nonchalance' and 'unstudied grace' comes across as an unfortunate choice of wording for the very same reasons I have outlined earlier in reference to Pirrotta. Her latter descriptive remark by itself is particularly puzzling – one wonders that, if *sprezzatura* stands for 'unstudied grace', what *grazia* itself means?[56]

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[53] For my discussion on the relations between *simulation/dissimulation* and Castiglione's *grazia* and *sprezzatura* see Chapter 2, 54-56.

[54] For her full analysis on the piece see Susan McClary, *Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 22-28.

[55] McClary, *Desire and Pleasure*, 26.

[56] In her 2004 monograph, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal,* McClary provides a significantly more carefully considered take on the subject of *sprezzatura*. The notion here is not discussed in reference to Caccini, but it is presented instead as part of her essay on Philippe Verdelot's *La Mandragola,* in which she includes a concise deliberation on questions concerning public demeanour and private intention in sixteenth-century courtly society. In her discourse she points toward the notion of dissimulation and aptly describes *sprezzatura* as a "carefully fashioned façade of nonchalance". Additionally, she proposes that although through their advice on behaviour Castiglione and Machiavelli (and presumably the other courtly writers too) aim to shape the external, they do not deal with "subjective reality". She extends this take throughout her monograph and argues that the Italian madrigal "rushes into that vacuum by offering elaborate mock-ups of inwardness for public delectation", and she suggests that particularly through modal compositional techniques, composers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, simulate complex inner feelings to represent otherwise suppressed subjectivities. McClary's approach is compelling on several levels, but as Mauro Calcagno astutely observes, it strongly steers the discussion into the direction of a 'monological' conception of

In Andrew-Lawrence King's writing we find a considerably different interpretation of the notion of *sprezzatura* in a musical context than those I have singled out so far. In an extensive attempt to re-evaluate Caccini's entire foreword to *Le nuove musiche,* Lawrence-King aims to undermine the idea of *sprezzatura* bearing any relation to rhythmic freedom, and to present an argument – supported by his theories on the connections between the performer-composer's use of the word and its Castiglionian origins – in which he proposes that the notion ought to manifest itself in the vocal quality of the performer, as an 'almost speaking' style of singing, instead.[57] In his alternative approach, Lawrence-King includes multiple uncommon observations, which deserve a somewhat extended consideration.

An important underlying objective of Lawrence-King's analysis is to divert the reader's attention from *sprezzatura* to other elements of the preface of *Le nuove musiche*, which he claims bear more significance and are the supposed priorities of Caccini. The key occurrences that he singles out are the interplay between *affetto* and *effetto,* the notion of *grazia, nobilità,* and various expressive ornaments included. The proposition of these notions being more important than *sprezzatura* is supported by the argument that their rate of appearance is considerably higher. According to Lawrence-King's calculations, *affetto-effetto* are the most frequently repeated terms with forty mentions. *Grazia* occurs fourteen times throughout, whereas *sprezzatura* is only referred to two times, with an additional repeat in the example section, where it is used in context with the phrase *senza misura*. It might well be true that in the preface to *Le nuove musiche* Caccini was substantially more concerned with communicating his more often repeated ideas, but I am not entirely convinced that Lawrence-King's quantitative argument proves this particularly persuasively, nor do I think that this approach aids modern scholarship in an effective manner. If we continue his logic, we find that upon making the same calculations in

subjectivity, and ignores 'dialogic' concepts, which, as Calcagno shows – and in my view, the 'conversational construction' and the allusions towards an idealised 'protean self' that emerge from the courtly behavioural manuals also point to – arise more distinctly from the social and cultural practices of early modern Italy. For McClary's arguments see McClary, *Modal Subjectivities,* 38-56, esp. 38-39; for Calcagno's remark on McClary's proposition see Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera*, 286n27, and for his further arguments on the dialogic self and subjectivity see 57-59, 73-100.

[57] Cf. Andrew Lawrence-King, "Play it again, Sam!: The truth about Caccini's 'sprezzatura'," https://andrewlawrenceking.com/2015/01/25/play-it-again-sam-the-truth-about-caccinis-sprezzatura. I would like to remark that I am aware that listing this blog as a valid scholarly reference is slightly questionable. However, given that Lawrence-King uses this platform to communicate his research output, and thus attempts to reach a broader audience with it, it seemed relevant to include this.

Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, the word *grazia* in its root form appears 124 times, whereas he uses *sprezzatura* (again in its root form) on only nine occasions.[58] Would this fact indeed suggest that Castiglione's 'universal rule' is of lesser interest to the modern reader than his persistent repetition of *grazia*? Furthermore, if we take into account the broader web of courtesy books, and for that matter the literature on music of the time, we repeatedly find that *grazia* features as a more often mentioned behavioural and aesthetic value,[59] but does this mean that the appearance of *sprezzatura* and its relation to *simulation* and *dissimulation*, a notion that, as I argued in Chapters 2 and 3, is undergoing a profound re-evaluation process both in a social and musical context, deserves only the corresponding proportional attention?

As I have pointed out previously, Lawrence-King reaches back to the courtly origins of *sprezzatura* to support his theories, and as a result of this pairing he creates an intriguing connection between the Castiglionian concept, Caccini's hierarchy of musical components, and how this explains where exactly *sprezzatura* ought to be applied in music. The section that Lawrence-King refers to from *Il Cortegiano* reads as follows:

> Indeed, there is no better way of demonstrating one's skill in such things at public spectacles, whether armed or not; because masquerading carries with it a certain

[58] Lawrence-King does actually provide a calculation of the times Castiglione uses *grazia* and *sprezzatura*, but his results show 150 hits for *grazia*, which according to my calculations seems to suggest that Lawrence-King included in his total the occasions when *grazia* appears as *disgrazia*. What he omits here is the logic of quantity equalling importance, which was used earlier with regards to Caccini.

[59] A particularly nice bridge between behaviour, music, and *grazia* can be found in Lodovico Zacconi's *Prattica musica* (1592): "In all human actions, of whatever sort they may be or by whomever they may be executed, *grazia* and aptitude are needed. By *grazia* I do not mean that sort of privilege which is granted to certain subjects under kings and emperors, but rather that *grazia* possessed by men who, in performing an action, show that they do it effortlessly, supplementing agility with beauty and charm… It is not, therefore, irrelevant that a singer, finding himself from time to time among different people and performing a public action, should show them how it is done with *grazia;* for it is not enough to be correct and moderate in all those actions which might distort one's appearance, but rather one must seek to accompany one's acts and actions with beauty and charm." / "In tutte le operationi humane, sieno di qual si voglia forte che si vogliano, ò da che chi si sieno fatte, si ricercar gratia , & attitudine; non dico gratia, per intendere di quella gratia ch'hanno I sudditi particulari sotto i Re & gl'Imperatori; ma ben per quella ch'hanno gli huomini quando in fare un attione dimostrano di farla senza fatica; & all'agilità, aggiungano le vaghezze e'l garbo… Non è dunque fuori di proposito, havendo il Cantore a ritrovarsi alle volte tra diversa gente, & fare una publica attione di mostrarli come le si facciano con gratia: perche non basta l'esser corretto & moderato in tutti quei atti che lo possano far difforme; ma se ricerca, che gli atti & le attioni con garbo & legiadria accompagnati sieno." Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (Venice: Girolamo Polo, 1592), I:LXIII, 55v.

> licence and liberty, and this, among other things, enables the courtier to choose the role at which he feels himself best, to bring out its most important elements with diligence and elegance, while showing a certain nonchalance [*sprezzatura*] with regard to what is not essential.[60]

From the above quote, the emphasis in Lawrence-King's reading is on the idea that *sprezzatura* is applied to 'what is not essential'. Caccini, when listing the hierarchy of the three key musical components, draws inspiration from Plato's view, and states that speech is most important, followed by rhythm, and least essential of the three is sound.[61] For this reason, Lawrence-King proposes that *sprezzatura* should be applied to sound, and translates the notion ultimately as "nonchalant voice-production that is *almost speaking*".[62] On this occasion again, Lawrence-King's reasoning does not quite convince. On the one hand, one wonders why exactly this specific passage from Castiglione, besides the seemingly obvious superficial overlap, would be the 'right' one to explain Caccini's understanding and implementation of the notion? In the specific context and situation Castiglione describes here, it does indeed seem at first glance that *sprezzatura* should be applied to the less important parts of the courtier's costume; however, if we go back to the initial conception of the terminology provided by Count Ludovico, we find of course the famous description of a behavioural norm which applies "more than any other in all human

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[60] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, II:XI, 118-119. "… anzi per mostrarsi in tai cose nei spettaculi publici, con arme e senza arme, non è miglior via di qualle; perché lo esser travestito porta seco una certa libertà e licenzia, la quale tra l'altre cose fa che l'omo po pigliare forma di quello in che si sente valere, ed usar diligenzia ed attillatura circa la principal intenzione della cosa in che mostrar si vole, ed una certa sprezzatura circa quello che non importa..." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, II:XI, 106.

[61] Cf. Solerti, *Le origini*, 56.

[62] Cf. Lawrence-King, "Play it again, Sam." As an additional possible translation he also offers that *sprezzatura's* twenty-first-century equivalent may be described as 'cool'. This suggestion is perhaps less convincing; in fact, reminds one of Anthony Rooley's somewhat perplexing 'Renaissance-ideals-inspired' system of contemporary performance strategies. Within this scheme, *sprezzatura* is interpreted as a "lightning-like energy which carries courage, boldness, even rashness, and excitement" and serves as the balance between *decoro* ("the outward show, the appearance of things, all that which the assiduous student can control and study, develop and refine") and *grazia* ("a quality from the Divine, uncontainable, unownable, without limit, belonging to no one"). Even after assiduous examination, a lightning-like revelation fails to appear, and unfortunately it remains rather unclear as to what exactly Rooley tries to communicate here. However, throughout his entire study, he makes an intriguing attempt to explain how Renaissance behavioural ideals might be used as contemporary performance strategies. For Rooley's remark see Anthony Rooley, *Performance: Revealing the Orpheus within* (Longmead: Element Books Limited, 1990), 10-11.

actions or words" and "conceals all artistry and makes whatever one says or does seem uncontrived and effortless".[63] On the other hand, if we continue reading Castiglione's passage on masquerades, we find that the essence of the situation is very different from what Lawrence-King attempts to single out from it:

> All of this greatly enhances the attractiveness of what he is doing, as when a youth dresses up as an old man yet wears loose attire so as to be able to show his agility; or when a knight dresses up as a country shepherd, but rides a beautiful horse and wears a handsome and appropriate costume. For the spectators assume they are seeing what they are meant to imagine, and then when shown far more than what is promised by the costume being worn, they are highly amused and delighted.[64]

The emphasis here is on the idea that masks are liberating for the courtiers because they hide their true identities, thus allowing them to perform spectacles that would otherwise not be suitable for their status. Diligence and elegance are indeed the two notions paired with the essential parts of the costume, and *sprezzatura* is coupled with the non-essential parts, but ultimately, all together serve the idea of providing an ingenious deception to the amusement and delight of the spectator. Furthermore, the way Castiglione formulates his examples, especially in the case of the old man, where it seems that the essence of the costume is perfectly imitated, yet loose attire is nonchalantly added to it, makes the reader wonder whether it might be the *sprezzatura* itself, shown towards the non-essential elements, that makes the deception ultimately possible.

Lawrence-King includes an additional argument as part of his case against *sprezzatura* as rhythmic freedom in which he discusses Caccini's use of the notion as a performance instruction in 'Deh dove son fuggiti'. As we know, in this context the marking *quasi favellando con la suddetta sprezzatura* seems to appear adjoined to the performance instruction of *senza misura.* However, Lawrence-King draws attention to the fact that a dividing punctuation mark appears between the two suggestions (in the 1602 Marescotti

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[63] Cf. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, I:XXVI, 67.

[64] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, II:XI, 119. "… il che accresce molto la grazia: come sarai vestirsi un giovane da vecchio, ben però con abito disciolto, per potersi mostrare nella gagliardia; un cavaliero in orma di pastor selvatico o altro tale abito, ma con perfetto cavallo, e leggiadramente acconcio secondo quella intenzione; perché súbito l'animo de' circonstanti corre ad imaginar quello che agli occhi al primo aspetto s'appresenta; e vedendo poi riuscir molto maggior cosa che non prometteva quell'abito, si diletta e iglia piacere." Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, II:XI, 106.

print of *Le nuove musiche* there is indeed a semicolon inserted at the point in question),[65] and he argues that the *senza misura* instruction should manifest itself in the form of rhythmic freedom – but prompted by the content of the text that occurs at this point in the madrigal, rather than as a display of *sprezzatura*, which in his view is an additional effect presented in the form of speech-like voice production. This argument may stand if we look in isolation at the occurrences of *sprezzatura* in the preface of *Le nuove musiche*, but if we consider the complete list of Caccini's references to the word in his various texts, we find that his letter to Virginio Orsini includes directly contradicting information. In this context Caccini clearly, and without any punctuation, joins the notions and suggests that his invention is "canto in sprezzatura quasi che una nuova favella in armonia senza osservanza di misura" ("singing in *sprezzatura,* almost like a new speaking in pleasant sounds without observing the measure").[66]

To add further nuance to the manifold readings of Caccini's *sprezzatura* from the secondary literature I have reflected on thus far, I will now focus on examining what appears to be a highly versatile interpretation of the Castiglionian notion in the Florentine performer-composer's writing more directly in relation to the CCP's behavioural matrix. As a starting point, I will take a step back, and I will explore through the lens of my theoretical model how *sprezzatura* as a concept slots broadly into Caccini's web of musical thoughts and the aims that emerge from his writing. Within this discussion, the virtue of *simulation/dissimulation*, and the behavioural trope of *ease* from the CCP's behavioural matrix will serve as key aids for my reflections.

In nearly every reference Caccini makes to the notion, he includes a tie between *sprezzatura* and nobility or the noble manner of singing. With this connection he repeatedly reinforces the aristocratic origins of the term, and instantly opens up a path for considering *sprezzatura* as part of the system of noble behavioural ideals. To reiterate the argument that I have pointed to previously, at its conception in *Il Cortegiano, sprezzatura* is introduced in tandem with *grazia*. In the Castiglionian presentation of the terms, *grazia* stands for the 'natural' aim to which one ought to aspire, whereas *sprezzatura* represents the 'artificial' tool, through which the conscious striving for the desired ideal becomes a viable path.

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[65] Cf. Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601/02), 'Ai lettori,' n.p.

[66] Cf. Chapter 5, 129n41. In a later essay Lawrence-King himself acknowledges the omission of this reference in his *Le nuove musiche* re-evaluation – cf. Andrew Lawrence-King, "Tactus, Sprezzatura & Drama," https://andrewlawrenceking.com/2017/11/25/tactus-sprezzatura-drama/.

Simultaneously, as the aesthetic of *simulation/dissimulation* suggests, the effort must crucially remain hidden, whilst poise should be palpably displayed. Both *grazia* and *sprezzatura* can be connected to the CCP's behavioural trope of *ease*, but the split between the two notions is important to bear in mind. As we have seen previously, not only *sprezzatura*, but *grazia* also forms a pivotal part of Caccini's views – in fact, as he highlights in *Le nuove musiche*, a fundamental aim of his is to create music that represents *intera grazia*, or 'total grace'.[67] Although in his various texts he does not explicitly point to the type of dynamic between *grazia* and *sprezzatura* I have outlined above, in my view it is not too far-fetched to propose that the simultaneous references to both terms allude to the presence of the Castiglionian split in Caccini's thought. Based on this axiom, it can be argued that this division is what enables the various musical manifestations of *sprezzatura*, that can serve as tools for achieving the desired mentality of 'natural ease' in Caccini's musical endeavours.

It needs to be re-emphasised that a further frequently occurring pairing that appears with *sprezzatura* is speech, which, as already mentioned, does indeed rank as the most crucial of the musical components in Caccini's aesthetic. However, as highlighted in the first and last occasions (*L'Euridice* and *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scrivele*) in which Caccini refers to *sprezzatura*, he is not only prioritising speech, but he sets as an objective to come as close as possible to 'natural' or 'ordinary' speech in music. In this remark from Caccini, subtly embedded is an awareness of the 'artificiality' involved in the process, and thus a further *simulation/dissimulation*-based framework opens up within his musical ideals. In the first passage that includes *sprezzatura* in *Le nuove musiche*, we also learn that simulating 'natural speech' in music is what, in Caccini's thought, serves as the key to affecting the listener, and what stands in opposition to the pleasant sounds of the previous generation's music that, according to him, could only please one's hearing. Thus, via being connected to the simulation of 'natural speech', *sprezzatura* becomes entangled with affects too. As we know, Caccini does not only use the word *affetto* in the sense of emotional states one may be moved to through music, but he also refers to the various

[67] Caccini describes this notion in context as follows: "In this way, since (as far as I know) music of that total grace that I hear ringing in my soul is uncommon in our modern times, perhaps I may give some idea of it in these lines…" / "… affine che, non essendosi ne' moderni tempi passata costumata (ch'io sappia) musiche di quella intera grazia ch'io sento nel mio animo risonare, op ne possa in questi scritti lasciare alcun vestigio…" Solerti, *Le origini*, 56.

expressive devices (i.e. certain types of ornaments) that can foster the process of reaching these states. In Caccini's mind this dual approach opens up for *sprezzatura* not only the involvement in affecting in a general sense, but a gain in the ability of morphing into one of the 'ornamental *affetti*' – which stance he notably displays when in *Le nuove musiche* he discusses *sprezzatura* together with other expressive devices in reference to his example pieces, and in *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scrivele*, where he specifically likens *sprezzatura* to a set of affective ornaments, and other rhetorical figures.

If we draw together the above aspects, a picture emerges which shows that Caccini's *sprezzatura* operates in the realms of displaying (the semblance) of noble *grazia*, striving for 'natural' speech, and affecting through 'natural' speech. The diverse manifestations of *sprezzatura* that materialise in Caccini's writing are capable of contributing to the highlighted aims on the level of both performance and composition. Furthermore, given the notion's inherent ties with *simulation* and *dissimulation*, *sprezzatura* also holds within itself the ability to conceal the 'artificialities' that may arise as part of fostering the objectives with which it is connected. With these foundations in mind, I will now add a few observations on the specific components, along with the actions attached to them, that Caccini selects from his musical toolbox as suitable devices for realising *sprezzatura*. My key concern is to focus on his performance-related tools; but in order to bring us to these, his remarks which can be linked to composition provide an ideal launch pad.

Caccini's two passages that point most directly to an entanglement between *sprezzatura* and composition are the performer-composer's reference to the notion in the preface to *L'Euridice,* and the first occasion in which he discusses the term in *Le nuove musiche*. On these two instances, when he describes tied bass notes on a single pitch with dissonances in the melody passing over them in the same context as *sprezzatura*, Caccini alludes to the idea that the mentality of *sprezzatura* provides a license to breach contrapuntal rules (i.e. the occurring dissonances remain unresolved due to the unchanging bass). Simultaneously, the emerging musical texture creates a potential environment in which *sprezzatura* in performance can manifest itself and aid the semblance of a 'natural' and spontaneous display of a speech-like delivery.[68] Within performance, Caccini goes

[68] It is important to remark that moving melodies over repeated (and tied) long value bass notes on a single pitch ought not to be considered as exclusive possibilities for the display of *sprezzatura.* The most obvious counterexample can be found in Caccini's example madrigal 'Deh, dove son fuggiti', in which

further in attaching pragmatic 'translations' to the term, and he connects the ideas of tampering with tempo (i.e. *tactus*) and approaching rhythm in a fluid manner to *sprezzatura*.[69] From Caccini's various publications, the final occasion where *sprezzatura* appears, in *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scrivele*, includes particularly intriguing details for my analysis, and therefore it is worth reflecting on this further. Firstly, it is

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at the point when the *quasi favellando in armonia con la suddetta sprezzatura* instruction appears, the bass line shows great rhythmic and melodic activity. Cf. Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* (2009), 12.

[69] In my view, it is somewhat tricky to find a hint in Caccini's various references to *sprezzatura* that would point to Lawrence-King's proposition of the notion being musically 'translated' by Caccini as nonchalant voice-production. However, if we approach *sprezzatura* and its ties to speech-like delivery in a broad sense, it may be assumed that as a mentality, the notion can have an effect on multiple musical-expressive devices (including voice-production, but also, for example, malleable rhythmic inflections) that can be associated with the simulation of 'natural' speech in singing. The connection between time-related musical devices and *sprezzatura* which seem to emerge from Caccini's references to the notion opens up intriguing questions. Firstly, the matter of *tactus* ought to be considered in this regard. *Tactus*, or a regular metrical pulse which serves as the means for organising music through time, fulfilled a pivotal importance in the era concerned, particularly in relation to the contrapuntal traditions of the sixteenth century. Musicians who were associated with the musical paradigm shift that took place at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also engaged with the question of *tactus* – a good example of this is Vincenzo Galilei, who stated that for a group of performers the use of *tactus* is highly recommended. However, he also noted that for monody it does not have such importance. Caccini pointing to *sprezzatura* displayed as tempo modification can suitably be paralleled with this stance. However, the connotations of *sprezzatura* with rhythmic freedom point to the question: when Caccini speaks of the idea of performing 'without observing the measure', does he mean that there is no measure present at these points, or is he suggesting that there is an ongoing measure, but the singer ought not to abide by it? This latter option can be appealingly elaborated further, if we assume that Caccini's remarks only concern the melody, but the accompanying bass is present as a symbolic timekeeper. The idea of a governing and 'unaltering' bass can be supported by Agostino Agazzari's description in which he describes the continuo instruments as the "fundament… which guide and support the entire sound of the voices" ["… fondamento … che guidano, e sostengono tutto il corpo delle voci…"]. Thus, in this framework, *tactus* gets assigned to the fundament that is in charge of the following process as described by Zacconi: "The duty of those who control the tactus is to make it clear, secure, without fear, and without trembling … [and the *tactus*] should never bend to accommodate any singer, because bending for this or that person, to give them time to fill the singing with beauty makes the harmony become weak and slow." ["Il debito de quelli che lo reggano è di reggerlo chiaro, sicuro, senza paura, & senza veruna titubatione... ne mai a qual si voglia voce di cantore piegar si deve; perche il pergarsi alle voglie di questo, & di quello per darli tempo ch'empiano i canti di vaghezze, fa che l'harmonie divenghino debole e lente."] The described split between the bass and the melody can point to ideas relating to time perception in the sense that it has the ability to simultaneously present a 'subjective' experience within an 'objective' framework. Furthermore, it opens up the possibility to interpret monody as an environment for the exploration of 'individuality'. Caccini's use of the *dissimulation/simulation*-based notion of *sprezzatura* in this realm is a noteworthy occurrence, and it may be seen as an intriguing hint towards propagating the idea of a 'protean self'. For Galilei's thoughts on *tactus* see Galilei, *Dialogo della musica*, 101-102; for Agazzari's remark on continuo instruments see Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra 'l basso con tutti li stromenti e dell'uso loro nel conserto* (Siena: Domenico Falconi, 1607), 3; for Zacconi's observation on *tactus* see Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, I:XXXIII, 21v.

notable that in this passage Caccini lists *sprezzatura*, along with affects and the variety of affects, as a pillar of solo singing.[70] With this framework in mind, it can perhaps be speculated that similarly to Castiglione, in Caccini's thought *sprezzatura* exists as a 'universal rule' in performance. Following this train of thought, the presence of Castiglionian allusions in the section in question can be stretched even further: mirroring the remark of the *Cortegiano's* Count Ludovico, in which he observes how a *musico* displays *sprezzatura* by a seemingly effortless flashing of a musical figure on occasion that gives an indication of his full abilities, Caccini emphasises that a pragmatic 'translation' of *sprezzatura,* which in this instance is described by him as using flowing quavers and semiquavers over various chords, should also only be applied at the right place and time. In addition to this duality, in the same passage Caccini refers to aesthetic ideals and aims such as elegance (*leggiadria*) and airiness in tandem with *sprezzatura*, through which *grazia* and the behavioural trope of *ease* indirectly, yet instantly transpire. Based on these connections, it can be argued that for Caccini the universality of *sprezzatura* pervades the self-presentation of the performer too, which then contributes to a manner of delivery where the readiness for displaying what would be considered by Caccini as a musical 'translation' of *sprezzatura* is palpably present, yet it is only demonstrated at given moments. These instants ought to appear, of course, as if chosen in the spur of the moment, but in reality, they are a result of careful deliberation. Taking this model of performance one step further, it seems feasible to broaden *sprezzatura* to the level of communicative methods within performance, thus allowing a pairing of the notion with my system of *performative mindsets*. What we find here, is that from the four mindsets laid out in Chapter 3, *sprezzatura* points towards the ideologies of *representing*.[71] It might not seize fully the potential that lies in the 'artificiality' of this particular mindset, but in its essence, it certainly resonates with the foundations of it. In fact, if we look at the pairing of *sprezzatura* together with *representing*, in my view, it can be argued that together with the expansion process of the courtesy books, the mechanisms of the *performative mindset* theory also

[70] The fact that he places *sprezzatura* in such a prominent position can also be interpreted as a sign of how significant the notion may have been to Caccini. In addition to the *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scrivele* reference, Caccini's letter to Virginio Orsini also seems to point to the idea that Caccini considered singing in *sprezzatura* as a key invention of his. For the relevant passage of the letter see Chapter 5, 129.

[71] Cf. Chapter 3, 97-103.

contributed to *sprezzatura* appearing in a professional musical context, and it is not surprising that the notion became appealing for those, including Caccini, who were affiliated with the experiments of *stile rappresentativo*.

To return more directly to the CCP's behavioural matrix, my aim throughout the analysis was to indicate, with the Castiglionian conception of the notion in mind, *sprezzatura's* ties with the behavioural trope of *ease* and the virtue of *simulation/dissimulation*, and to highlight the manner in which this framework can be adapted to Caccini's use of, and remarks on, *sprezzatura* in his various publications. In my view, the picture that emerges shows that in the mind of Caccini, a professional musician, the originally noble behavioural ideal manifests itself in a manner that I would describe with the word *hybridity*. By this characterisation I mean to express that, on the one hand, the notion prevails for him as a mentality (which specifically in performance can exist as part of the performer's self-presentation), and on the other, he approaches the concept with a sense of pragmatism, resulting in detailed 'translations' that point to musical tools, which, according to him, ought to serve as aids in displaying the mentality. In this sense (i.e. *hybridity*), Caccini's perspective on *sprezzatura* can be seen as a representative example of one way in which the CCP's behavioural matrix (in this case specifically the trope of *ease* and the virtue of *simulation/dissimulation*) influences and materialises itself in a professional musician's thinking, leading to my theoretical model's appearance in musical practice.

5.3 Case study 1: the continuous conversational performer and the toolbox of expressive singing – interpreting Ottavio Durante's preface to *Arie devote* (1608)

Ottavio Durante's sole surviving musical publication, which, as we know, was largely inspired by Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*, appeared in print in Rome in 1608, with the following title: "*Arie devote* [devotional arias], which incorporate the manner of singing with *grazia*, the imitation of the words, and the way to write *passaggi* and other *affetti*."[72] The preface to the collection begins with a simple yet concise remark in which Durante

[72] "Arie devote, le quali contengono in se la maniera di cantar' con gratia, l'imitation' delle parole, et il modo di scriver passaggi et altri affetti." Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 1.

stresses that his arias are intended to provide a way of understanding the artistic aspects outlined in the title. He supplements this remark with a brief explanation about what he hopes to achieve in the preface itself, and how he will approach delivering his arguments:

> … and so that those desirous of this virtue may practise to easily attain it, I bring them [the arias] to light with some brief pieces of advice, useful no less to composers than to singers, always addressing those who have need of them.[73]

Initially, this short excerpt may come across as a relatively bland statement, but on closer inspection it reveals a few important details worth highlighting. The first aspect to draw attention to is that Durante considers the combination of singing with *grazia*, imitating the words, and incorporating *passaggi* and *affetti* in music to be a virtue.[74] More importantly, he explicitly adds that one can practise such a virtue. From the components he mentions, the inclusion of *grazia* is noteworthy, as the context seems to point to the idea that Durante propagates the conscious striving towards this aesthetic ideal, which he clearly reveres as a key goal in delivery. Durante not only emphasises the possibility of studying the various elements of his virtuous music-making, but he also makes the bold promise that the practical advice which follows in his preface, and the compositions included in the collection – presumably in tandem with Caccini's teachings from *Le nuove musiche*, which publication, as I have highlighted previously, Durante refers his readers to for further guidance – will provide the means for, as he puts it, 'easily' achieving the mentioned aims.[75] The final detail worth stressing from the above quote is the remark that Durante sets out to address composers and singers separately in the preface, and indeed, throughout

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[73] "… perche i desiderosi di questa virtù possino essercitarsi, per facilmente conseguirla, le mando in luce con alcuni avvertimenti brevi, & utili non meno a Compositori, che a Cantori, parlando sempre per quelli che non hanno dibisogno." Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 1.

[74] In a similar manner to Caccini, Durante uses the word *affetto* in two senses throughout his preface: as emotional states, and as expressive devices that can aid in reaching these states.

[75] Caccini himself displays a similar, if not higher, level of confidence in the remark he included in the preface of *L'Euridice* where in anticipation of his forthcoming publication, he described the textual part of *Le nuove musiche* as "a discourse to the readers on the noble manner of singing, [and on] in my judgement the best [way] in which others can practice it, with some curiosities belonging to it, and with the new manner of *passaggi* and *raddoppiate*, invented by me." / "… un discorso a i lettori del nobil modo di cantare, al esercitarsi, con alcune curiosità appartenenti ad esso, e con la nuova maniera de passaggi, e raddoppiate inventati da me..." Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera*, 38-39.

his writing, he follows this organisational principle. My interest lies primarily in the section of the preface concentrating on performance, and how the behavioural matrix of the CCP manifests itself within this; but before I dive into reflecting on these, I will briefly examine Durante's remarks on composition, as these comments also reveal a few important points relating to the present study.

In terms of writing music, two key aspects that Durante comments on are setting text to music and how to implement *passaggi* and *affetti* appropriately. He emphasises that in order to reach the listener's soul most effectively, composers should pick their tonal material according to the affects the words express. Furthermore, to avoid creating barbarisms, they should pay attention to the feet of the verses they intend to set to music. He advises against imitative compositions, and he points out that bending the rules of counterpoint is acceptable for the sake of convincing expression. Regarding the placement of *passaggi* and *affetti,* he warns composers not to add the former at the beginning of tender and serious pieces, whereas he approves of using the latter in these circumstances. According to Durante, suitable places for *passaggi* are cadences, and moments where they do not hinder the understanding of the words. When implementing *passaggi,* composers should also make sure that they fall on long syllables and on the approved vowels. Interestingly, Durante does not reveal in this context which vowels he deems to be appropriate, and only later on, in the section on performance, do we find out his opinion. Mirroring his manner of progression, I will also save the matter for when I discuss performance. To conclude his short section on composition, Durante states that by adhering to his advice on the placement of *passaggi,* the "music will be made as singable and effortless as possible" and will be "even more gladly sung and heard".[76] With this short remark, he essentially points to a performance experience in which both the performer and recipient's perspectives are infused with the CCP's behavioural trope of *ease*. As an additional component, composition is drawn into the equation here, suggesting that *ease* can be written into the music through arranging sonic material in a manner that follows and aids the described presentational ideal.

When examining to what extent Durante's own arias correspond to the rules he previously sets out, we find intriguing outcomes. Regarding his comment about selecting

[76] "… e la musica farla cantabile,e più facile che sia possibile, ... sarà ancora più volentieri cantata, e sentita." Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 2.

suitable tonal material governed by the affects expressed by the words, Zygmunt M. Szweykowski suggests that Durante points to choosing appropriate modes for the compositions. Szweykowski argues that given the ties Durante is seeking to establish with Florentine musical thought via his references to Caccini, he would be propagating the idea of seizing modality (based on the Greek theory of ethos) in order to affect human beings in various ways. This is a tempting proposition, and it may well be the intended content of Durante's words, but as Szweykowski himself remarks, the compositions included in *Arie devote* seem to be following (if anything at all) a system of modal ethos that does not quite align with associations that are frequently found between mode and affect.[77] Throughout the collection, Durante avoids what he refers to as barbarisms, and observes the suitable prosodic correspondence between text and music. As we know, he warns against imitation, but not only does he apply this very technique in the two-voice compositions relatively frequently, but he also occasionally constructs his basslines in the pieces for solo voice and accompaniment in this manner.[78] Nevertheless, Durante's approach to contrapuntal rules is, as expected, relatively lax, and textual expression is at the centre of his music. The treatment of *passaggi* in the collection is especially interesting. Durante generally adheres to his suggestion from the preface, which points to the avoidance of *passaggi* at the beginning of the pieces. Otherwise, however, he implements *passaggi*, often of exceptional virtuosity, at a notably high rate, which leads to a melismatic style throughout the compositions. Furthermore, he frequently uses rich figures to mark key words of the text, and occasionally he even places *passaggi* on unaccented syllables. Thus, as Szweykowski emphasises, the placement of *passaggi* in *Arie devote* strongly deviates from the style of Florentine circles.[79] John W. Hill comments with more vitriol, and he goes as far as to describe Durante's pieces as "failed imitations of Giulio Caccini's Florentine monodic style, a failure that Montalto and his musicians undoubtedly were able to detect".[80] In

[77] Cf. Szweykowski, "Ottavio Durante's Preface," 57-58.

[78] Durante's imitative approach between the two sung voices which often manifests itself in exchanges of virtuosic *passaggi* is somewhat reminiscent of the multiple-voice compositions in Luzzaschi's *Madrigali* from 1601. If we project the overlaps that I have previously pointed out between the Ferrarese *concerto delle dame* performing works like that of in Luzzaschi's collection and the CCP's behavioural matrix onto the performance of Durante's two-voice pieces, a similar picture can be drawn with the performers seizing the trope of *observation* and the virtue of *simulation/dissimulation*.

[79] Cf. Szweykowski, "Ottavio Durante's Preface," 62.

[80] Beside Durante's use of melismas as a tool for text expression, Hill also criticises the polyphonic orientation of the bass lines. However, he also highlights that the way Durante divides his compositions

Wilhelm Matejka's view, the compositional style of the arias is not seen as so much a failure, but rather as Durante's own interpretation of *stile nuovo.*[81] Matejka argues that Durante's choice of words in the preface when he writes to "adorn [*adornare*] the words musically" is revealing, and from this clue Matejka proposes that, for Durante, the *passaggi* that make up his melismatic style serve as predominant tools of expressive music.[82] What all three commentators omit, is how the instructions concerning performance which Durante includes in the preface may also be relevant for his compositional method. As I now move on to discussing the (seemingly) solely performance-specific section – whilst keeping the potential connections with the CCP in the centre of my discussion – I will also point towards signs of what I see as an entanglement of performance and composition in *Arie devote*.

In his first remark on performance, Durante immediately lays out a passage densely packed with intriguing detail, which I will be using as the central guiding quote in my forthcoming reflections:

> Singers must aspire to grasp well in themselves what they have to sing, especially when singing alone, so that understanding and owning it well, they are able to make others who listen to them understand it, which is their principal purpose. And they must pay attention to sing well in tune, and to sing *adagio* (that is with *battuta larga*), to deliver the voice with *grazia* and pronounce the words distinctly in order to be understood, and if they want to add *passaggi*, be advised that not all *passaggio* is approved in the good manner of singing.[83]

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into sections marked either by change of metre or swapping from recitational to metrical style and back, is characteristic of composers close to Montalto's circles. It is also worth pointing out that apart from the rhythmically active, imitative bass lines, Durante's style shows characteristics of Roman-Neapolitan courtly song of the previous century, such as irregular phrase length, flexible rhythms, simple melodic cells that fall and rise in fourths and fifths, and the opportunity for virtuosic ornamentation. (In terms of ornamentation it ought to be mentioned that by Durante writing out much of the *passaggi*, these are already largely built into his compositions.) In terms of the reception of the collection, there is no clear evidence that *Arie devote* was judged negatively, but the musicians close to Montalto Hill speculates may have been critical of Durante's work include names like Cesare Marotta and Melchior Palentrotti, amongst others. For Hill's brief remarks see Hill, *Roman Monody*, vol. 1, 44. Above I am borrowing Stras' concisely summarised characteristic parameters of Roman-Neapolitan courtly song – for her list see Stras, *Women and Music*, 208, 282.

[81] Matejka, "Ottavio Durante," 445-446.

[82] Matejka, "Ottavio Durante," 445.

[83] "I Cantori devono procurar di capir bene in se stessi quel che hano da catare, massime quado cantano soli, accio intendendolo, e possendendolo bene, lo possino far intender all'altri, che li stanno a sentire, che questo è il loro scopo principale, e devono avvertire di intonar bene, e di cantar adagio, cioe con la

Within Durante's above sentences we find indications towards both overarching aims and more direct technical-expressive components that a singer ought to take into consideration. The former is particularly clearly expressed in the first sentence of the quote where Durante defines the fundamental objective of the performer as being able to bring the listener to the same understanding about the music as they themselves have.[84] To pair this stance with the matrix of the CCP, we find that it resonates strongly with the behavioural trope of *persuasiveness*. Additionally, what stands out in the way Durante describes the process of persuasion, is his emphasis on how crucially it depends on meticulous preparation preceding the actual event. As he points out, without first grasping the composition, and owning the material, one will not be able to successfully deliver its intended content. Whether or not Durante means to incorporate a hint towards a *performative mindset* here is difficult to determine; however, if we presume that this short observation encompasses an overall communicative strategy for the performer, on first glance, it is the mindset of *becoming* that seems to be emerging from his words. On the other hand, in his statement that the performer should understand and own the material to be able to bring the listener to the same understanding, it is not quite apparent as to whether this equates to the performer aiming to feel the same passion he seeks to awake in the listener whilst performing, or whether the tools of persuasion can also stem from the 'artificial realm'. If we consider the manner in which Durante points to the conscious striving for *grazia* (i.e. an ideal that, in his view, one can practise towards), the latter option does not seem inappropriate to suggest either, thus indicating the possibility of pairing the mindset of *representing* with Durante's arguments. Ultimately, however, the number of hints he provides throughout the preface is unfortunately too scarce to firmly establish a *performative mindset* that would match his ideals of delivery with any certainty.

If we look further at the above quote, it is also noticeable that Durante emphasises the importance of presenting the voice with *grazia*, and as an additional tool to aid understanding, he points to the distinct pronunciation of the words. In a later section of the

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battuta larga, progendo la voce con gratia e prnuntiando le parole distintamente, acciò siano intese, e quando si vorrà far passaggi, si avvertisca, che non ogni passaggio è approvato nella buona maniera di cantare." Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 2.

[84] Wistreich terms the passage in question as 'interpretation'. Cf. Richard Wistreich, "Vocal Performance in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, ed. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 401.

preface, he comes back to this matter again, and underlines that "regarding the pronunciation of the words, it is necessary to keep in mind reasoning whilst singing, and to open the mouth where necessary in conformity with seeking out the broad vowels, and to reduce it in the narrow ones."[85] Although this remark is specifically presented in the context of diction, it is nevertheless intriguing that Durante seems to allude, through the word 'reasoning', to what can be described as oratorical thinking, thus further reinforcing the connection with the trope of *persuasiveness*. Furthermore, by attaching a sense of calculated physicality to the delivery of the words, Durante points to a conscious awareness of the 'bodyset' the performer ought to display whilst in action. In terms of gestures, Durante takes a reserved stance, and advises not to add any, unless they relate to the words and are executed with *grazia.*[86] What Durante hopes to achieve with such an attitude, can perhaps be paralleled with how Giustiniani described the *concerti delle dame* in the passage quoted earlier in this chapter, where he highlights how the ladies were exhibiting only fitting facial expressions, glances, and gestures, whilst avoiding awkward movements of the mouth and hands that would not correspond with the affect of the song.[87] In other words, what is valued by Durante too, is the continuous attention to and the control over the correspondence between physicality and expression, and the notion that so long as gestures are executed in the right measure and with *good judgement* their inclusion is desirable.

To turn back now to Durante's opening remark on performance, I would like to highlight a couple more key points; the first of which is his advice encouraging singers "to sing *adagio* (that is with *battuta larga*)" – a phrase rich in detail which needs unpacking. The notion of *battuta larga* is translated by Hugo Goldschmidt as "mit größter Freiheit im Tact" (with greatest freedom of the beat), by Richard Wistreich as "with great freedom of rhythm", by Sven Schwannberger as "langsamer *battuta*" (slow *battuta*), and by Donald C. Sanders as "with broad beats".[88] From the four versions, Sanders takes the most literal

[85] "Circa la pronuntia delle parole bisogna far conto cantando di ragionare, & aprir la bocca dove fa di bisogno, conforme ricercano le vocali larghe, e restringerla nelle strette..." Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 3.

[86] Cf. Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 3.

[87] Cf. Chapter 4, 111-112.

[88] Cf. Sanders, "Vocal Ornaments in Durante's 'Arie devote'," 73; Schwannberger, "Studio et Amore," 72; Wistreich, "Vocal Performance in the Seventeenth Century," 401 & Richard Wistreich, "Reconstructing Pre-Romantic Singing Technique," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 190; Goldschmidt, *Die italienische Gesangsmethode*, 31. Goldschmidt's reasoning for his translation, where he compares Durante's phrase

route, and Schwannberger also stays very close to the original form of the notion, but neither of them include further detailed reasoning in their respective writing. As opposed to the former two, both Goldschmidt and Wistreich provide heavily interpreted solutions. Goldschmidt's freedom of the beat is a somewhat ambiguous proposition, but I do not disagree with the essence of what Wistreich points to when he explains the term as freedom of rhythm. However, the fact that Wistreich's translation omits that this rhythmic freedom is connected to the *battuta* (i.e. *tactus*) is somewhat unfortunate in my view. The term *battuta larga* is discussed in Pier Francesco Valentini's treatise, *Trattato della battuta musicale,* which, although only appeared in print as late as 1643, as Margaret Murata remarks, reflects Roman practices of the first decades of the seventeenth century.[89] Valentini highlights that *passi affettuosi* (i.e. expressive *passaggi*) in motets and madrigals were performed with *battuta larga,* which leads Murata to interpret *battuta larga* as a broad beat that differs from the surrounding context, but which nevertheless is still in dialogue with a normative *tactus* rate that governs the composition.[90] In Durante's description, *battuta larga* is paired with the word *adagio,* which, in the given framework I propose to render in its literal sense, as 'at ease'. As a combination of the terminologies, the style of delivery that emerges from Durante's indication can be characterised by presenting the tonal material (or at least given sections of it) with a broad *tactus* that, whilst serving as a guiding frame, is also able to simultaneously accommodate the 'at ease' singing of the passages that fall between its beats.[91] To parallel this with the CCP's behavioural matrix, in my view, Durante's performance direction can be interpreted as a musical-expressive translation of the behavioural trope of *ease.*

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to one of Caccini's mentions of *sprezzatura* in *Le nuove musiche,* Ignazio Donati's instructions to his *Il secondo libro de motetti a voce sola* (Venice: Vincenti, 1636), and Orazio Modiana's remarks from his *Primitie di sacri concerti a voce sola* (Venice: Vincenti, 1623), can be found in the same volume on 77-78.

[89] Margaret Murata, "Pier Francesco Valentini on Tactus and Proportion," in *Frescobaldi Studies,* ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 327-350.

[90] For the Valentini passage on *battuta larga* see Pier Francesco Valentini, *Trattato della battuta musicale* (Rome: Vatican Library Ms. Barb. lat. 4417, 1643), 34:§64. For Murata's interpretation of the passage see Murata, "Pier Francesco Valentini," 334.

[91] In this performance remark of Durante, it is also possible to detect a hint towards presenting a 'subjective' experience of time within an 'objective' framework, which I hypothesised previously in relation to *senza misura* and *sprezzatura*. For my observations on this matter see Chapter 5, 141n69.

The final point from our central quote that I would like to discuss is the matter of *passaggi*, which I will elaborate on in conjunction with the ornamental *affetti* Durante includes in his preface. As we have seen previously, the manner of implementing *passaggi* and *affetti* was a pivotal talking point in Durante's advice to composers. Regarding how one ought to apply ornamentation in performance, the one remark that we have seen thus far, is that according to Durante not all *passaggi* are suitable for the good manner of singing. As he expands on this point, he encourages singers to develop an awareness (i.e. *good judgement*) of what works best for the voice, and urges them to apply these figures, rather than figures which suit instruments better. He highlights that *passaggi* are to be done, above all, in imitation of the words and their meanings, and should not obstruct from the understanding of them. Short syllables are to be avoided and instead the performer should aim to apply *passaggi* on long syllables, but only on those that include approved vowels. At this point Durante reveals the information omitted in his earlier section discussing matters of composition, and we learn that 'a', 'e', and 'o' are acceptable vowels, and that 'i' and 'u' should be avoided, as *passaggi* on the former remind Durante neighing and on the latter howling.[92] For the two vowels too 'animalistic' for *passaggi*, he suggests that instead the use of *accenti*, or other similarly small 'grace notes' would be appropriate. Implementing *passaggi* on the last syllable of words is not permitted; however, he appends, if it is a long syllable with an approved vowel and it is directly followed by further syllables (of a new word) that make up a cadence, the rule can be bent occasionally.[93]

The discussion on *passaggi* Durante includes in the part of the preface dealing with advice for performers is of course to be understood as referring to the improvised practice of *passaggi*. What immediately occurs to the reader when looking at his remarks here, is that much of it is a clear repetition of what he has already pointed out previously in the section addressing composers. However, when talking about performance he further elaborates on a few angles – in fact, he includes some information, such as for example the specification of approved vowels, which he does not reveal in his advice for composers, albeit one would imagine this knowledge would be essential for them too. As I see it, one

[92] Cf. Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 2.

[93] Cf. "Il far passaggi nem ultima sillaba delle parole è contra la regola, ma qualche volta, pur che la sillaba sua lungha, e cada nelle vocali approvate, non disdirà, seguendo, però altre sillabe da far cadenza." Kurtzman and Schnoebelen, "Durante 1608 D3975," 3. As an example of such an occasion in one of the arias see bars 29-31 of 'Filie Jerusalem' – cf. Durante, *Arie devote,* 25.

can argue that these are signs of Durante thinking (and writing) predominantly with the mind of a performer.

In addition to the above ornamental techniques, Durante specifies three further expressive-ornamental tools. He mentions the *trillo* but includes only the blunt remark that if a 't' is notated, one must trill, and if a 't' is added on top of an already written out *trillo* or *groppetto,* one must trill even more.[94] The other two expressive ornaments he discusses are both types of *crescendo*. The first type is a gradual increase which he recommends should take place on the same pitch, when one encounters a note with what he refers to as a 'point of augmentation' (*punto di augumento*), or in plain words, if a note is dotted. The fact that Durante ties this manner of expression to such a common notational device is an intriguing proposition, and the type of performance that may arise from it points to a delivery where *persuasiveness* is often supported by intensity and vigour. Indeed, the second type of *crescendo* he singles out seems to confirm these performance ideals, as in this case he essentially describes a *strascinare* or *portamento di voce* which is to be carried out when a sharp is assigned to the latter of two tied notes of the same pitch.[95] The manner in which Durante describes the execution of this expressive ornament is worth noting – he recommends that the performer should pay very conscious attention to the gradual increasing of the voice, which, if calculated to perfection, can become an exceptionally moving effect for the listener.

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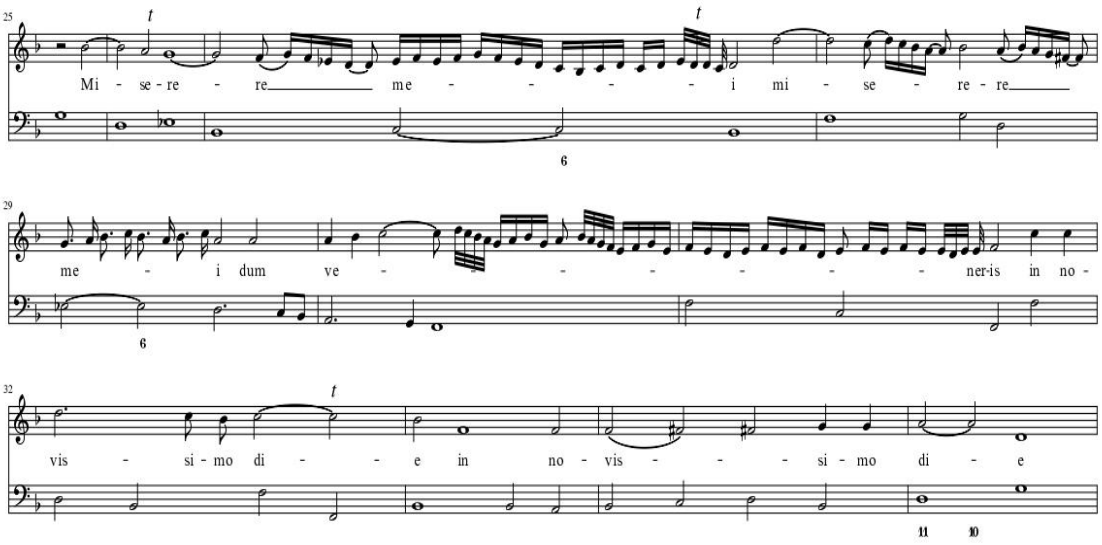
[94] Durante is relatively concise on all matters throughout the preface, but the information he provides on the *trillo* is indeed particularly sparse. If we take Durante's overall advice and turn to Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* for further information on the matter, we find that he is also very curt on how to acquire a good *trillo*. Wistreich, in his article on the transmission, dissemination, and transformation of the *trillo* in early modern Europe, argues that in the case of Caccini, he might be consciously dissimulating precise information on his technique in fear of making his skill too easily available for the broader public. Durante was of course by no means a performer of Caccini's stature, but it may be the case that he is deliberately adapting Caccini's approach to the topic. For Wistreich's arguments on the *trillo* see Wistreich, "'Nach der jetzig Newen Italienischen Manier," 138-150, esp. 145-146.

[95] For a concise contextual discussion on *portamenti* of this kind in the repertoire of the time see Schwannberger, "Studio et Amore," 167-175.

Example 5-1. Ottavio Durante, ‘Hei mihi, Domine’, from *Arie devote*, bars 25-35



It is distinctly noticeable that Durante ties the ornamental a/effects he singles out to notational devices. In the short excerpt taken from the aria ‘Hei mihi, Domine’ all the discussed elements are incorporated by Durante (see Example 5-1): ‘simple’ *trillos* are marked in bars 26 and 32, whereas an ‘intensified’ one is added in bar 27; a dotted note for the first type of increasing of the voice can be found in bar 32, and if we follow Durante’s advice strictly, all four dotted quavers within the *passagio* in bar 29 ought to receive the same treatment too; and finally, in bar 34 Durante incorporates the second type of increase in the voice, the upward semitone *portamento*. In addition to these ornaments, the few bars above taken from ‘Hei mihi, Domine’ also show Durante’s characteristic writing style through the rich inclusion of virtuosic *passaggi*.

If we look back at the title of the collection – “Devotional arias, which incorporate the manner of singing with *grazia,* the imitation of the words, and the way to write *passaggi* and other *affetti*” – and connect it with the manner the preface is written in and the content of his songs, we get the sense that Durante is indeed attempting to provide pieces that contain in their notation what he promises to show, to an extent at least. To take this idea a step further and implement the proposition of Durante approaching composition through performance, the hypothesis arises that he is in fact experimenting with whether he can capture to a certain degree on paper what he would consider as affective performances. I am not suggesting that he is trying to include in his pieces all the expressive-performative

elements that appear in his preface, nor that purely from the notation one can fully 'decode' the type of performance Durante had in mind. Instead, I propose that he operates in a way where he tries to balance two components – the expressive-performative elements, and how these can be in dialogue with the notation – and the merging of these parts is what leads to what I would describe as pieces which walk the line between composition and performance. For this reason, in my view, the fact that Durante decides to make a division in the preface between the advice he gives to performers and that intended for composers, does not work in his favour – at least not in the sense of how he himself approaches writing music. In terms of evaluating his pieces, Hill, Matejka, and Szweykowski – the three scholars I highlighted previously who have analysed Durante's compositional style to some extent relatively recently – neglect to take into consideration the extent to which his writing is tied to performance and performative components. Although a thorough analysis of the entire collection is beyond the scope of this case study, throughout this essay my aim has been to point to the idea that in order to make a nuanced judgement about the quality of the songs included in *Arie devote,* treating their content from a performative angle ought to be of key importance, and that approaching the collection in isolation from a compositional perspective does not give a full picture.[96]

The type of merging approach I argue that Durante displays whilst balancing the lines between performance and composition also provides a useful hook in summarising the presence of the CCP and its behavioural matrix in *Arie devote.* Firstly, the manner of delivery Durante propagates in the preface shows close proximity with the values of the CCP, in particular with the behavioural tropes of *persuasiveness* and *ease*. The way Durante points to a conscious striving for *grazia* through practice, an overall meticulous preparation preceding the performance, and the attentive control of the self in terms of physicality during a performance, also aligns with properties I associate with the CCP. In addition to these allusions – similarly to my proposition in the case of Caccini and *sprezzatura* – Durante incorporates tools of delivery, such as his advice on timing, that I believe can be seen as a musical-expressive translation of the CCP's mentality. And finally,

[96] If we observe the pieces as strictly educational material that provides examples of Durante's otherwise more broadly applicable advice included in the preface, the fundaments of my proposition of him approaching writing music through performance do not change – the only difference that arises in the case of the educational angle is that it becomes more appropriate to describe the process as Durante teaching about his conception of affective singing through performances that document his ideals to the extent he found it possible to represent them in notation.

if we draw all components together, and pair the idea that Durante's notion of an affective performance is influenced by the model of the CCP with the proposition that Durante's compositional approach is driven by his thought processes as a performer, it can be argued that the arias of the collection are attempts to represent performances of the CCP on paper to the degree the notation available affords this.

5.4 Case study 2: the continuous conversational performer in a court opera – re-reading Marco da Gagliano's preface to *La Dafne* (1608)

In my second case study, Marco da Gagliano's reflections on court opera, and tracing the CCP within these take centre stage. As I have emphasised previously, Gagliano's preface to *La Dafne*, can be divided into two key sections: a uniquely detailed, and simultaneously descriptive and prescriptive series of observations on the performance of his music, and a concise contextual set of remarks on the genre of his piece through his own narrative about the early history of music-theatrical productions. Following Gagliano's order of progression in the preface, I begin my discourse with the latter aspect.

Gagliano opens his broader historical-contextual remarks with a humble plea for court opera by pointing out that, although the genre enjoyed much success in the decade or so prior to 1608, if even more of the accomplished masters of the time would put their hands to it, and if the patrons of the art would provide further support towards it, it could flourish to even greater heights, and might come even closer to the legendary expressive powers of ancient tragedies. He continues, describing the origins of the first musical setting of Rinuccini's *Dafne* by praising Jacopo Corsi's patronage and artistic involvement in the creation of some of the initial songs of the play, and emphasising Jacopo Peri's crucial role in bringing together the composition. As Gagliano puts, the piece, first performed in 1598, was received as a spectacle that brought "pleasure and amazement in the souls of the spectators that cannot be expressed".[97]

[97] Cf. "Il piacere e lo stupore che partorì negli animi degl'uditori questo nuovo spettacolo non si può esprimere, basta solo che per molte volte ch'ella s'è recitata, ha generato la stessa ammirazione e lo stesso diletto." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 50. In the preface Gagliano states that the Carnival season of 1597 was the date of the first performance, but based on the existing primary source material dealing with the various performances of the piece, it becomes clear that he is using the old Florentine style

Next, he talks about Peri's version of *L'Euridice,* which, similarly to *La Dafne,* is also based on a text by Rinuccini. As part of his remarks, Gagliano includes high praise for Peri's singing skills:

> I will indeed say that he who has not heard them sung by him himself cannot entirely comprehend the gentility and force of his arias, since he gives them such a grace [*grazia*] and in a way impresses upon others the emotion of those words, that one is forced to weep and to grow happy according to his wishes.[98]

What is palpable in the above passage is the strong emphasis Gagliano puts on the performative element being key to the full appreciation of the work. In this case, it is specifically Peri's exceptional skills that are able to complement the composed material with the required manner of singing, and as we see in Gagliano's description, this singing is governed by *grazia* and *maniera* and is so sweetly and powerfully persuasive that the performer can manipulate the listener's emotive state at will.[99] Regarding the reception of *L'Euridice,* Gagliano stresses that the nobility took great pleasure in it, and he points out that experiencing this piece was what sparked Vincenzo I Gonzaga's interest in the genre, eventually resulting in him commissioning Monteverdi to compose *L'Arianna,* an offering which had a similarly moving effect on its listeners, according to Gagliano. He concludes his historical reflections with the statement that such artistic endeavours are not only truly princely spectacles, but they can be equally enjoyed by everyone else too. He supports this stance by stating that the genre in question unites every noble pleasure, including the

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calendar, therefore making it appropriate to adjust the date to 1598 common style calendar. For more on the performance history of Peri's *La Dafne* see Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians*, 194-198.

[98] Carter, *Composing Opera*, 53. "… non può interamente comprendere la gentilezza e la forza delle sue arie chi non l'ha udite cantare da lui medesimo; però che egli dà loro una sì fatta grazia e di maniera imprime in altrui l'affetto di quelle parole, che è forza e piangere e rallegrarsi secondo che egli vuole." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 52.

[99] The manner in which Gagliano refers to Peri's abilities as a performer, which are essential for understanding the full potential of the new genre of court opera, can be paralleled with the way Peri writes about Vittoria Archilei and the skills she displayed in elevating his music. For that matter, Archilei takes a similarly important position in the prefaces to Caccini's *L'Euridice*, and Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di anima, et di corpo*. For the various references to Archilei see Carter, *Composing Opera*, 29 (Peri), 39 (Caccini), 75 (Cavalieri); for an article that considers the place of Archilei in the 'new music' in a broader sense see Tim Carter, "Finding a Voice: Vittoria Archilei and the Florentine 'New Music'," in *Feminism and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Lorna Hutson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 450-467.

invention and disposition of the tale (*invenzione e dispozizione della favola*), sententiousness (*sentenza*), style (*stile*), sweetness of rhyme (*dolcezza di rima*), art of music (*arte di musica*), concertos of voices and instruments (*concerti di voci e di strumenti*), exquisiteness of song (*esquizitezza di canto*), elegance of dance and of gesture (*leggiadria di ballo e di gesti*), and painting for the scenery and the costumes (*pittura per la prospettiva e per gli abiti*).[100]

Tim Carter remarks that Gagliano's recounting of contributors and pieces relevant to the early history of opera is, of course, incomplete.[101] Just to mention the glaring omissions, Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*, Cavalieri's pieces, and Caccini's contributions are all missing. As Carter highlights, there is no real reason why Gagliano should have known of *L'Orfeo*,[102] but he was without doubt familiar with both Cavalieri's and Caccini's work. Although Cavalieri died six years prior to the publication of Gagliano's *La Dafne,* it is quite perplexing that he would not be included, as his figure both as superintendent of all the arts at the Medici court from 1588 till his death, and as a composer of three pastorales in the new Florentine style, for which both texts and music are now lost, and the first 'sacred music-drama', was undeniably pivotal in the development of *stile rappresentativo.*[103] The disregard of Caccini is less surprising, and can perhaps be explained by the assumption that, regardless of Caccini's version of *L'Euridice* and his now largely lost *Il rapimento di Cefalo,* Gagliano simply did not consider his music-theatrical works to be as pioneering as Peri's. It is much more likely, however, that this disregard comes down to the developing musical-political differences between Gagliano and Caccini, which transpired on the one hand in a coup headed by Caccini against the Accademia degli Elevati, and on the other

[100] Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera*, 52, 54.

[101] Cf. Tim Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 18-19.

[102] Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre,* 18.

[103] For Cavalieri's activities as superintendent see Warren Kirkendale, *Emilio de' Cavalieri "Gentiluomo Romano": His Life and Letters, his Role as Superintendent of all the Arts at the Medici Court, and his Musical Compositions* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2001), 85-120. For more on Cavalieri's three lost pastorales, *Il satiro* (1590), *La disperatione di Fileno* (1590), and *Il giuoco della cieca* (1595) see Kirkendale, *Emilio de' Cavalieri*, 185-212. In terms of 'sacred music-dramas' Gagliano also omits Agostino Agazzari's *Eumelio* (Rome, 1606).

hand, in the competition of providing the music for the festivities celebrating the 1608 wedding between Prince Cosimo de' Medici and Maria Magdalena of Austria.[104]

Regardless of his somewhat biased historical narrative, two significant factors transpire thus far from Gagliano's preface, which I would like to reiterate here. Firstly, Gagliano's intention to connect court opera as a genre with the values of nobility (which, incidentally, in his opinion, seems to be a key reason for the genre having the ability to be enjoyed by a broad audience); and secondly, the centrality of performance and performers, which points to how crucial he deemed both an appropriate manner of singing and performative elements for the success of the genre. This latter point resonates particularly closely with Gagliano's introductory statement from his preface which I quoted previously in the chapter, where he emphasises that "there are many other necessary requirements, without which every pleasant sound [*armonia*], however excellent, would have little effect."[105] Accordingly, this stance provides much of the foundation for Gagliano's forthcoming remarks reflecting more internally on the piece. The above aspects set up a promising ground for testing the CCP in action, and as I interpret Gagliano's lines, I will now directly trace how and to what extent my model can mesh with his insights on performance.

Gagliano's first remark deals with the position of the instrumentalists in relation to the singers, or interlocutors, as they are described in the list of roles within the first publication.[106] He suggests that the instrumentalists should be located in such a way that they can see the faces of the interlocutors so that they may perform better together. With this remark Gagliano immediately points towards two of the behavioural tropes of the CCP, *observation*, and *adaptability*. More importantly, he sets up an exchange scheme, which includes not only the singers, who will be discussed in much more detail in later sections, but also the instrumentalists to some extent.[107] He continues with more advice for the

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[104] Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre,* 19.

[105] Carter, *Composing Opera*, 47, with slight alterations to the translation by myself. "... sonci molt'altri requisiti necessarii, senza i quali poco varrebbe ogni armonia, ancor che eccellente." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 46. For the full quote see Chapter 5, 125n33.

[106] Cf. Gagliano, *La Dafne* (1608), viii.

[107] Cavalieri and Peri did not grant such an inclusivity for the instrumentalists and suggest that they should be positioned behind the scenes instead. Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera*, 31 (Peri), 77 (Cavalieri). Gagliano's model, however, proved to be much closer to what became the largely accepted standard in the following decades of the century. Cf. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, 88.

instrumentalists, specifically for the continuo group, by pointing out that the added harmony (i.e. the realisation of the bassline) should neither be too much, nor too little, should be played without ornaments, and should repeat the notes sung by the singer(s) in order to supply them with sufficient support. In other words, the accompanists *adapt* to the needs of their interlocutor(s) and provide their own musical part in the right measure, governed by their *good judgement*.

Gagliano affirms that at the start of the spectacle an introductory *sinfonia* should be played by all the instruments in order to grab the attention of the listeners. He does not include a specific piece in the 1608 publication which would have fulfilled this function, nor does he recommend one in the preface, but judging by his writing about the manner of the first interlocutor, Ovid, and his entry, we might be able to at least deduce the affect Gagliano could have had in mind for the instrumental introduction. The initial instruction he gives for Ovid is that between the fifteenth and twentieth measure of the *sinfonia*, he should enter, and as he moves towards his destination on the stage, he should regulate his steps to the sound of the orchestra. During his approach, he should avoid affectation (*affettazione*) and move with gravity (*gravità*), in a manner that is not discordant with the sound. Judging by this remark, it seems plausible that the type of *sinfonia* Gagliano imagined would have operated in the same vein as Ovid's measured entrance, allowing the appropriate representation of the character's solemnity. Next, Gagliano states: "When he [i.e. Ovid] reaches the spot where it seems to him most appropriate to begin, let him commence without further walking."[108]

This short entry scene is filled with an intriguing use of the behavioural tropes, and the attention to detail, in terms of a coordinated interaction between the performers, is also noteworthy. Interpreting this section with the framework of the tropes in mind, the following scheme of interaction emerges: the orchestra considers Ovid's disposition and provides a musical platform which is then *observed* by Ovid for a certain amount of time, and as he begins the approach to his destination, he immediately *adapts* to the sounds he hears. His partner in this dialogue (i.e. the music of the instrumentalists) governs his movement, but once he feels he has reached the appropriate position, successfully coordinated with the now ending offering of his counterpart, he takes charge, and the

[108] "... arrivato al luogo dove gli par conveniente di dar principio, senz' altri passeggiamenti cominci." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 54.

orchestra *adapts* to him as he begins the prologue. (Example 5-2 shows the complete prologue to be used as reference for the following passages.)

We learn from Gagliano that Ovid's words are to be accompanied with suitable gestures, and although he may have assumed a fixed position at the commencement of his song, soon afterwards his steps may continue, yet again regulated to the beat. As the first quatrain ends, and whilst the ritornello plays, he takes a short rest from singing, but his movement continues – in fact Gagliano specifies that he shall take three or four steps which "should begin on the accent on the penultimate syllable".[109] As his next entry approaches, he is advised to continue the prologue in the position where he finds himself. At this point, Gagliano makes an intriguing remark about Ovid's actions, by stating that "he could sometimes join two quatrains together to show a certain *sprezzatura*."[110] The way I interpret this suggestion is that Ovid, as he reaches the final note of his quatrain, can immediately transition into the next one, thus *persuading* the accompaniment to omit their short ritornello. In this context, *sprezzatura* can again be seen as a mentality that aids the engaging delivery of the text, but it does so in a rather striking manner, as it breaks the pattern of the established alternating quatrain-ritornello form. In pragmatic terms, this shift would mean that Ovid shortens his final G of the phrase, and with an eloquently timed musical gesture he brings in the starting note of his next verse before the octave leap in the bass line can occur, which would have indicated the beginning of the ritornello. If we look at this transition from the standpoint of ensemble, the instrumentalists ought to *observe* the singer particularly attentively to be able to *adapt* to the impromptu joining of the verses and successfully achieve the nonchalant continuation of the piece. Of course, a prior decision could have been made about where exactly the singer implements this effect, in which case we find ourselves with the semblance of spontaneity, simulated with *ease* by all performers, who thus fashion an appropriate display of *sprezzatura* for the spectators.

Judging by the narrative of the text, and at what rhythm and pace one might deliver it, I suggest that there are two occasions where this joining effect could work particularly suitably. The first place is between the third and the fourth quatrains, where the starting words of the second verse 'but what is this' (*ma qual par*), may suggest a lively change of

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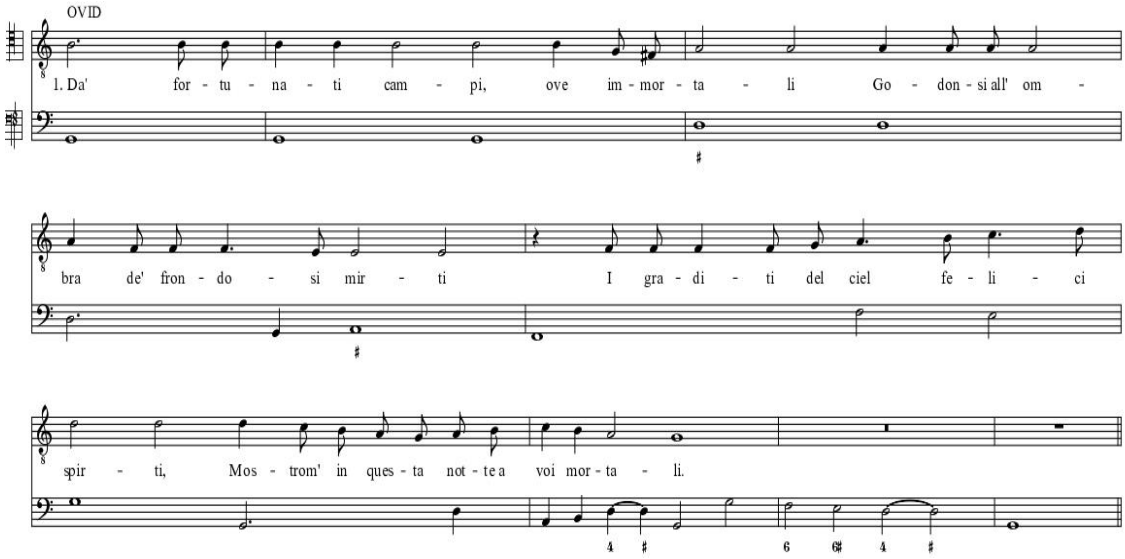
[109] "... avvertisca di cominciare il passeggio su la tenuta della penultima sillaba;" Carter, *Composing Opera*, 56.

[110] "Puossi tal volta congiungnere due quadernarii per mostrare una certa sprezzatura." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 56.

Example 5-2. Marco da Gagliano, *La Dafne*, 'Prologo', sung by Ovid



2. Quel mi son'io che su la dotta lira
   Cantai le fiamme de' celesti amanti,
   E i trasformati lor varii sembianti
   Soave sì, ch'il mondo ancor m'ammira.

3. Indi l'arte insegnai come si deste
   In un gelato sen fiamma d'amore,
   E come in libertà ritorni un core,
   Cui son d'amor le fiamme aspre, e moleste.

4. Ma qual par, che tra l'ombre, il ciel rischiari
   Nuova luce, e splendor di rai celesti?
   Qual maestà vegg'io? Son forse questi
   Gl'eccelsi Augusti miei felice, e chiari?

5. De' gran sembianti allo splendor altero
   VINCENTIO io ben conosco, e LEONORA,
   Incliti eroi, ch'ogni bell'alma adora
   E del Mincio, e del Arno honor primiero.

6. Coppia Real, ch'alto destino scelse
   Per serenar, per far beato il mondo,
   Al cui senno, e valor d'Atlante il pondo
   Fora soma non grave, anime eccelse.

7. Seguendo di giovar l'antico stile
   Con chiaro esempio, a dimostrarvi piglio
   Quanto sia, Donne e Cavalier, periglio
   La potenza d'Amor recarsi a vile.

8. Vedrete lagrimar quel Dio, ch'in cielo
   Reca in bel carro d'or la luce, e'l giorno,
   E dell'amata ninfa il lume adorno
   Adorar dentro al trasformato stelo.

[1] From the fortunate fields, where the immortal happy heaven-blessed spirits rejoice in the shade of the myrtle boughs, I come before you mortals on this night. // [2] I am the one who upon his learned lyre, sang so sweetly of the ardour of the celestial lovers and of their various metamorphoses, that the world still marvels at me. // [3] Thus, I taught the art by which to awaken in a frozen heart the flame of love, and to liberate the heart plagued by the harsh tormenting flames of love. // [4] But what is this, that amid the shadows the sky is kindling new light and splendour of heavenly rays? What ruling spirit do I see? Are these perhaps my heavenly, blessed, illustrious Potentates? // [5] Among these splendid proud countenances, I recognise well, Vincentio and Leonora, undaunted heroes whom every noble soul adores, and are the prime honour of the Mincio and the Arno. // [6] Royal couple, chosen by high destiny to make the world serene and blessed. Lofty souls, for whose wisdom and valour, even the burden of Atlas would not be too heavy. // [7] Continuing in the ancient style I will demonstrate to you by a clear example, Lords and Ladies, how dangerous it is to denigrate the power of love. // [8] You will see that god weep, who in the heavens brings the light and the day in his fine golden chariot, and [see him] worship the adorning light of his beloved nymph within the branch in which she is transformed.[111]

[111] Translated by Suzanne Court in Gagliano, *La Dafne* (2007), xiii.

perspective, as Ovid, after his self-descriptive opening stanzas begins to turn his attention to his surroundings. The second occasion occurs between the fifth and sixth quatrains. These two stanzas were only included in Gagliano's version of *La Dafne*, and are specifically directed at Vincenzo I Gonzaga and his spouse Eleonora de' Medici, the 'hosts' and at the same time the two most illustrious spectators at the 1608 performance in Mantua.[112] Both verses praise the Duke and the Duchess, thus making the pair of quatrains logical to connect together – and additionally, implementing the noble skill of *sprezzatura* at the point where the text discusses the virtues of two aristocrats, seems to be a fitting gesture to imitate their behavioural values.

Gagliano concludes his description of the prologue by pointing out that once Ovid has reached the end of his song, he should exit the stage, and once he has done so, the chorus, formed of nymphs and shepherds, should enter, thus marking the beginning of the first scene.[113] As they come on stage, they are advised to mime the affect of fear through facial expression and gestures. After half of the chorus has entered, the first shepherd turns to his companions and engages in a conversation with them by reciting: "Among these secret shades the horrible wild beast hides and entwines itself in the woods. Be cautious where you put your feet, nymphs and shepherds and do not shake the branches."[114] In the meantime, the remaining members of the chorus keep entering the stage, and gradually all of its members shape a half-moon around the first shepherd. Once the formation is complete, the worrisome conversation about the beast's looming presence continues, still accompanied by suitable gestures. When the chorus sings their prayers to Jove, Gagliano advises them to kneel and turn their gazes to the sky. After the hymn finishes, they should rise, and continue their movement. At this point an Echo begins to answer the anxious questions of the shepherds and nymphs – to which, depending on the nature of the given answer, the chorus is supposed to react with the appropriate affect of sadness or joy. As the

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[112] Cf. Gagliano, *La Dafne* (2007), xiii.

[113] Gagliano suggests that the chorus should consist of no less than sixteen to eighteen performers. Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera*, 56.

[114] Gagliano, *La Dafne* (2007), xiii. "Tra quest' ombre segrete / S'inselva, e si nasconde / L'orrida belva: cauti'l piè muovete / Ninfe e pastori; ah, non scotete fronde." Gagliano, *La Dafne* (2007), xiii. The theme of the first scene of *La Dafne* representing Apollo's defeat of the Python is the same as that of the third intermedio of *La Pellegrina* from 1589. Cf. D. P. Walker, ed., *Les Fêtes de Florence: Musique des Intermèdes de la Pellegrina* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963), xliii-xlv.

interaction proceeds, it gradually becomes clear that Echo's voice is that of Apollo – except on the last occasion, where the final answer, 'now' (*ora*), is notated as a three-part harmony for the chorus. Gagliano suggests, that precisely at this point, the beast should appear, together with or followed rapidly by Apollo. The members of the chorus represent their fear, and they sing in an almost shouting manner (*canti quasi gridando*) 'Alas, what do I see' (*Ohimè, che veggio*). According to Gagliano, at this point, the nymphs and shepherds should "withdraw themselves through various paths",[115] imitating flight and terror. However, Gagliano warns that they should never show their backs to the listeners, nor hide completely from them. Apollo stays in the foreground, and his interaction with the beast begins next.

Before looking into the enactment of the fight between Apollo and the beast, I would like to take a moment to reflect on some aspects from Gagliano's suggestions for the chorus, as this particular scene encompasses much of the group's fundamental characteristics that recur throughout the preface. The full chorus, or individual members of it, often serve the purpose of commenting on the occurring events, but even when they are only present as silent observers, they are advised to provide fitting emotive content to match the given situation with their body language. Gagliano repeatedly reminds us of the half-moon formation that the chorus ought to assume, oftentimes to provide a shape that frames the interaction in the centre of the stage, and in one instance, he points out that from this position they can implement movements "to the right, left, and rear, whilst avoiding altogether the affectation [*affettazione*] of dancing".[116] Overall, what transpires most distinctly from the descriptions and suggestions provided by Gagliano, is how strongly the chorus is tied to movement throughout the piece.[117] When reading the preface, there is a sense that Gagliano is describing a group of people whose individual members are not only able to accompany their performance with carefully constructed gestures but can also act

[115] "… ritirinsi ... per diverse strade..." Carter, *Composing Opera,* 58.

[116] "... movendosi in séguito a destra, a sinistra e a dietro fuggendo però tuttavia l'affettazione del ballo." Carter, *Composing Opera,* 58.

[117] The other preface where ties between movement and the chorus are discussed (albeit not at the same level of detail as in Gagliano's writing) can be found in *Rappresentatione di anima, et di corpo.* In this text, gestures and movement take an altogether prominent place, manifesting themselves as dance, as enhancing expressive singing, and as overall stage-presence. For the various references to movement here see Carter, *Composing Opera,* 75, 79, 83, 85.

as a cohesive entity and provide choreographed enactments which aid the continuous progression of the piece.

If we now turn our attention back to Gagliano's description of Apollo defeating the beast, and the subsequent number celebrating the victory, what immediately occurs to the reader is the extensive level of detail Gagliano provides on this relatively short segment of the overall piece. The musical narration of Apollo's actions is sung by the chorus, and Gagliano gives explicit instructions on how the Olympian god should approach the Python, and when he should release his arrows. The manner in which Gagliano constructs Apollo's self-presentation in this scene can be convincingly paired with the behavioural values of the CCP. He should move towards the Python with light (*leggiadri*) and proud (*fieri*) steps, thus representing the trope of *ease* and the virtue of *fortitude*. His steps need to be regulated to the music, and when he hears the lines 'Oh, blessed arrow' (*O, benedetto stral*), 'Oh, glorious archer' (*O, glorioso arciero*), and 'Fly, fly, piercing sharp' (*Vola, vola pungente*), he should release an arrow, one corresponding with each line – in other words, he exercises *observation*, and *adaptability* as he commits to the appropriate action at the appropriate time. The beast suffers a mortal wound from the third shot and tries to flee. Apollo follows and they both exit the stage. The choir observes the event and soon reports that the Python is dead. The chorus comes to the forefront again and forms a half-moon. Apollo also reappears and strides up and down whilst singing one of Ferdinando I Gonzaga's pieces, 'Pur giacque estinto al fine', to celebrate his victory. At this point, Gagliano raises the possibility of introducing a display of theatrical deceit to the *favola*. He suggests that two Apollos could be used, dressed alike, one responsible for the fight and the other for the singing that follows. The reason Gagliano brings this up, is because he expresses concern about whether the singer would be able to sing the following section in the appropriate manner, after having had to deliver the physically demanding interaction the fight scene requires. What we learn from this, is that displaying fatigue is apparently unacceptable for Gagliano. In other words, he wants it to be dissimulated, thus, in order to maintain Apollo's *ease*, he is willing to wittily deceive his audience. In fact, this is not the only occasion Gagliano suggests deception in relation to Apollo's character. Close to the end of the *favola*, when Apollo laments Daphne's transformation, Gagliano proposes the following display of simulation:

> Nor do I wish to ignore the fact that since Apollo, in singing the *terze rime* 'Non curi la mia pianta o fiamma, o gelo', must place the lyre to his breast (which he must do with beautiful attitude), it is necessary to make it appear to the auditorium that from Apollo's lyre appears a more than ordinary melody. So let there be placed four string players (*da braccio* or *da gamba* matters little) in one of the exits close by, in a position where, unseen by the audience, they see Apollo, and as he places his bow on the lyre [*lira*] they should play the three notes written, taking care to draw equal bow-strokes so that it appears one stroke only. This deception [*inganno*] cannot be recognised except by the imagination of someone who knows about these things, and it brings no little delight.[118]

As we can see, through this clever deception, which relies on the instrumentalists' attentive *observation* of the singer, Apollo appears as if he were playing multiple voices on his sole *lira* (see Example 5-3). The simulation takes place at a crucial moment of the piece, and as Wendy Heller argues, with this symbolic illusion Gagliano shows that "Daphne's metamorphosis has a transformative effect on the art form itself; Apollo's loss is music's gain."[119] Additionally, Gagliano points out that this section is one of the numbers within the piece that is particularly suitable for virtuosic vocal ornaments, including *gruppi*, *trilli*, *passaggi*, and *esclamazioni.* In fact, he provides a fair amount of written out ornamentation for this section, which in a sense is in line with his general opinion on the subject, presented relatively early on in the preface. Mirroring in essence the standard stance of the proponents of the Florentine *stile nuovo*, Gagliano states that his preference is that singers save their ornaments for the appropriate moments, rather than overdoing them. As part of the examples singled out as suitable for ornamentation, he includes the abovementioned section of Apollo's lament, and judging by the elaborately embellished

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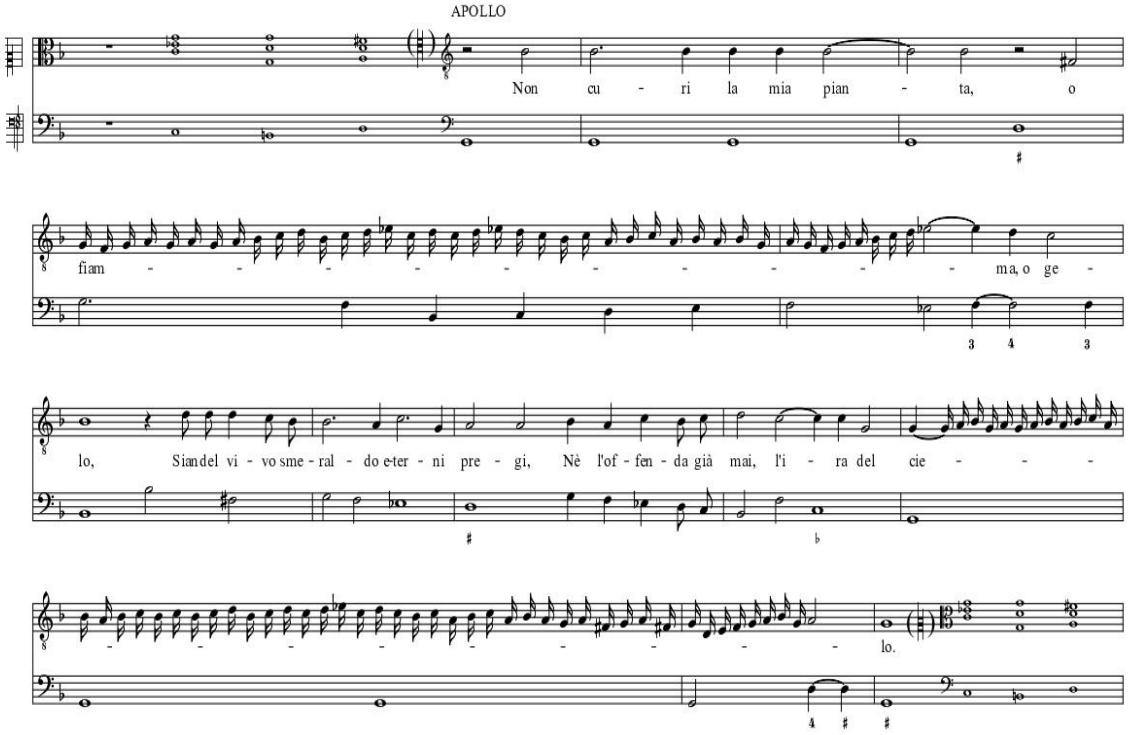
[118] Carter, *Composing Opera*, 65, 67, with slight alterations to the translation by myself. "Non voglio anche tacere, che dovendo Apollo, nel canto dei terzetti Non curi la mia pianta *o* fiamma o gelo, recarsi la lira al petto (il che debbe fare con bell'attitudine), è necessario far apparire al teatro che dalla lira d'Apollo esca melodia più che ordinaria, però pongansi quattro sonatori di viola (a braccio o gamba poco rilieva) in una delle strade più vicina, in luogo, dove non veduti dal popolo, veggano Apollo, e secondo ch'egli pone l'arco su la lira, suonino le tre note scritte, avvertendo di tirare l'arcate pari, acciò apparisca un arco solo. Questo inganno non può essere conosciuto se non per immaginazione da qualche intendente, e reca non poco diletto." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 64, 66.

[119] Wendy Heller, "Daphne's Dilemma: Desire as Metamorphosis in Early Modern Opera," in *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression*, ed. Susan McClary (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 183.

Example 5-3. Marco da Gagliano, *La Dafne*, antepenultimate stanza from Apollo's lament, 'Un guardo, un guard' appena', final scene



vocal line of the published version, he clearly felt that his opinion should not only appear in written word, but also as notated tonal material in the score too (see Example 5-3).[120] To further strengthen his stance, he gives a witty comparison:

[120] What exactly Gagliano's notated passagework represents in 'Un guardo, un guard' appena', and for that matter in other arias treated similarly, is, of course, an intriguing question. The singers who sang the main roles (discussed later on in the main body of text), were certainly able to improvise their own ornaments, therefore it is easily possible that the ornamented versions Gagliano included in the publication are descriptive, thus being an attempt to document how the performers delivered the given arias. A second option is that Gagliano did prepare these ornaments prior to the 1608 Mantuan performance. However, the performers may have been in dialogue with the written material in their own individual manner – some singing the exact composed passagework, some replacing them with their own ornaments, and some opting for a hybrid model where parts of the written material would have been combined with their own inventions, replacing Gagliano's suggestions. The case may also be, that what we see in the publication is an example Gagliano prepared specifically for the printed version to show how he could imagine a possible future performance. For more on the practices of prescriptive and descriptive ornamentation (incl. further literature suggestions) see Richard Wistreich, "Using the Music: Musical Materials and Expert Singers' Practices in Monteverdi's Time," in *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis XXXIV*, ed. Pedro Memelsdorff and Thomas Drescher (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2010), 61-72, esp. 66-67.

> But where the tale [*favola*] does not require it, leave entirely aside all ornament, so as not to act like that painter who, knowing how to paint cypresses well, painted them everywhere. Instead of that, seek to chisel out the syllables so as to make the words well understood, and this is always the chief aim of the singer in every occasion of song, especially in reciting, and be persuaded that true delight arises from the understanding of the words.[121]

Gagliano's first sentence of the above passage points to the importance of *good judgement*, which serves as the guiding principle for finding the right measure in ornamentation. His words can also be interpreted as a nod towards a form of dissimulation, where although the skill is present, one does not feel the need to constantly showcase it, but instead one only eloquently demonstrates a sliver of it at the appropriate moment.[122] The second sentence of the quote reiterates the standard topos of speech-like delivery, but it does so in an intriguing manner, as it sounds as if Gagliano is trying to persuade performers that their performances will be more persuasive and will provide more delight if they make their words better understood.

From the section of the preface that Gagliano dedicates to ornamentation, it distinctly comes across that some of the singers he was surrounded by did not match his taste regarding the amount, placement, and overall purpose of embellishment. However, it is also clear that he was thoroughly impressed by some of the singers who participated in the premiere of *La Dafne.* The first one Gagliano singles out is Francesco Rasi, who sang the role of Apollo, thus being responsible, among other things, for delivering 'Un guardo, un guard' appena' in Gagliano's preferred manner. Rasi, a key performer in the early history of *stile rappresentativo*, seems to have been more than up to the task, and Gagliano describes him as someone who "in addition to so many rare qualities, is most singular in song".[123]

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[121] Carter, *Composing Opera*, 49. "Ma dove la favola non lo ricerca, lascisi del tutto ogni ornamento; per non fare come quel pittore, che sapendo ben dipingnere il cipresso, lo dipingneva per tutto. Procurisi in quella vece di scolpir le sillabe, per far bene intendere le parole, e questo sia sempre il principal fine del cantore in ogni occasione di canto, massimamente nel recitare, e persuadasi pur ch'il vero diletto cresca dalla intelligenza delle parole." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 48.

[122] To take this reading a step further, it can even be argued that Gagliano's aesthetic of ornamentation shows parallels with the remark of *Il Cortegiano's* Count Ludovico da Canossa on how a *musico* can display *sprezzatura*.

[123] "... oltre a tante rare qualità, è nel canto singularissimo." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 48.

Gagliano also makes mention of Caterina Martinelli, who impressed him with the delivery of Ferdinando I Gonzaga's song for Venus, 'Chi da' lacci d'amor vive disciolto', which takes place in the second larger scene of the piece, shortly after Apollo's mockery of Amore, which leads to Amore wounding Apollo's heart as revenge. This song is also among the small selection Gagliano deems appropriate for elaborate ornamentation, and he points out that within this piece the singer can show her *grazia* and *disposizione*. He adds that Martinelli sang it "so elegantly as to fill the whole theatre with delight and wonder".[124]

The final singer who is singled out in the preface by Gagliano is Antonio Brandi (called *il Brandino*), who sang the role of Tirsi, the messenger who brings the news of Daphne's transformation. Gagliano highlights that this particular role is of crucial importance, and that the interlocutor who delivers it needs to have the most expressivity in the words. According to Gagliano, *Il Brandino* possessed all the necessary skills: his pronunciation and *grazia* was exceptional, and his words, together with suitable gestures and movements, made for a highly evocative performance.[125]

Gagliano concludes his preface by elegantly stating that he did not intend to take the position of a master who teaches his readers, but rather as "someone who has diligently observed every minutia in the performance of this *favola*".[126] The purpose of such a detailed approach is to reach 'complete perfection' (*intera perfezione*), which, according to the composer, is key in performing pieces of this nature.[127]

To conclude my reading of Gagliano's preface, I would like to make a few additional remarks about how his text corresponds with the behavioural matrix of the CCP. If we look at the section that specifically deals with the characters on stage, it is distinctly noticeable that Gagliano puts great emphasis on suggestions regarding their self-presentation and interaction, both on the level of words (i.e. singing) and

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[124] "... la quale con tanta leggiadria la cantò, ch'empiè di diletto e di meraviglia tutto il teatro." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 48.

[125] Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera*, 62.

[126] "... persona che abbia diligentemente posto l'occhio a ogni minuzia osservata nel recitamento di tal favola." Carter, *Composing Opera*, 66.

[127] Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera*, 66. The notion of striving for perfection in pieces of this kind appears, for example, in the preface to *Rappresentatione di anima, et di corpo* too, where it is expressed as "if you wish, I say, to perform it, it seems necessary that everything should be excellent" ["volendola dico rappresentare, par necessario, che ogni cosa debba essera in eccellenza"]. Cf. Carter, *Composing Opera*, 74-75.

gestures/movements. In terms of the amount of information Gagliano provides about the interlocutors, it is important to note that the male characters and the chorus feature more significantly, and the individual female characters do not receive any advice. Given that the role of Daphne has barely any lines, her omission may not come across as striking, but the lack of comments on the role of Venus is more palpable. Nevertheless, from the general tone of the remarks, the performance that emerges comes across as meticulously constructed, yet fluent, supported by the performers' continuous attention to the self and the other. As I demonstrated throughout my analysis, much of this resonates with the behavioural ideals and values of the CCP.

It is worth reiterating that, according to Gagliano, the advice given for the characters on stage, which he describes as useful in any other production, is based on what took place in the successful 1608 Mantuan performance. That being said, another more concrete layer emerges, which opens up the possibility of considering the singled-out singers, Francesco Rasi, Caterina Martinelli, and Antonio Brandi as displaying characteristics of the CCP. With this in mind, it is worth taking a brief look at the social status of the three performers. Brandi's family background is unclear, but he was associated as a singer with Virginio Orsini's court, Peri mentioned him as a performer in his *L'Euridice*, and from various further references we know that he was active as a singer in the Florentine and Mantuan circles during the first decades of the seventeenth century.[128] The poet Alessandro Adimari described him as an "exquisite musician [*musico*], and great player of the theorbo, but robust and fat".[129] Martinelli came from a modest background, and at a young age she was recruited from Rome by the Gonzaga court. Her father hoped that prior to arriving in Mantua, she could take lessons from Caccini in Florence, but ultimately, this arrangement did not come to fruition. Instead, Martinelli took up residence at Monteverdi's house for a while. She was primed to become the Mantuan court's singing *virtuosa*, but she passed away tragically young after a short illness, soon after the premier

[128] For more on Brandi's life see Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians*, 347-348; and Valerio Morucci, "Poets and Musicians in the Roman-Florentine Circle of Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano (1572-1615)," *Early Music* 43, no. 1 (February 2015): 53-61, esp. 58.

[129] "… esquisito musico, e gran sonator di tiorba, ma corpulento e grasso." Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians*, 348.

of *La Dafne,* and just before she could perform the title role of Monteverdi's *L'Arianna*.[130] The status of Rasi, the most famous of the three singers, presents an intriguing case. He was born into a very prominent noble family in 1574, and later became a pupil of Caccini's.[131] He participated as a main performer in virtually every early court opera, including *L'Euridice, Il rapimento di Cefalo, L'Orfeo, L'Arianna,* and, of course, Gagliano's *La Dafne*. Furthermore, he was active as a composer of monodies, and he travelled all over Europe to perform in his famed singing style. From the end of the sixteenth century onwards he served in the Gonzaga court. As I have already highlighted in Chapter 2, he is included on a payroll from the beginning of the seventeenth century as one of the *cantori,* and he appears on a list from 1621 as part of the *musicha*, but with the added title of *cavaliere*.[132] As multiple letters he wrote show, despite his exceptional talent and immense fame as a musician, given his aristocratic background he took issue with being titled a 'mere' *musico*.[133] His prominent presence in the professional performance scene and the central role he played in premiering early court operas, together with his high status by birth, connects him on an elemental level to possessing, displaying, and disseminating the CCP's behavioural matrix.

To complete the connections between the CCP's behavioural matrix and Gagliano's preface, it needs to be noted that if we observe the text in its entirety, there is a final level of entanglement which manifests itself when examining the persona of Gagliano within his own writing. Tim Carter argues that much of what Gagliano expresses reveals several anxieties he had about the new genre of opera.[134] In Carter's view, Gagliano attempts to seek noble connections as a "strategy to claim aristocratic high ground", and the emphasis he puts on exceptional performance being essential for music that may not look like much on the page, shows him fighting contemporary criticism that deemed the new style tedious and boring.[135] There may be some truth to this; in fact, continuing with this logic, the display of courtly behavioural values on stage that transpire from Gagliano's passages can

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[130] For more on Martinelli's short life see Strainchamps "The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli," 155–186; and Newcomb, "Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians?," 90-115, esp. 101-104.

[131] For Rasi's detailed biography see Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians*, 556-603.

[132] Cf. Chapter 2, 66n85.

[133] Cf. Chapter 2, 66n85.

[134] Cf. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, 18.

[135] Cf. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, 18.

be seen as part of a set of persuasive arguments that aim on the one hand to carve a place for opera in the hierarchy of musical genres that he considers to be appropriate, and on the other hand to engage a worthy listenership for the genre. In other words, Gagliano, the *musico*, enacts through his writing the role of a courtly participant, who is aspiring to achieve success for his own interests. Thus, ultimately, Gagliano creates a preface in which he himself mirrors certain traits of the CCP, and in which the performance of *La Dafne* can also be paralleled with multiple elements of the CCP's behavioural matrix.

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with examining early modern Italian courtly behavioural ideals of self-presentation and interaction, and their various speculated influences on contemporary musical practice. The notion of performance has been at the centre of my investigations, both in the sense of the highly stylised behaviour of elite courtly participants and the musical scene of the time. Through a reading of key courtesy books of the era concerned, my main aim was to highlight the changes that took place in the virtue ethical system during the sixteenth century, and to emphasise the increasingly dominant presence of *simulation* and *dissimulation*. Furthermore, as part of my analyses I located what I consider to be essential behavioural tropes of elite courtly participants in the era concerned. The objective of this endeavour was to be able to create the central theoretical model of the thesis: the *continuous conversational performer* (CCP) and its behavioural matrix. I have argued that, as a result of various historical and sociological processes, the CCP is not necessarily confined to the nobility but can equally be a cultivated non-noble courtly participant. Whilst the CCP model primarily represents a model for public self-presentation and social interaction, I treat it as an ethical and aesthetic construction, which I argued can be connected to multiple musical scenarios and environments.

The musical contributors that I have linked to the CCP's matrix are primarily elite performers, or musicians employed at a high rank in prominent musical centres of the time; however, I have also kept this social matrix of musical contributors somewhat broader, in order to highlight the clear hierarchical system that was in place, and to emphasise that highly successful yet non aristocratic musicians could also gain a place within these circles to a certain degree.

Throughout the thesis I have provided a broad range of musical responses to the CCP model. I argued through a performance-theoretical framework inspired by Judith Butler that the CCP's behavioural matrix had an influence on how musicians approached the role and place of the performer, and performance within music. I showed that towards the late sixteenth century a significant change can be observed, where the role of the musical performer increased – which incidentally coincided with music's detachment from the spheres, and taking its new place in the *trivium*. Furthermore, I argued that the CCP's

behavioural matrix sparked novel communicative strategies within performance – I have labelled this theoretical model *performative mindsets.*

I also explored further key responses to the CCP model in more directly practical scenarios. Firstly, I focused on Giulio Caccini's *sprezzatura,* and I presented a case in which I argued that his key intention when using the iconic Castiglionian notion was to seek ways for striving for 'natural ease' in performance. Subsequently, I examined Ottavio Durante's collection of songs *Arie devote,* where I projected the full behavioural matrix of the CCP onto the observations that he includes in the preface to his collection. Finally, as part of my series of professional responses to the CCP, I provided a close reading of the preface to Marco da Gagliano's court opera *La Dafne*. In this section, dedicated to musical practice, I aimed to show two principal ways in which I ultimately see the CCP's behavioural matrix manifest itself in musical practice. The first of these I labelled *hybridity,* which represents the following duality: the professional musician as a response to the CCP model retains a given behavioural skill as a mentality within delivery, and at the same time he seeks musical 'translations' that in his view can represent that particular mentality – Caccini's approach to *sprezzatura* shows a prime example of this phenomenon. The second pivotal manifestation I argued for can be observed in court operas of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In this case, I presented how the aesthetic of self-presentation and interaction of the musical performers on stage mirror the core behavioural tropes and virtues of the CCP's behavioural matrix.

The continuous conversational performer in current musical practice

As a professional recorder player, specialising in music from the era that I explored in the dissertation, I have often wondered to what extent the behavioural matrix of the CCP is an intriguing and appealing model to revive, emulate, or be inspired by in today's musical practice. There are three key strands that ought to be discussed within this questioning. The first path worth considering is to what extent the model may enhance modern productions of pieces from the time and place in which, in my view, the CCP represented a desirable aesthetic model of musical performance. The second strain to explore would be whether the tropes and virtues of the CCP have a 'universal' value that can be successfully applied to musical styles and cultures distant from their original context. The final idea to

contemplate is whether the pursuit of tracing social norms in a broad range of historical (or contemporary) contexts is a worthwhile endeavour, that may result in the creation of further behavioural matrixes that represent those particular historical (or current) trends. (This final matter, of course, inherently ties back to the previous two questions.)

First, I will engage from a personal point of view with the matter of attempting to enhance the modern performance of a piece taken from the CCP's original environment. (For further comments on a potential larger scale application of the model that operates in this vein, see below, as part of *Continuation of the research*). Without specifying a concrete work – but let us, for example, imagine an early seventeenth-century trio sonata – I propose to describe a set of broad aspects that I would embrace and seize from the CCP's behavioural matrix, in the hope of providing a successful performance. Before going any further, let me set down a few parameters that I consider as fundaments of a 'successful performance'. My primary aim is to *persuade* my audience to experience an array of passions, including those that sit on the darker side of the emotional palette, with the hope that they are willing to embrace the pleasure of letting these in. If pleasure is not a viable option, providing a sense of relief or purging can equally be valued. Furthermore, causing wonder, delight, inspiration, and intellectual stimulation are equal objectives for me; and ultimately, to offer an experience that is worth holding on to and cherishing is my goal.

Prior to my performance, I meticulously construct, continuously expand, and practise my musical-expressive toolbox. I do not prepare a thoroughly constructed 'rhetorical speech' (i.e. my instrumental part), but instead I 'abstractify' and prepare to be able to 'converse' in any given situation. Whilst one may imagine that the construction of the toolbox I highlighted previously may serve as a preparation for being able to operate in a codified system, where all routines are pre-planned and understood, I prefer to look at this in a manner in which I accept that change is the only constant, therefore I ought to be ready to react to anything. Thus, there is a sense of spontaneity embedded within, and yet this spontaneity is a result of meticulous preparation and practice – in fact, the fuller the toolbox, the more freedom one has in presenting a *persuasive* performance. From the moment I step on the stage I alter into the CCP. I am aware of my movements, and I approach my position with *temperance* and *fortitude*. As we strike the first note, a triangular conversation begins between the 'participants' – the music itself, the performers, and the listeners. The performers, aided by their *good judgement,* continuously *observe* and *adapt* to the protean nature of the music.

I *observe* myself and the others, I am ready to offer both my musical and gestural impulses to *persuade* my fellow players to move the music in my desired direction, and simultaneously, I await their *persuasive* counter-ideas so that I can *adapt* to them adequately. Meanwhile, we do not cease to be aware of the audience, and we attempt to *adapt* to their stimuli. Governed by my *good judgment*, I aim to utilise the broadest range of the elements from my toolbox of expressions. Throughout the entire performance, I attempt to present myself and the music with *ease*.

Performing with the trope of *ease* raises intriguing issues, and it provides a transitional point towards the question of 'universal' values within the tropes. In a recent lecture I gave on the topic of these early modern ideals of performance, one of the students commented on the trope of *ease* with the remark: "That just sounds like cockiness to me." Which of course leads to the question – do we still find a value in these 'old' ideals, or have we moved on to new territories, where we ought to seek new social norms that we idealise and may attempt to utilise in our self-presentation on stage? Perhaps it is worth considering matters in a somewhat less binary approach – I would, for example, strongly argue that the attention to the other (i.e. *observation* and *adaptability*) has a value in virtually any musical scenario (or for that matter social interaction).

The subject of finding contemporary social norms as inspiration for musical performances (an aspect I highlighted in my third question above) points to whether the type of *hybridity* that I argued for in the case of Caccini's response to *sprezzatura* may be another aspect of the dissertation that could be seized in current practices. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Caccini did not only hint towards *sprezzatura* being a universal rule in self-presentation during performance, but he also attempted to 'translate' it into musical-expressive tools, such as 'timing'. Should we perhaps follow his footsteps and look for current 'fashions' and attempt to create similar pairings, in order to achieve 'successful performances'?

A further key finding that I introduced in my thesis was the system of *performative mindsets*. This model opens the door to rich questions that could be followed up in further research, which I will discuss shortly. However, first, I would like to briefly reflect on its presence in current musical practice. I do *observe* the performances of many (including myself) through this lens, and I often find myself being able to recognise individuals who *project*, who aim for a *poetic furore*, who *become*, and who *represent*. However, when conversing about this topic with colleagues, one easily gets the sense that perhaps this is a

subject that is ‘too close to the heart’, and many are not particularly keen to open up about their inner processes. Some gladly admit to seeing themselves as Zarlinian ‘projecters’ who act as vessels for the music, but others whom I would consider operating along the lines of *becoming* and *representing* can get somewhat tetchy about the topic (as one would expect, this relates to the two mindsets’ potential ties with *dissimulation* and *simulation*). Particularly those who see themselves as ‘becomers’ can take offense at the idea of their ‘personal authenticity’ and ‘honesty’ being challenged, when suggesting that perhaps they may in fact be ‘representers’. I personally see *representing* as a rather appealing and stimulating way of approaching performance, as to me it translates as extending one’s imagination, and allows for the pursuit of acquiring techniques to help access an infinite number of passions, ready to display on command (whilst not having to experience them) in order to achieve a *persuasive* performance.

Continuation of the research

To remain on the terrain of practice, I will first propose a practice-led research project that I see as the imminent continuation of my dissertation. The key purpose of this project would be to explore the question I posed earlier – to what extent can the model of the CCP enhance the modern performance of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century pieces? An aim of mine is to conduct a set of workshops around Gagliano’s *La Dafne* and work towards two staged performances of the piece. As I currently envisage the project, I would design it in the following manner. The first performance would run on a ‘typical’ rehearsal schedule, including currently embraced performance practice ideals of the repertoire. This would be followed by a set of workshops, in which we explore in detail the potential of both the CCP’s behavioural matrix and the theory of *performative mindsets*. My primary focus would be on the singers; however, the instrumentalists would take part in the process too. I would encourage participants of the experiment to keep a diary of the workshop process. Once these explorations are complete, a second performance of the piece would take place. It is of essence that the audience members are the same as at the first performance. Following the second performance, the audience members would be asked to participate in a survey and answer a set of questions in which they can reflect on how the two performances compared in their opinion. I would aim to record both performances (and

perhaps both sets of rehearsal processes too), which together with the diaries of the performers and the audience surveys would provide source material to evaluate the experiment.

In terms of musicological research, I see my project as able to continue on three key levels. The first would be further investigations that take place on the Italian peninsula in roughly the same timeframe that I have outlined in the thesis. Throughout my observations, in terms of elite performers, I have mainly focused on singers. As a next step, shifting the lens to instrumentalists and how they may have responded to the CCP model would be an important area to explore. I limited my thesis to reflecting on high-ranking professional musicians, but to follow on from this, it ought to be considered, to what extent could the codes of conduct of the courtier class have influenced rank and file musicians? Furthermore, I am intrigued to find out how the CCP model has lived on in the changing and evolving operatic world in the first half of the seventeenth century, and how the expressive toolbox of its star performers, such as, for example, Anna Renzi, fares against my theoretical model.

In my dissertation, geographically I explored a relatively limited area, and therefore the second level on which I intend to conduct further research is the dissemination of Italian courtly culture in various European countries, and how the ideals described within them compare with musical practices in the respective places and cultures.

Finally, my theory of *performative mindsets* ought to be developed further. To begin with, I would conduct an examination, similar to that of the Zarlino-Galilei debate, but this time looking at the Artusi-Monteverdi disagreement. Following this, I would be interested in tracing the later history of the *mindsets* to see how they develop in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Particularly the writings of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann Joachim Quantz, and in the French scene, Jean-Jacque Rousseau and Denis Diderot's thoughts may be promising grounds to explore.

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