›Universum rei harmonicae concentum absolvunt‹

THE HARPSICHORD IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Augusta Campagne
Markus Grassl
eds.

mdwPress

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The Harpsichord in the Sixteenth Century

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1 Introduction

Augusta Campagne, Markus Grassl

'Quae dum manibus agitantur, universum rei harmonicae concentum absolvunt' – when operated with the hands, they produce the complete sound of a harmony, i.e. of a polyphonic setting. It was with these words that Othmar Luscinius, in his *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* of 1536, expressed what he apparently considered to be the most striking, even defining, characteristic of stringed keyboard instruments such as the clavichord, the virginal, the *clavicitherium* and the *clavicimbalum*.[1] As is well known, this salient feature of being a 'strumento perfetto' was repeatedly emphasised by Renaissance authors. It is precisely this very quality which lies at the heart of the reasons for the increasing significance of keyboard instruments in general and the harpsichord in particular during already the 15th and especially the 16th centuries. In a number of respects keyboard instruments and instrumental culture underwent a dynamic development during this period. To mention only the most important points in our context: stringed keyboard instruments in general, and the harpsichord in particular, spread throughout Europe and sometimes even beyond; this process was accompanied by regional diversification, not least in harpsichord building. Due to their capability of rendering virtually every kind of music, stringed keyboard instruments acquired manifold functions in musical and cultural life. They were played both by professionals and, increasingly, by amateurs, both as solo instruments as well as in various ensembles, especially in an accompanying role (which eventually led to the development of *basso continuo* and its respective precursors); they were used as a means for both improvising as well as for performing written music, be it pieces originally conceived for keyboard, or intabulations or arrangements of vocal and instrumental ensemble music. At the same time the 16th century is the period, from which we have the first substantial body of notated keyboard music.

1 Othmar Luscinius, *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* (Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1536), 9 (vdm 215), online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10164954> (accessed 25 July 2023).

These few keywords alone indicate the broad range of issues which is involved in dealing with the harpsichord in the 16th century – issues that range from the cultural significance of keyboard instruments and keyboard playing to organology, notation, repertoire and in particular the question whether specific repertoires for the individual types of keyboard instruments can be defined. Of course, many of these questions have been addressed by scholars in recent times. Likewise, the interest of performers in stringed keyboard instruments from 1500 to 1600, as well as their repertoire and relevant aspects of performance practices, has increased considerably in recent decades. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the subject is far from fully explored. Numerous research questions have either remained unsolved or newly emerged. In addition, much of the engagement with this music is limited to a specific repertoire and/or to individual performers and researchers within specific countries. Finally, it can be observed that despite all these endeavours, to a certain extent the keyboard music of the 16th century still appears to be somewhat overshadowed by later music: even today it is sometimes viewed not as significant in its own right, but just as a preliminary stage to the richness of baroque keyboard music; it only plays a minor role within the harpsichord and organ curricula at universities and conservatories; its performance is typically approached both aesthetically as well as technically from a point of view shaped by experience with the 17th and 18th century repertoires.

These observations led to the idea of organising a conference devoted specifically to the harpsichord and its music from c. 1500 to 1600. This eventually took place at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (mdw) from the 20th to 22nd of April 2021 (due to Corona-related restrictions imposed earlier this year, the event had to be held online). The primary goal was to provide a forum for exchanging experiences, insights and findings, with participants from different fields – musicologists, scholar-performers, instrument builders – in order to gain a broad as possible perspective. Accordingly, the event consisted of different formats – papers, lecture-recitals and masterclasses for the students of mdw.[2] The present publication includes the majority of the papers, all having been revised by the authors for the published version.

It was evident from the beginning that the close connections between the harpsichord and other keyboard instruments during this period, would prompt several papers that would address various questions related to keyboard music and playing in general. Likewise, it is self-evident that a three-day conference and its report cannot cover the subject exhaustively. Nevertheless, the aim was

2 See the program in the appendix to this volume and the conference report by Augusta Campagne, in: *Sounding Board* 17 (Dec. 2021), 41–5, online: <https://www.harpsichord.org.uk/sounding-board-archive/> (accessed 25 July 2023).

to bring up as many diverse issues as possible, at least within the confines of exemplary case studies. Furthermore, the topic of the 16th-century harpsichord was also revisited at a further conference in Bologna in November 2023 with a special focus on Italy.

In her fundamental article Catalina Vicens highlights the need for a more comprehensive approach to achieve an appropriate practical realisation of keyboard music of the 16th century. As the author points out, modern performances of this repertoire would fall short, if they restricted themselves to merely executing precepts drawn from the realm of historically informed performance practice. Rather, embedding this music into a broader understanding of how it was perceived and aesthetically conceived by composers, performers and listeners during the 16th century appears to be necessary. Vicens' article proposes the concept of 'sweetness' as a key concept, from which to start such an investigation into the contemporary musical experience. 'Sweetness' represents a notion, which not only surfaces again and again in descriptions of musical performances and the perception of sound, but was also specifically associated with the harpsichord. Moreover, this concept was discussed, sometimes at length, in writings concerning rhetoric and poetics. Based on a reconstruction of the multifaceted meaning of 'sweetness', a number of questions arise which shed new light on a wide range of performance issues including 'classical' aspects such as ornamentation, fingering, the shaping of tempo and so forth.

The following two chapters address an equally central topic, whose significance for the historiography of 16th-century musical culture was, however, often overlooked in former research: tablature and intabulation. John Griffiths specifically examines the tablatures used in the Iberian Peninsula after providing a general clarification of the essential features and functions of tablature notation, which went far beyond its practical use by amateurs. In particular, this chapter raises the question of whether the subtitle 'for keyboard, harp, and vihuela' found in several prints from the second half of the 16th century should be accepted at face value, which is the assumption made in most literature. A detailed analysis of the prefaces and contextual information on the printing process indicates that Venega de Henestrosa in his *Libro de cifra nueva* (1557) actually aimed at a kind of 'universal' notation for all solo instruments. Consequently, he presented a repertoire that is suitable for keyboard, harp and vihuela alike. In contrast, Hernando de Cabezón's publication of his father's *Obras de música* (1578) consisted exclusively of music intended for keyboard. The subtitle was only added during the final phase of the printing process, presumably for commercial reasons.

Ian Pritchard's contribution demonstrates that a close examination of the sources can still provide new insights into the notation system of tablatures and the musical thought processes underlying them. Given that the Italian

intavolatura was a notation that included elements of a 'Griffschrift', a set of conventions can be deduced. These were followed with great consistency in the intabulations of polyphonic (vocal) pieces, which involves the translation of the original polyphonic fabric into an idiomatic keyboard texture. These conventions appear to have operated on an unconscious or semiconscious level. Interestingly, they become particularly visible in those brief instances, when the scribes exceptionally deviated from them, either because of the limitations of the printing technology or in order to consciously preserve certain details of the original polyphonic structure.

Inspired by the relatively new yet markedly developing field of historically informed teaching practice, August Valentin Rabe draws attention to Tomás de Santa María's *Arte de tañer Fantasia* (1565), the most informative source on how keyboard playing was taught and practised in the 16th century. As Rabe shows, Santa María envisaged a multilayered didactic, the main idea of which was to combine various ways of dealing with musical material, such as reading, studying and analysing (the structure of pieces written in mensural notation), writing, memorising, singing and playing.

With tempo and fingering, the next three chapters take up typical questions of historically informed performance practice. They also address individual aspects that have been little or not at all explored up to now, or propose new solutions based on a re-evaluation of the sources.

As is well known, since the late 16th century, several authors have discussed the need to vary the beat in the course of a performance. These tempo modifications are mainly seen as a means of expressing the text, and are therefore primarily associated with vocal music. However, Domen Marinčič argues that, based on criteria such as the density of ornamentation, the thematic structure, or the use of different note values in different sources of one and the same piece, varying the beat between individual sections of a composition may also have occurred in keyboard music. As several examples show, this practice seems to have been applied not only to intabulations of vocal works, but also to 'pure' instrumental genres such as toccatas, ricercars and canzonas.

Fabio Antonio Falcone raises the question of whether the performance of *frottole*, i.e. of vocal music, on the keyboard should take into account the text, which is then only 'implicit'. An essential feature of the vast repertoire of *frottole* is the existence of stereotyped melodic models, which could be, and often were, applied to numerous different texts. As a result, discrepancies of the metrical and rhythmical structure of the lyrics and the music respectively occurred quite often. In a vocal performance a singer could easily have counterbalanced such 'mismatches' by an appropriate articulation of the text, by emphasising strong syllables or by appropriate phrasing or rhythmic shaping. As Falcone demonstrates with pieces taken from Andrea Anticos famous col-

lection of *frottole* 1517, an analogous approach can be taken to solo keyboard performance of this repertoire.

Fingering is an issue that historical performance practice has naturally been dealing with for a long time. Previous research on fingering has relied primarily on information from contemporary treatises and has tended to regard iconographic sources as of only limited reliability. However, as Maria Luisa Baldassari demonstrates, a careful and thorough interpretation of pictorial sources, combined with written information and practical experimentation, can provide valuable insights, into both fingering and hand position, as well as related topics such as touch, key control, motor function of the hand, and so on.

The last two articles could be grouped under the heading 'mobility', as they both deal with the transmission of keyboard instruments and their music, albeit in very different cases. Janie Cole uncovers the fascinating story of the early appearance of Western keyboards in Africa. In 1520, a Portuguese embassy presented a stringed keyboard instrument to the royal court in Ethiopia – the first documented instance of such an instrument being used in diplomacy. During the second half of the 16th century organs, harpsichords and clavichords also played an important role in the musical practice of the Jesuit missionaries in Ethiopia. Both phenomena allow us to highlight specific cultural functions of keyboard instruments, as a means of establishing diplomatic contacts and as an evangelical and pedagogical tool respectively, and thus to integrate the history of musical instruments into the broader context of Afro-European encounters. Andrés Cea Galán's article focuses on one of the most famous keyboard composers of the 16th century: Antonio de Cabezón. During his 40 years at the Spanish court, Cabezón travelled extensively, visiting almost all the major cultural centres in Central and Western Europe. Based on recent biographical research, Cea Galán examines Cabezón's trans-European contacts, the possible influences that emanated from them, and points out elements in Cabezón's music that seem to anticipate stylistic and compositional developments to be found in the works of later European composers.

It goes without saying, that a project like this would not have been possible without the support and involvement of numerous institutions and individuals. We are very grateful to the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, in particular the Rectorate, the Departments of Musicology and Performance Studies, and the Department of Early Music, for providing rooms and instruments and for bearing the costs of the conference as well as the publication. We would also like to thank the many members of staff in these and other departments of the University, who assisted in the organisation and running of the event, namely Alexander Flor, Martina Parapatits, Jürgen Polak (Department of Musicology and Performance Practice), Berta Gutmann, Marco Primultini (Department of Early Music), Claudia Schacher

(Department of Event Management) and the helping hands of the Information Technology Department, who provided and operated the elaborate technical equipment necessary to bring the conference online. Our specials thanks go to the students of the mdw, whose participation allowed for the success of the workshops. Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all those who have helped us to produce this volume: Marc Brooks and Gwendolyn Toth for the translation and the editing of articles written by non-native speakers, Ivan Kitanović, Martin Rainer and Vijay Gupta for their photographs, videos and audio recordings, and the board and staff of mdwPress, in particular Max Bergmann, for their cooperation in the publishing process.

Markus Grassl / Augusta Campagne
Vienna, August 2023

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2 The Rhetoric of Sweetness

Towards Ideals of Perception and Performance in Sixteenth-Century Keyboard Music

Catalina Vicens

Background

Since the beginning of the early music movement, Renaissance keyboard music has attracted performers and audiences. At the turn of the mid-20th century, pioneering recordings like those of Ralph Kirkpatrick with his *16th Century Harpsichord Music by Cabecon, Byrd, Gibbons, Bull, Sweelinck* set the tone for a new era of historical keyboard music recordings. It was soon followed by national keyboard music anthologies such as Claude Jean Chiasson's *French Harpsichord Masters* released in 1951, the organ recitals by Flor Peeters, *Old English Masters*, and *Old Italian Masters* released in 1953 and 1954 respectively and Thurston Dart's series, *Masters Of Early English Keyboard Music*, recorded on the clavichord, harpsichord, and organ. By the 60s, while 18th-century music overtook the recording output produced by the developing early music movement, LPs like Gustav Leonhardt's *Englische Virginalisten* recorded on a harpsichord by Johannes Ruckers (Antwerpen 1640), Giuseppe Zanaboni Bolognese's anthology performed on the historical organs of San Petronio in Bologna (1475 and 1594), and Hubert Schoonbroodt's *Lublin Tablature's Dances* on the organ of the Basilica of Our Lady in Maastricht (1652) showed with mastery the potential of incorporating the use of antique historical keyboards into the historical performance practice discourse. In the 70s, artists like Elisabeth Chojnacka and János Sebestyén continued to unveil Polish and Hungarian Renaissance keyboard music while fostering new music for the instrument, and personalities like Colin Tilney as well as Christopher Hogwood, Trevor Pinnock, and Ton Koopman reminded their audience about the music of the virginalists while becoming pivotal figures in baroque music.

On the other hand, over the last half-century, Renaissance Studies has become one of the most diverse and developed fields in modern-day academia, and historical musicologists devoted to studying 16th-century sources, compositional practices, musical culture, and organology have produced an impressive output. Nevertheless, proponents of historically informed performance practice have chosen to include only a reduced scope of scholarly research and have stayed mostly impermeable to other fields of study. In this regard, we cannot underestimate the weight of the pioneering generation of 20th-century harpsichordists and organists, and that which followed, in the way we listen to and perform 16th-century keyboard music today. It is also pertinent to be reminded of how the sonic image of Renaissance keyboard music has been shaped by the implied notion that it is a repertoire that precedes, leads to, and culminates in the artistic climax of the great baroque keyboard works. Consequently, it has often been coloured by the search for achieving contrast to what is understood as a point of arrival and resulting in aesthetic decisions driven by the attempt to define that which is opposed to the baroque rather than describing what truly constitutes the Renaissance keyboard music ideal itself.

Perspectives

The revived interest in the performance of 16th-century keyboard music on the harpsichord has developed significantly over the last decade. It has catalysed the need to find spaces for sharing information and perspectives, of which the first symposium on 'Universum rei harmonicae concentum absolvunt: the Harpsichord in the 16th century' organized by Augusta Campagne and Markus Grassl, held in April 2021 at The University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, is a worthy example.

While baroque and classical repertoires have been at the core of the development of educational programs on historical performance practice in many European countries and across the world, 16th-century keyboard music performance has not yet been institutionalized. This offers a new set of possibilities that can be derived from a critical evaluation of the methodologies used in the teaching of baroque performance practice and a rethinking of the modes of knowledge transmission established in the last half-century. Engaging in such a process at this point of Renaissance keyboard music performance practice may help to avoid the patterns that have prevented ongoing research to dialogue with performance, and have served to establish modern 'schools' of historical performance rather than fostering a critical understanding of historical musical and artistic concepts.

A renewed attitude can foment the musician's ability and curiosity by not limiting the reading of sources (often using fragmentary information) to establish exclusive performance truths, and that instead supports and encourages the continuous critical reading of diverse source types, including the wealth of research on medieval and Renaissance intellectual culture allowing to access the 16th century from a chronological perspective.[1] Just as importantly, it finally would grant the space required for acknowledging the elements of theoretical and practical research that are not quantifiable but fundamental to the musical process, which can result in a conscious and critical engagement in the process of translation and embodiment.

Score vs Source: Re-Identifying the Blanks

> Aesthetic understanding is only possible within a culture through the contextual references to the forms of life. To describe an ensemble of aesthetic rules means to describe a specific culture.[2]

Performers dealing with any repertoire conceived in the distant past, are subject to fill in information left out of the musical page. From the multiple parameters that constitute a performance, those that cannot fit on a table of rules are certainly complex to treat and intimidating to address consciously and systematically. To confront them, identifying those blank spaces is the first step.

How does the performance of instrumental polyphonic music change depending on the sound source? How do we listen to the instrument, its registers, its tuning, its consonances and dissonances, and how do we make

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1 A notorious example of the important efforts to draw attention to the influence of intellectual culture, political events, and ideas shaping musical composition and performance is Claude V. Palisca's posthumous work *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, curated by Thomas J. Mathiesen (Champaign, Illinois, 2006). The second edition of Alexander Silbiger's *Keyboard Music Before 1700* (New York–London, 2004) acknowledged the need for extending musicological research into keyboard performance practice. Besides informative chapters on national keyboard music cultures that establish the value and autonomy of pre-'700s keyboard music, in contrast to the seminal work by Willi Apel, *Geschichte der Orgel- und Klaviermusik bis 1700* (Kassel, 1967), a chapter devoted to the performance was added by the editor.

2 Paulo Chagas, 'Musical Understanding: Wittgenstein, Ethics, and Aesthetics', in: *Music, Analysis, Experience: New Perspectives in Musical Semiotics*, ed. Costantino Maeder and Mark Reybrouck (Leuven, 2015), 115–33, at 130.

sense of them when performing a structured musical thought? How does the instrument's nature affect an improvisation based on a historical compositional style? How did musical migration shape the composers' and performers' discourse and how does that affect our idea of style and ornamentation? Why would we strike the keys in one way or the other on different instruments and what are we aiming to achieve with each approach to touch? What is a specific keyboard technique, such as the use of fingering patterns, useful for, and what does it really imply, allow, prevent and look for? What are we trying to achieve when adding diminution and ornamentation to a pre-existing compositional model, and how do we understand and affect the original model in the process? How do we translate text and vocal music into the keyboard and what do we search by doing so? How do we hear the voice that sings and declaims? How do we imagine the 16th-century listener?

> Musical understanding cannot be reduced to the mechanical application of explicit rules: the expressive game of musical rules obeys a tradition that is mostly implicit, which determines the choices.[3]

Many of these questions cannot be fully or even partially answered by looking at what we often understand as musical sources (mainly derived from musical notation or performance indications documented in historical treatises). In this article, I introduce an alternative methodology that can contribute to answering them by providing information that is explicitly open to different readings. Herewith I intend to lay out a way to address the complexity embedded in the study of 16th-century keyboard music and to encourage performers and educators to move toward a more holistic understanding of the music of the past.

While this type of approach to the work with sources gives space for a variety of modern performance outputs, I chose here to focus on what, I argue, is a key concept in Renaissance keyboard music and which can shape each of the questions above and certainly many more. Drawing from writings on rhetoric, aesthetics, and material culture, I explore a term that might seem trivial to the modern ear, but that can contribute to understanding the ideals which drove artists, writers, musicians, performers, and listeners alike: 'sweetness'.

3 Ibid.

A Matter of Taste

The most evident way of understanding this term is in its use to describe a quality perceived by our gustatory and olfactory system as a basic taste.[4] When applied to describe the quality of something outside of what can be identified by the sensory system as containing sugars, in its modern connotation it refers to something pleasant with the quality of something soft, charming, cute, delicate, diaphanous, light, airy, petit, subtle, tender, quiet, innocent, angelical, endearing and adorable (Fig. 1).[5]

During the late 15th and 16th centuries, the word 'sweetness' was used with particular frequency in written documentation that included the description of musical performance and the perception of sound quality. The ideal of a *dolcezza mirabile* was embedded in Baldassare Castiglione's account of the solo performer,[6] and Pietro Bembo's description of Isabella d'Este's singing with *dolcezza e suavità*.[7] The marchioness of Mantua was a key figure in the development of Italian music culture during the turn of the 16th century, establishing aesthetic parameters that would be imitated and developed across the peninsula and beyond. Turning her court into an archetype of the transdisciplinary humanistic environment, she acted as a catalyser between arts and sciences, where music would be permeable to the various intellectual and aesthetic ideals in circulation.

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4 Our gustatory system receptors can identify five basic tastes: sweetness, saltiness, bitterness, sourness, and savoriness. I elaborate further on a phenomenological approach to the senses as related to the perception of sound in the lecture-recital given at the Conference *The Musical Humanism of the Renaissance and its Legacy*, convened by Jacomien Prins at the University of Warwick's Palazzo Pesaro Papafava, Venice, 2–4 June 2016.

5 'Synonyms of Sweet | Thesaurus.Com.' <https://www.thesaurus.com/browse/sweet.> (accessed 31 July 2022).

6 In Book II, chapter XIII, Castiglione (1478–1529) refers to the ideal of the unity of song, harmony, and creative genius embodied in the solo performer, describing the courtier that sings to the self-accompaniment on the *lira da braccio*, 'parmi il cantar bene a libro sicuramente e con bella maniera; ma ancor molto più il cantare alla viola, perchè tutta la dolcezza consiste quasi in un solo.' See Baldassarre Castiglione, *Opere del conte Baldessar Castiglione Il cortegiano*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1854), 87.

7 The poet Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), who was of great influence in the development of the madrigal in 16th-century Italy, praises Isabella's singing as being of 'such sweetness and suavity'. See John Bryan, '"Verie Sweete and Artificiall": Lorenzo Costa and the Earliest Viols', in: *EM* 36 (2008), 3–18, at 13. Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) herself will become an idealized figure beyond the confines of Mantua, and her influence in musical culture, composition, performance, and development of musical instruments is inestimable.

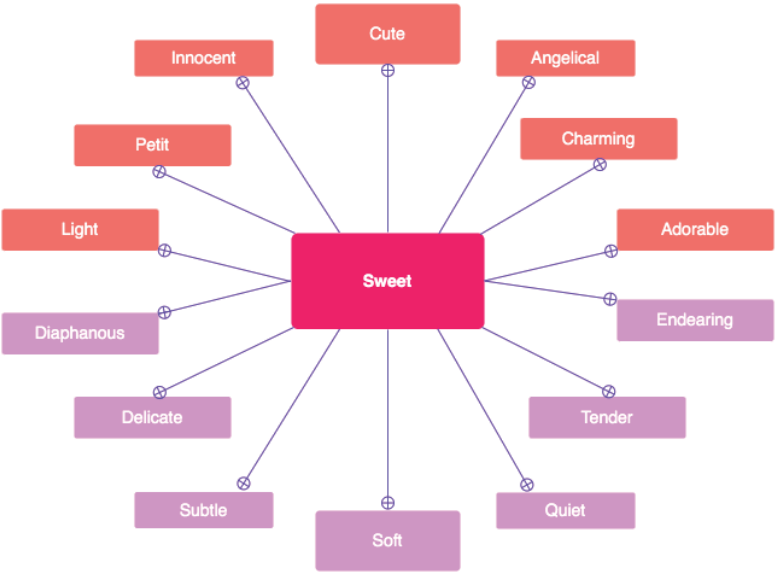

Fig. 1: Semantic network of 'sweet' according to the English language. Image: Catalina Vicens.

One of the closest composers to Isabella, Marchetto Cara (1465–1525), is widely represented in the first Italian keyboard music print, the *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi* published by Andrea Antico in 1517. As described by Castiglione, Cara was able to move the listener, 'by a delectable way and bursting with feeble sweetness, he tenderizes and penetrates souls, imprinting in them sweetly a delightful passion'.[8] While the style of the author often uses literary oxymorons, here it does so to convey a complex picture of the performer-listener's active and passive sensory experience, where intense sweetness has the piercing ability to move and stir passions. An image familiar to those keyboardists, whose instruments' mottos and inner-lid paintings reminded them that the act of keyboard playing was beyond a mechanic reproduction of music.[9]

It is one of the first accounts that describe the sound of the harpsichord, half a century earlier, that also underlines its characteristical sweetness. 'The

8 'Ché per una via placida e piena di flebile dolcezza intenerisce e penetra le anime imprimendo in esse soavemente una dilettevole passione.' See Baldassarre Castiglione, *Opere del conte Baldessar Castiglione* (see n. 6), 50.

9 For a comprehensive discussion and compendium of harpsichord mottos, see Heidelinde Pollerus, *Tasteninstrumente als kunsthistorische Objekte. Cembalo, Clavichord, Spinett, Virginal. 'Meine Seele hört im Sehen'* (Graz/Vienna, 2018).

harpsichord is an instrument of marvellous sweetness for making polyphonic music. It has metal strings in all its courses […] it's percussive like the clavichord, except that it sounds sweeter and more sonorous',[10] writes Paulus Paulirinus in *Liber viginti artium*, finished c. 1463. In the description of musical instruments in this encyclopaedic work, it's possible to identify qualities from the descriptions themselves but also from the comparison between instruments, which could challenge modern connotations (where for example the clavichord, the lute, and the harp are not described as sweet).[11] Nevertheless, when 'sweetness' is read in Renaissance sources through a modern lens, it tends to lead to assumptions or even conflicting images.[12]

Suavis / suavitas and *dulcis / dulcedo*, *dulcor*, can be translated as 'sweet' and 'sweetness' in English, but are etymologically distinctive. They 'are, however, from the earliest extant Latin literature down to late pagan and Christian Latin, broadly synonymous, being both used to express gustatory as well as other sensuous, emotional, and mental pleasures.'[13] In the arts, this term has been applied throughout the centuries to denote the experience of something that represents 'good taste'. When good taste is perceived in a contemporary

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10 '[C]lavisiumbalum est instrumentum mire suavitas in sinfonisando, habens cordes metallinas per omnes suos choros […] et concordat in percussione cum clavicordio, nisi quod dulcius et sonorosius sonat' – Paulus de Praga dictus Paulirinus, *Liber viginti artium* (c. 1463), PL-Kj Codex 257, fol. 162v. See also Stanley Howell, 'Paulus Paulirinus of Prague on Musical Instruments', in: JAMIS 5–6 (1979), 9–36. Stanley Howell translates *sonorosius* as 'loudness'.

11 It's also worth noting that to Paulirinus, 'by making polyphonic resonance [instrumental music] produces sweet effusions of sounds, vibrating in the air all the way to the middle of the brain membrane.' Polyphony as a source of sweetness is particularly developed in musical references of the 15th century in connection with Neoplatonic ideals and the writing of Marsilio Ficino. This reading of sweetness will not be developed broadly in this article.

12 I must thank Crawford Young, who, in his medieval performance practice class as professor at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis (2008), drew special attention to Paulus Paulirinus of Prague and his organological writings. Young's observation of the seemingly clashing concepts of sweetness as a characteristic of the *clavicimbalum* triggered my curiosity for this term. The need to investigate further the historical meaning of 'sweetness' was triggered by encountering it recurrently during the conference *Cinquecento*: Ästhetik *des Hörens in der Renaissance*, convened by Matteo Nanni on 29 August 2013 at the Institute for Musicology of the University of Basel.

13 See Abdool-Hack Mamoojee, '"Suavis" and "Dulcis": A Study of Ciceronian Usage', in: *Phoenix* 35 (1981), 220–36, at 220. Mamoojee notes that the use of *dulcis* becomes predominant over *suavis* in authors like Quintilian, Augustine, and Boethius. It's worth noting that Cicero, who uses both terms extensively, prefers the use of *suavitas* particularly in his letters and rhetorical treatises.

context, defining it proves to be challenging but often unnecessary, as it is tacitly understood by the interactions between the agent and its environment. Therefore, for defining and describing the experience of something perceived as 'tasteful' in a moment of a distant past, what was considered a pleasurable or a desired artistic experience, we need to define the environment, or the agent and its context.

In order to engage with this complex task, I propose a transdisciplinary approach that uses the methodology of actor-network-theory to provide concrete elements that can guide the reading of musical sources and their application in performance.[14] This comprehends building a network of historical references, in this case around the connotations and associations of the term 'sweetness', which, analysed from a performative perspective will add clarity about the historical musical agent in the interaction with its environment. In this process, the outcome will be the generation of new questions which will leave space for modern performers to search for an answer to them with an individual conscious approach, filling in the gaps of those blank spaces, while allowing for the network indicators, and therefore the questions, to keep expanding.

14 The use of actor-network theory (ANT), coined by Bruno Latour and Madeleine Akrich, has been clearly explained in the application of historical musicology by Benjamin Piekut in 'Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques', in: *Twentieth-Century Music* 11 (2014), 191–215, and in its application on organology by Eliot Bates in 'Actor-Network Theory and Organology', in: JAMIS 44 (2019), 41–51. While far from a perfect methodology, actor-network theory has rarely been applied systematically to historically informed performance practice research, particularly in the field of what we know today as *early music*. Since 2019 I've used it as a methodological framework for the masterclasses and workshops held at the Brussels Royal Conservatory (KCB), from which the observations are expected to be published in my doctoral dissertation.

The Sound of Sweetness

> Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona'
> cominciò elli allor sì dolcemente
> che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.[15]
> – Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia*
> (Love that converses with me in my mind,
> he then began, so sweetly
> that the sweetness sounds within me still.)

With these lines of the *Divina Commedia* and as a forerunner of the Renaissance, Dante pins down the definition of a new style. The sweet one. The *Dolce Stil Novo* puts sweetness at the forefront of literature, with a taste that goes beyond being a mere aesthetic quality, but intrinsic to a new rhetorical style. Sweetness is to be desired, is to be lived by, and is to be performed.

Dante draws from the biblical tradition, recalling in this passage psalm 118: 'how sweet are your words to my taste, sweeter than honey to my mouth!',[16] where a close connection is established between taste and knowledge. Sweetness becomes not only a sensorial perception but a religious-infused moral act, where the sound of divine knowledge penetrates the heart through devoted listening. According to Artistotle, 'the sense of touch is conducted by the flesh, and the taste by the tongue. Unlike cerebral senses vision, hearing, and smell, all of which operate out of the brain, touch and taste are both connected directly to the heart.'[17] Augustine, one of the most influential authorities during the early modern period, acknowledges in his writings that *suavitas* is a desirable rhetorical quality, but he warns that it must be used only to flavour the 'wholesome' or 'nutritious' substance of truth or wisdom; if used to add appeal to evil or falsehood, it offers merely a 'pernicious sweetness'. Eric Jager observes that *suavitas* and related words overlap in form and meaning with another family of terms that include *suasio* (persuasion) and *suadere* (to persuade). All the terms spring from the same Indo-European etymon meaning 'sweet'.[18]

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15 The Princeton Dante Project (2.0) – Purg Canto II Line 112–4, <https://dante.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/dante/DispPoemByTitle.pl?TITLE=Purg.&SECT=xxiv.&LINE=52-54> (accessed 17 April 2021).

16 New International Version of Psalm 118:103. The vulgate text reads 'quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua super mel ori meo'.

17 Mary Carruthers, 'Sweetness', in: *Speculum* 81 (2006), 999–1013.

18 Eric Jager, *The Tempter's Voice: Language and the Fall in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, 1993), 105.

During the classic revival taking place in Italy during the 15th and early 16th centuries, other authors of antiquity are revised, and sweetness is incorporated into the arts as a way to convey meaning. A tasteful transmission of knowledge, through rhetoric and its application to the other arts, will lead to a pleasurable and balanced experience of sweetness.

Crafting Sweetness: Rhetoric in Trebizond's De suavitate dicendi

In the early 15th century George of Trebizond dealt with sweetness as one of the most effective rhetorical tools. The Greek rhetorician embodies the synthesis of different traditions characteristic of the Renaissance, mixing the ideas of several figures from Antiquity, including the rhetorical writings by Aristotle, Cicero, and Demosthenes. He also analyses the seven styles of Hermogenes, whose discussion of rhetorical sweetness had not yet been explored in Western Europe.

In Trebizond's treatise *De suavitate dicendi*, dedicated to Girolamo Bragadin, he introduces Byzantine rhetoric to the Latin West, writing about how to become the perfect orator through the 'sweetness of speech'.[19] According to Trebizond, sweetness is a particularly important element of performance as it will make the message persuasive not only by creating intellectual pleasure in the listeners but by pleasing synchronically all the senses. Therefore, since *suavitas* creates an emotional impact on the audience, the information can be absorbed easily and quickly.[20]

Defining the links and constitutive elements of form and figure of speech, Trebizond creates a cloud of components and qualities that result in the sweetness of speech. One of them is *artificium*, which is the way and the manner in which a thought is explained in words, where 'all the embellishments, which many people call "figures of thought", are to be considered here. [*artificium*] is encompassed by an artistic rhythm that is once confined and free.'[21] Thus, the rhetoric command is achieved by the way or manner in which ideas are

19 See Lucia Calboli Montefusco's 'George of Trebizond's "De suavitate dicendi"', in: *The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom: The Role of Ancient Texts in the Arts Curriculum as Revealed by Surviving Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys, John O. Ward, and Melanie Heyworth (Turnhout 2013), 267–85. For a comprehensive biography of Trebizond, see John Monfasani's *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic* (Leiden, 1976).

20 Montefusco, 'George of Trebizond's "De suavitate dicendi"', 271–2.

21 Ibid., 277–8.

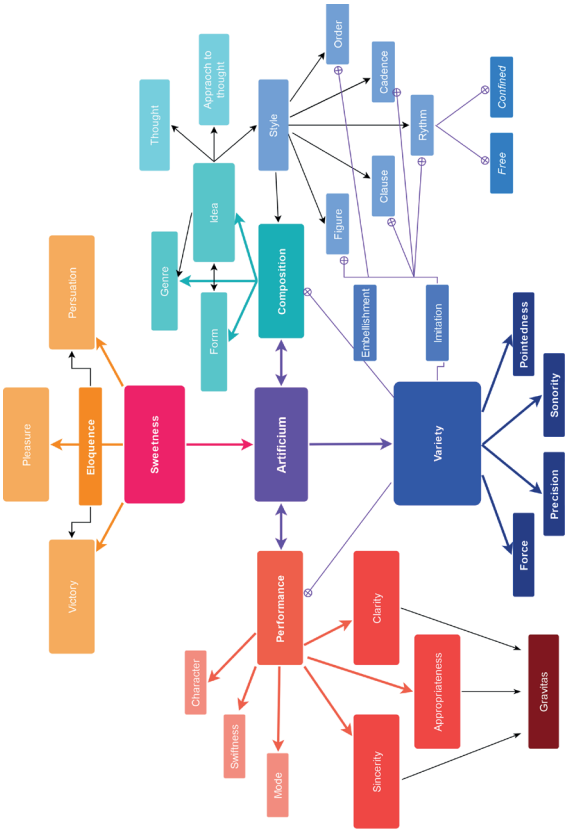

Fig. 2: Sweetness definition network after Trebizond's *De suavitate dicendi*. Image: Catalina Vicens.

explained and embellished, and in how their rhythmical flow is structured. It also relies on the qualities of clarity, sincerity, and appropriateness (*gravitas*), elements that can be related to the composition (ideas, form, and genre) and their delivery (mode, swiftness, and character).

The author also points out that one of the chief means of creating sweetness is *variatio*: 'variety seems to have the largest utility and sweetness not only for painters, poets, or actors but also in any field where it is appropriate, especially in the arena of the orator.'[22] Alluding to Cicero, he sustains that variation is achieved by the variety in the tones of the voice (sonority, precision, force, and pointedness), the appropriate use of thoughts and approach to the thoughts, as well as the use of styles (in the rhythmical organization of figures, clauses, and cadences). Imitation is also an essential part of the rhetorical discourse. It does not rely on copying the models, the work of the greatest masters, but taking them as models and adapting them and variating them depending on the discourse. With the right combination of all the elements of sweetness, the orator will achieve eloquence and accomplish victory.

In the diagram, the different elements described in Trebizond's *De suavitate dicendi* are organized through nodes and points linked by directed edges or arrows. They leave the sace for creating new network links within the system that can expand the significance of different relationships between elements of rhetoric.

The elements of Trebizond's rhetoric can also be applied to composition and performance, as the role of the orator can be mirrored and translated into the musical domain as that of the composer/performer. Thus, while Trebizond is only one of the rhetorical models that were highly influential in the Italian peninsula and the rest of Europe during the Renaissance, the application of rhetorical sweetness into the study of early 16th-century keyboard music can provide keys to the understanding of 16th-century harpsichords, their music, and their performance.

From this diagram we can extract questions such as the following ones:

— What does a free and confined rhythm balance mean, how can it be applied to the overall musical structure and metrical structure, and according to which parameters does the performer alternate or fluctuate between them?
— If embellishments, as figures of thought, are meant to convey meaning, how do musical embellishments documented in 16th-century keyboard sources add significance to the musical message? How do written-out diminutions, graces, and embellished musical gestures change the

22 Ibid., 280.

rhythm of the discourse? How does the knowledge of their function within the musical discourse give us information about how and why to add embellishments where they are not written and shape our understanding of style?

- How could the importance of timbric variety change our understanding of the aesthetic of 16th-century instrument building itself? Do certain qualities of antique Renaissance keyboard types resonate with principles of sonic variety described in Trebizond?
- What are the technical means to create variety in the harpsichord's sonority? Can control and variation of force in the performer's touch help to give structure and flow to the composition?
- How can the familiarity with other closely related instruments, such as fretted Renaissance clavichords, 16th-century organs, and Renaissance plucked instruments inform about the variety of sound within a sound source's identity?
- What does it mean to variate in precision? Is it referred to the precision of chords (alternation between arpeggiation and synchronic chords), to the interpretation of rhythm and meter, or another performative parameter? How does this differ from variating the level of pointedness in the performance? Does this instead relate to the degrees of incisiveness of touch or rhythm as well?
- How do the variations in composition taken from a model tell us about the discourse (and its function) intended by the composer or arranger?
- How does variation in the use of a variety of modes and genera (diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic) in a polyphonic composition develop from the search for rhetorical *suavitas*, and how does it influence the delivery of the musical thoughts?
- If imitation is not copying, how does the performance of vocal intabulation at the keyboard imitate the model and variate it?
- Which elements of the score allow choosing the mode, swiftness, and character of the piece?
- What does it mean to perform *gravitas* (with sincerity, clarity, and appropriateness) today? How does the changing of performative context change all the technical elements in order to deliver a 'speech' appropriate to the listener?

Exploring the ideals of perception and performance in 16th-century harpsichord music through other disciplines of Renaissance studies, such as Trebizond's elements of rhetoric, it's possible to unveil and redefine the components that form the implicit rules for the delivery of musical meaning. Doing it so from a chronological perspective, and embracing alternative methodologies for the

teaching and learning of Renaissance keyboard music, can help to pose the essential performance questions that are often left untackled.

While we cannot quantify the changes in our own performance when setting an aesthetic and/or environmental goal, taking such path for the re-reading of historical sources containing information such as compositional styles, ornamentation, keyboard technique, fingering patterns, musical and grammatical text analysis, etc., will allow for a 'translation' with a more complex and refined de-codification system.

This approach leaves room to embrace serving as a performer of today while being translators and mediators of an art of the past,[23] grappling the fact that a performance is not deducible from the sum total of causal factors, and allowing a process of accumulating knowledge to shape musical communication. Thus, I argue, a historically informed/inspired musical embodiment process may begin.

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3 Keyboard Tablatures and Imaginary Instrumental Interchange in the Sixteenth Century

John Griffiths

Sources are one of the fundamental pillars of any kind of historical performance practice of music. Particularly for those of us who play polyphonic instruments, reading from the same pages that were used by players in the 16th century – for the purposes of the present study – draws us closer to the essence of the music we are playing, or so we believe. It obliges us to see the music as they did, and it requires us to make many of the same decisions about many aspects of performance that were faced by the musicians who created the pieces we play, or who were its original consumers. From my own perspective as a lutenist and vihuelist, it is quite surprising to see the large number of contemporary harpsichordists and organists who interpret this by playing primarily from carefully edited modern editions, written in modern notation. The contemporary lute world is the reverse: nearly all modern lutenists play from tablature, from the original notation, whether in facsimile reprint or in a modern typeset version of the original. This anomaly of notational practice is the first of the two main discussions within this essay; the other concerns that uniquely Spanish practice of the 16th century of having music 'para tecla, harpa y vihuela' that could supposedly be played on keyboards, harp and lute from the same notation.

Tablature of one kind or another was the common notational language for keyboards and other polyphonic solo instruments during the 16th century. The exact extent of the surviving repertoire of works in tablature from before 1600 has not been calculated, but I would estimate it to be in the vicinity of 20,000 works, a substantial amount of music and a repertoire that is large enough not to be ignored. In this essay I wish to discuss some of the broader vision and distilled conclusions arising from a substantial research project about tablature in the 16th century. The project was actually based on all Western tablatures prior to c. 1750 that will soon be published as a single volume of encyclopaedic proportion representing tablatures for over forty instruments.[1]

1 Based at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance (CESR) in Tours, the project has been conducted with David Dolata and Philippe Vendrix as co-edi-

Tablatures as Tables

As a point of departure, it is necessary to go back to first principles: to define tablature and to locate it within the broad family of music notations. Most definitions of tablature describe its external features rather than offer a real definition. Tablature is most commonly described as 'music encoded using letters and numbers'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition, in contrast, is more a description than a definition, encompassing 'Any of various forms of musical notation, *esp.* one differing from staff notation', adding that it is specifically 'a form of notation used for stringed instruments in which lines denote the instrument's strings and markings indicate fingering and other features […]' but omitting to acknowledge the existence of tablatures for keyboards and numerous other instruments.[2]

Limited as it is, the *Oxford* definition does not mention the use of letters as symbols. It is the idea of 'playing by numbers' that has often encouraged negative attitudes to tablature, as if it were a substitute for *real* notation, dismissed as simplistic, and categorised as a notation system for amateurs. This is no doubt reinforced by the widespread use of tablature for contemporary popular music, and the belief that it is designed for those who are unable to read conventional notation. Of course, none of this is true. One of the beauties of tablature is that it *can* be used by amateurs but, at the same time, it is a very sophisticated language that was also regularly used by professionals of the highest calibre.

The closest to a meaningful definition of tablature was given in passing by Johannes Wolf just over a century ago, but has not been taken up subsequently – by him or anyone else, as far as I know. Sometimes the desire for a complex definition interferes with our clarity of vision and blinds us in a way that makes the simplest things elude. After my own particular epiphany concerning the nature of tablature, it was somewhat sobering to realise that Wolf had happened upon the same idea although he chose not to develop it further. On

tors and with the collaboration of a large number of specialists: Cristina Alís Raurich, Gregorio Bevilacqua, Aurelio Bianco, Andrés Cea Galán, Stuart Cheney, Annie Coeurdevey†, Tim Crawford, Dinko Fabris, Monica Hall, Andrew Hartig, Erin Headley, Thilo Hirsch, Jeffery Kite-Powell, Nuria Llopis, Joachim Luedtke, Andreas Michel, Pietro Prosser, Jocelyn Nelson, Davide Rebuffa, Mark Rimple, John Robinson, Andreas Schlegel, Anne Smith, and Catalina Vicens.

2 'Tablature' in: *Oxford English Dictionary*, <https://www.oed.com> (accessed 18 March 2022).

the very first page of the second volume of his *Handbuch*, the one devoted to tablature, Wolf remarks that:

> While the Greeks distinguished between vocal and instrumental notation, in the Middle Ages special types of notation for different instruments, tablatures, were also developed alongside vocal notation. The *tabula* was the tablet or sheet on which a piece of music was written down. Notations were created for all kinds of keyboard, plucked, string and wind instruments. Letters and numbers along with notes represented its basic elements.[3]

In the process of trying to define tablature, it is easy to overlook that the real definition of tablature is embedded in the term itself, as Wolf hints. In the other main notation treatise of the last century to deal with tablature, Willi Apel also avoids a direct definition of tablature, instead offering a long explanation that can be reduced to his separation of 'ensemble music' from 'soloist music', plus a further two elements: tablatures 'are distinguished by special features such as the use of figures and letters', in a format which involves 'the writing of several parts on one staff' instead of many.[4]

Having considered these precedents, it is clear to me that the most concise definition of tablature is simply to consider it 'music put into a table'. Adopted from the Italian 'intavolatura' that was first used as the title of Francesco Spinacino's two books of *Intabolatura de lauto* published by Petrucci in 1507,[5] the term was adapted into most modern European languages, apart from Spain where it was known as 'cifra', that is, in cipher. The Italian noun 'tavola' has various meanings from a piece of furniture through to a mathematical table, the latter often described as a 'tabella' in modern Italian. The resulting verb 'intavolare' describes the action of ordering objects rationally as a table, and the related noun 'intavolatura' describes objects (music) systematically arranged in a table.

Tables function to condense multidimensional information. To intabulate music – to put it into a table and make a tablature – produces a multidimensional table that arranges the music of individual polyphonic lines in manner that

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3 Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1913–1919), ii, 1: 'Unterschieden die Griechen zwischen einer Vokal- und einer Instrumentalnotation, so bildeten sich auch im Mittelalter neben den Gesangstonschriften besondere Arten der Aufzeichnung für verschiedene Instrumente aus, die Tabulaturen. Die tabula war die Tafel oder das Blatt, auf welchem ein Musikstück niedergeschrieben wurde. Notationen entstanden für alle Arten von Tasten-, Zupf-, Streich- und Blasinstrumenten. Buchstabe und Zahl bildeten neben der Note ihre Grundelemente.'

4 Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music: 900–1600* (Cambridge, MA, 1942), xxii.

5 Francesco Spinacino, *Intabolatura de lauto libro primo* and *Intabolatura de lauto libro secondo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1507) (RISM 1507[5] and 1507[6]).

shows how they sound together when played. A musical tablature is therefore a score. The Italian term 'partitura' was not invented until the following century when multiple mensural staves were placed above one another on a page in the fashion that has subsequently been known as a score. As is well known from the studies of Jessie Ann Owens and others, polyphonic music was not notated in score during the 16th century.[6] Her landmark study of the compositional techniques used by composers of vocal polyphony suggested alternate means that composers may have used during the compositional process to help them in understanding how the individual voices fitted together. Her findings pointed to the possible use of score sketches on paper, but suggested the use of non-permanent means such as incising on wax tablets or writing with chalk on slates among the likely ways that composers worked. Owens flirts with the use of tablature for the notation of scores but does not explore it in depth.

The very nature of tablature allowed music to be presented in a way that was difficult in the standard notational formats of polyphonic music, whether in choirbook format or separate part-books. There are no documented explanations of why mensural copyists did not notate their works in score, especially when considering how it would have simplified composition as well as gaining an understanding of written compositions. It can only be supposed that the reasons were connected to using materials efficiently. Writing separate parts saves parchment or paper particularly through the way that silences are notated. Tablature is even more efficient than mensural parts with a full polyphonic piece often taking less space than a single part. For players performing from the notation, this also greatly reduced the number of page turns.

Research into the use of tablature shows that musicians read both mensural music and tablature. With specific reference to keyboard tablatures, we have examples from Albrecht Dürer through to J. S. Bach who were practised in both formats. Dürer notated fragments of keyboard music in tablature in his sketchbooks and Bach used tablature in seven pieces in his 'Orgelbüchlein' to obviate page turns.[7] With reference to lutenists, perhaps the most striking example is Palestrina who is known to have refused to send his latest compositions to his patrons until he had written them out in tablature and played them on his lute.[8] There are many other documented cases. Examples such as these serve to show that some – perhaps many – musicians in the 16th and 17th centuries were

6 Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York, 1997).

7 See Jean Michel Massing and Christian Meyer, 'Autour de quelques essais musicaux inédits de Dürer', in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45 (1982), 248–55, and Michael Maul and Peter Wollny, 'Introduction', in: J. S. Bach, *Weimarer Orgeltabulatur* (Kassel, 2007).

8 John Griffiths, 'The Lute and the Polyphonist', in: *Studi Musicali* 31 (2002), 71–90.

equally at home with mensural notation and tablature. In the case of Palestrina and others like him, tablature appears to have been part of the composer's toolkit. This implies a form of musical bilingualism that allowed musicians to use different notation forms for different purposes. In the 16th century, it appears that musicians used mensural notation for performing polyphonic vocal music, but often preferred any of the numerous keyboard and lute tablature formats for writing polyphonic scores as well as for other solo instrumental music. This practice persisted in many places throughout the 17th century as well.

Historiography

The factors that have led to unsympathetic academic attitudes to tablature in modern times derive from prejudices that possibly have their roots in the 19th century when 'playing by numbers' became increasingly associated with popular music genres and non-symphonic instruments such as the guitar, harmonium or ocarina among others. Restoring the legitimacy of tablature and its place among Western notations requires not only that these prejudices be overcome, but also that a number of related historiographic distortions be addressed and resolved. The outcome of such revisionism will have a positive effect in musicological thinking and also, hopefully, will encourage more contemporary keyboard players to use the historical notations that pertain to their instruments. With few exceptions, modern scholarship continues to deny the centrality of tablature. Tablature repertories are ignored in many writings as if they did not exist, an insignificant marginalised subset of Renaissance music.

The view of tablature as having limited significance is an historiographical issue that is closely tied to the pedagogy of music history. For much of the last century, the most widely used text books used at undergraduate level at universities – at least in the English-speaking world – have portrayed Renaissance instrumental music as little more than an afterthought to the mainstream of vocal polyphony, both liturgical and secular. This is the product of a conception of music that gave priority to sources and music genres over the idea of music as a social experience in Renaissance society.[9] The result is the artificial partitioning of Renaissance music into 'vocal' and 'instrumental' categories, based on sources and notation, mostly without acknowledging that there were bilingual musicians who

9 The most widely used texts of the last seventy years include Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954); Donald J.Grout, A *History of Western Music* (New York, 1960) with nine subsequent editions by Claude Palisca and Peter J. Burkholder; Alec Harman and Wilfred Mellers, *Man and his Music* (London, 1962); Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, 1976); Richard Freedman, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 2012).

defied these boundaries and who were both polyphonists and instrumentalists. To separate them into categories would not occur in a social history of Renaissance music based on human activity rather than compositional genres. It is important for players and scholars today to realise that these distortions will not be rectified without effort and that the responsibility is ours to ensure it happens.[10]

Tablature Types

Most tablature is written using letters or numbers to represent pitch. Much 16th-century Italian keyboard music, however, was written in mensural notation on a multi-lined staff, but with all the voices combined onto the one staff, condensed into a table and thus designated by its composers as 'intavolatura' or 'intabolatura'. A perfect example of this is the undated *Intabvlatvra d'organo* [...] *libro secondo* by Girolamo Cavazzoni published in Venice some time after the *libro primo* issued in 1543. The title page leaves no doubt as to the composer's understanding that his book was a tablature (Fig. 1), yet the notation is clearly in mensural notation on a pair of staves, divided according to the hands rather than by voices, although the correlation is very close (Fig. 2).

It is clear from the preceding example, then, that Italian keyboard tablatures are not very different to tablatures written with numbers or letters. This is clearly how they were perceived by the musicians who created and used them. Despite the differences in their appearance, especially the symbols for indicating the pitch of notes, they were all considered to be music in table format and, hence, tablatures. In each tablature type, in notation built from numbers, letters or mensural symbols, there are many variants, whether on the basis of the instruments they served, the practices adopted in different geographical locations, or variants designed to improve earlier types or individual differences that are best described as idiosyncratic. There are many family resemblances between certain tablature types whereas others are completely different. In the course of our research, however, we were able to distil these diverse tablature types into two broad families independent of whether they use numbers, letters or mensural symbols to designate pitch. These have been denominated 'matrix tablatures' and 'fingerboard tablatures'. Matrix tablatures are the oldest, and the ones that are particularly relevant to keyboard music (Fig. 3). They are the tablatures that use either numbers, letters or mensural signs to represent pitch, and that have the multiple voices written with each voice as a separate row

10 The International Musicological Society's study group 'Tablature in Western Music' was created in 2011 to promote discussion of tablature related music in the broad musicological context.

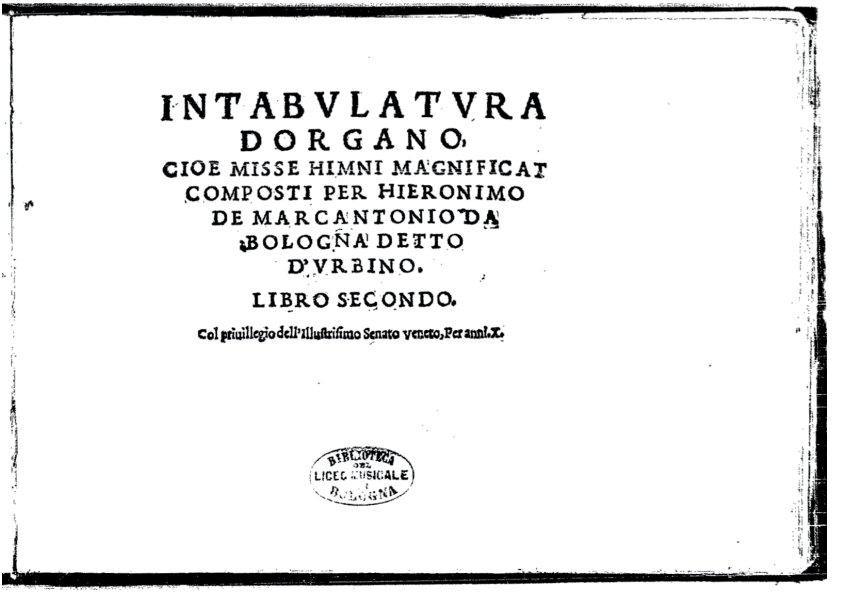

Fig. 1: Girolamo Cavazzoni, *Intabvlatvra d'organo* […] *libro secondo* (Venice [Girolamo Scotto], after 1543), title page.

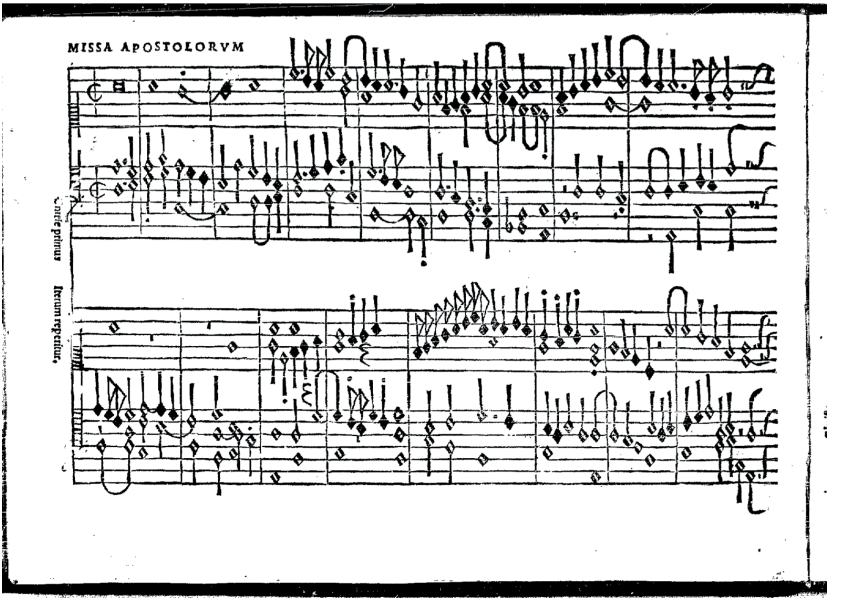

Fig. 2: Girolamo Cavazzoni, *Intabvlatvra d'organo* […] *libro secondo* (Venice [Girolamo Scotto], after 1543), fol. 1v.

placed one above another. These tablatures appear first to have developed in the German-speaking world, even though the oldest example dating from the 14th century is preserved in England.[11] In contrast, fingerboard tablatures are those in which the lines of the conventional music staff are re-envisaged as the strings of an instrument running along a fingerboard (Fig. 4). The number of lines is defined by the number of strings on the instrument, with numbers or letters to represent the places on the fingerboard where strings are stopped. This tablature seems to come from the Italian peninsula but became common throughout all Europe.

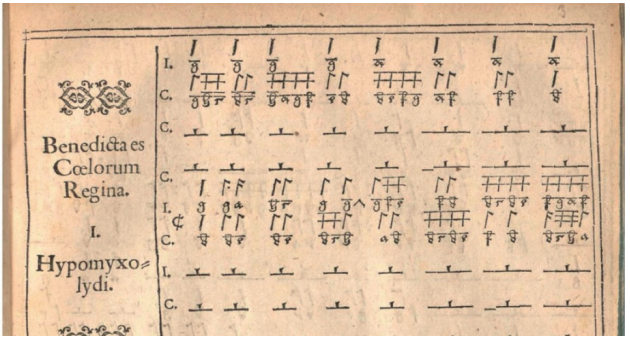

Fig. 3: Josquin des Prez, 'Benedicta es caelorum regina', opening, from Jacob Paix, *Thesavrvs Motetarvm: Newerleßner zwey vnd zweintzig herrlicher Moteten* (Strasbourg: Bernhart Jobin, 1589) (VD16 ZV 26531), fol. 3r. Online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00031714> (accessed 3 August 2022).

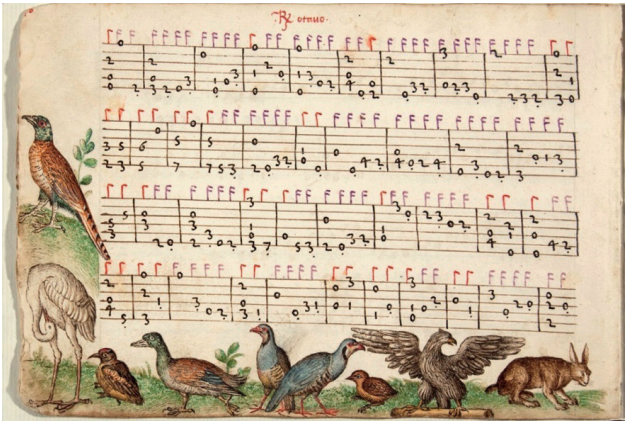

Fig. 4: Vincenzo Capirola, 'Ricercar otavo', US-CN Case MS VM C. 25, *The Capirola Lute Book* (c. 1517), fol. 44v. Online: <http://ricercar-old.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/luth/pages/notice.asp?numnotice=4> (accessed 3 August 2022).

11 These are included in GB-Lbl, Ms Add. 28850, known as the Robertsbridge codex.

Spanish Keyboard Tablatures

The second part of this essay is directed specifically to keyboard tablatures on the Iberian Peninsula, especially Spain. There is evidence of tablature use in Spain from the early 16th century. The earliest example is a fragment of fingerboard tablature, probably for vihuela, found in the endpapers of a book printed in 1513.[12] The earliest keyboard tablature from the Iberian peninsula is the *Arte* […] *pera aprender a tanger* (Lisbon: Germao Galharde, 1540) by Gonzalo de Baena, written in an idiosyncratic alphabetic matrix tablature, independent of any other known tablature type. Only fairly recently rediscovered, this book is not so well known, with a first modern edition issued only in 2012.[13] The best known type of Spanish tablature was the invention of Luis Venegas de Henestrosa, and used for his *Libro de cifra nueva* printed in Alcalá de Henares in 1557 by Juan de Brocar (Fig. 5). In the prefatory pages of the book, Venegas explains how he came to invent his tablature and expresses his desire that it should become a universal notation for all solo instruments. With improvements added by Hernando de Cabezón in his publication of the *Obras de música* of his late father Antonio in 1578 (Fig. 6), Venegas' tablature became the predominant keyboard tablature used in Spain until the early 18th century. Even though Venegas' tablature achieved considerable longevity, it is but one of numerous tablature types invented on the Iberian peninsula. These include the organ tablature proposed by Alonso Mudarra in his *Tres libros de música* (Sevilla: Juan de Léon, 1546), the continuous numeric tablature proposed by Bermudo in his *Declaración de instrumentos* (Ossuna: Juan de Léon, 1555) and then the dozen or so other Iberian tablatures revealed by Andrés Cea Galán in his doctoral dissertation of 2014.[14]

12 It is a single staff sketch drawn on the flyleaf of a copy of Lucius Marineus Siculus, *Epistolarum familiarum libri xvii* (Valladolid, 1514); see Antonio Corona-Alcalde, 'The earliest vihuela tablature: a recent discovery', in: *EM* 20 (1992), 594–600.

13 The tablature is described in Tess Knighton, 'A newly discovered keyboard source (Gonzalo de Baenas's Arte novamente inventada pera aprender a tanger, Lisbon, 1540): a preliminary report', in: *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 5 (1996), 81–112; edited as Gonçalo de Baena, *Arte para tanger (Lisboa*, 1540), edition and introductory study by Tess Knighton (Lisbon, 2012). The tablature is available online: <https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ReverseLookup/216087> (accessed 23 June 2022).

14 Andrés Cea Galán, 'La cifra hispana: música, tañedores e instrumentos (siglos XVI-XVIII)', Doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014.

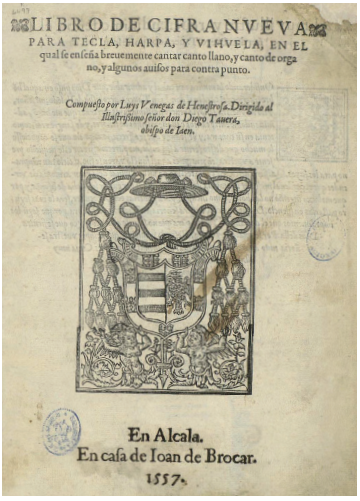

Fig. 5: Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueva* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan de Brocar, 1557), title page. Online: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000039213&page=1> (accessed 23 June 2022).

Fig. 6: Hernando de Cabezón, *Obras de música* (Madrid: Francisco Sánchez, 1578) (RISM 1587[24]), title page. Online: <http://purl.org/rism/BI/1578/24> (accessed 24 June 2022).

The present study, however, revolves around Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva* (1557), and Hernando de Cabezón's *Obras de música* (1578), a book that brought into print an anthology compiled many years earlier by Antonio de Cabezón who had died in 1566. The interesting feature of both volumes is that they are subtitled *para tecla, harpa y vihuela*, an indication that they are 'for keyboard, harp and vihuela'. The sentiments of this phrase, the insinuation of a common notation and interchangeable repertory for the principal polyphonic instruments of the time, appears to be validated further when it is echoed in the title of Fray Tomás de Santa María's keyboard treatise of 1565 titled *Libro llamado Arte de tañer Fantasía, assi para Tecla, como para Vihuela, y todo instrumento, en que se pudiere tañer a tres, y a quatro vozes, y a mas*. (A book called the Art of the Fantasia, equally for Keyboard as for Vihuela, and all instruments upon which one might play in three, four or more voices).[15]

15 Tomas de Santa María, *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasía* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, 1565); online: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158382&page=1> (accessed 23 June 2022).

Uncritical acceptance of this phrase has led to the assumption that the music of these books, if not all Spanish keyboard music is suitable for all three instruments and can be freely exchanged between them. Our musicological forefathers accepted the phrase without question and even if silently, never questioned its veracity. The dominant 20th-century Spanish scholar, Higinio Anglés, in his 1944 edition of Venegas' *Libro* wrote, for example, that 'our organists published music for keyboard, which could also be used for the other instruments in vogue at the time.'[16] This view of the interchangeable repertoire of 'our organists' has persisted without serious interrogation. My task here is to expose the manner in which this phrase 'para tecla, harpa y vihuela' came into existence, how it spread and consequently, to dispel the notion of an interchangeable Spanish repertory for solo instruments. This study demonstrates how Venegas' use of the term 'for keyboard, harp and vihuela' makes sense in the context of his own book, but suggests that Cabezón's use of the same phrase is likely to have been a hasty last minute addition, probably for commercial reasons. In Santa María's case, the phrase is not the same, and the precise meaning of his wording needs to be carefully untangled. From the micro-history of these three books it becomes impossible to accept that the use on two occasions of the same phrase reflects a widespread Spanish practice of interchangeability in the way that has often been supposed.[17]

Venegas de Henestrosa and Hernando de Cabezón

Luis Venegas de Henestrosa (c. 1510–70), a musician in the employ of the Archbishop of Toledo from at least 1535 to 1545, and subsequently a parish priest in the town of Hontoba in Guadalajara, invented a new format of keyboard tablature and used it to compile the anthology that he accordingly named a 'Book of new ciphers' adding that it was 'for keyboard, harp and vihuela' in a very

16 Higinio Anglés, *La música en la corte de Carlos V con la transcripción del 'Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela' (Alcalá de Henares, 1557) compilado por Luys Venegas de Henestrosa*, 2 vols., Monumentos de la Música Española II, III (Barcelona, 1944; repr. 1965), xi-xii.

17 This conclusion is not new: I have written about it in articles in Spanish published in 2007 and 2014. It is the first time however, that I have published on this topic in English. For the earlier studies see John Griffiths, 'Venegas, Cabezón y las obras "para tecla, harpa y vihuela"', in: *Cinco siglos de música de tecla española – Five Centuries of Spanish Keyboard Music*, ed. Luisa Morales (Garrucha, 2007), 153–68; and idem, '¿Fantasía o realidad? La vihuela en las Obras de Cabezón', in: *AnM* 69 (2014), 193–214.

matter-of-fact fashion to reflect its contents.[18] It is genuinely music 'para tecla, harpa y vihuela' in contrast to the later book by Hernando de Cabezón which is not. Venegas' years in Toledo had allowed to move in highly cultured circles and to become familiar with the best music of his time. In contrast, his later life as a parish priest in a small rural community made him aware of the difficulty of access to good music for liturgical use. He begins the preface of his book 'Al lector' (To the reader) explaining that he expected to be the subject of the insults of professional musicians for having invented his tablature and thereby creating a 'shortcut' that would allow others of very inferior status to learn in a short time what had taken them years to achieve.[19] Venegas knew, however, that his book would fill a void. As a church musician, he lamented the lack of competent organists for parish churches. As an organist, he lamented the lack of keyboard music in circulation. He wanted to help fill this void both directly and indirectly: by offering players a useful anthology, but also by inventing a new simple but effective notation, and by giving players tools to expand their own repertoire. He also saw in his tablature the possibility of a universal notation that could be used by all instrumentalists. Even if in modest employ, Venegas was a man with a broad perspective, perhaps an idealist if not a dreamer.

Venegas de Henestrosa's tablature is remarkably simple. It is a matrix tablature on a staff of a varying number of lines disposed with one line per voice, and the numerals 1-7 used to represent the natural notes of each octave, starting on F (1 = F, 2 = G, 3 = A etc). The music is barred in tactus units and there are no rhythmic symbols: the numbers are spaced so that their duration is to be intuitively intelligible. As can be seen in the following example (Fig. 7) is very easy to read.

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18 The book is edited by Higinio Anglés, *La música en la corte de Carlos* V (see n. 16). The contents are listed in Brown 1557[2].

19 'Aunque por ser cosa nueua esta cifra, será agradable (muy amado lector), no dexo de temer que la gran facilidad que tiene, será causa, para que los mejores músicos la calumnien y tengan en poco, porque como ellos gastaron tanto tiempo, y passaron tanto trabajo en alcançar lo que saben, y vean que por esta vía, se ataja mucho camino : ser les ha desabrido la manera deste guisado specialmente a los que están faltos de charidad del aprouechamiento de sus próximos : lo qual, demás de ser contra la ley de Dios, es contrario a lo que ellos pretenden, que es auentajarse de los otros músicos, porque mucho más sabrá en poco tiempo con ayuda desta cifra [...].' *Libro de cifra nueva*, fol. 2[v].

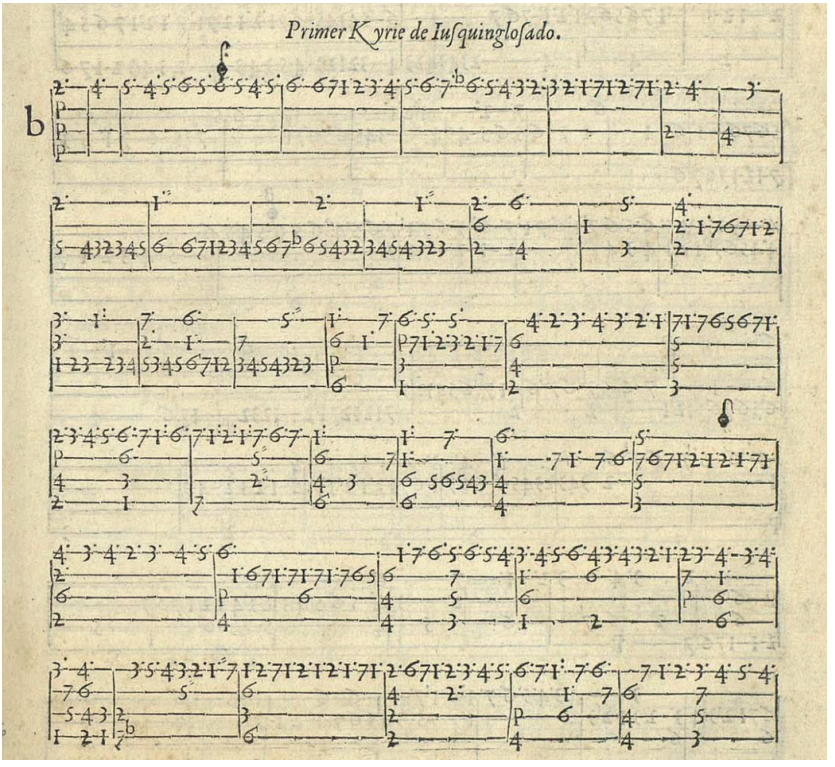

Fig. 7: Palero, 'Primer Kyrie de Josquin glosado', *Libro de cifra nueva*, fol. 54ʳ.

Venegas believed that his tablature could be a universal notation for the harp and vihuela, the other polyphonic instruments in use in Spain at the time. In the prefatory texts Venegas gives guidance to harpists and vihuelists. He provides no specific text to assist harpists read the tablature given its similarity to the keyboard but provides a woodcut diagram on fol. 3 (*sic* = fol. 4) showing the strings of the harp and the corresponding *cifras*, commenting also that harpists will sometimes need to omit notes when the texture requires it. This tablature continued to be used by harpists in Spain until well into the 18th century, with the addition of fingering symbols in later sources for guidance.[20]

Using Venegas' tablature on the vihuela required some memorisation, but was not difficult, but there is no evidence to suggest that it gained acceptance among players. Of greater relevance was Venegas' recommendation to keyboard players that they learn how to rewrite lute or vihuela tablature into his *cifra nueva*. He notes (using the term vihuela to mean both vihuela and lute) that, because 'of the many

20 See, for example, the manuscript Barcelona, Orfeó Català, MM CV/42-R/40 (c. 1680).

eminent vihuela players, both foreign and Spanish, with different airs and ways of playing, it seemed to me that it would be good to open to keyboard and harp players the door to all the vihuela music that is printed in cipher.'[21] He was aware of reality: at the time his *Libro de cifra nueva* appeared in 1557, only twenty keyboard books had been published in Europe, in comparison to some hundred books of lute tablature. To exemplify how it was done, he transcribed twenty works by lutenist Francesco da Milano, and vihuelists Luis de Narváez, Alonso Mudarra and Enríquez de Valderrábano into his book. As John Ward showed in his incisive study of these adaptations, Venegas did not simply transcribe the works from one notation to another: he modified them in various ways to become more idiomatic keyboard pieces, sometimes in ways that today might be considered questionable.[22]

The content of Venegas' book completely justifies it being subtitled 'for keyboard, harp and vihuela'. The case for Cabezón is not as simple. His extensive 'Proemio' completely ignores the harp and vihuela, save a few passing references, and most of the music in his tablature is far too complex for harp and vihuela without significant modification.[23] Use of the phrase 'for keyboard, harp or vihuela' in the book's title is therefore not tied to the contents of the book which appears expressly conceived for keyboard, a compendium written by the greatest organist known in Spain in the 16th century and posthumously published by his son.

Hernando de Cabezón had decided to publish a manuscript of his father's music by at least September 1575 when he was granted licence by Philip II for 'a book made by Antonio de Cabezón your father […] called *Compendio de música*, suitable for keyboard, harp and vihuela, and which you have arranged and put into tablature.'[24] There is no evidence of the notational format used by Antonio de Cabezón for his *Compendio*, but evidently it was not written in tablature. It may have been written in a format such as that used in the Coimbra manuscripts written in score.[25] Hernando de Cabezón notated it using Venegas' tablature

21 'Atento a los muchos y eminentes músicos que ay de vihuela, assí estranjeros, como Españoles de differentes ayres y maneras de tañer, me pareció que sería bien abrir a los músicos de tecla y harpa la puerta de toda la música de vihuela que ay impressa de cifra en esta declaración : la qual querría que fuesse a todos tan agradable, como a mí me ha sido trabajosa; si a alguno le pareciere escura, con la vihuela que se pone abaxo, le será clara.' *Libro de cifra nueva*, fol. 4v.

22 John Ward, 'The Editorial Methods of Venegas de Henestrosa', in: MD 6 (1952), 105–13.

23 The feasibility of playing Cabezón's music on the vihuela has been examined in detail by this writer. See Griffiths, '¿Fantasía o realidad?' (see n. 17).

24 '[…] nos fue fecha relación diziendo que Antonio de Cabeçón vuestro padre, músico que ansí mismo fue de nuestra cámara y capilla auía hecho y ordenado, vn libro intitulado Compendio de música: el qual seruía para tecla, vihuela y arpa, y vos le auíades recopilado y puesto en cifra […].' *Obras de música*, fol. iiv.

25 P-Cu MS 242 contains works by Cabezón. See Santiago Kastner, 'Los manuscritos nºs 48 y 242 de la Biblioteca General de la Universidad de Coimbra', in: AnM 5

but with the addition of mensural rhythmic signs to give greater precision (Fig. 8). In May 1576, Hernando visited the printer Francisco Sánchez in Madrid to arrange the printing. He took a copy of Venegas' book with him to show the printer what he wanted. The details are specified in the contract that Hernando signed with Francisco Sánchez on 29 May.[26] Cabezón spelt out all the details of the typography and layout closely based on Venegas' book. He left his copy of the book with Sánchez so he could refer to it as needed and required him to sign it as proof that he had seen it.

In the printing contract, Hernando de Cabezón's book is described as 'un libro de Antonio de cauezon, su padre, de tecla y bihuela, recopilado y Puesto en cifra por el dicho hernando de cauecon' thereby revealing that by this date he was thinking of it as for keyboard and vihuela. No other documentation concerning the printing is conserved between the signing of the contract and the publication of the book in 1578. Curiously, when the book appeared in print, the title page of the *Compendio de música*, as Antonio had originally named it, had been changed to *Obras de música* without apparent warning. Nowhere prior to publication is there mention of the *Libro de música*, and it is only on the title page that it is thus described together with the reference to it being for keyboard, harp and vihuela: *Obras de musica para tecla arpa y vihuela*. This change must have happened at the very last moment after the typesetting of the tablature. It was customary with books of this type to print the main corpus of the book first and then add the title page, table of contents, preliminary texts and errata later. In the book itself, the first page of tablature has the original title of the book 'Compendio de Música de Antonio de Cabeçon' in large type. Throughout the entire corpus of tablature, the recto side of each folio also has 'Compendio de Musica' as its header.

My suspicion is that very late in the printing process, Hernando de Cabezón changed his mind about the title. There is no way of knowing who may have persuaded him, whether the printer, somebody else, or even the author himself upon reflection. The title 'Compendio de música' has the ring of a theory treatise rather than an anthology of works to play and enjoy. In that respect, *Obras de música* sounds less pretentious and perhaps might have helped achieve sufficient commercial success to recuperate the cost of printing. Contrary to this, it is to be observed that in the version of the printing licence included in the book (on fol. [*2^{v}]) the book is described as 'vn libro intitulado Compendio de musica: el qual seruia para tecla, vihuela y arpa', using the original title with the added

(1950), 78–96; Gerhard Doderer, 'Os manuscritos MM 48 e MM 242 da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra e a presenca de organistas ibéricos', in: *RdM* 34, no. 2 (2011), 43–62.

26 Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, tomo 412, fols. 447^{r}–448^{v}, repr. in Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, 'Escrituras de concierto para imprimir libros', in: *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 3ª época, i (1897), 363–71.

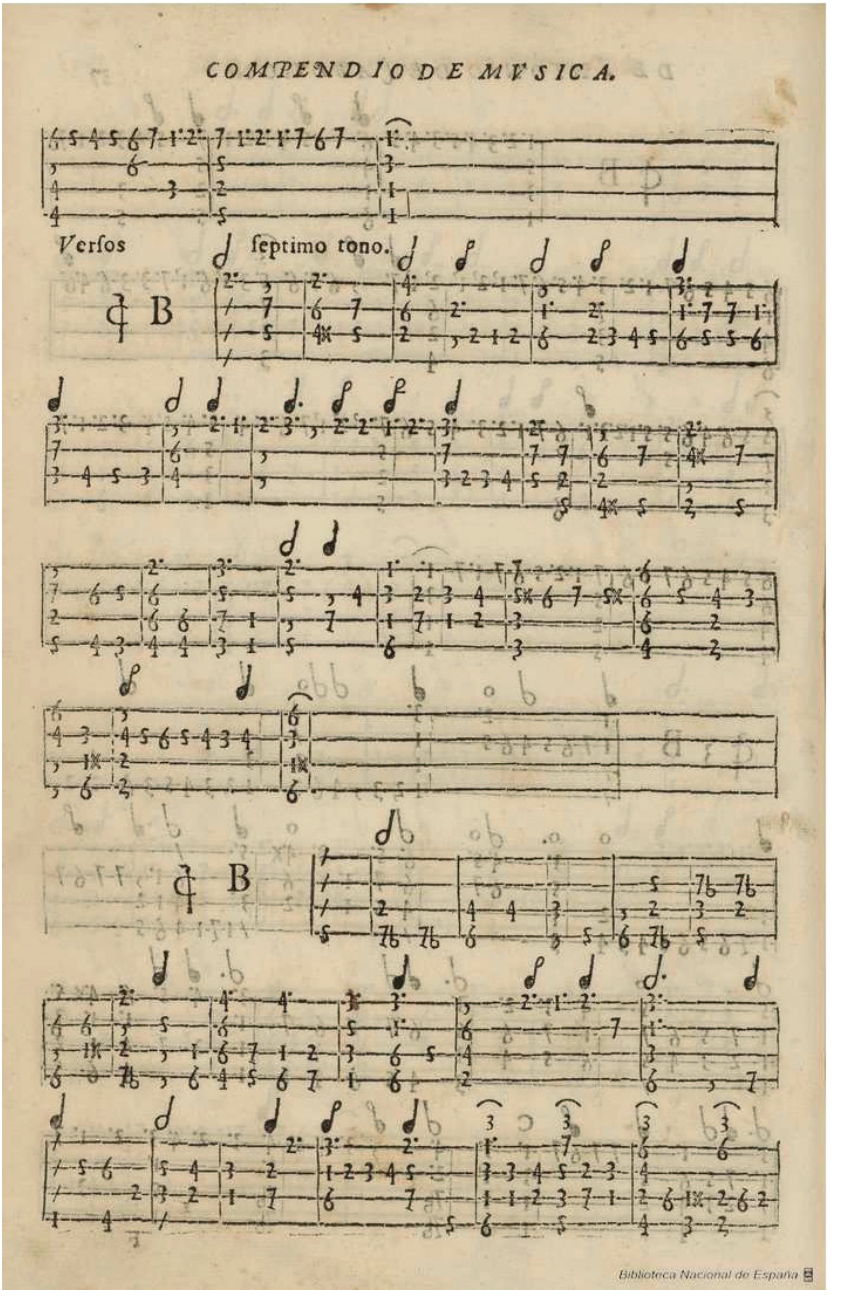

Fig. 8: Cabezón, *Obras de música*, fol. 37v.

reference to 'keyboard, harp and vihuela.' It seems that the reference here to the instruments may have been added to the printed version and may not have been included in the original version of the licence issued in 1575. Even if not the case, there is no evidence that Cabezón's book was intended for any instrument other than keyboards, particularly the organ but also the clavichord. Quite simply, there was no interchangeable instrumental repertoire in 16th-century Spain for 'keyboard, harp or vihuela.' Even though it was clear that Hernando de Cabezón wished to perpetuate the memory of his renowned father, the venture does not appear to have been a success. Details of the law suit initiated by Hernando in 1585 to recover money from Madrid book dealer Blas Robles to whom he had entrusted the sale of the books indicates that there was little appetite in Spain for the music of a master who had been dead for over twenty years.[27]

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27 Ibid., 370.

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4 Hacking the System
Italian Keyboard *Intavolatura* and Scribal Habit

Ian Pritchard

Dedicated to the memory of Liuwe Tamminga (1953–2021)

Due to the fact that the notational signs used in Italian keyboard *intavolatura* are derived from mensural notation, the functional 'identity' of *intavolatura* as a species of tablature is grounded in notational convention – that is, the ways in which the notation 'behaves' on the page – rather than through the use of specific figures or signs, such as numbers or letters. The original users of *intavolatura* seemed to largely agree on the use of these conventions (we might call them 'rules'),[1] which diverge considerably in some ways from those of modern keyboard notation.[2] In

1 This is especially the case if we consider *intavolatura* as the result of a process that can in turn be described through a set of rules. This is indicated by a reading of treatises that address the various formats of tablature; for example, in a survey of instructions related to lute tablature (see Dinko Fabris, 'Lute Tablature Instructions in Italy: A Survey of the Regole from 1507 to 1759', in: *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho [Cambridge, 1997], 16–46; repr. in: *Musical Theory in the Renaissance: A Library of Essays on Renaissance Music*, ed. Christle Collins Judd [Burlington VT, 2013], 451–82). The same 'rule-based' approach is also observed in the chapter on intabulation in Hans Buchner's *Fundamentum*; see Hans Buchner, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. Jost Harro Schmidt, 2 vols., EdM 54/55 (Frankfurt am Main, 1974), 14–7. The classic guide to intabulating in Italian keyboard *intavolatura* is found in the *primo libro* of Girolamo Diruta's *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1609); again, for Diruta the notational format can be seen as the product of *intabulating*, which is in turn definable as a codified process made up of a series of rules or steps.

2 The degree to which Italian organ *intavolatura* differs from other 16th-century notations that used two staves and mensural notation, such as those used for early French, Dutch, and English keyboard music – and therefore should be considered a unique specimen of notation – does not seem to be the subject of scholarly consensus. For example, in a recently posted presentation, John Griffiths seems to consider *intavolatura* as part of a broad category of 'matrix tablatures' (as

fact, the conventions align *intavolatura* with other figure-based tablature systems used in the Renaissance; as in these other tablatures, the notation in *intavolatura* was conceived on a mechanical basis, in that it prescribes the mechanical actions of the player on the keyboard rather than providing an abstract view of polyphonic structures and voice leading and the like.

While *intavolatura* and its distinctive conventions have been established in modern scholarship, the main emphasis of this scholarship has been on printed sources.[3] Interestingly enough, an examination of extant intabulations in manuscript sources reveals a broad adherence to the same conventions; this would indicate a common understanding of *intavolatura* as a codified and commonly-understood *system*, one shared between its users – composer, players, scribes, printing houses – who in turn shared the basic thought processes and procedures that informed the system. At the same time, intabulations in man-

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opposed to 'fingerboard tablatures'); the category of matrix tablature includes all of the aforementioned two-staff mensural tablatures in addition to figure-based tablature systems. See John Griffiths, 'Turning the Tables: Reassessing Tablature' (presentation, 2021 Annual Conference of the Musicological Society of Australia, December 9. 2021), 6–8. Presentation notes accessible on academia.edu: <https://www.academia.edu/63608978/Turning_the_tables_reassessing_tablature> (accessed 1 March 2022). However, Alexander Silbiger demonstrates that the conventions of *intavolatura* differ substantially from those of the notation used in, for example, Elizabethan England. See Alexander Silbiger, 'Is the Italian Keyboard "Intavolatura" a Tablature?', in: *Recercare* 3 (1991), 81–103, esp. 95–7. In addition, the intabulations of the Paris-based publisher Pierre Attaingnant show some similarities with *intavolatura* – such as the convention of the staves prescribing the notes to be taken by each hand (see below) – but they don't share all of the same conventions, such as the consistent tendency to hide the voice leading of the polyphony through the omission of rests, or organizing stem direction around the vertical placement of the note on the staff. While the matter needs more comparative research to be fully resolved – unfortunately, the available modern transcription of the Attaingnant prints do not transcribe all of the notational details in an entirely accurate manner, including the distribution of notes between the two hands – I would argue that *intavolatura* deserves its distinction as a unique system, and for the purposes of the present article it will be treated as such. I will also argue that it shares conceptual similarities with the 'fingerboard' tablatures. For the available modern edition of Attaingnant's intabulations, see Pierre Attaingnant, *Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard*, ed. Albert Seay, CMM 20 (n.p.: AIM, 1961).

3 Italian keyboard *intavolatura* was the object of some scrutiny at the end of the last century; see Silbiger, 'Is the Italian Keyboard "Intavolatura" a Tablature?', Giuseppe Clericetti, 'Criteri per un'edizione moderna della musica per strumenti a tastiera di Andrea Gabrieli', in: *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Degrada, Studi di musica veneta 11 (Florence, 1987), 353–86, and Paul Anthony Luke Boncella, 'The Classical Venetian Organ Toccata (1591–1604): An Ecclesiastical Genre Shaped by Printing Technologies and Editorial Policies', PhD thesis, Rutgers University, 1991, 122–41.

uscript suggest a greater tendency to depart from the conventions; however, these departures most typically take the form of brief instances within intabulations that otherwise follow them. In fact, these brief flashes of departure only serve to highlight the common adherence to *intavolatura*'s conventions; the rules of *intavolatura* work as a sort of background force, one that works *through* the scribe on a seemingly unconscious or semiconscious basis, whereas the departures seem to deliberately push against that force in a conscious manner.

Many of the instances of rule-breaking seem to be undertaken to reveal the voice leading of the model, deliberately going against the normal functioning of *intavolatura* in obscuring polyphony and voice leading through the action of its conventions. In other words, the intabulators 'bend the rules' in order to treat *intavolatura* like a *partitura*, or full score. In doing so these manuscript intabulations offer the modern reader a unique view on the processes and inner workings of *intavolatura*, including the intabulation process itself.

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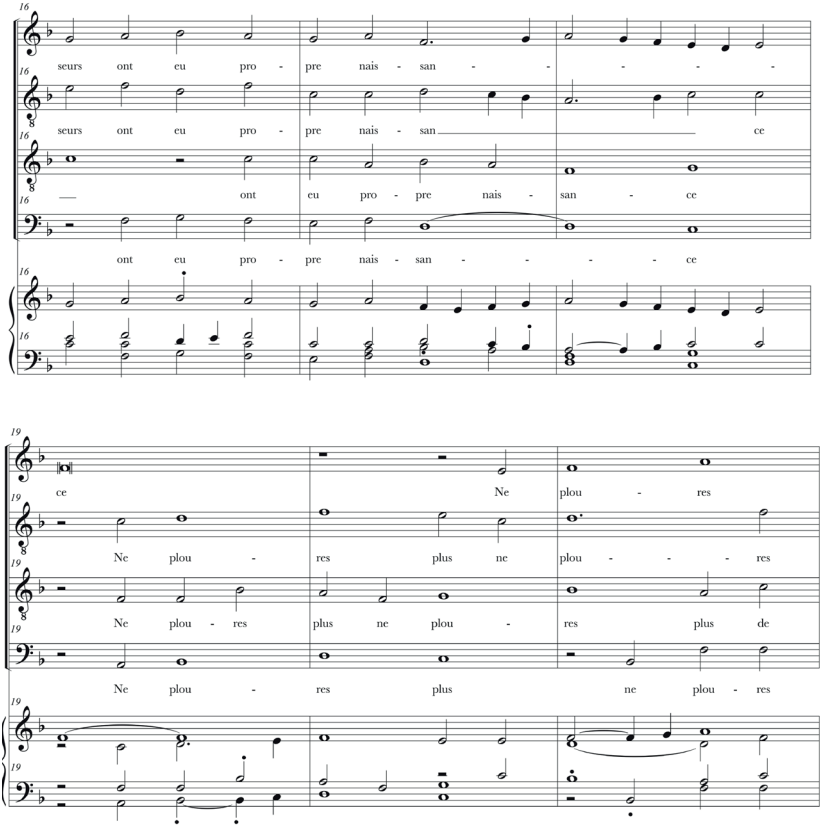
The notational conventions that define *intavolatura* are observable in the majority of works notated in the format, but their exact functioning is most easily observable in intabulations of polyphony, as a comparison of an intabulation with its polyphonic model allows for an in-depth examination of the parallel processes of adaption, (re)composition, and notational convention.[4] In general, the majority of extant intabulations follow them. Here is a rather typical example from the Bardini Codex, an anonymous intabulation of Rore's chanson 'En voz adieux' (Ex. 1). All of *intavolatura*'s conventions are more or less observable here.[5]

4 For more, see the first chapter of my dissertation, Ian Pritchard, 'Keyboard Thinking: Intersections of Notation, Composition, Improvisation, and Intabulation in Sixteenth-Century Italy', PhD thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 2018. See <https://ianpritchardearlykeyboards.com/intavolatura-projects/> for an in-progress collection of comparative models for intabulations in *intavolatura*; Augusta Campagne's excellent website also contains comparative models, including several by Verovio: <https://www.augustacampagne.com/goodies> (accessed 4 August 2023).

5 The scribe's use of accidental dots is a particularity of the Bardini Codex. As Craig Monson explains, these dots are not unusual in and of themselves; however, the scribe uses them in a way that often seems to 'reinforce' the accidentals already shown in the key signature. This is evident in this example; it seems implausible that the dots here are meant to indicate *b-naturals*, but seem to instead 'reinforce' the flats already indicated. For more, see Craig Monson, 'Elena Malvezzi's Keyboard Manuscript: A New Sixteenth-Century Source', in: *EMH* 9 (1990), 73–128, at 88–91.



Ex. 1: A comparative model showing Rore's chanson 'En voz adieux' (top four staves), alongside a transcription of the intabulation (anon.) from the Bardini Codex, mm. 16–23, fol. 89^{r}–89^{v} (I-Fmba Ms. 967).

Click here to listen to the example.

To begin, the best-known feature of *intavolatura* is readily seen: the four parts of the original polyphony are arranged so that the notes to be played by the right hand are put in the top staff and the notes by the left in the bottom. As Augusta Campagne has convincingly demonstrated, the *de facto* arrangement for an intabulation in Italian keyboard *intavolatura* was for the top part to be placed on the top staff, and the bass and remaining middle parts (what

Girolamo Diruta calls the *parti di mezzo*) in the left.[6] We can see this clearly in mm. 16–18, with the bass and the middle parts all put on the bottom staff.

Other *intavolatura* conventions can be observed in this example as well: in m. 20, the alto voice is given an upward stem on the third beat, making it appear as if it belongs to the soprano voice that follows; in the fourth beat it moves to the bottom staff and appears in the tablature as if it belongs to the tenor. We see a similar thing in m. 16, in which the tenor c^1 is restruck and given a downward stem; in the tablature this makes it look as if the bass and tenor form a continuous, single part. This practice represents another fundamental element, one that further defines *intavolatura* as a distinct notational system: the stem direction of a given note is dictated by its vertical placement in the score, rather than its role within one of the polyphonic parts. This results in 'composite' parts – formed of individual notes taken from, say, the tenor and the bass parts in the polyphony – created using the same process as a basso seguente part. When it happens in the upper voices, there is the parallel effect of a 'soprano seguente' part.[7]

The Rore intabulation contains other typical *intavolatura* conventions. The long notes in m. 19 and m. 21 (the soprano breve and bass semibreve in m. 19; the dotted alto d^1 breve in m. 21) are split into shorter ones; in this case they are given ties although this could just easily not have been the case. In fact, from an understanding of performance conventions on plucked keyboard instruments during this time period, we know that ties might be broken in performance to avoid 'leaving the [plucked keyboard] instrument empty'.[8] In general, the prac-

6 See Augusta Campagne, *Simone Verovio: Music Printing, Intabulations and Basso Continuo in Rome around 1600*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 13 (Vienna, 2018), discussion on pp. 175–77. It is worth noting that while Diruta originally indicates that the alto and tenor should be ideally placed on the bottom staff, the precise placement of the middle parts seem to be tied, more than anything, to the accommodation of ornamentation in one of the two hands: '[…] Le parti de mezo, cioè il Tenore, & il Contralto s'accomodano come piu piace, nelle otto righe, overo nelle cinque, per commodità di fare le diminutione.' Diruta, Seconda parte del Transilvano, lib. 1, 2; online <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_D/D019/> (accessed 1 March 2022). This can be seen in the many elaborate and soloistic intabulations that feature alternating *passaggi* between the two hands; the parts are distributed between the two staves accordingly, to accommodate the ornamentation.

7 In fact, combining the soprano and basso seguente parts form a short score, a prominent form of early notation for keyboard accompaniment; for more on types of accompaniment scores around 1600, see Augusta Campagne and Elam Rotem, *Keyboard Accompaniment in Italy around 1600: Intabulations, Scores and Basso Continuo* (Basel: Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, 2022), 73–102.

8 After the famous phrase by Girolamo Frescobaldi, in his preface to the *Toccate*. For more, see Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, 'The Art of "Not Leaving the

tice of splitting longer notes into shorter ones – with ties or not – contributes to an inherent 'verticalization' of *intavolatura*, with polyphony reduced and made to coalesce around a structure of regular pulses (most typically at the minim level), an effect that has some parallels with the rhythmic system used in French and Italian lute *intavolatura*.[9]

Another typical convention is seen in the treatment of rests. In general rests in the polyphony are *not* notated when put into the tablature ('to not entangle with or confuse the other notes', as Diruta advises);[10] this is seen here in m. 16. However, in m. 20 a rest that is *not* in the original is added. Often these added rests have a purely mechanical function: to simply inform the player to remove their finger from a key (we might call these mechanical rests, as they are literal instructions for a physical action). The added rest in m. 20, however, seems to be intended to clarify or signal the entrance of the tenor c^1 – which, of course, is not the actual tenor of the model. This is what Alexander Silbiger called a 'fictitious rest'.[11] The *intavolatura* conventions work together to provide the *appearance* of voices that don't exist in the model but work perfectly well and logically in the tablature; in other words, *intavolatura* notation presents a kind of score made up of the composite voices formed from the crossing of parts and the vertical placement of the individual notes. The functional existence of these composite voices is reinforced by the shared stem directions, which give the false impression of individual lines in a full score. In fact, all of *intavolatura*'s conventions work in concert to create this general effect. To expand upon Silbiger's conception of 'fictitious rests', in a very real sense *intavolatura* has 'fictitious voices' or better, tablature voices ('tablature' in that they only exist in the tablature) that derive from yet supersede the original voices of the polyphony. In fact, they are conceptual and material *recreations* of the voices of the polyphony.[12]

Instrument Empty": Comments on Early Italian Harpsichord Playing', in: *EM* 11 (1983), 299–308.

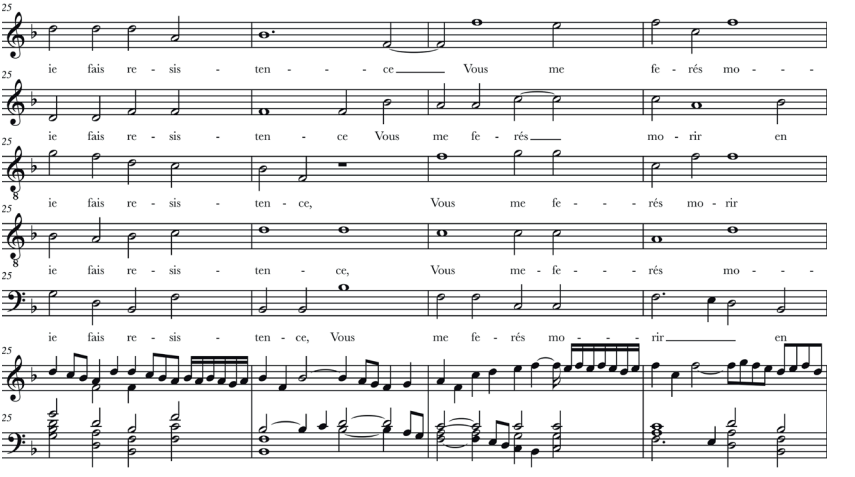
9 Silbiger comments on the important role of vertical alignment between parts in *intavolatura*; as he points out, in many sources using the notation, scribes and publishers seem to strive towards as much vertical alignment between parts as possible, and this seems to be a tendency specific to Italian *intavolatura*. See Silbiger, 'Is the Italian Keyboard "Intavolatura" a Tablature?' (see n. 2), 97.

10 '[…] non intrichino le notte'. Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, lib. 1, 4.

11 Silbiger, 'Is the Italian Keyboard "Intavolatura" a Tablature?' (see n. 2), 83.

12 It is worth noting that these 'fictitious voices' have analogues in other areas of 16th-century keyboard playing: they form a quasi *partitura*, for example (one is immediately reminded of the notable *partiture* printed by Gardano at the end of the 16th century, in full score without text, with an indication for performance on 'perfect instruments'); they also function not at all dissimilarly to other tablature systems for keyboard, such as New German organ tablature and Spanish organ tablature, that are also conceptually structured as *partiture*. Angelo Gardano,

Tablature voices and the conventions of *intavolatura* also share a common link by virtue of being rooted in what we might identify as the idiom of 16th-century keyboard playing: the 'unwritten traditions' of keyboard playing in the *cinquecento*, which have to be seen as a broad set of musical activities that were largely grounded in improvisation but also included technical elements such as fingering, and composition.[13] In Ex. 2, a fragment from an intabulation of Lasso's ubiquitous 'Susanne un jour', we can clearly see the tendency of *intavolatura* to 'translate' vocal polyphony into idiomatic 16th-century keyboard textures.[14]



Ex. 2: Top staves: Lasso's 'Susanne un jour'; bottom staves: transcription of the intabulation from the Layolle manuscript, mm. 25–30, fol. 21^{r}–21^{v} (I-Fl Ms. Acquisti e Doni 641).

Click here to listen to the example.

Musica de diversi autori (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1577) (RISM 1577[11]), facsimile ed. (Bologna, 1971); Cipriano de Rore, *Tutti i madrigali* [...] *spartiti et accomodati per sonar d'ogni sorte d'Istrumento perfetto* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1577).

13 Two recent studies have explored the influence of *cinquecento* keyboard playing on musical style; see Massimiliano Guido, 'Counterpoint in the Fingers: A Practical Approach to Girolamo Diruta's Breve & Facile Regola di Contrappunto', in: Philomusica on-line 11, no. 2 (2012), 64–76, <http://riviste.paviauniversitypress.it/index.php/phi/issue/view/117> (accessed 1 March 2022), and Leon Chisholm, 'Keyboard Playing and the Mechanization of Polyphony, Circa 1600', PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2015, see esp. ch. 1, 20–70.

14 The notion of intabulation as a kind of translation from a vocal idiom to an instrumental one was developed by Victor Coelho, and described in his recent monograph with Keith Polk. See Victor Coelho and Keith Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600: Players of Function and Fantasy* (Cambridge, 2016), 213–6.

As part of this process of translation, the complexity of the original polyphony is often reduced into textures that point towards a homophonic musical conception.[15] Note, for example, the 'blatant' parallel fifths and octaves (mm. 25, 28), including the use of what we might call 'filled octaves' (after Galeazzo Sabbatini) in the left hand.[16] Highlighting the closeness of this intabulation to idiomatic keyboard playing is the fact that the parallels are *not* a by-product of applying the normal *intavolatura* notational conventions to Lassus' original polyphony, but are due to the recomposition of the polyphony by the intabulator: they are the product of the intabulator's arranging, not Lassus.

The link with idiomatic keyboard music further highlights the fact that *intavolatura*'s conventions are interconnected, working in tandem to inform a *system*, a notational format that, for practical purposes, meets what we might call the standard 'criteria' for defining a tablature notation. As Alexander Silbiger succinctly put it:

> One way of characterizing tablature notation is to say that it provides no information beyond what is required to realize a piece of music physically; or to put it less kindly: tablature addresses the fingers of the players rather than their musical understanding – their bodies rather than their minds.[17]

The conventions work together to create a notation that meets this ideal of 'finger notation'; polyphonic detail is hidden by the action of the conventions, which seem obviously geared towards the practical expediencies of keyboard playing. Conceptually, it makes sense to view *intavolatura* as a close cousin of lute *intavolatura*, one that happened to use mensural signs as opposed to figures, lines, and flags. In this view, *intavolatura* remains, like lute *intavolatura*, an essentially graphical notation; the mensural notational signs are actually 'figures' that represent the literal action of depressing a key for a given length of time, rather than the more abstract representation of sounding tones. Such a view explains, for instance, the reasoning behind the bottom and top staves prescribing the disposition of parts between the left and right hands, and so forth.

At the same time, keyboard *intavolatura* cannot 'construct' its identity through the use of symbols like other tablature notations do; Italian lute tablature or German organ tablature are obviously removed from mensural notation because they don't use its signs, and their direct relationship to performance is made clear

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15 In fact, the overall style of intabulations such as this one is not dissimilar to the *ballo* repertory of composers such as Marco Facoli, Giovanni Maria Radino, or Giovanni Picchi. Also, see n. 9 above.

16 See Augusta Campagne's discussion of Sabbatini's *Regola facile e breve per sonare il basso continuo* (1628), in: *Simone Verovio* (see n. 7), 201–10, and esp. p. 205.

17 Silbiger, 'Is the Italian Keyboard "Intavolatura" a Tablature?' (see n. 2), 93.

by the graphical representation of the *elements* of performance, such as keys, frets, and strings. However, Italian keyboard tablature does not have the luxury of using graphical signs to unambiguously tell us that it is a tablature, geared towards playing rather than 'musical understandings'. This leads to a certain level of ambiguity that is inherent to the system itself: it would be relatively easy for users of keyboard *intavolatura* to treat the two staves as a *partitura*, using stem directions of the notes to make clear which notes belong to which polyphonic voice, as opposed to obscuring the voice leading through the use of fictitious voice leading. As Silbiger demonstrated, this was the normal state of affairs not just in modern keyboard practice, but also in many historical systems that used two staves and mensural notation, from English Renaissance keyboard music to Bach fugues.[18] Two-staff keyboard notation has a ready ability to adequately demonstrate complex voice leading, but *intavolatura*'s users normally ignored this possibility. In fact, the many instances in which they *don't* ignore this possibility, bending *intavolatura*'s conventions to treat the notational like a *partitura*, only demonstrate the importance of the point.

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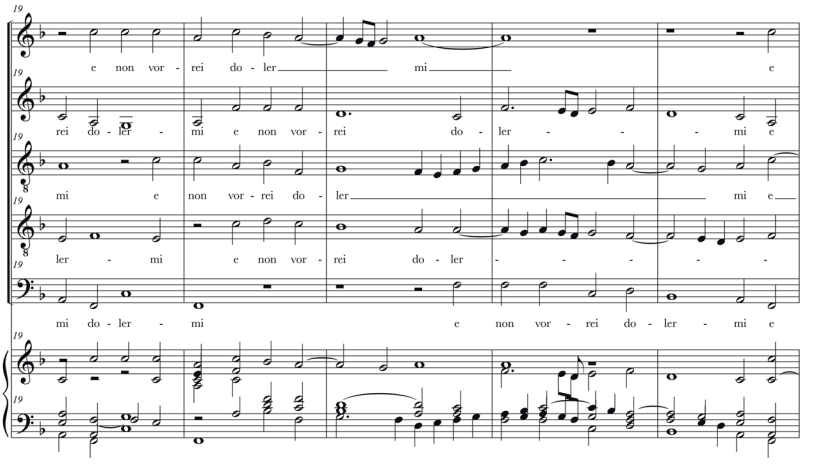
It is obvious that establishing a global functioning for *intavolatura* – one that held for the vast majority of keyboard music written down in Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries – would entail that the majority of music notated in the format demonstrates a general adherence to the conventions described above. Luckily, a thorough examination of sources in *intavolatura* shows this to be the case. Even a quick scan through the Bardini Codex (from which Ex. 1 was taken) reveals a broad alignment with *intavolatura* and its functioning on the part of its scribe. In fact, while various sources may show different overall degrees of adherence, sources using *intavolatura* generally show a basic adoption of its conventions. This is especially the case when taking the role of individual scribal habit into account; it is very rare to find a single source, for example, that completely ignores *all* of the conventions of *intavolatura*. Rather, we see individual intabulations that show instances in which the 'rules' were not followed entirely: a scribe puts one too many notes in a staff or in a chord, creating a brief moment of a rather unidiomatic keyboard texture, or overcrowds the staff through the use of too many rests. In these instances, the system is still at play but its rules are bent a bit. In most cases, these examples stick out for being in an intabulation that otherwise *does* stick to the conventions, making them momentary instances of aberration rather than system-wide, defining features. Each of the following examples (Exs. 3–5) is transcribed from a separate manuscript source, but in each we can observe a general adherence to *intavolatura*'s

18 See ibid., 91 and 95–6.

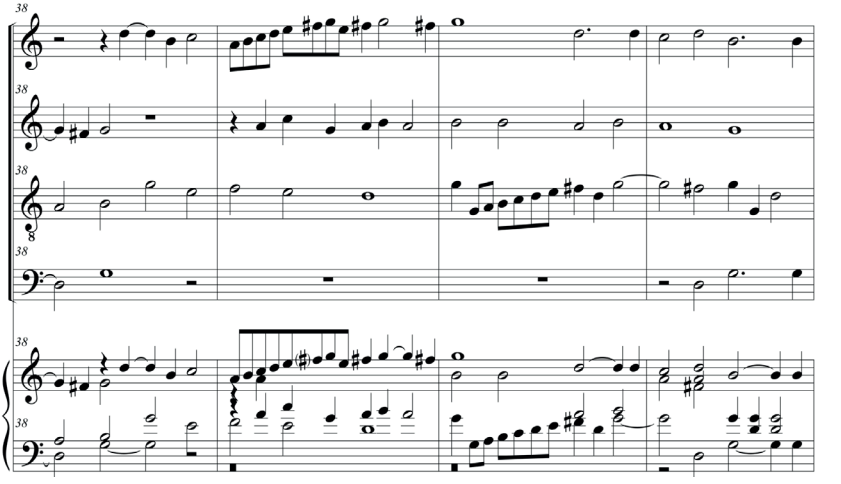
conventions, with a few deviations here and there. The first is from Ruffo's madrigal 'Per monti aplestri', from the Pietro Francese manuscript (Ex. 3).



Ex. 3: Top staves: Ruffo's 'Per monti alpestri solitari et hermi'; bottom staves: transcription of the anonymous intabulation from the Pietro Francese manuscript, mm. 19–23, fol. 3^{r} (D-Mbs Mus Ms. 9437).

Click here to listen to the example.

Here, the intabulator's apparent desire to faithfully transcribe the original polyphony leads to the inclusion of chord voicing that is decidedly unidiomatic, with awkwardly held tied notes in the middle of chords. At the same time, the conventions of *intavolatura* are followed broadly; see, for example, the seguente bass in mm. 20–21, and the treatment of the unison in the last measure of the example. In the second example, an anonymous intabulation of Maschera's *Canzona Quinta* ('La Maggia') from the Castell'Arquato collection (Ex. 4), the inclusion of rests from the bass part in mm. 39–40 goes against *intavolatura* convention; usually these rests from the polyphony would not be notated. However, at the same time, stem direction rules are generally followed (for example, the treatment of the alto a^{1} and tenor $f\#^{1}$ in the top staff in m. 41), as is the staves-for-hands prescription (see the disposition of parts between the staves in the same measure).

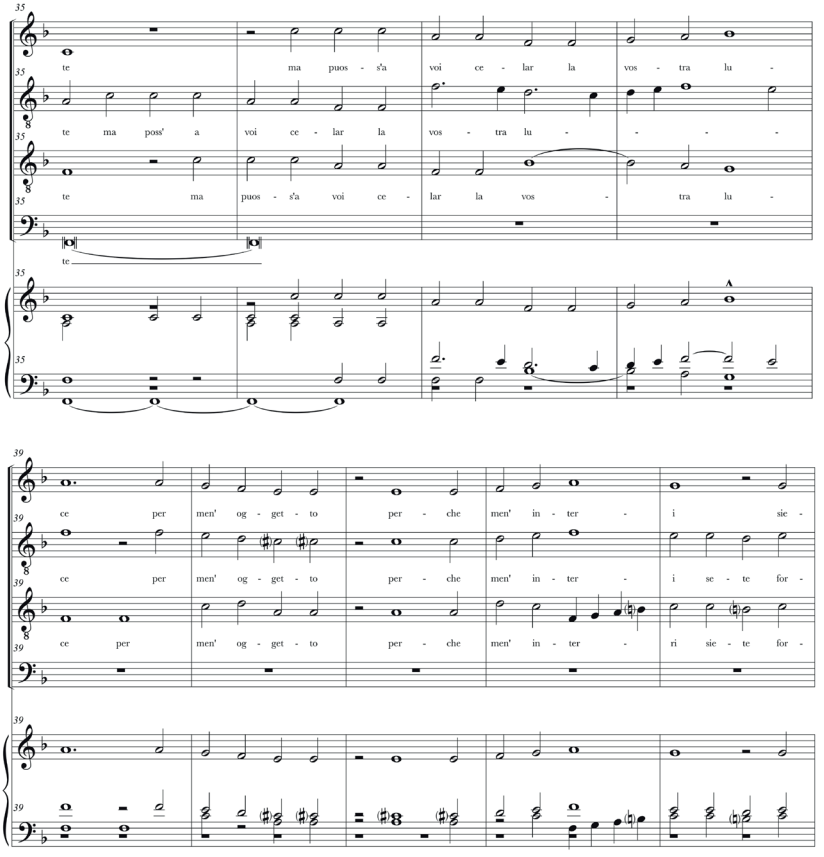


Ex. 4: Top staves: Maschera's *Canzona Quinta La Maggia*; bottom staves: transcription of the anonymous intabulation from the Castell'Arquato manuscripts, fasc. 10, mm. 38–41, fol. 8r–11r (I-CARcc).

Click here to listen to the example.

The third example is taken from yet another anonymous intabulation, this one of Arcadelt's 'Occhi miei lassi ben' (Ex. 5). This is also from Castell'Arquato, although, it should be noted, from a different scribe than the Maschera intabulation.[19] Immediately notable are the several instances of 'unnecessary' rests; in normal *intavolatura* practice these rests would not be notated. In addition, there are several awkwardly large intervals that challenge the playability of the intabulation, as seen, for example, in m. 36. At the same time, however, a general adherence to *intavolatura* convention can again be seen; in, for example, the treatment of the unison d^1 between the alto and tenor in m. 40.

19 For more on the various scribes represented in the Castell'Arquato manuscripts, see H. Colin Slim, 'Some Puzzling Intabulations of Vocal Music for Keyboard, ca. 1600, at Castell'Arquato', in: *Five Centuries of Choral Music: Essays in Honor of Howard Swan*, ed. Gordon Paine (Stuyvesant, NY, 1988), 127–52.



Ex. 5: Top staves: Arcadelt's 'Occhi miei lassi ben'; bottoms staves: transcription of the anonymous intabulation from the Castell'Arquato manuscripts, fasc. 1, mm. 35–43, fol. 1^{v}–2^{r} (I-CARcc).

Click here to listen to the example.

Therefore, while it is not uncommon to see exceptions to *intavolatura* convention, these exceptions are often contextualized within a general adherence to the conventions. In general, the old adage of the 'exception to prove the rule' seems to apply here. To think of it another way, *intavolatura* seems to be a constant background force in the minds of these intabulators, perhaps even operating on a subconscious or semi-subconscious level. In fact, the cognitive dissonance between a broad adherence to *intavolatura* conventions and the many instances in which the conventions are deviated from only highlights the mental 'acceptance', on the part of scribes and printers, of the *systematic*

nature of *intavolatura*: its identity as a notational format as defined by a set of commonly-understood and intertwined set of conventions and unwritten rules.

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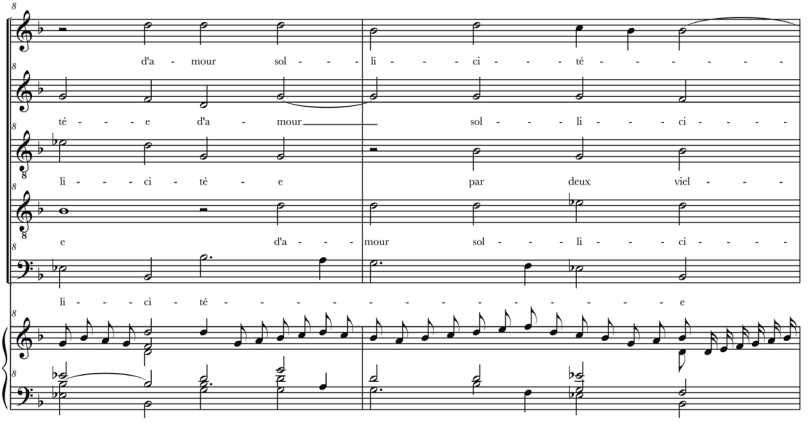
Of course, if *intavolatura* operated as a distinct notational system with a commonly-understood set of conventions, one must ask why a scribe, publisher, or composer would ever depart from them. In the case of printed volumes, many instances of departure can at least partially be explained as the product of technological limitations. This has already been pointed out by scholars, and it is especially illuminated when comparing volumes produced using moveable type and volumes that were printed from copper plates; a classic example seen in the comparison between Merulo's keyboard music printed using moveable type, such as the canzonas, and the toccatas, which were published by Verovio in Rome using *intaglio* techniques. The two volumes of toccatas demonstrate far more notational nuance and detail, while the canzonas show many instances in which one gets the sense that the notation was being pushed to its very limits.[20]



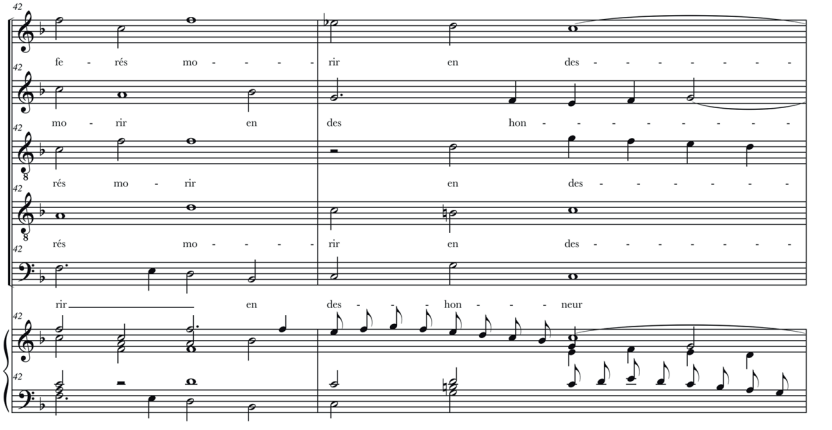
Ex. 6a: Top staves: Lasso, 'Susanne un iour'; bottom staves: Andrea Gabrieli, 'CANZON deta Susanne un iour A Cinque Voci d'Orlando Lasso', mm. 8–9, [n.p.], in: *Canzoni alla francese et ricercari ariosi, tabulate per sonar sopra istromenti da tasti* [...] *libro quinto* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1605).

Click here to listen to the example.

In Ex. 6, two excerpts from Andrea Gabrieli's intabulation of Lasso's 'Susanne un jour' (which was printed in 1605 using moveable type), many instances can

20 For more on the distinction between movable type and *intaglio*, see Campagne, *Simone Verovio* (see n. 7), 27–34.

be observed in which Gabrieli (or someone in the Gardano firm, or perhaps Giovanni Gabrieli) goes against typical *intavolatura* convention in order to show Lasso's original voice-leading.[21] The tie in the left hand of m. 8 (Ex. 6a) is used to show that the two *b-flat*'s both belong to the *quintus*; without it, the stem directions – which do follow normal *intavolatura* procedure – would obscure this fact, leading one to believe that the notes had originally belonged to different voices. While long notes in *intavolatura* were typically split into shorter ones, as shown earlier, in this case the tie connects two notes that appear visually to be in different voices, at least in the tablature; if the tie were followed literally (and not broken in performance), it would also entail a rather awkward finger substitution. The dotted *b-flat* on the third beat – quite a finicky notational detail to include normally – does the same thing. The distribution of the chords in m. 42 (Ex. 6b) (including a stretch of a twelfth) is quite unidiomatic in terms of *intavolatura* convention and to the idiom and style of 16th-century Italian keyboard music.



Ex. 6b: Top staves: Lasso, 'Susanne un iour'; bottom staves: Andrea Gabrieli, 'CANZON deta Susanne un iour A Cinque Voci d'Orlando Lasso', mm. 42–43, fol. 3^{r}, in: *Canzoni alla francese et ricercari ariosi, tabulate per sonar sopra istromenti da tasti* […] *libro quinto* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1605).

Click here to listen to the example.

21 As Andrea Gabrieli's keyboard music was published posthumously, it is entirely plausible that some other figure, such as someone working in the Gardano firm, was responsible for Andrea's intabulation. In fact, it seems likely that this figure might have been Giovanni Gabrieli, perhaps working in the capacity of editor of his uncle's keyboard music. See David Bryant, 'Gabrieli, Giovanni', in: Grove Music Online, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40693> (accessed 17 July 2022).

It is also worth noting that including these details in the printing process must have cost additional labour and effort (this is perhaps especially noticeable when looking at the original source – see Fig. 1). For rather obvious reasons, it was much easier for a scribe (or a printing house using *intaglio* technique) to include this sort of notational detail, rather than a print shop using moveable type technology. The fact they are included, costs and labour notwithstanding, adds weight to the importance of their inclusion.

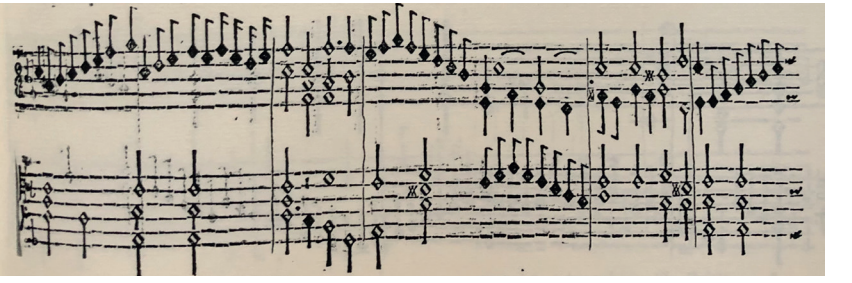


Fig. 1: Andrea Gabrieli, 'CANZON deta Susanne un iour A Cinque Voci d'Orlando Lasso', mm. 41–44, in: *Canzoni alla francese et ricercari ariosi, tabulate per sonar sopra istromenti da tasti* [...] *libro quinto* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1605), 3^{r}.

Having said that, instances such as the ones shown in Gabrieli's intabulation are also fairly common in manuscript intabulations, indicating that print limitations are far from the only reason to explain instances in which *intavolatura* conventions were not followed. Highly intriguing are examples in which the rules of *intavolatura* – which generally work to *hide* polyphonic detail in favour of playability – are broken in order to reveal polyphonic voice leading.

It is notable that the vast majority of these 'rule breaking' episodes seem to be grounded in what appears to be an attempt, on the part of the scribe, to use the tablature as a *partitura*; in doing so, the scribe goes against the general ethos and aesthetic – and, of course, the conventions – of *intavolatura*. However, the possibilities of *intavolatura* being used as a *partitura* seemed apparent to many scribes, some going so far as to use special symbols or techniques to reveal voice-leading of the original polyphony, pushing against the 'natural' tendency of *intavolatura* to hide it. One of the two scribes of the Layolle manuscript consistently uses a *custos* or direct sign[22] to signal instances in which voices move from

22 This was a practice common in 16th-century English sources; see Silbiger, 'Is the Italian Keyboard "Intavolatura" a Tablature?' (see n. 2), 95. Interestingly, some later French sources also use a *custos* sign, but in the opposite manner, as a sign to take notes in the other hand even as they aren't notated in the 'proper' staff. Ibid., 99–100.

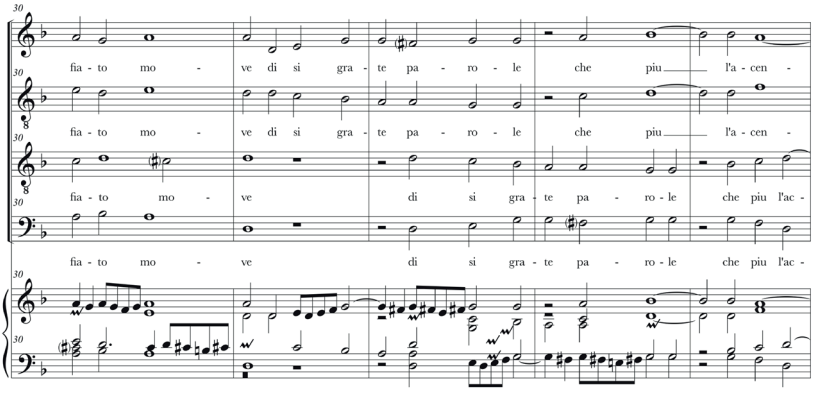
stave to stave.[23] These signs thus clarify the original polyphony of the model, pushing back against *intavolatura*'s conventions as they 'blindly' work to hide the original voice motion – this blind functioning is again cast into relief by the fact that the intabulation normally *does* follow the conventions. Interestingly enough, in other intabulations rests can be used for a similar purpose (the fictitious rest in the left hand of m. 42 seems to clearly be used to indicate the fact that tenor part moves from the bottom to the lower staff in Ex. 6a above), although here the signs are clearly visually distinct from rests.[24]

The intabulation of Berchem's 'O s'io potessi donna' (Ex. 7) clearly demonstrates the functioning of these *custos* signs. In a sense, the scribe uses them to *subvert* the tendency of *intavolatura* to hide this sort of detail automatically. In m. 31, the sign is used to signal that the tenor moves to the right-hand staff on the downbeat, and is then used again for its return to the left-hand staff in m. 33. In m. 32, a slew of custos signs is used (four in total!), to signal swapping between the two *parti di mezzo* on the two staves. The tendency on the part of the scribe to prevent voice-leading from being hidden by *intavolatura* is further supported by the fact that they often combine the use of the custos signs with double stems, which are of course wholly unidiomatic to *intavolatura* and its normal 'suppressing' of double-stemmed notes. The double-stemmed notes are used, however, to show unisons that occur in the polyphonic model – see, for example, the double-stemmed *g* in the left-hand of m. 33 (Ex. 7a), or the double-stemming (in two voices) in m. 44 (Ex. 7b). Yet, at the same time we can still observe the background action of *intavolatura* conventions as a global force throughout the intabulation as a whole. In m. 34, the voice leading is obscured between the inner parts as the intabulator follows the general rules for stem directions; in addition, unisons are not treated uniformly: the unison between the alto and the tenor in m. 31 (Ex. 7a) is *not* given a double-stem, nor are the unisons in m. 43 (Ex. 7b) on the third and fourth beats. Note that the unison on the downbeat of m. 44 *is* double-stemmed, however. This might indicate that, again, *intavolatura*'s conventions were seen as an undeclared background force,

23 Frank D'Accone identifies this scribe as the first owner of the manuscript, the Florentine organist Alamanno Layolle. Interestingly enough, Layolle grew up in Lyon, where his father Francesco worked with the publisher Jacques Moderne and as an organist. See Frank D'Accone, 'The 'Intavolatura di M. Alamanno Aiolli': A Newly Discovered Source of Florentine Renaissance Keyboard Music', in: *MD* 20 (1966), 151–74. See n. 26 below for more on potential ties between Italian keyboard *intavolatura* and French publishers. For more on Francesco de Layolle, see Frank D'Accone, 'Layolle, Francesco de', in: *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16159> (accessed 17 July 2022).

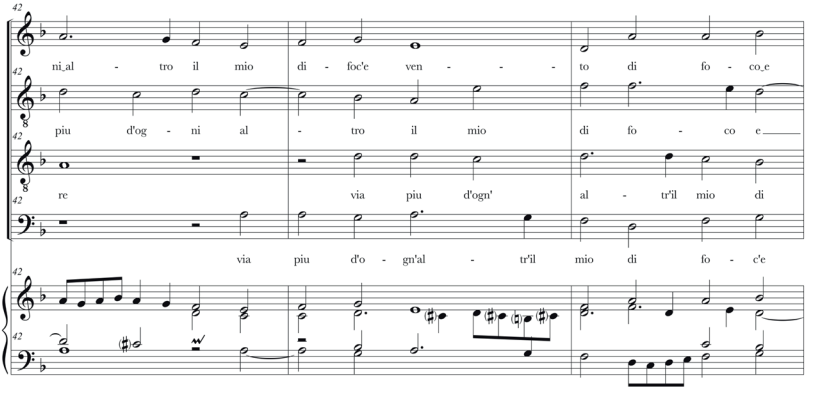
24 This was pointed out by Boncella, 'The Classical Venetian Organ Toccata' (see n. 3), 125–6.

one that was perhaps understood subconsciously by the intabulator – or perhaps consciously as they felt the need to 'push against' it.



Ex. 7a: Top staves: Berchem's madrigal 'O s'io potessi donna'; bottom staves: transcription of the intabulation from the Layolle manuscript (by Alamanne de Layolle?), mm. 30–34, fol. 4^{v} (I-Fl Ms. Acquisti e Doni 641).

Click here to listen to the example.

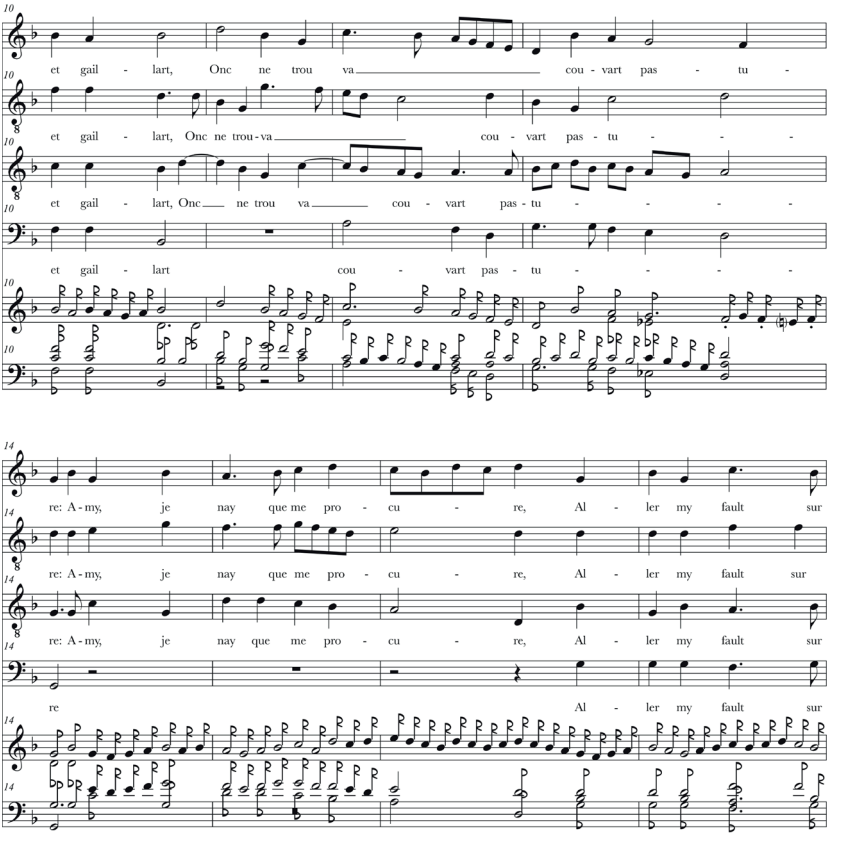


Ex. 7b: mm. 42–44, fol. 5^{r}.

Click here to listen to the example.

As a side note, many of the particular scribal habits seen in the intabulations in the Layolle manuscript – notably, especially those attributed to Alamanne de Layolle by Frank d'Accone – are also observable in the intabulations of Pierre Attaingnant (but not the use of the *custos* sign to show voice leading). In Ex. 8, from Attaingnant's

Vingt et cinque chansons musicales reduictes en la tabulature (1530), 'unnecessary' rests taken from the original polyphonic parts are seen in the bottom staves of mm. 11 and 15 (as shown above, this is not a typical feature of Italian *intavolatura*.)



Ex. 8: Top staves: Janequin's 'Aller my fault'; bottom staves: transcription of the intabulation from Attaingnant's *Vingt et cinque chansons musicales reduictes en la tablature* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1530), fol. 41, mm. 10–17. In my transcription, notes have been transcribed into modern types, although details such as hand distribution, rest placement, and stem direction and length have been transcribed accurately.

Click here to listen to the example.

At the same time, many of the conventions of Italian *intavolatura* can be observed – most importantly, the 'staves for hands' rule – although not all of them; for example, the adoption of stem direction based on the vertical placement of the note in the staff is not followed consistently (see note 2 above). Still, a broader examination of the connections between Attaingnant's published

intabulations and *intavolatura* – and, more broadly, the relationship between Attaingnant's notation and *intavolatura* – is needed, especially as Daniel Heartz has pointed to hints of connection between French publishers and prominent early prints and print shops involved with *intavolatura*.[25]

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Broadly speaking, the discussion above highlights the utility of examining the intabulation process as a way to see the 'inner-workings' of *intavolatura* – and, perhaps, the inner working of the mind of the intabulator as well – in that this process clearly demonstrates awareness of both *intavolatura* as a system and the possibility of breaking its conventions. One instance – an anonymous intabulation of Arcadelt's 'Se per colpa' from the Castell'Arquato collection – is arguably an 'intabulational' sketch and therefore offers a glimpse of the intabulation process itself; if this is the case, it would be one of the few examples we have of this that is specific to keyboard *intavolatura*.[26] This intabulation likewise shows an attempt to use *intavolatura* as a *partitura*, while also revealing an awareness of the basic functioning of *intavolatura*'s rules and conventions.

The sketch is in three staves as opposed to the normal two; this is similar to the notation of many of the keyboard works attributed to Veggio in the collection, and is in fact a tendency common to one particular scribe. At first glance, the intabulation appears to be an attempt to write a complete *partitura* rather than a tablature.

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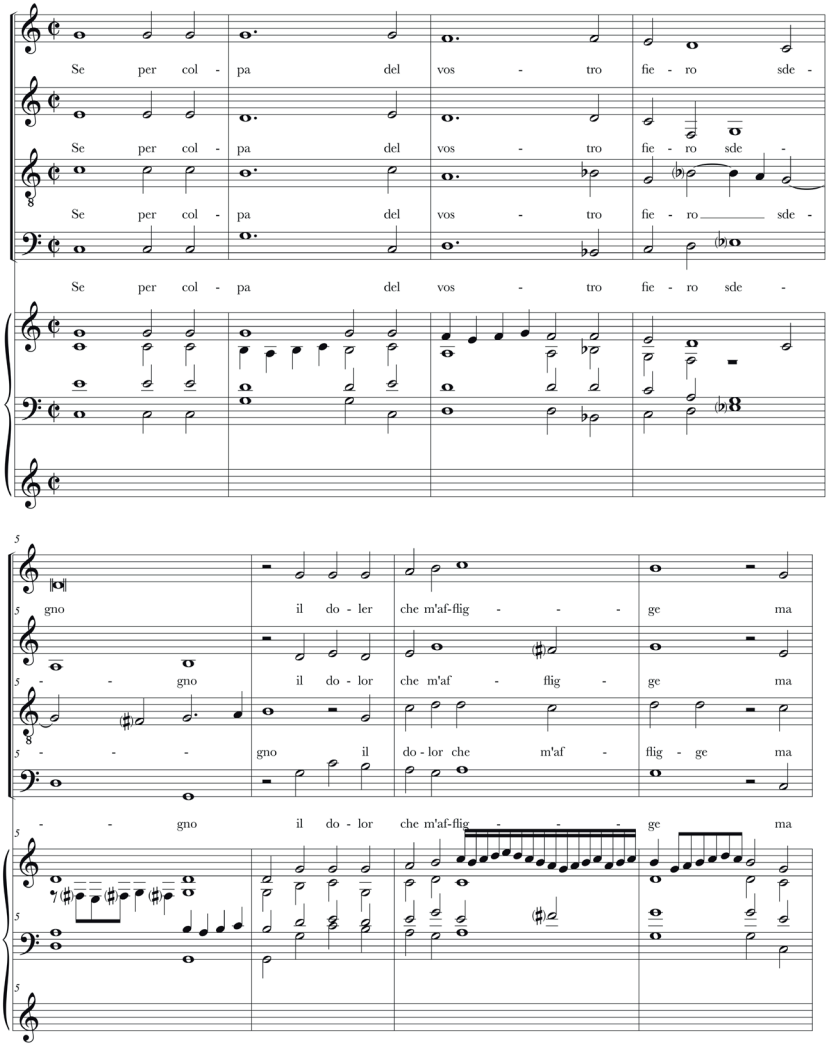
25 See Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant: Royal Printer of Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 40–1. Heartz points to possible French connections in the case of both Marco Antonio Cavazzoni's 1523 volume of *Recerchari* and more broadly for the Rome-based publisher Andrea Antico, whose 1517 volume of intabulated *Frottole* is the first volume using Italian *intavolatura*. See Andrea Antico, *Frottole intabulate per sonare organi libro primo* (Rome: Andrea Antico, 1517), facsimile ed. (Bologna, 1970); Marco Antonio Cavazzoni, *Recerchari, motetti, canzoni* […] *libro primo* (Venice: Bernardo Vercelensis, 1523). In addition, one might point to the Jacques Moderne reprint (called *Musicque de Joye*) of most of the ricercars from the 1540 Venetian collection *Musica Nova*; interestingly enough, Moderne certainly had connections with Francesco de Layolle, organist at the Florentine church in Lyons and father of Alamanne de Layolle; see the introduction by Samuel F. Pogue in the facsimile reprint of *Musicque de Joye* (Peer: Alamire, 1991), 5. For more on the relationship between *Musica Nova* and *Musicque de Joye*, see *Musica Nova: Ricercari*, ed. Liuwe Tamminga, Tastature 3 (Colledara, IT, 2001), iv.

26 Unfortunately, the Castell'Arquato manuscripts remain difficult to access, and no good digital scan of the collection is available.

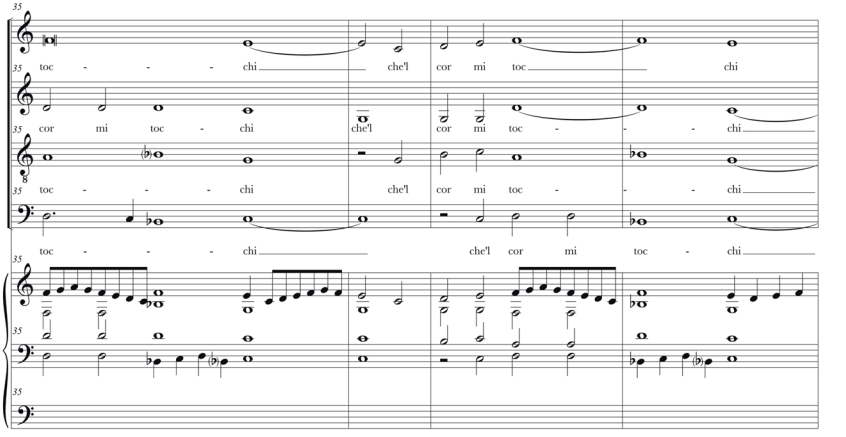


Ex. 9a: Top staves: Arcadelt's 'Se per colpa'; bottom staves: transcription of the intabulation from the Castell'Arquato manuscripts, fasc. 5, mm. 1–8, fol. 22v.

Click here to listen to the example.

The normal *intavolatura* rule of stem directions is not followed at all; instead stems are used to clarify the contour of the original voices. Perhaps somewhat ironically, this lends further credence to the existence of 'tablature voices': that is, the notion that series of notes with the same stem direction in a tablature can be interpreted as constituting a new tablature part. However, at the same

time this intabulation clearly seems meant to work as an idiomatic keyboard adaption: note the adaption of the polyphony into a more squarely chordal texture with the restriking of chords (m. 2 and 3, Ex. 9a), the addition of parts (m. 6, Ex. 9a), and even the extension and restriking of chords into rests (m. 8, Ex. 9a). Stereotypical keyboard ornamental figures are added, and the polyphony is briefly rearranged to accommodate them. This rearrangement of the original voice leading is also used to facilitate a more generally idiomatic texture, one that is more normally seen in intabulations.



Ex. 9b: mm. 35–38, fol. 23^{r}.

Click here to listen to the example.

In addition, there are fascinating instances in which the *parti di mezzo* briefly swap places. These usually only last for a few beats, and seem to be a continuation of the 'keyboardistic' logic in the transcription (and a kind of preparation for the creation of proper tablature parts?), and/or to facilitate the inclusion of diminutions in another part. For example, in m. 37 (Ex. 9b) the tenor part of the vocal original – which is usually placed in the right hand in the intabulation – briefly migrates to the left hand. Is this to facilitate the upcoming *passaggio* (also in m. 37) in the soprano? It also makes sense to allow the 'tablature alto' (that is, the implied lower voice in the right-hand staff) to continue its logical journey that begins on the *g* in m. 35, instead of swapping back up to the *b* as the polyphonic tenor continues in m. 37. In fact, it could be argued that the logical continuation of the c^{1} in the intabulation from mm. 35 to 36 kicks off the whole swapping of parts in the first place; note that this also includes a brief rearrangement of the polyphony in m. 36, with the addition of the c^{1} in the left hand of the tablature and the absorption of the tenor's rest and *g* into the long *g* of the polyphonic alto part. This sort of rearrangement (or recomposition)

is commonly observed in intabulations. It is also interesting that the chords formed in places such as the last beats of mm. 35 and 38 are the typical 'filled octave' chords – an octave with a fifth in the left hand – so commonly seen in *cinquecento* keyboard style. The brief instance of recomposition in m. 36 – in which the filled-octave chord in m. 35 is extended in favour of Arcadelt's original polyphony – highlights the point.

In general, this intabulation appears to be a hybrid intavolatura-partitura. I wonder if it might be an example of a 'prep score' for what might have eventually become a more run-of-the-mill type of intabulation, or in other words a version of the score that Diruta advises beginners to make from part-books before intabulating.[27] The use of three staves might facilitate the process overall. If so, this might once again indicate an awareness of *intavolatura* as a background force: I think we could even ask ourselves if intabulators were even consciously aware of the system they may have been attempting to 'hack' when breaking the rules of intabulation.

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As recent scholarship has demonstrated, intabulations and tablature notations are long overdue for a more thorough examination. In the present case, even a brief examination like the one conducted in this article shows that they can reveal quite a lot about the musical thought processes and conceptions of keyboardists in the Renaissance. These would include not only abstract musical conceptions and musical practices, but also the way in which these conceptions and practices were translated into a functioning notational system. Therefore, on a broader level, one could argue that a thorough examination of intabulations is absolutely essential to any study of improvisation and composition in Renaissance culture.

27 Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, lib. 1, 1–2.

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5 Singing, Reading, Writing, Playing
Practising with Tomás de Santa María

August Valentin Rabe

The Most Important Source for Practising in the Sixteenth Century

How did people practise at the keyboard instrument in the 16th century and how might attempting to answer this question help us with practising and teaching today? As neither historical musicology nor music pedagogy has yet addressed this research question, the topic remains a desideratum. In his 1910 classic, Otto Kinkeldey paraphrased some of Tomás de Santa María's passages on practising, but this first spark failed to ignite any further scholarly engagement with this topic.[1] Today, in the context of ever more fine-grained historically informed *performance* practice, historically informed *teaching* practice has become a burgeoning field.[2]

The lacuna is partly due to the extreme dearth of sources: few clues on how people practised survive from the first half of the century.[3] But Tomás de Santa

1 Otto Kinkeldey, *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik* (Leipzig, 1910), 47–54. In a 2016 essay, Bernadette Nelson examines Juan Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Ossuna: Juan de Léon, 1555) as a testimony of teaching methods for keyboard players. She investigates, what repertoire was available to Bermudo in the form of printed collections and how polyphony in mensural notation was intabulated and rearranged for keyboard performance. Bernadette Nelson, 'Bermudo's Masters and Models of Excellence for Keyboard Players in Sixteenth-Century Spain', in *RdM* 39 (2016), 77–115.

2 This is documented, for example, by the symposium on historically informed music teaching at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis 2019. <https://www.fhnw.ch/de/forschung-und-dienstleistungen/musik/schola-cantorum-basiliensis/symposien-und-studientage/symposium-modern-music-master> (accessed 8 August 2022).

3 The limited information available – mainly from German-speaking sources – is compiled in August Valentin Rabe, '*Benutze nun die Tafeln selbst*'. *Sammeln*,

María's *Arte de tañer Fantasia*, published 1565, provides the most detailed and valuable source on practising keyboard instruments from any time in the 16th century.[4] Santa María, who had signed a contract[5] with the printer Francisco Fernandez de Cordova to publish an impressive edition of 1500 copies of his treatise, had probably been preparing the encyclopaedic treatise since around 1541.[6] His book on *tañer fantasia*, i.e. extemporising polyphony, primarily concerns the clavichord, but the title and prologue explicitly clarify its additional applicability to the vihuela and all other instruments on which polyphonic playing is possible. The text provides a detailed description of several ways in which individuals might practise essential keyboard skills. But Santa María's thoughts and suggestions on the subject are scattered throughout the two-volume treatise.

In this chapter, I consider these passages together for the first time. Doing so not only discloses the treatise's overarching didactic concept but also allows for a description of individual areas of practice. I finish by deriving a model for practising in stages from the analysis and summarise some of the advice that keyboard instrumentalists can productively put to use when practising, teaching, and making music today.

My choice of topics is necessarily selective. I am deliberately omitting special performance areas such as hand position, fingering or ornamentation. On one hand, research has already been conducted on these topics.[7] On the other,

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4 Tomás de Santa María, *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasía. Primera parte* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, 1565). A facsimile of the source (E-Mn, M/15088) is available online at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158382&page=1> (accessed 14 July 2022). A complete English translation appeared in 1991: *Tomás de Santa Maria*, *The art of playing the fantasia*, ed. Almonte C. Howell and Warren E. Hultberg, 2 vols. (Pittsburgh, 1991). The effort is unfortunately diminished by a lack of commentary on the translators' decisions, a lack of subject index, and the occasionally illegibility of the handwritten transcriptions of the numerous musical examples. Another translation of vol. I, chapters 13–19 of the first volume by Sion M. Honea is available from the University of Central Oklahoma's Historical Translation Series. <https://www.uco.edu/cfad/files/music/sancta-maria-libro.pdf> (accessed 8 September 2022).

5 A facsimile and translation of the contract can be found in Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, I, xlvi–liv. Sixteen surviving copies are known, for a list, see ibid., II, 41–6.

6 Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, I, vii.

7 See for example the relevant sections in the articles 'Fingering' (Mark Lindley) and 'Ornaments' (Louis Jambou) in *Grove Music Online*: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40049>, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.49928> (accessed 8 September 2022). The 'tañer a consonancias' is treated in Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, 'Playing in Consonances:

a full understanding of Santa María's instruction in these areas would require extensive practical evaluation and testing. As this is still pending, this cannot be included in the current article.[8]

Content and Didactic Concept

As its title indicates, the two-volume book aims to teach the 'art of playing fantasia'. The first volume deals with prerequisites, the second with the actual art of polyphonic playing.

Among the prerequisites, Santa María lists solmization, hexachords, hexachord mutations (Volume I, chapters 1–4), the basics of mensural notation (I, 5–6) and *musica ficta* (I, 7). He also discusses a (keyboard) instrument's limitations compared to the singing voice – for example, the absence of certain pitches and the impossibility, due to the tuning system, of forming all intervals from every note (I, 8–12). He also deals with what we would call hand position, touch, articulation, runs and scales, fingering, rhythmic playing and ornamentation (I, 13–19b[9]). This is followed by instructions on how pieces notated in mensural notation may be used productively in one's instrumental practice (I, 20–22). Following a brief examination of diminutions (I, 23), the author turns to the eight modes and their transpositions (I, 24–25), concluding with a detailed treatment of *clausulae* in two, three and four parts (I, 26).

The first volume covers many topics also widely addressed in *Musica practica* treatises or textbooks that treat composition in mensural notation. This fact alone demonstrates that one of Santa María's central approaches to playing the keyboard is through singing and making music from mensural notation in an ensemble with other musicians.

The second volume begins with a detailed treatment of the topics of consonance and dissonance (II, 1–10). Following this, there are several series of chapters discussing homophonic texture. The 'rising and falling in consonances' (*subir y baxar a consonancias*) begins with a variety of ways in which stepwise motions in the treble can be set polyphonically (II, 11–13). This concept

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A Spanish Renaissance Technique of Chordal Improvisation', in: *EM* 23 (1995), 461–71. See also the video 'Consonances According to Tomás de Santa María' on the Early Music Sources website <https://www.earlymusicsources.com/youtube/consonances> (accessed 8 September 2022).

8 For the first steps in this direction see the contribution by Maria Luisa Baldassari with Augusta Campagne in this volume.

9 In the 1565 print, vol. I, ch. '18' is followed by two chapters erroneously numbered '9' and '19'. In the translation, both chapters were headed '19'. For the sake of clarification, I refer to the 'first' of the two chapters as '19a' and the 'second' as '19b'.

is elaborated in a series of chapters on how tonal progressions in *semibreves* in the treble – starting from repeated notes and progressing through increasing intervals to octaves – can be worked out (II, 14–22). The same content follows for *minimae* (II, 23–28) and even *semiminimae* (II, 29) and *fusae* (II, 30). Next, the author turns to polyphonic composition. Over twenty chapters exhaustively present the possibilities for voice entries and combinations in paired imitations (II, 31–51). As the following chapter (II, 51) explains, these chunks of polyphonic music can then be joined together to form pieces.[10] Following an essay on how to organise keyboard lessons (II, 52), the work ends with brief tuning instructions for clavichord and vihuela.

Despite its highly systematic structure, the text still retains a direct relationship to practice. Although Santa María refers to ancient authorities such as Boethius, Augustine and Aristotle and equates the rules of counterpoint with laws of nature, all the notated examples constitute 'real music' rather than just abstract rules. They clearly comprise especially composed small units that form meaningful sections when played together and they conclude with *clausulae*. The lucidity of his presentation of how to arrange voice entries in paired imitations surpasses 'classical' compositional treatises such as those by Franchinus Gaffurius or Johannes Tinctoris, which barely touch upon these subjects. For those interested in Santa María's thoughts on practising and teaching, several essay-like, reflective passages sketch the broad outlines of his didactic ideas (e.g. I, 5; I, 20; II, 31; II, 52).

Santa María's chief approach to improvising polyphony at the keyboard is to study pieces that were not originally intended primarily for keyboard and had been written down in choir-book or part-book format in mensural notation. Santa María calls this music *canto de organo* in contrast to *canto llano*, the liturgical monophony written down in one style of chorale notation. He is also committed to this approach notation-wise. All examples are written in *partitura*, in which the individual voices are either not aligned vertically or only roughly, and strokes through all the systems only serve to separate the examples from one another – but not, for example, to indicate breve-length units (see Fig. 1).

10 By using the term 'chunk', I refer to a concept that is well established in cognitive psychology and related disciplines. As humans, to make sense of the 'continuous changing multimodal stream of information' we are confronted with and to 'act effectively in the world', we need to reduce the stream of information to 'useful chunks'. See Barbara Tversky and Jeffrey M. Zacks, 'Event Perception', in: *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Psychology*, ed. Daniel Reisberg (Oxford, 2013), 83–94, see p. 83 for the quotations.

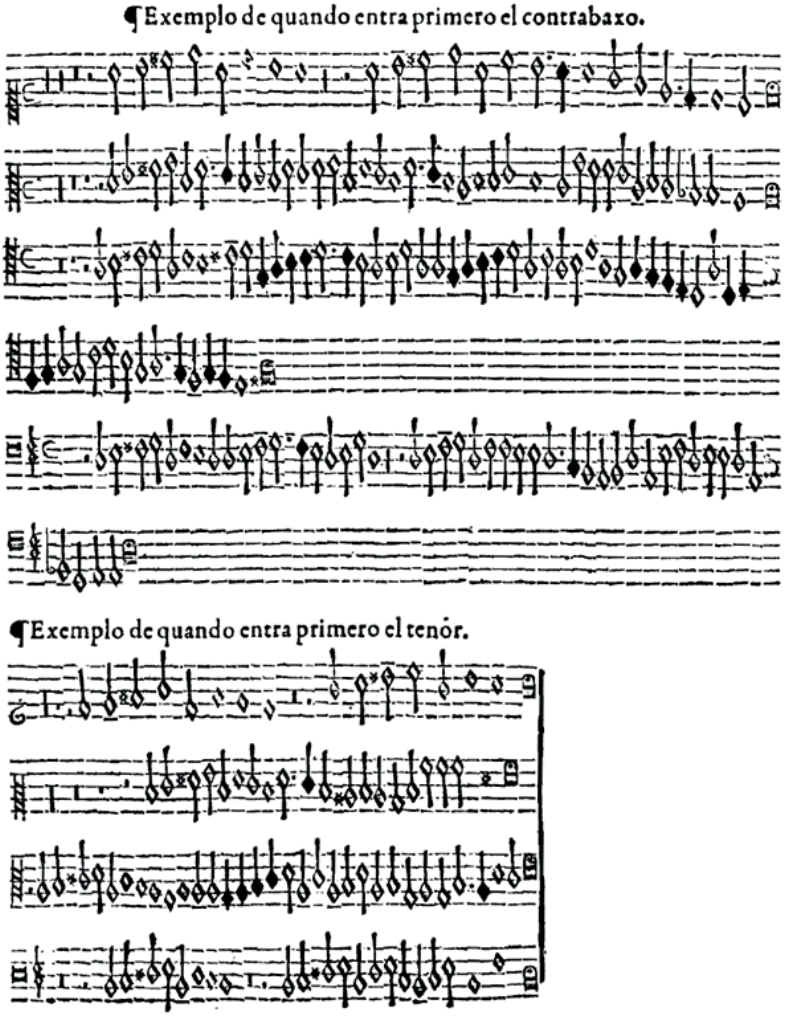

Fig. 1: Santa María, *Arte*, II, fol. 73ᵛ. The four voices are not aligned vertically.

Click here to listen to the example (© August Valentin Rabe)

Reading & Singing

Santa María's didactic concept revolves around the idea that composed, mensurally notated polyphony (*Canto de organo*) should be experienced in a variety of ways. These are reading, singing, writing and playing. As chapter I, 5 makes clear,[11] each of the individual voices should be sung by oneself as well as with others – as in the performance situation suggested by the mensural notation in separate parts. Additionally, one should play individual voices and whole pieces – possibly partly or completely notated in tablature[12] – on the instrument. During these activities, great attention should be paid to the compositional techniques used. Santa María compares this method of analysis through music-making to reading the works of learned authors.[13] Just as reading is a source of daily inspiration from which perfection springs for a man of letters, so the study of polyphonic works is essential for the keyboard player.

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11 The title of the chapter is: 'Concerning two instructions by which one may [master] the singing of polyphony in a minimum of time' ('De dos documentos para en breue tiempo cantar canto de Organo').

12 Juan Bermudo describes a spectrum of three ways ('maneras'): Particularly skilled players who can sing well and know how to compose ('si es buen cantor, que sabe de composicion') are able to play directly from the choir-book Those who cannot compose, are less skilled, or do not want to work so hard ('de composicion no sabe, y no esta execitado en poner, sino que comienca o no quiere trabaxar tanto') must first mark in 'bar lines' ('virgular el canto de organo'). The third way is to write down the piece in tablature and play it from that. See Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Ossuna: Juan de Léon, 1555), fol. 132^{v}. For a translation of the full passage into English, see Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work. The Craft of Musical Composition* 1450–1600 (Oxford, 1997), 50.

13 'In the same way that it is appropriate and essential that a man of letters, if he is to be consummate in his discipline, should read widely in the learned authors in order to grow each day in the knowledge of new things, so it is important and necessary that the performer, to be perfect in his profession, should perform polyphonic works from chosen masters, to enrich himself each day in the learning of new and excellent materials', Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, I, 19; 'por que assi como a vn letrado para ser acabado en su faculdad, le conuiene y es necessario leer muchos doctores para cada dia medrary saber cosas nueuas, assi al tañedor le es importáte y necessario para ser perfecto en esta faculdad que professa poner obras de cáto de Organo, de escogidos autores, para cada dia yrse enriquesiendo, sabiendo cosas nueuas y primas', Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 7^{r-v}. The term 'poner' was at times misinterpreted as 'writing tablature' in the musicological literature of the 1960s and 1970s. See the discussion in Owens, *Composers at Work*, 51–2. Without going into the translations by Kinkeldey, Howell and Hultberg or the detailed clarification by Owens, Nelson apparently also understands 'poner' primarily as 'scoring-up and intabulating [...] music': see Nelson, 'Bermudo's Masters and Models' (see n. 1), 77, and 99–101.

Santa María gives a more precise idea of what this means in terms of practising and teaching in the 21st chapter of the first volume. Here he gives 'brief hints' on 'how the beginner can quickly master any piece'.[14] This includes the study of pieces that have been intabulated from mensural notation. He describes three activities:

- Playing each note observing its correct value ('entéder todas las figuras, y dar a cada vna su entero valor') with an even pulse ('tañer a Compas').[15]
- Singing each individual voice and appreciating its solmization ('cantar cada boz por si, entendiédo la Solfa de rayz').[16]
- Analysing and understanding all the consonances and dissonances in the polyphonic texture ('entender todas las Consonancias y Disonácias que lleuare la obra, assi las que fueren a duo, como los que fuere [sic!] a tres y a quatro').[17]

First, rhythm and tempo are clarified – in terms of both individual note values and a constant tempo throughout the piece.[18] The insistence upon rhythmic accuracy is particularly understandable when making music from mensural notation or *partitura* notation, in which the individual parts are only approximately organised rhythmically in relation to each other, if at all (see Fig. 1). However, the precise playing of rhythms and notated pitches on the instrument only constitute one aspect. Alongside this rather 'technical' step, the student has to 'interpret' the melody – not, however, by playing it on the keyboard instrument, but by singing each individual voice with solmization syllables. Solmization is important because, first, it clarifies the relationships of the individual pitches to each other, and, second, it reveals the relationship between what is sung and the modal system, which Santa María illustrates, for example, with diagrams of the *scala decemlinealis* and the Guidonian hand.[19] Additionally

14 'De auisos breues para que los nueuos subieten presto qualquier obra' : Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 57v.

15 Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 57v. On this aspect, see also vol. 1, ch. 5 'Del compas'.

16 Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 57v. Almonte Howell and Warren Hultberg translate 'entendiédo la Solfa de rayz' as 'achieve a fundamental comprehension of its melodic line': Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, I, 154.

17 Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 57v.

18 Vol. I, ch. 20 focuses on this aspect, using various examples to illustrate the ways of counting and feeling the beat. Santa María does not provide a detailed introduction to reading mensural notation, as printed works on instrumental music of the time often do.

19 The assignment of the instrumental keyboard to the *scala decemlinealis*, which is the subject of vol. I, ch. 20, is a standard theme in manuscripts and printed texts on instrumental music in the 16th century. See also the illustration in Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 56r, as well as similar tables and charts in CH-Bu, F

solmization facilitates the identification of the contrapuntal possibilities, such as the intervals that can be formed, when to apply *musica ficta*, when to avoid *mi contra fa*, or how and where imitative voices can enter. While solmization initially only refers to the individual voice, it later offers an analytical view of the whole contrapuntal structure, which should also be analysed and understood by those who wish to 'master' a work.

Above all, this kind of analytical approach allows the player to transfer findings from the study of *obras* (polyphonic works that may or may not be intabulated) to their own polyphonic fantasias. The nature of the subjects (*passos*) and imitations in notated compositions should first be analysed in detail.[20] This includes, for example, determining how many voices follow each other, what the rhythmic distance between them is, and the intervals at which they enter. Particular attention should be paid to how the voices enter. Whether they begin before, during or after a *clausula* or cadence, for instance, demonstrates 'the thing most exquisite, and of the greatest beauty and artistry of anything in music'.[21] Thus, one should consider and memorize the type and nature of the *clausulae* and cadences of the pieces analysed for use in one's own playing.[22] Last but not least, the consonances and dissonances between all the voices and the solmization of each voice should be carefully studied and memorised so that they can be applied to one's own playing in order to lend it 'richness and abundance'.[23]

I 8a, CH-Bu, F IX 22, or Sebastian Virdung, Musica getutscht und ausgezogen, [Basel]: [Michael Furter] [1511] (vdm: 3), <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001444100000000> (accessed 28 September 2022).

20 See ch. I, 22 entitled 'Concerning the procedure one must follow to derive benefit from works' ('Del modo que se ha detener para sacar prouecho de las obras').

21 Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, I, 155. '[…] la entrada de cada boz, es la cosa mas dilicada, y de mayor primor y arte que ay en la Musica […]', Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 57^{v}.

22 '[…] notar todas las maneras de clausulas, que fe hizieren en las obras entendiendo las de rayz, y tenerlas en la memoria, para por ellas hazer otras Semejantes en la fantasia.' Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 57^{v}.

23 Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, I, 156. '[…] y juntamente entender toda la Solfa de cada boz, y notar las cósonancias que con ella se dieré, y assi mesmo notar la Solfa que fuere graciosa de cada boz, y tenerla mucho en la memoria, para có ella hazer passos diuersos, porque esto es lo que mucho aprouecha para tener caudal y abundancia de fantasia.' Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 58^{r}.

Memorising, Writing & Playing

This 'polyphonic-literary' education and engagement with mensurally notated composition form the backbone of Santa María's didactic approach. Some further indications of historical practising and teaching techniques can be found in the penultimate 52nd chapter of the second volume. Conceived as a two-page enumeration of twelve elements, the author reviews almost all the topics covered in the treatise, assigning each a position in the arduous learning journey of a student and their teacher. Even though some of the elements are explicitly formulated as successive learning steps, it should be clear that most of them are processes that take place over several years and that although the scheme is articulated as a sequence, it will necessarily involve some overlapping and deviations. In some of the elements, however, Santa María provides additional information that complements the content of the first volume – particularly focussing on the role of memory and the use of pre-existing compositions when practising the art of fantasia.

Santa María requires the student to write down the material covered in the lesson with the teacher – note for note and including all ornaments, and to sing all the individual parts:

> Fourth let the pupil endeavor, after having received the lesson and having studied it well, to put it into notation just as the teacher gave it to him, with the glosas and everything else, and with nothing omitted. Also let him endeavor to sing each of the four voices individually.[24]

The 'lesson' probably refers to sections of the piece that was worked out together, rather than pre-existing written-out compositions. What had been worked out had to be memorised accurately during the lesson so it could be

24 'Lo quarto procure el discipulo, despues de aver tomado la lecion y tenerla bien estudiada, sacarla en punto de la mesma manera que el maestro se la diere, con las glosas y con todo lo de mas, sin faltar ninguna cosa. Assi mesmo procure, cantar cada vna de las quatro vozes en particular.' Santa María, *Arte*, II, fol. 121v. My translation of this passage is based on Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, II, 390. The translation of 'sacar en punto' as 'to put it into notation', which may seem surprising at first sight, has been generally accepted in research since Kinkeldey. 'Punto' is used in contemporaneous musical writing (besides Santa Marías *Arte*, for example, in Juan Bermudo's *Declaración* or Ortiz's *Trattado*) to mean 'note'. However, the term can also mean larger sections of music, as the title of Ortiz's print of 1553 makes clear: *Trattado de Glosas sobre Clausulas y otras generos de puntos en la Musica de Violones* […]. I would like to thank Andrés Cea Galán, Marija Blašković, Wolfram Aichinger and Fernando Sanz-Lázaro for their help and exchange on questions of translation.

written down at leisure later. Writing what is played down adds another crucial step in the learning process, which in itself presents a set of completely different challenges in terms of learning psychology. Phrases that a player has – perhaps unconsciously – 'in his ear' or 'in his fingers' now have to be arranged on paper and synchronised with staves, clefs and the other voices. This requires a detailed awareness of the architecture of the extemporised piece, as well as an examination of the rules not only of notation, but also of counterpoint and composition. As written pieces, the 'lessons' become *obras*, which can now be sung, practised, analysed and compared with other *obras*.

Santa María recommends students practise transposing complete pieces to all the degrees that the modal system allows and memorising their most imaginative passages in order to utilise them in their own fantasy-playing.[25] Another way to use *obras* creatively is to extract any single voice of the polyphony and place it first in the discant, then in the other voices, and harmonising it homophonically 'with consonances' (*a consonancias*).[26] Freer and correspondingly more demanding possibilities arise in contrapuntal playing over a chorale cantus-firmus or single voices of polyphonic compositions.[27] These various types of playing serve to perfect what Santa María calls the *fantasia a concierto*, i.e the art of extemporising imitative polyphony.[28]

A Model for Practising in Stages and Suggestions for Practising and Teaching Today

One of the most valuable chapters on practising is the 22nd of the first volume. This deals with the way *obras* may be experienced in a way that improves the player's ability to produce a *fantasia a concierto*. The chapter is designed

25 'Lo nono procure exercitarse, en mudar las obras por todos los signos acidentales que se pudieren tañer, y assi mesmo procure tomar dellas, los passos que fueren de solfa graciosa, y tenerlos en la memoria para despues tañer sobre ellos fantasia a concierto.' Santa María, *Arte*, II, fol. 121^{v}.

26 For 'playing in consonances' see n. 7.

27 'El que quisiere ser perfecto tañedor, procure darse y exercitarse poco a poco, en tañer contrapunto que sea de buen ayre y solfa graciosa, sobre canto llano, y sobre todo de organo […].' Santa María, *Arte*, II, fol. 122^{r}.

28 Santa María uses the term 'a concierto' several times in his treatise as a synonym for 'polyphonic'. See the references in the entry 'concierto (a)', in: *Lexique Musical de la Renaissance* – Traités musicaux en espagnol, <http://www.ums3323.paris-sorbonne.fr/LMR/index.php> (accessed 28 September 2022); see also Warren Earle Hultberg, 'Sancta Maria's *Libro llamado Arte de tañer Fantasia*: A Critical Evaluation', PhD thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1964, 95–6, 205.

as a compilation of various exercises, from which a systematic model can be derived to enable effective practising today:

a. Analyse subjects, imitations, *clausulae* and counterpoint in a pre-existing composition. Memorise the subjects and any particularly notable passages.
b. Try out and vary different possibilities with these memorised subjects: the number of voices, the way in which they follow each other, the intervals and pitches at which the voices enter, *clausulae*, the use of consonance and dissonance.
c. Vary the pitches you start from.
d. Increase your repertoire of subjects.

Rather than a sequence to be completed consecutively, these exercises are inherently significant in themselves and can be undertaken concurrently. One need not even start with a complete piece, but an excerpt or even a fragment the learner has heard. Exercises such as silently analysing compositions, singing or mentally practising memorised excerpts without an instrument are also included in the spectrum of tasks described by Santa María.[29]

In Santa María's conception, practising could eventually be imagined as an endless spiral: mensurally notated *obras* are read, played alone and together with others, possibly intabulated and then analysed. Passages are memorised, practised on the instrument, transposed, varied in terms of their contrapuntal possibilities, and reassembled in the student's own pieces. These new pieces can then in their turn be treated as *obras*, analysed and compared with other *obras*.

Santa María recommends focusing on a few subjects and practising them thoroughly:

> In order for beginners to progress the fantasy, they must practice repeatedly with the subjects (*passos*) they know, so that through usage art is made a habit, and thereby they will easily [be able to] play other subjects.[30]

In modern terms, the main goal of such practice is for playing to become habitual,[31] with motoric patterns or chunks of motoric patterns that can be

29 On these practice techniques, see Ulrich Mahlert (ed.), *Handbuch Üben. Grundlagen, Konzepte, Methoden* (Wiesbaden, 2006).

30 Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, I, 156. 'Para que los nueuos aprouechen en la fantasia, es necessario que se exerciten siempre con los mesmos passos que saben, para que con este vso hagan habito del arte, y con esto facilmente tañeran otros passos.' Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 58^{r}.

31 Jonathan de Souza explores habitual playing and the close coupling between musician and instrument in great detail drawing on philosophical perspectives as well

performed automatically – and thus demand little cognitive effort. At the same time, instrumental-musical expertise is also shown in the flexibility of the motor skills that the player has at his/her disposal (e.g. regarding fingering, keys, distribution of voices to the hands) to craft segments of musical meaning sonically: 'skilled pianists can associate the same pitch-key pattern with any number of motoric patterns'.[32] Practising such chunks of musical meaning takes place at several levels, that can be grouped into two main areas:

a. Learning to recognise their acoustic and graphic appearance in the notation, and consolidating this through reading, memorising and writing; and
b. gaining motoric control over chunks of motoric patterns in the vocal, speech and movement apparatuses of the body through singing and playing.

Santa María explicitly and separately recommends these interdependent processes for practice as they run in parallel. Such an approach clearly differs from the instrumental training practice still prevalent at many conservatoires, where 'purely technical' practice, strongly focussed on motor components, aims primarily at performing pieces perfectly. In this respect, the kind of practising that Santa María proposes could also be described as multimodal and multi-perspectival. As a result, the learning goals that practice aims to achieve are open and varied, although the various strands flow together in the *fantasia a concierto*. Nevertheless, there is no way to avoid spending years studying the instrument – then as now.

> So that all the foregoing may be fruitful and beneficial in the fantasia, one must practice it many times each day with great perseverance, never losing confidence but holding to the certainty that continual work and practice will prevail in all things and make the master, as experience shows us at every step. And therefore a wise man has said that the stone is not carved out by the water drop that falls one time or two, but continuously.[33]

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as ecological theory and cognitive psychology. See his *Music at Hand. Instruments, Bodies, and Cognition*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory 11 (New York, 2017).

32 Ibid., 20.

33 Santa María/Howell/Hultberg, *The art*, I, 156. 'Para que de todo lo sobredicho se saque gran fruto y prouecho para la fantasia, es necessario exercitarlo muchas vezes cada dia, con gran perseuerancia, nunca desconsiando, sino teniendo por cierto, que el trabajo y vso continuado, vence todas las cosas, y haze maestro, lo qual a cada passo vemos por experiencia, y por tanto, dixo vn sabio. Que la gota caua la piedra, no de vna vez, ni de dos, sino siempre cayendo.' Santa María, *Arte*, I, fol. 58^{r}.

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6 ‘Nach seinem selbst gefallen mit der Mensur wexln’

Instances in Sixteenth-Century Keyboard Music Where Ornamentation and Changing Note Values Might Induce the Player to Vary the Beat

Domen Marinčič

Several sources from the second half of the 16th century mention changing the measure or varying the beat within pieces. One of the best known is Nicola Vicentino’s book of 1555 with its reference to vocal ensembles changing the measure when performing music in the vernacular.[1] Here and elsewhere, we read about various things that would induce one to change the tempo, the most common being the affect, the sense of the words, and the harmony.[2] The wording of such descriptions sometimes implies an association with rhetoric, and Vicentino draws an analogy with the orator who moves his listeners by speaking ‘now loud and now soft, now slow and now fast’.[3] While such changes helped to express the affect, they also met the need for variety, which is another important factor mentioned in connection with tempo changes by Vicentino, his Neapolitan contemporary Giovanthomaso Cimello, and several later authors.[4] We must therefore bear in mind – and this is perhaps especially important in the case of instrumental music – that the beat could sometimes change within a piece purely in order to provide

1 Nicola Vicentino, *L’antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barre, 1555), lib. 4, cap. 42, fol. 94^{v} (incorrectly numbered 88 in the print); online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00103730> (accessed 23 June 2022).

2 In this context, harmony may have been understood in its broader sense, embracing various aspects of the composition.

3 Vicentino, *L’antica musica*, lib. 4, cap. 42, fol. 94^{v} [=88^{v}]: ‘& la esperienza, dell’Oratore l’insegna, che si vede il modo che tiene nell’Oratione, che hora dice forte, & hora piano, & più tardo, & più presto, e con questo muove assai gl’oditori’. Translation from Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. Maria Rika Maniates, ed. Claude V. Palisca, Music theory translation series (New Haven, 1996), 301.

4 Giovanthomaso Cimello, *The Collected Secular Works*, ed. Donna G. Cardamone and James Haar, RRMR 126 (Madison, WI, 2001), 163.

variety, notably in instances when musical material is repeated. It seems that the use of different note values and proportional signs alone was not considered sufficient for expressing affect and providing variety in performance. The speed of the *tactus* was perceived as an important parameter in its own right, operating together with the other components.

The title of this article comes from a particularly intriguing text which mentions tempo flexibility in keyboard performance. Its author, Hanns Haiden, son of the music theorist Sebald Heyden, was organist at St. Sebald and St. Egidien in Nuremberg between 1567 and 1585. In 1575 he invented the *Geigenwerk*, a stringed keyboard instrument capable of sustained sound, graded dynamics and controlled vibrato. The passage in question appears in the second German edition of the *Musicale instrumentum reformatum*, a small book that he wrote in praise of this instrument, published in 1610, when he was in his mid-seventies. Among the advantages of the *Geigenwerk*, on which 'one alone can achieve that which would otherwise require five or six violin players', Haiden lists the possibility of varying the beat. He goes on to point out a telling difference vis-à-vis string consorts:

> Secondly, the player can change the measure as he pleases, guiding it now slowly, now again quickly, which is also required in order to move the affections. Several violinists together, however, do not do this simultaneously nor can they achieve such good ensemble.[5]

Haiden does not specify any particular repertoire in which he expects keyboard players to vary the beat. While this practice was considered necessary for expressing affect, he also seems to suggest that there can be other reasons for changing the measure, or that it can be an end in itself. Such changes do not appear to have been fixed or predetermined and were left to the performer's discretion.[6] Furthermore, solo performance is described as being more flexible than ensemble playing. Perhaps Haiden would also have desired more flexibility, or better ensemble, from string consorts? His explanation for a depiction of a triumphal chariot glorifying music, dated 1607, shows the *Mensur* to be the whip in the hands of the

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5 Hanns Haiden, *Musicale instrumentum reformatum* ([Nuremberg, 1610]) (VD17 12:651984X), fol. Bv^{r}: 'Zum andern / kan der Instrumentist / nach seinem selbst gefallen mit der Mensur wexln/ die jetzt langsam / dann bald wiederumb geschwinder führen / welches auch darzu gehört / die *affectus* zu *movirn*, So aber mehr Geiger/ zu gleich mit einander nicht thun / noch so eben zusamm treffen können'; online: <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:22-jh.mus.d.1-3> (accessed 24 June 2022). Unless otherwise indicated, translations are the author's own.

6 A certain degree of flexibility about when to employ tempo changes is likewise implied by Vicentino's remark that singers in an ensemble will have to agree where to change the tempo. See also Bardi's comment on solo singers contracting or stretching the *tactus* at their pleasure quoted in n. 31 below.

allegorical figure representing the faculty of hearing, which makes the horses run quickly or slowly. Other elements positioned around the coachman include a sharp mind, nature, affect, and variety.[7]

Michael Praetorius cites the first part of Haiden's statement in the chapter on the *Geigenwerk* in the second volume of his *Syntagma musicum*, replacing the remark concerning the limited flexibility of string ensembles with a recommendation that the practice of varying the measure 'can similarly be observed on other instruments'.[8] This brings the suggestion outside the context of Haiden's argument and thus the reader wonders why Praetorius should associate tempo flexibility with this particular instrument and fails to mention it anywhere else in his book on organology.[9] At the same time, his comment does suggest that the practice of changing the tempo should perhaps be applied more widely in instrumental music.

Note Values and Tempo

It is likely that the tempo would often have changed between one section and another of a piece, where these differ as regards their predominant note values. Such differences often coincide with changes in text, harmony and affect, but their implications for the tempo are not always clear.

The choice of tempo depends to some extent on the note values found in a piece, as well as on the types of rhythm and the levels at which they operate. Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja explains in 1482 that if a piece has too many short notes, performers place the *mensura* on the semibreve or minim – although, in theory this should in fact be on the breve or semibreve.[10] Such a shift in the level of the *mensura* implies a slower tempo for the semibreve or minim. A similar type of shift occurred later in the case of the *note nere* madrigals that began to appear around 1540. The emergence of this new style opened the door for composers to vary the compositional *tactus*, meaning harmonic and contrapuntal rhythm,

7 See Monika Holl, '"Der Musica Triumph" – Ein Bilddokument von 1607 zur Musikauffassung des Humanismus in Deutschland', in: *Imago musicae* 3 (1986), 9–30, at 19.

8 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* II (Wolfenbüttel, 1619) (VD17 3:315037M), pt. 2, cap. 44, 70: 'Und in andern *Instrumenten* gleicher gestalt kan in acht genommen werden'.

9 Praetorius discusses varying the beat on several other occasions. See Domen Marinčič, '"Now quickly, now again slowly": Tempo modification in and around Praetorius', in: *De musica disserenda* 15/1–2 (2019), 47–69.

10 Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareja, *Musica practica* (Bologna: Baltasar de Hyrberia, 1482), pt. III, tract. 1, cap. 2, 84.

between longer and shorter units within a piece, providing a variety of rhythmic and connotative devices to meet the affective demands of the poetic text.[11]

Contrary to the principle of choosing a slower tempo when the music features many short notes, Luis Milán demands in 1536 that in certain of his fantasias for vihuela the performer should provide more contrast between the chords, which he notates in minims, and the runs, notated in quavers:

> And in order to play them with their natural style you need to direct yourself in the following way: all that might be in chords should be played with a slow beat and everything that is *redobles* [diminutions] should be played with a fast beat, and one should pause a little at each fermata.[12]

This approach, which Milán limits to very specific pieces, exaggerates the contrast between slow and fast and can be used to amplify differences in affect. Unwritten changes of measure in vocal music could have produced a similar result. Vicentino complains about singers ruining a sad passage, where his comments would suggest a slower beat on account of the affect, by showing off their talent for embellishment. He also mentions that he has heard singers make the opposite mistake by failing to show off their talent when a composer prescribes a cheerful passage with diminutions, possibly singing such a passage too slowly.[13] This implies that sad music will normally have longer note values and a slower beat, while cheerful music may feature lively diminutions in shorter note values and a faster beat.

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11 See Ruth DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration, and Rhythm in Renaissance Music* (Cambridge, 2015), 82–3 and 409.

12 Luis Milán, *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El maestro* (Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1536), fol. D3^{r}: 'Y para tañerla con su natural aire os habéis de regir de esta manera: todo lo que serán consonancias tañerlas con el compás despacio, y todo lo que serán redobles tañerlos con el compás aprisa, y parar de tañer en cada coronada un poco'. Online: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000022795> (accessed 3 July 2022).

13 Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (see n. 1), lib. 4, cap. 21, fol. 82r. Severo Bonini, in the postface to his *Affetti spirituali a dua voci* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1615), writes that the singer should speed up the *tactus* still more at figures in quavers or semiquavers in the manner of diminutions, 'for otherwise the work will give little pleasure to the listeners and the singer will show little skill'.

Variable Note Values

In the chapter on the division of the *tactus* and its administration in his *Prattica di musica* of 1592, Lodovico Zacconi explains:

> Different *tactus* may be faster or slower, according to the place, time, and occasion, because this variety does not create any defect in music, as long as the one who gives the *tactus* knows how to contract and stretch it and make the above-mentioned rising and falling motions equal, and not altered.[14]

On account of a common misunderstanding of the terms 'stringere' and 'allargare', which in this context refer to the falling and rising motion of the *tactus* in analogy to the systole and diastole of the human pulse,[15] this passage has traditionally been interpreted in the scholarly literature as describing tempo changes, but it remains unclear whether Zacconi is referring to varying the beat within pieces. He writes that observing the common *tactus* is easy in itself, but that compositions with diminutions sometimes make it difficult for the time-beater to keep time. In the chapter on the *maestro di cappella*, he repeatedly criticises time-beaters who slow down the *tactus* because of the difficulty of the *figure* (i.e. written notes), endeavouring to make them easier for the singers. In his opinion, this turns one note value into another, disregarding the composer's intention:

> In order to be understood by all, so that this blameworthy abuse may be completely removed from the present state of affairs, and this error may be eliminated completely, I say that there are some administrators of *tactus* who, when directing it in some difficult songs where there is a great abundance of quavers, in order to enable the singers to count them better and with less difficulty, slow down the said *tactus* so much that they make them sing as crotchets, and do not perceive that if the composer who has composed them had wanted them to be sung as crotchets he would not have made them quavers. It is, however, good that they are recognised by the listeners as quavers like they have been made by the composer. […] The figures may well be sung differently, for the composer is obliged to compose them according to the order of the signs and

14 Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1592), lib. 1, cap. 33, fol. 21^{v}: 'perche piu tatti poßano essere quali piu presti, & quali piu tardi, secondo il loco, il tempo, & l'occasione, che questa varietà alla Musica non apporta verun diffetto se però chi regge il tatto, lo sa restringere, & allargare, & far che la sudetta alzata, & cadduta venghi in atto equale, & non alterato'.

15 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1558), lib. 3, cap. 48, 207, explains this analogy, using the terms 'allargamento' and 'ristrengimento'; online: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc25960/> (accessed 27 July 2022).

> rules of tempo which he uses, and the singer to sing them as he pleases; for who can claim that the semibreve which is commonly worth one *tactus* should not be sung for a breve or longa, giving a multiplied value to each? Or to diminish them by half and make them move twice as fast under the same *tactus*? But just as this manner of singing would be a caprice, an extravagant manner, not to say reckless, so also changing quavers into crotchets is not praiseworthy, for in every way that one can sing and turn them, the composer who composed them could have formed them in this way if he wanted.[16]

Notwithstanding such claims, there seem to have been occasional dilemmas regarding the choice of note values among composers and editors. A number of pieces have survived in more than one version, with one source showing halved or doubled note values in respect of the other. Sometimes such differences only affect a section of the piece, often the one with the shortest note values. At the end of a lute fantasia by Pietro Paolo Borrono published in 1546 and transcribed in Ex. 1 the composer provides an alternative, *ossia* version of the five bars containing semiquavers, which are the fastest notes in the piece and occur very rarely in this repertoire. In an accompanying comment Borrono explains the reason for this:

> Since in the above fantasia there are some measures that learners may find difficult, I have written the same measures in a different and easier tempo, reducing the semiquavers into quavers, and the quavers into crotchets.[17]

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16 Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, lib. 1, cap. 67, fol. 76v: 'Dove che per esser da tutti inteso, accioche si tolghi del stato presente questo si biasmevole abuso, & si levi à fatto à fatto questo errore dico; che si trovano alcuni sumministratori del tatto, che regendolo in alcune cantilene difficile ove siano gran copia di Chrome; per far che i Cantori le contino meglio, & con minor difficoltà; allargano tanto il sudetto tatto che le fanno pronuntiare per Semiminime, & non si aveggano che se il compositore che le compose haveße voluto che le si fossero per Semiminime cantate, non l'haveria fatte Chrome; è però è bene che da gl'ascoltanti la sieno conosciute per Chrome come dal Compositore le sono state fatte […] Si possano ben cantare le figure diversamente: perche il Compositore è obligato à comporle secondo l'ordine de i segni & le regole del Tempo ch'egli adopera; & il Cantore a cantarle come li pare & piace: perche chi vuol tener à uno che quella Semibreve che communemente vale un tatto non la canti per una Breve, ò per una Longa, dando il vallore à ciascheduna multiplicato? overo diminuirle per la mettà et farle gire sotto di eßo tatto la metta piu presto et piu velloce? ma si come questo modo ci cantare seria un capriccio, & una maniera stravagante, pe[r] non dir temeraria: cosi ancora il commutar le Chrome in figure di Semiminime non è lodevole: perche in ogni modo che l'huomo le può cantare & rivoltare; il Compositor che le compose volendo l'haveria potuto cosi formare'.

17 Francesco da Milano and Pietro Paolo Borrono, *Intabulatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano, et dell'eccellente Pietro Paulo Borrono da Milano* […] *libro*

It has been suggested that this represents only a different manner of notating the passage in question, but such an explanation seems questionable.[18] Rather, one wonders how 'learners' understood this message and whether something similar may have applied elsewhere as part of performance pratice, even if it depended on the proficiency of the player.

A similar intervention was undertaken in the revised edition of a collection of bicinia published by Pierre Phalèse. The thirteen textless bicinia by Orlando di Lasso had first been published more than thirty years earlier and had meanwhile also been issued by Phalèse in their original form in 1590. In Phalèse's new edition of 1609, all note values from the middle onwards were doubled in seven of the thirteen pieces.[19] In their original form the pieces in question display a relatively wide range of note values, starting slowly in minims, accelerating during the course of the piece and ending with lively quaver movement. The revised versions are not without problems of musical consistency, but they achieve a steadier basic pace and a greater sense of unity, with much less contrast in note values. Since these are didactic pieces, the changes have possibly been introduced with beginners in mind. One wonders whether the beat would have varied in this type of music: a collection of bicinia published by Seth Calvisius in 1599 finishes with a set of rules for singing, among which we find the indication sometimes to accelerate and sometimes to slow down the *tactus* for reasons of harmony and text.[20]

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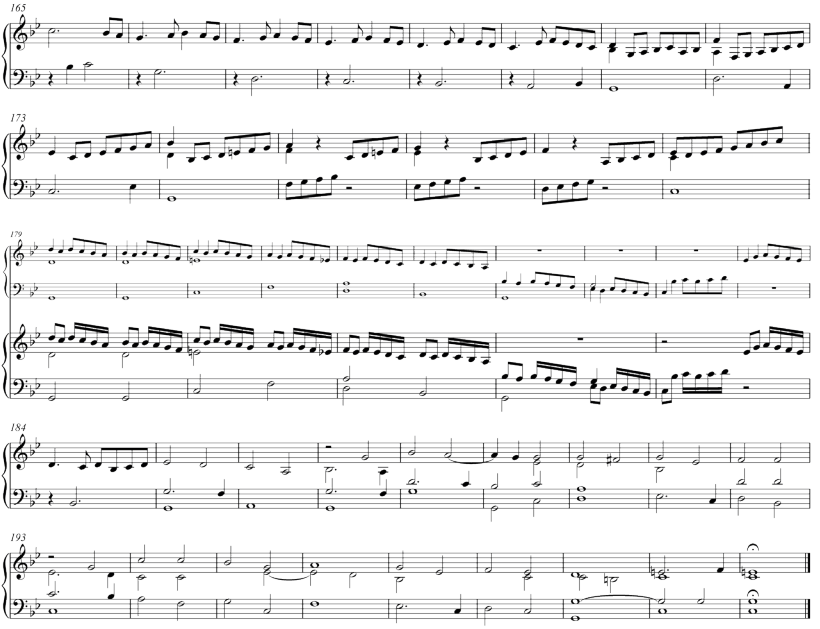
secondo (Venice: [Gerolamo Scotto], 1546) (RISM 1546[30]), fol. 30[r]: 'Per che ne la detta fantesia li sono alchune battute che alli scholari serano dificile glie fatte le medeme battute in altra forma di tempo piu facile, cioe se redotta la semicroma in croma. Et la croma in seminima'. Online: <https://s9.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/8/81/IMSLP263476-PMLP427136-milano_intabolatura_de_lauto_2.pdf> (accessed 5 August 2022).

18 Luis Gásser, *Luis Milán on Sixteenth-Century Performance Practice* (Bloomington, 1996), 81.

19 See Bernhold Schmid, '"Nec non Tyronibus quàm eius artis peritioribus summopere inservientes." – Zur gedruckten Überlieferung von Lassos Bicinien', in: *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 6 (2008), 177–203, at 192–4. The editions discussed are: Orlando di Lasso, *Novae aliquot et ante hac non ita usitatae cantiones suavissimae* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1577); *Bicinia, sive cantiones suavissimae duarum vocum* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalès and Jean Bellère, 1590) (RISM 1590[19]); and *Bicinia, sive cantiones suavissimae duarum vocum* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1609) (RISM 1609[18]).

20 Seth Calvisius, *Bicinia septuaginta ad sententias evangeliorum anniversorium* (Leipzig: Jacob Apel, 1599), fol. X3[r], rule 18.



Ex. 1: Pietro Paolo Borrono, *Fantesia dell'eccellente P.P. Borrono da Milano*, bb. 165–201.[21]

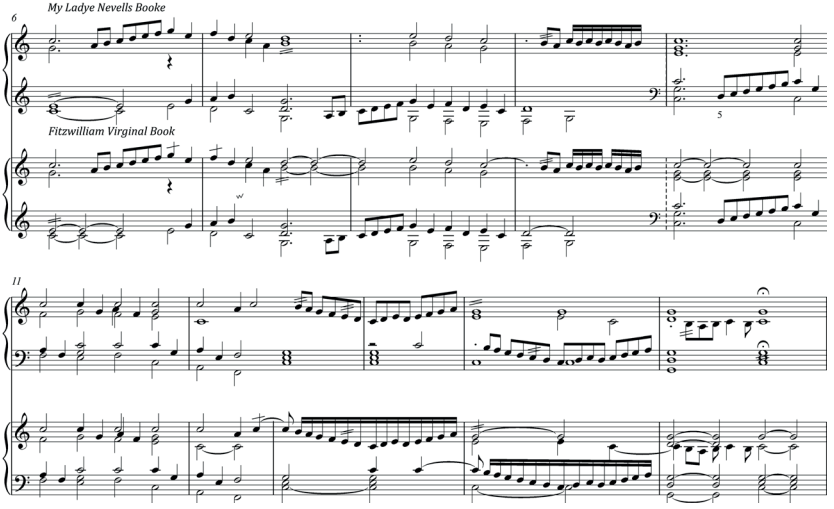
The opposite type of revision, one doubling the speed of a passage, is probably seen in the introductory section to one of the best known keyboard fantasias by William Byrd, as shown in Ex. 2. The version in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* changes the quaver runs in the last few bars into semiquavers. A scribal error is not plausible since the writing in both sources is neat and clean, and the rhythms all add up. The difference is perhaps indicative of the improvisatory nature of the flourishes. For the performer this can imply greater flexibility, or perhaps a non-proportional acceleration in relation to the quaver scales occurring earlier. On the other hand, semiquaver passages return later in the work, and one might speculate that this newly established correspondence reflects Byrd's later thoughts.[22] The two versions may have been meant to sound different, since the version in semiquavers retains only one of the three ornament signs, but this does not eliminate the possibility of performers adjusting the tempo at the point where semiquavers start.

Despite the differences found in these variants, all of them – Borrono, Lasso, and Byrd – can make musical sense when performed without noticeable tempo

21 Francesco da Milano and Borrono, *Intabulatura di lauto* […] *libro secondo*, fols. 28^{r}–30^{r}, at 30^{r}.

22 See Desmond Hunter's critical commentary to William Byrd, *Organ and Keyboard Works: Fantasias and Related Works*, ed. Desmond Hunter (Kassel, 2019), 66.

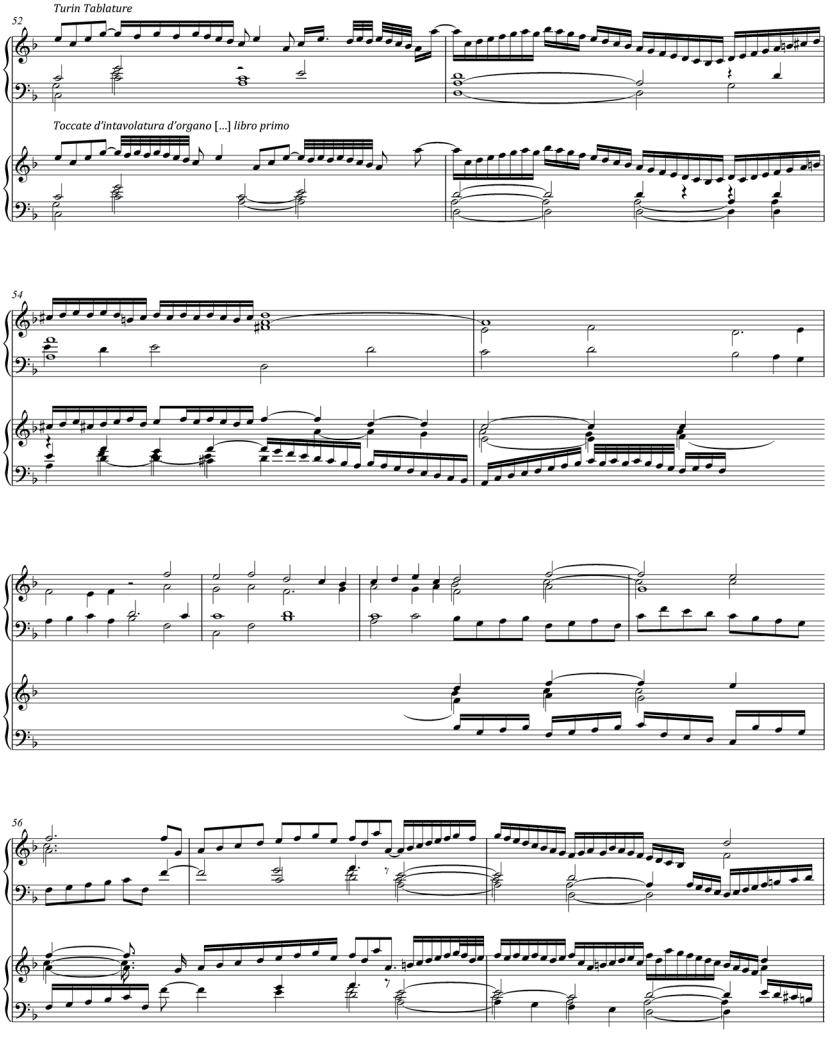
changes. They do, however, raise doubts about the reliability and definitive quality of musical notation. We might, after all, imagine a situation in which only the alternative versions of pieces such as Borrono's or Lasso's survive.



Ex. 2: William Byrd, Fantasia C2, BK25, bb. 6–15. Comparison of versions in *My Ladye Nevells Booke* and *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*.[23]

A literal interpretation with a more or less steady, unchanging beat seems very improbable in two of Claudio Merulo's toccatas preserved in the so-called *Turin Tablature*. Copied between 1637 and 1640 and notated in 'new German organ tablature', these are believed to be primitive versions, perhaps from as early as 1567, of toccatas published in 1598 and 1604 respectively. The large collection in Turin contains both versions of these two toccatas, the earlier versions having been copied from an unknown source and the later ones from Merulo's printed books of toccatas. Besides many differences in the passagework, the first of these toccatas, no. 18 in the manuscript and no. 8 in the 1598 print (see Ex. 3), evidences a revision that is suggestive of a tempo change between sections. The earlier version in Turin includes a short ricercar-like section notated traditionally in minims. While this section was later removed, the transition to the subsequent section remained, albeit with the quaver figuration changed into semiquavers. It thus seems likely that the imitative section in long note values and the subsequent transition, as notated in the earlier version, were intended to be played at a faster tempo than the rest.

23 *My Ladye Nevells Booke*, GB-Lbl MS Mus. 1591, no. 36, fols. 161r–6r, at 161rf., and *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, GB-Cfm Mus. MS 168, no. 103, 192–4, at 192.



Ex. 3: Comparison of Claudio Merulo, *Toccata di Ms. Claudio*, no. 18, from the *Turin Tablature*, and *Quarto Tuono*: *Toccata Ottava*, from *Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo [...] libro primo*, bb. 52–57.[24]

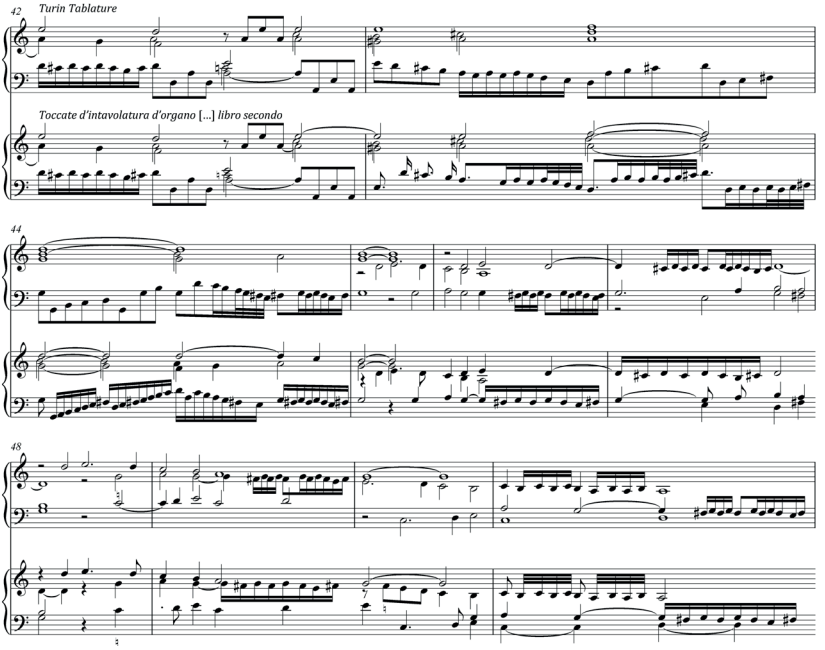
24 I-Tn, Fondo Foà Giordano, *Giordano* 2, no. 18, 44–7, at 45–7, and *Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo* [...] *libro primo* (Venice: Simone Verovio, 1598), 33–8, at 37 (online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00094272>, accessed 27 July 2022). The bar numbers correspond to the bars in the print, since the *Turin Tablature* is unbarred. For complete comparative transcriptions of both of Merulo's toccatas discussed here see Robert Floyd Judd, 'The use of notational

The situation is clearer still in the next toccata, no. 19 in the Turin Tablature and no. 8 in Merulo's second book of toccatas. As shown in Ex. 4, the imitative section starting at b. 45 is retained in the 1604 print, albeit in a revised version with halved note values. All imitative sections in Merulo's printed toccatas are notated in this manner, in crotchets rather than minims, producing an overall smaller range of note values and less rhythmic contrast between sections. Unless the two surviving versions were intended to sound very different in terms of tempo, Merulo must have expected considerable tempo changes at the transitions from one section to another in at least one of these versions.

We can also consider the possibility that Merulo's idea of the degree of contrast between sections evolved over time, and that rapid passages were later played more slowly, while imitative sections became faster, than when he first wrote down the toccatas. Such passages could, for example, have slowed down if the harpsichord was exchanged for the organ. One detail that would support the idea of a slower tempo for the semiquaver passages in the later version is the intensification of the ornamentation and the introduction of occasional demisemiquavers. Moreover, both versions of the imitative section contain trills in semiquavers. Whereas the surrounding notes are halved in the print, many of these trills remain written as semiquavers, only with fewer repercussions, and solely the short tremoletti are transformed into demisemiquavers. It is more likely, however, that the additional scales and repercussions in demisemiquavers found in the print fall within the scope of the original performance practice and that similar florid passages could have been improvised by expert players. It has been suggested that the early versions of these toccatas may have been copied from an early print, announced in 1567 and now lost, and that the intensification of ornamentation was enabled by the change in printing technology from movable type to copper plates.[25]

formats at the keyboard: A study of printed sources of keyboard music in Spain and Italy c. 1500–1700, selected manuscript sources including music by Claudio Merulo, and contemporary writings concerning notations', 2 vols., PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1989, i, 239–54 and 258–69.

25 See Luigi Collarile, 'Claudio Merulo nell'intavolatura tedesca di Torino: il problema delle fonti', in: In *organo pleno: Festschrift für Jean-Claude Zehnder zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Luigi Collarile and Alexandra Nigito (Bern, 2007), 89–112, at 99–103.



Ex. 4: Comparison of Claudio Merulo, *Toccata del Ms. Claud.*, no. 19, from the *Turin Tablature*, and *Ottavo Tuono: Toccata Ottava, from Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo [...] libro secondo*, bb. 42–50.[26]

While the early versions of these toccatas feature greater rhythmic contrast between sections, this contrast is provided mainly by the diminutions. With all figurations, trills, and scales removed, the early versions would appear to be more unified, with slower harmonic movement retained throughout the pieces. Yet in performance they seem to require more obvious tempo changes than the revised versions, where the imitative sections are notated in crotchets.

26 I-Tn, Fondo Foà Giordano, *Giordano* 2, no. 19, 47–51, at 49–50, and *Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo* [...] *libro secondo* (Rome: Simone Verovio, 1604), 34–8, at 37 (online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00094273>, accessed 27 July 2022). The bar numbers correspond to the bars in the print, since the *Turin Tablature* is unbarred.

Taking Additional Time for Ornamentation

Several late 16th-century treatises discourage the momentarily slowing down of the beat in order to perform diminutions:

> I say that it is difficult to keep the diminution in tempo, and this is of greatest importance for everyone who follows this profession of making diminutions with all kinds of instruments. Therefore, let everyone, in their study, strive to beat time, and never study without this order, and become accustomed to the *tactus*; for to do otherwise would not be a good thing. (Girolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir* [1584])[27]

> It is good, however, to avoid them [parallel fifths and octaves] as much as possible, and anyone will do it easily with attention to time and measure, because to tell the truth, however swift, skilful and distinct the ricercata may be, if perchance it is not achieved in time, it loses all its elegance. (Riccardo Rognoni, *Passaggi per potersi essercitare Nel Diminuire* [1592])[28]

> One should never give way to any of the singer's voices, because giving way to the desires of this or that singer to give them time to fill the songs with graces makes the harmonies weak and slow, and the [other] singers find it unreasonably tiresome, hating that slowing down and unwelcome intervention. (Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* [1592])[29]

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27 Girolamo Dalla Casa, *Il vero modo di diminuir* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1584), lib. 2, preface, fol. [A^{v}]: 'Dico esser cosa difficile lo portar la minuta à tempo, & questa è la maggior importanza ad ogn'uno, che facci questa professione del diminuir con tutte le sorti de Istromenti. Dunque ciascheduno avertisca nello studio suo di batter il tempo, & di non studiar mai senza questo ordine, & habituarsi alla battuta; perche facendo altrimenti non sarebbe cosa buona'. Online: <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=2817> (accessed 27 July 2022).

28 Riccardo Rognoni, *Passaggi per potersi essercitare Nel Diminuire terminatamente con ogni sorte d'Instromenti* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1592), pt. 2 ('*Il vero modo di diminuire Con tutte le sorti di Stromenti da corde, da fiato, & anco per la voce humana*'), preface, 18: 'Ben'è però fuggirle quanto si potrà, e lo farà facilmente ogn'uno con l'attentione del tempo, e della misura, che à dire il vero sia pure veloce, artificiosa, & distinta la Ricercata, se per avventura non riesce à tempo, perde ogni sua leggiadria'. Online: <http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/7/75/IMSLP292311-PMLP474374-passaggi_etc_ricardo_ognoni_parte2.pdf> (accessed 3 April 2024).

29 Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, lib. 1, cap. 33, fol. 21^{v} (see n. 14): 'Ne mai a qual si voglia voce di cantore piegar si deve; perche il piegarsi alle voglie di questo, & di quello per darli tempo ch'empiano I canti di vaghezze, fa che l'harmonie divenghino debole e lente; & che I cantori si stanchino fuor di proposito odiando quella ritardanza, & mal gradita attione'.

> Some are in the habit, in order to accommodate *passaggi* in their own way, of holding a one-beat note for two or three beats, for what reason I do not know: what I do know is that it is more praiseworthy when making *passaggi* to remain bound to the correct pulse, as written in the part, except at the end, that is on the final note. (Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica* [1594])[30]

While Dalla Casa and Rognoni may be seen to focus on correct time-keeping in a didactic context, Zacconi and Bovicelli seem to criticise existing practices. Differentiation between solo and ensemble performance is also possible, as suggested in the discourse sent by Giovanni de' Bardi to Giulio Caccini around 1578. Towards the end of his letter Bardi criticises certain ensemble singers:

> There are also others who are so complacent when performing *passaggi* that they disregard the *tactus*, breaking it down and stretching it out so much that they do not allow their companions to sing in a good manner at all.

A few lines later, Bardi writes that different criteria apply to solo performance:

> When singing alone or to the lute, harpsichord, or other instrument, one may contract or stretch the *tactus* at will, as it is up to the singer to lead the measure according to his judgement.[31]

As regards the question of flexibility of tempo, Bardi, like his contemporary Haiden, sees a considerable difference between solo and ensemble performance. While stating that the solo performer may vary the beat 'à suo piacere', or 'nach

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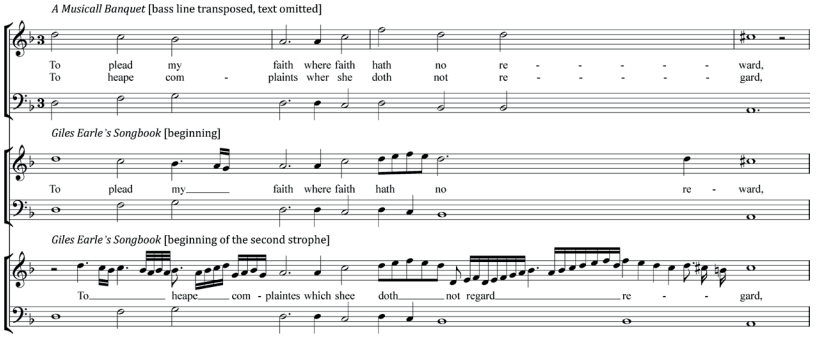
30 Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1594), 15: 'Sogliono alcuni per accommodarsi i Passaggi a modo loro, se una nota vale una battuta, tenerla due, ò tre, con che ragione, io no'l so, so bene che è più laudabile nel Passaggiare star obligato al tempo giusto, che si trova scritto nel Canto, fuori, che nel fine cioè nella penultima nota'. Translation from Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati*, ed. Gawain Glenton, trans. Oliver Webber (Frome, 2018), 14. Online: <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=7258> (accessed 27 July 2022).

31 Claude V. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations* (New Haven, 1989), 124: 'Altresi si trovano altri che per dar compiacimento à passaggi loro non avendo riguardo alla battuta, tanto la vanno rompendo et stracchiando che i suoi compagni con buon modo per via alcuna cantar non lasciano. […] Cantandosi solo, o in su'l liuto, o gravicembalo, o, altro strumento si puote à suo piacere la battuta stringere, e allargare, avvengache à lui stia guidare la misura à suo senno'. As pointed out above, the terms 'stringere' and 'allargare' can describe both the *tactus* movement itself as well as changing its speed by quickening and slowing down the beat. The latter seems to apply here.

seinem selbst gefallen', they both imply that such practices may cause problems in an ensemble. Whereas Haiden mentions the requirement to change the measure to express affect, Bardi criticises ensemble singers for slowing down the beat for ornamentation. Bardi does not seem to be criticising simple tempo changes: such *passaggi* seem to have demanded a *tactus* which was either much too slow or too irregular and unpredictable for other ensemble members to follow. While he does not say whether in solo singing the beat would also have varied on account of diminutions, this is perhaps not unlikely.



Ex. 5: Daniel Bacheler, 'To Plead My Faith', bb. 1–4. Comparison of versions in *A Musicall Banquet* (1610) and *Giles Earle's Songbook* (c. 1615–26).[32]

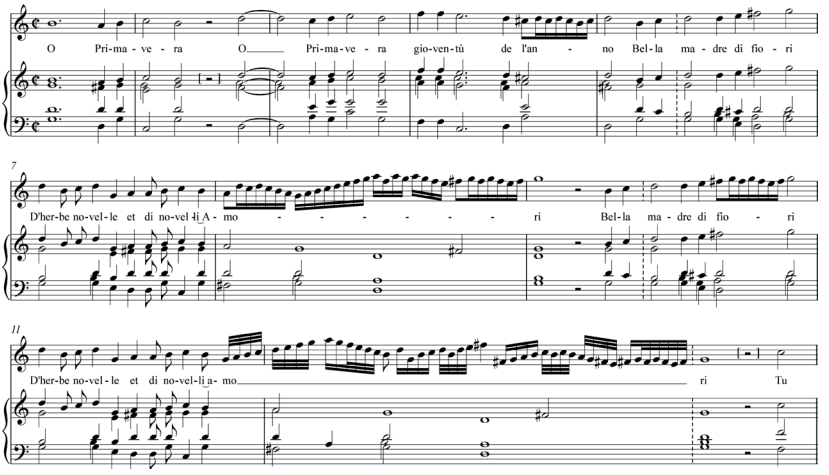
Cases where the beat has to be suspended or slowed down momentarily in order to accommodate written-out ornamentation at cadences and elsewhere are especially common in English solo songs of the early 17th century, among which we find ornamented versions of songs by Giulio Caccini.[33] Sometimes, in respect of the unornamented original versions, notes are prolonged. In Ex. 5, which shows three versions of the opening phrase of a song by Daniel Bacheler, the penultimate note is doubled in length at the written-out repeat to provide more time for cadential diminution.

Sometimes, diminutions are carefully rhythmicised to fit into the underlying structure, but their density and speed might be a reason for performers to slow down considerably. See, for example, b. 12 of Ex. 6, taken from Luzzasco

32 Robert Dowland (ed.), *A Musicall Banquet* (London: John Benson and John Playford, 1610) (RISM 1610[20]), fols. D2[v]–E[r], and *Giles Earle's Songbook*, GB-Lbl Add. 24655, fols. 48v–50r, at 48v–49r. For a complete comparative transcription see Edward Huws Jones, *The Performance of English Song, 1610–1670*, 2 vols. (New York, 1989), ii, 4–9.

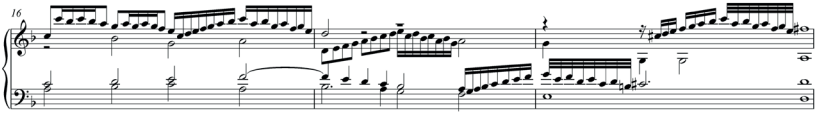
33 See John Bass, 'Would Caccini Approve? A Closer Look at Egerton 2971 and Florid Monody', in: *EM* 36 (2008), 81–93, esp. 87. Another example for such a practice is the much ornamented version of Caccini's 'Amarilli mia bella' in Johann Nauwach, *Libro primo di arie, passegiate à una voce* (Dresden, 1623), no. 12, fol. C2[v]f.

Luzzaschi's madrigals for one to three voices and keyboard, printed in 1601 but probably written in the 1580s.



Ex. 6: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, 'O Primavera', bb. 1–13.[34]

Ex. 7 shows an excerpt from Jacques Arcadelt's madrigal *Ancidetemi pur* in an intabulation by Ascanio Mayone published in 1603. The figure present in the first two bars subsequently appears in halved note values, perhaps mainly in order to fit it into the rhythmical structure of the original madrigal. A literal interpretation is very unlikely, and the cadence in b. 18 would possibly been slowed down to half tempo.



Ex. 7: Ascanio Mayone, *Ancidetemi pur* (after Jacques Arcadelt), bb. 16–18.[35]

Such practices must have had their roots in improvised ornamentation. In the passage quoted above, Bovicelli mentions that some performers double or triple the length of the beat so that they can sing the diminutions 'a modo loro', implying a personal style and possibly either questionable taste, incompatibility with other ensemble members, or both. He considers it more praiseworthy to stay in the right time as written, except for the penultimate note at the very end. Throughout

34 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* […] *per cantare et sonare* (Rome: Simone Verovio, 1601), 3–5, at 3; online: <https://lccn.loc.gov/2008561305> (accessed 27 July 2022).

35 Ascanio Mayone, *Primo libro di diversi capricci per sonare* (Naples: Costantino Vitale, 1603), 31–8, at 34.

his treatise on diminution, Francesco Rognoni gives many examples of cadential *passaggi* that are two or more beats longer than the originals. He seems to be in agreement with Bovicelli, since these instances are all limited to final cadences.[36] Examples such as the ones given above suggest, however, that, at least in solo performance, some practitioners considered taking more time or slowing down for ornamentation to be acceptable at cadences within a piece.[37]

Tempo and the Density of Ornamentation

Noticeable variations in the density of ornamentation, or even the presence and absence of diminutions in different sections of a piece, may perhaps indicate tempo changes intended by the composer. Their actual interpretation must sometimes remain open to question, since diminutions may demand either a slower beat or a livelier one, depending on the context. Vicentino's criticism of singers for adding inappropriate diminutions to sad passages does not mean that all slow music must be devoid of *passaggi*. On the contrary, a slow beat can enable more florid ornamentation, while lively sections in a faster beat may provide less opportunity for diminution.

Girolamo Frescobaldi, Luzzaschi's pupil, draws an analogy between keyboard toccatas and modern madrigals, where the beat would have varied according to the *affetti*, or meaning of the words. In a separate clause, he also makes it clear that he expects the tempo to be adjusted to the ornamentation both in his partitas and in his toccatas, suggesting a broad tempo for those variations or toccata sections that feature *passaggi* and *affetti*.[38] It is possible that some earlier composers likewise anticipated certain tempo changes, adding more diminutions when a slower beat provided more time. We might be able to reconstruct some of their ideas of tempo differentiation on the basis of written-out ornamentation, especially in intabulations of vocal music where tempo changes may have been motivated by the sense of the words. Such a practice is easier to argue on the basis of notation than the opposite possibility of heightening the contrast between passages notated in shorter or longer note values.

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36 Francesco Rognoni, *Selva de varii passaggi* (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1620).

37 Another notable example is the heavily ornamented *Canzon franzese del Principe*, GB-Lbl, MS Add. 30491, fols. 34^{v}–38^{v}, which is usually attributed to Gesualdo and might have been copied after 1617.

38 Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo* (Rome: Nicolò Borboni, 1616), preface to the reader. The word *affetti* can be understood as 'affects' when referring to the meaning of the words, and as graces, ornaments, or other expressive devices when mentioned together with *passaggi*.

The appendix reproduces four complete pieces from late 16th-century Venice with hypothetical suggestions for tempo changes. Each of them belongs to a different genre: an intabulated madrigal, a motet with diminutions, a keyboard canzona, and a ricercar.

Andrea Gabrieli's *Ricercar Quinto Tono*, published posthumously in *Il terzo libro de ricercari* of 1596 (see Appendix 1), features a striking contrast between ornamented and unornamented polyphony, with diminutions being completely absent in the second half of the piece. This would seem to make more sense if the tempo from the middle onwards, for example from the fifth appearance of the second subject at the end of b. 50, was expected to be noticeably faster in performance. A similar situation with a completely unornamented final section is found in those two Gabrieli ricercars that finish in triple time and where the change of measure is made obvious by the new time signature.[39]

Such quickening of the beat in a piece is described as being appropriate for motets, madrigals, and *canzone villanesche*, in an undated manuscript by Vicentino's contemporary Giovanthomaso Cimello. He writes that such variation is more pleasing and entertaining.[40] Nevertheless, such a tempo change is difficult to prove. The lack of ornaments in the second half of Gabrieli's ricercar may be a deliberate effect, perhaps meant to provide variety. It is after all connected to the compositional design: while diminutions are almost invariably introduced in moments where the subjects are absent, the second subject is continuously present in one part or the other throughout bb. 43–93.

A change towards a quicker tempo may be suggested by the distribution of the ornamentation in Andrea Gabrieli's intabulation of Cipriano de Rore's famous madrigal 'Anchor che col partire', published in the same collection as the *Ricercar del quinto tono* and given in Appendix 2. In the second half of the piece the ornamental figures are far fewer and much simpler. One could argue that the unornamented sections do not lend themselves to diminution, but this is disproved by the version of Gabrieli's intabulation published in Bernhard Schmid's *Tabulatur Buch* (Nuremberg: Lazarus Zetzner, 1607), where the ornamentation is distributed more or less evenly throughout the piece.[41] A tempo change at the end of b. 18 seems a possible explanation for the lack of diminution, especially since it is supported by the affect of the text, attributed to Alfonso d'Avalos. The change occurs after a

39 See the Ricercar del primo tono (orig. *Ricercar del Primo Tuono*) and *Ricercar del quarto tono* (orig. *Quarti Toni*) in Andrea Gabrieli, *Ricercari* […] *libro secondo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1595), fols. [0^{v}]–3^{v} and 13^{r}–17^{r}. Online: <http://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-56111> (accessed 27 July 2022). Modern edition in Andrea Gabrieli, *Sämtliche Werke für Tasteninstrumente*, ed. Giuseppe Clericetti, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1997), ii, 4 –9 and 24–30.

40 Cimello/ed. Cardamone and Haar, *The Collected Secular Works*, 163 (see n. 4).

41 Modern edition in Andrea Gabrieli, *Sämtliche Werke für Tasteninstrumente*, ed. Giuseppe Clericetti, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1998), iii, 63–6.

melancholy and tender opening, at the point when the lover assumes a more active role: 'And thus a thousand thousand times a day I would like to part from you'. A different affect is already underlined by the use of shorter note values in Rore's original, and a quicker beat would heighten this contrast despite reducing the difference between note values on the surface of Gabrieli's ornamented version.[42]

It is of course also possible for a performer to introduce additional tempo changes and to return to a slower beat in both occurrences of the passage that speaks of sweetness ('Tanto son dolci gli ritorni miei'). These moments are reminiscent, both textually and musically, of the section at the end of the first half ('Tant' è il piacer ch'io sento'). Since the one is ornamented and the other is left without any diminution, one could draw the conclusion that their tempi must be different, but a resumption of the original slow tempo for the 'returns' can provide additional variety. In this way the piece will have four tempo changes and three varying combinations of tempo and movement: 1) slow sections in long note values without *passaggi*, 2) ornamented slow sections, and 3) sections in a faster beat without diminutions and only occasional ornamental figures. Sections for which a faster tempo is suggested are marked in red in both the following text and the music given in Appendix 2.

Anchor che col partire	Although in parting
Io mi senta morire,	I feel myself dying,
Partir vorrei ogn'hor, ogni momento,	I would like to leave every hour, every moment,
Tant' è il piacer ch'io sento	So great is the pleasure that I feel
De la vita ch'acquisto nel ritorno.	From the life that I gain in returning.
E cosi mille'e mille volt'il giorno	And thus a thousand thousand times a day
Partir da voi vorrei,	I would like to part from you,
Tanto son dolci gli ritorni miei.	So sweet are my returns.
E cosi mille'e mille volt'il giorno	And thus a thousand thousand times a day
Partir da voi vorrei,	I would like to part from you,
Tanto son dolci gli ritorni miei.	So sweet are my returns.[43]

Giovanni Bassano's ornamented version of Palestrina's motet 'Pulchra es', published in 1591, can likewise be interpreted by considering the poetic text. Bassano provides texted diminutions for the two outer voices, reproduced in Appendix 3. In two sections found in the second half of the piece (bb. 29–35 and 44–55), he avoids

42 For analyses of Rore's madrigal, see Lewis Lockwood, 'Text and Music in Rore's Madrigal "Anchor che col partire"', in: *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning (Stuyvesant, NY, 1992), 243–51; DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration, and Rhythm* (see n. 11), 425–27; and Christopher Reynolds, 'Alessandro Striggio's Analysis of Cipriano de Rore's "Ancor che col partire"', in: *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 9, no. 2 (2017), 197–218.

43 Translation from DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration, and Rhythm* (see n. 11), 425.

diminutions in semiquavers, with the exception of the cadence in b. 36, which ends the first of these sections. From a purely musical viewpoint it may seem unusual, or even disappointing, to end the piece with diminutions in quavers, and not with a more profusely ornamented cadence such as the one mentioned above. On the other hand, performers might accept this slower movement as being suitable for the end of the piece. A viable solution to the problem of finding the appropriate tempo and movement is provided by the text, which is an excerpt from *The Song of Songs*:

Pulchra es, amica mea,	Thou art beautiful, O my love,
Suavis et decora sicut Hierusalem	Sweet and comely as Jerusalem,
Terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata.	Terrible as an army with banners.
Averte oculos tuos a me,	Turn away thine eyes from me,
Quia ipsi me avolare fecerunt.	For they have made me flee.

The third line, 'Terrible as an army with banners', provides a strong contrast to the sweetness of the beginning. This passage is today considered to be an unfortunate Latin mistranslation of the Hebrew original,[44] but, as it stands, it might imply a more forceful performance, perhaps with a faster beat. Since the movement in Bassano's diminution is noticeably slower at this point, a faster beat might in fact have been expected until the ornamented cadence in b. 36. A faster tempo is more obviously implied by the final line, 'for they have made me flee'. One would expect a faster movement, but Bassano avoids semiquavers until the very end. His diminutions enable a faster beat in both of these sections.

The final example is a canzona by Claudio Merulo. An ensemble version of this piece, by the title of *L'Olica*, appeared in a collection of canzonas of 1588 and is given in Appendix 4a. At first glance this version seems somewhat uniform, with no obvious change of note values from beginning to end. Merulo's ornamented intabulation, published posthumously as *La Radivila* and shown in Appendix 4b, may shed light on tempo changes that he expected. We find a repeated section where diminutions are largely avoided and remain reserved for the final cadences (bb. 21–29 and 40–48). The character of this section with its energetic canzona motifs contrasts with the beginning of the piece, and a faster tempo seems appropriate.

44 See J. Cheryl Exum, *Song of Songs: A Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (Louisville, KY, 2005), 217–9.

Conclusion

While the changes of tempo suggested for the last three pieces can also be employed when performing the unornamented originals, they are hypothetical and by no means obligatory; the pieces would surely have been approached in various ways by musicians of the period. On the other hand, one can also imagine tempo changes in addition to the ones presented, especially since they are relatively simple: a single change in the ricercar, four changes in the intabulated madrigal, and three changes in both the ornamented motet and the keyboard canzona. They all occur in the middle of pieces, after the initial tempo has been well established, and can respond to the need for variety. Such tempo changes can easily be realised in an ensemble and do not seem to correspond to Haiden's description of keyboard soloists changing the measure in ways that would be impracticable for a group of string players. Additional adjustments of tempo may, for example, be employed at the ornamented cadences.

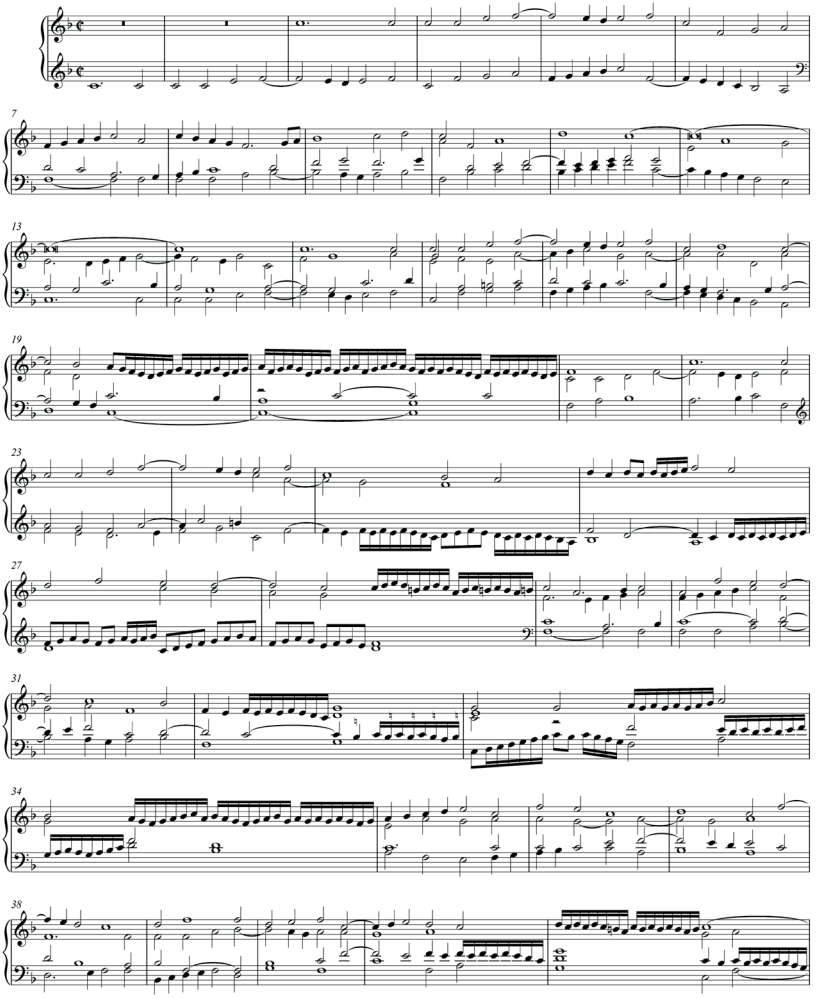
Such observations may nevertheless be useful to modern performers, many of whom remain unaware of these possibilities. Tempo changes provide more variety: they can help to hold the listener's attention, and, when they are recognised as such, to contribute to the communication between performers and their audiences. While highlighting changes of affect, they can also clarify the musical and poetic form, elucidating certain compositional choices. Furthermore, they enable the performer to introduce greater contrasts by including tempi that are slower or faster than is viable when the tempo remains unchanged throughout a piece. Several of these aspects are confirmed by contemporary writers. Vicentino explains:

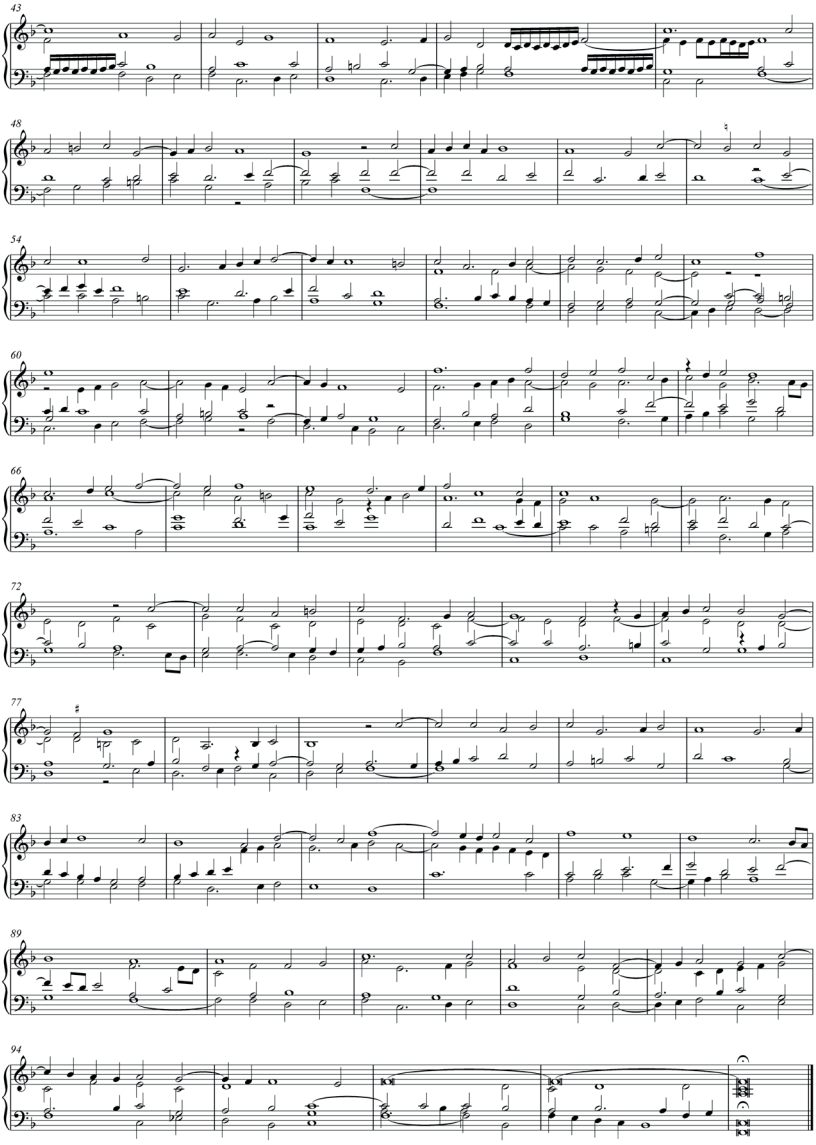
> A composition sung with changes of measure is pleasing because of the variety, more so than one that continues on to the end without any variation of tempo. Experience with this technique will make everyone secure in it. You will find that in vernacular works the procedure gratifies listeners more than a persistent changeless measure.[45]

45 Vicentino, *L'antica musica* (see n. 1), lib. 4, cap. 42, fol. 94^{v} [=88]: '& la compositione cantata, con la mutatione della misura è molto gratiata, con quella varieta, che senza variare, & seguire al fine, & l'esperienza di tal modo farà certo ognuno, però nelle cose volgari si ritroverà che tal procedere piacerà più à gl'oditori, che la misura continua sempre à un modo'. Translation from Vicentino/ed. Maniates, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice* (see n. 3), 301.

Appendix 1

Andrea Gabrieli, *Ricercar del quinto tono*, from *Il terzo libro de ricercari* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1596), fols. 7r–10r. Online: <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-55399>.

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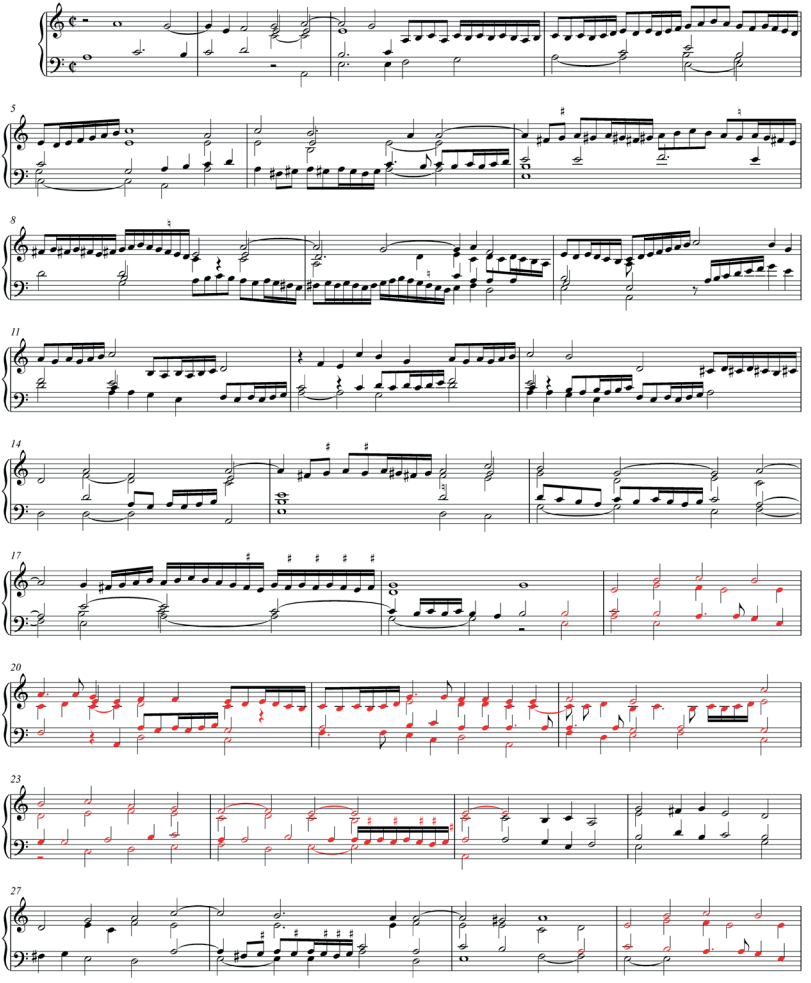
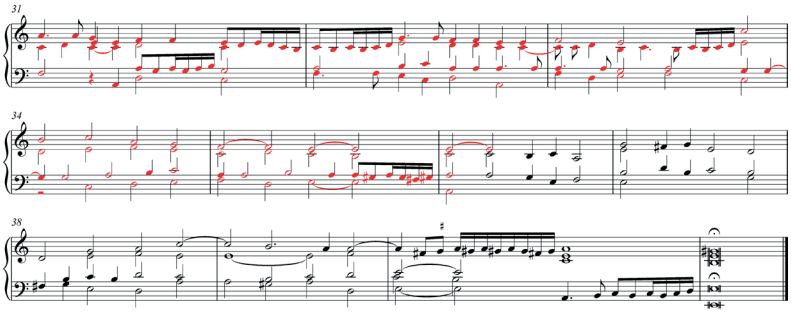
Appendix 2

Andrea Gabrieli, 'Anchor che col partire' (after Cipriano de Rore) from *Il terzo libro de ricercari* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1596), fols. 34r–36r. Online: <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-55399 >. Sections for which a faster tempo is suggested are marked in red.

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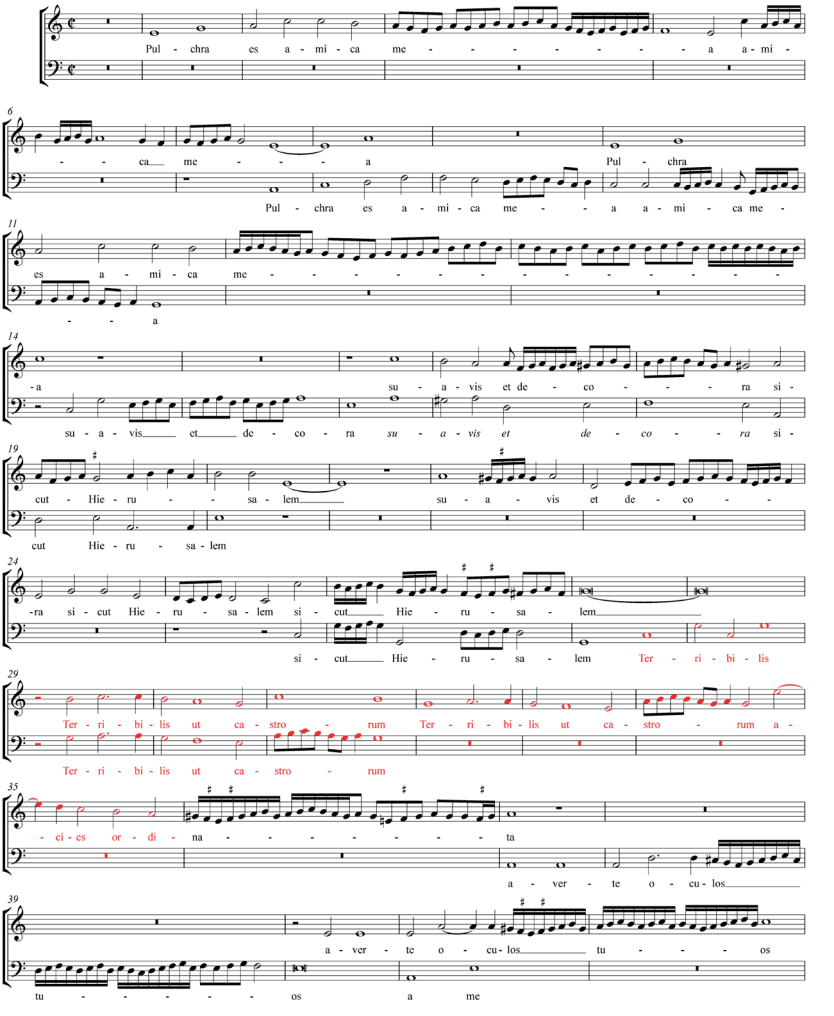
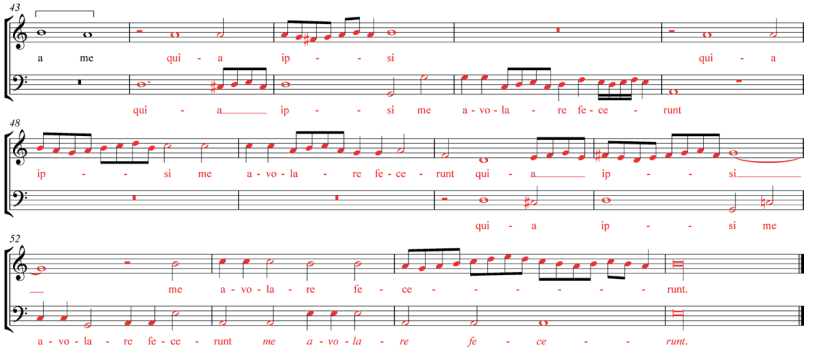
Appendix 3

Giovanni Bassano, 'Pulchra es amica mea' (after Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina), from *Mottetti, madrigali, et canzone francese* (Venice, 1591; original print lost, see Friedrich Chrysander's copy from 1890 in: D-Hs Ms. M B/2488), no. 51. Sections for which a faster tempo is suggested are marked in red.

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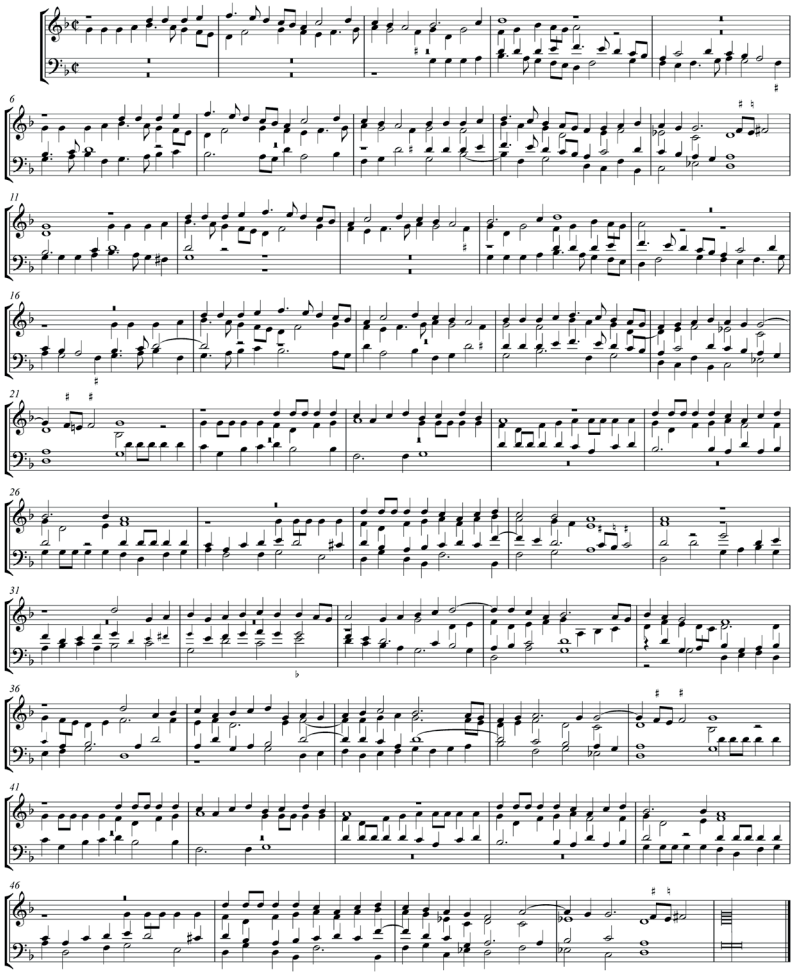
a me qui - a ip - - si qui - a
qui - a ip - - si me a - vo - la - re fe - ce - runt
48
ip - - si me a - vo - la - re fe - ce - runt qui - a ip - - si
qui - a ip - - si me
52
me a - vo - la - re fe - ce - - - - - - runt.
a - vo - la - re fe - ce - runt me a - vo - la - re fe - ce - - runt.

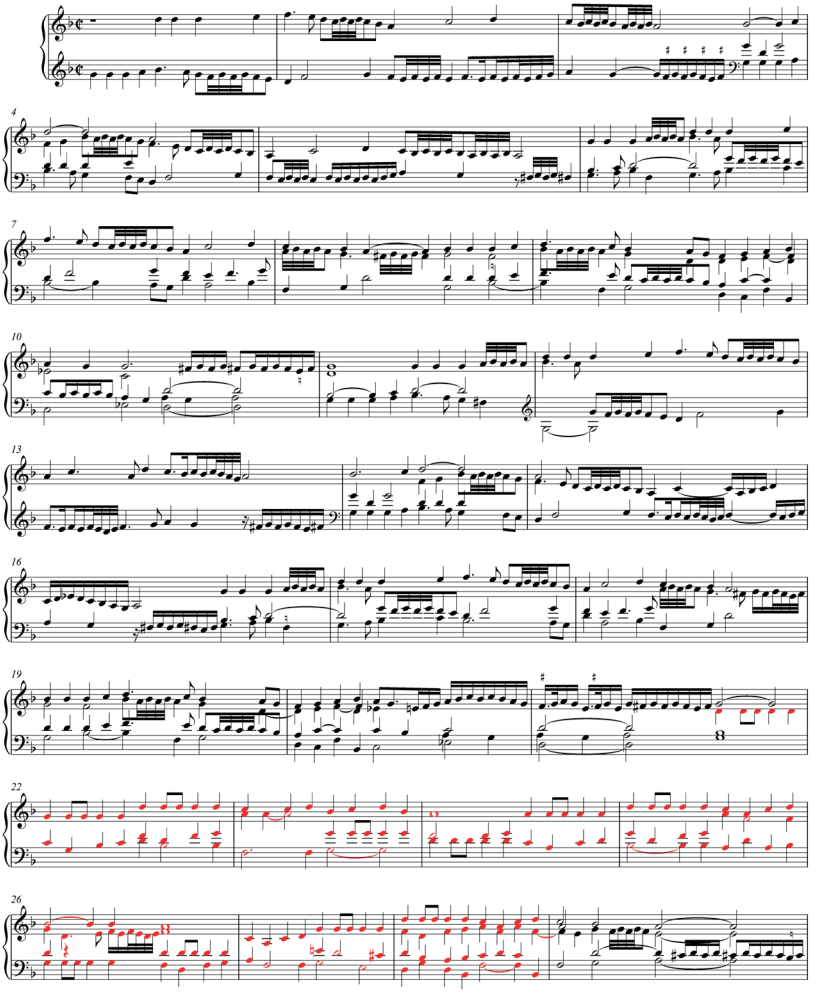
Appendix 4a

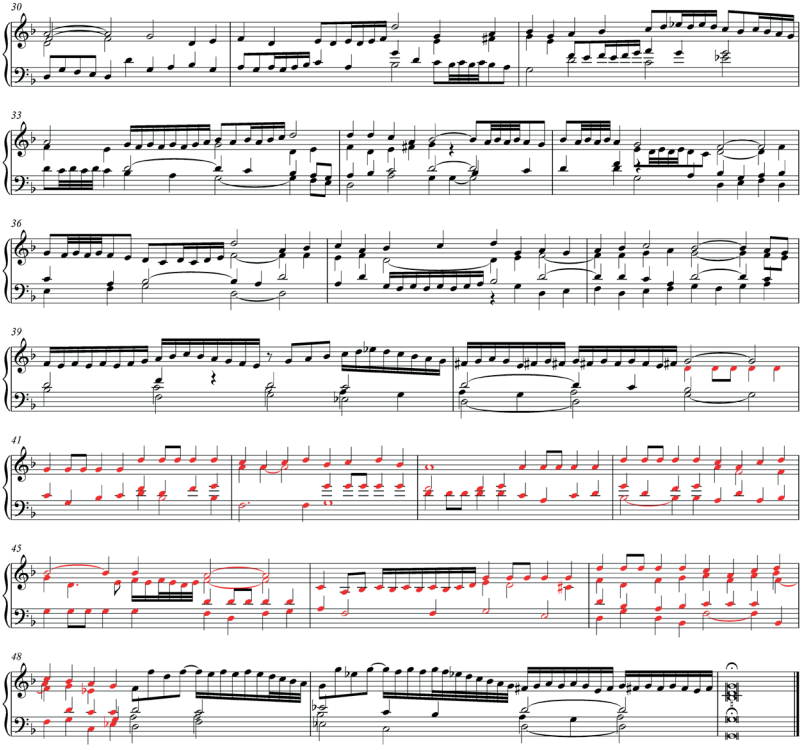
Claudio Merulo, *L'Olica* (keyboard reduction), from *Canzon di diversi per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti* (Venice, 1588) (RISM 1588[31]), fols. A2[r] (Canto), E2[r] (Alto), C2[r] (Tenore), G2[r] (Basso).



Appendix 4b

Claudio Merulo, *La Radivila*, from *Libro secondo di canzoni d’intavolatura d’organo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1606), fols. 6r–7v. Sections for which a faster tempo is suggested are marked in red.

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7 On the Performance Practice of Andrea Antico's *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi, libro primo* (Rome, 1517)

Fabio Antonio Falcone

This article proposes a hypothetical way to conceive the interconnection between music and text in specific cases where the text is missing, such as in Andrea Antico's *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi, libro primo* (1517). First, I will present the subject and the research questions. Second, I will illustrate the methodology employed for the analysis of the repertoire. Finally, I will discuss the conclusions of this investigation. Special attention will be given to the specific aspects of performance practice that are involved.

The Interconnection between Text and Music in the frottola Genre

In 1517 Andrea Antico published a set of keyboard arrangements of vocal pieces.[1] This publication is well known to modern scholars because it is the first

1 RISM 1517[3]. The collection is preserved in only two sources. One copy in the former Josef Dobrovský Library (Knihovna Josefa Dobrovského) in Prague, now part of the National Library, with the signature gg 19(1); the other copy – without page 37 and currently untraceable – was in the possession of the Marquis Polesini of Porec and passed to Milan after the family moved there. See Gloria Filocamo and Maria Luisa Baldassari, 'Le "Frottole intabulate da sonare organi" (Roma, Andrea Antico, 1517): testo musicale e contesto sociale della prima intavolatura italiana per tastiera a stampa', in: *Fonti musicali italiane* 23 (2018), 7–26. For a description of the two extant specimens, see Dragan Plamenac, 'The recently discovered complete copy of A. Antico's *Frottole intabulate* (1517)', in: *Aspects of medieval and Renaissance music. A birthday offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan La Rue (New York, 1966), 683–92, at 684. The Prague copy is reproduced in the facsimile edition published by Forni, with an introduction by Giuseppe Radole: Andrea Antico, *Frottole intabulate per sonare organi*, facs. ed., Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis IV/42 (Bologna, 1984).

example of printed keyboard repertoire in Italy.[2]

The pieces arranged in the collections are frottolas. The generic term *frottola* designates a set of fixed-form poems set to music in a significant variety of poetic structures. Though frottolas were most often composed in four separate parts, many historical records show that they were mostly performed by one singer accompanying himself or herself on the lute.[3] In this repertoire, the same music is frequently set to different texts, as in the case of other poetic forms like *strambotti* where often only the music for the first two verses is provided. Furthermore, in his *Libro quarto* (1505) (RISM 1505[5]) Petrucci includes the music of an *aer da cantar versi latini* (air to sing Latin verses) and a *modo de cantar sonetti* (air to sing sonetti) without providing any text, which indicates that in this repertoire the music is a neutral medium for declamation of different texts.[4]

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2 The earliest known keyboard print is Arnolt Schlick's German tablature, *Tabulaturen etlicher Lobgesang und Lidlein uff die Orgeln und Lauten* […] (Mainz: Peter Schöffer 'the younger', 1512) (vdm: 12), with alphabetical indications. Antico's *Frottole intabulate* is, according to Filocamo, the first printed collection for keyboard instruments in mensural notation. Filocamo and Baldassari, 'Le "Frottole intabulate da sonare organi"', 7.

3 Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols., trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions and Oliver Strunk (Princeton, 1971), i, 77. See also William F. Prizer, 'The frottola and the unwritten tradition', in: *Studi musicali* 15 (1986), 3–37; repr. in: *Secular Renaissance Music. Forms and Functions*, ed. Sean Gallagher (Farnham, 2013), 181–215, at 186. William F. Prizer, 'Performance practices in the frottola. An introduction to the repertoire of early 16th-century Italian solo secular song with suggestions for the use of instruments on the other lines', in: *EM* 3 (1975), 227–35, at 227. Concerning the performance practice of frottolas see also: Everett B. Helm, 'Heralds of the Italian Madrigal', in: *MQ* 27 (1941), 306–18, at 313; Francesco Luisi, 'La frottola nella esecuzione coeva', in: *Il flauto dolce* 4 (1974), 1–6, at 4; André Pirro, 'Les "Frottole" et la musique instrumentale', in: *RMl* 3 (1922), 3–12, at 5.

4 Petrucci's books of frottolas contain a dozen of these *aer*s or *modi di cantar* presented without poetic text, thus intended to be sung using any text within a given metrical structure. See Stefano La Via, *Poesia per musica e musica per poesia. Dai trovatori a Paolo Conte* (Rome, [2]2020), 168. Although there are no known 'aeri' intended for singing *strambotti*, Francesco Saggio identifies two possible 'modi di cantar strambotti' in Petrucci's fifth book (Venice, 1505) (RISM 1505[6]), 'Si come fede se depinge biancha' and 'Non dê' tardar chi à piacer vol darsi'. See Francesco Saggio, 'Improvvisazione e scrittura nel tardo-quattrocento cortese: lo strambotto al tempo di Leonardo Giustinian e Serafino Aquilano', in: *Cantar ottave. Per una storia culturale dell'intonazione cantata in ottava rima*, ed. Maurizio Agamennone (Lucca, 2017), 25–45, at 29.

As stated by Coelho and Polk, there can be several motivations behind the composition of an intabulation which determine its function and essence. Drawing a parallel with the practice of translation, the authors state that intabulations can cover a wide range of approaches: from faithful rendition of the original model to simple quotation of main themes. The motivations of the composer/arranger and the ensuing features of the intabulation are closely determined by the recipient or dedicatee of the work.[5]

In the case of Andrea Antico's collection, it is plausible to assume that the main recipients were the highest-ranking members of the courts of the Italian peninsula. The keyboard instruments represented in the wooden inlays in the *studiolo* of Federico da Montefeltro and Isabella d'Este show the growing interest in these instruments by the most discerning musical patrons of the 16th century.

Giovanni de' Medici, who later became Pope Leo X, also commissioned inlays. He owned several keyboard instruments and was himself a skilled instrumentalist and seems to have had a talent for singing.[6] As a young man he was initiated into music by the Flemish composer Heinrich Isaac.[7] During his years of musical training at the court of his father Lorenzo the Magnificent, the young Giovanni de' Medici had the opportunity to listen to the greatest improvisers of the time, who used to recite poems accompanied by the lyre or lute. Baggio Ugolini (the main actor in the Mantuan performance of Poliziano's *Orfeo*), Aurelio Brandolini (improviser of vernacular and Latin verses), and Cardiere (known for his talent as an improviser of verses on the lyre) were all received on several occasions at the court of Lorenzo il Magnifico during Giovanni's years of training.[8]

Antico published an instrumental version of twenty-six frottolas, wherein no text was included. Most likely these pieces were well-known as vocal works to his public, since the collection contains tablatures of frottolas that had been circulating since 1507 in collections published by Petrucci and Antico himself.[9]

Contemporary sources confirm that singers of frottolas were supposed to base their performances on the content of the lyrics.[10] Singers were expected

5 Victor Coelho and Keith Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600: Players of Function and Fantasy* (Cambridge, 2016), 215.

6 Filocamo and Baldassari, 'Le "Frottole intabulate da sonare organi"' (see n. 1), 16.

7 André Pirro and Gustave Reese, 'Leo X and Music', in: *MQ* 21 (1935), 1–16, at 1.

8 Ibid., 2.

9 Filocamo and Baldassari, 'Le "Frottole intabulate da sonare organi"' (see n. 1), 10.

10 Pirrotta, 'Before the Madrigal', in: *JM* 12 (1994), 237–52, at 239–42; Francis Biggi, 'La *Fabula di Orpheo* d'Ange Politien ou comment rendre une œuvre à l'espace de l'interprétation?', in: *La Musique ancienne entre historiens et musiciens*, ed. Rémy Campos and Xavier Bisaro (Geneva, 2014), 491–512, at 498.

to be aware of the poetic content and the literal meaning of the text. They had also to be aware of the form and structure, which includes the metre of the lyrics.

Brunetto Latini (1220–1294) distinguished 'the speaking in prose' from 'the speaking in verses' in his *Li livres dou Tresor*. He states that speaking in verses is governed by three parameters: weight, number and measure. Whoever whishes to speak in rhyme must count out all the syllables with his fingers in order to be sure that the verse has the right number. He must measure the last two syllables of each verse, in order to make the rhyme work properly. Finally, and most importantly, he must respect the correct accentuation of the words in order to make the rhymes and the rhythm of the verse work properly.[11] Thus, Brunetto Latini tells us that the right accentuation of syllables was strictly respected while reading verses, as early as the 1260s.

Modern Italian poetry is based on the quality of the syllables, which can be strong or weak, rather than their quantity, as in the case of Latin poetry.[12] In Latin poetry the length of the syllable was the building block of the metre and the accent had no structural importance. In Italian poetry the rhythm is the product of the arrangement of arsis and thesis – that is, tonic (stressed) syllables and unstressed syllables.[13] The quantity of syllables was not perceived anymore, and the tonic accent was the only important element.

Stefano La Via states that when we set an Italian text to music, the syllable automatically becomes quantitative: longer notes for accented syllables.[14] From 1550 onward, accented syllables were set to music chiefly with long notes and on downbeats. This is the case for most madrigals from the second half of the 16th century onward. However, frottolas are very different. We often note discrepancies between the metric structure (the accents of the verse) and the music. For instance, we find strong tonic accents set to weak parts of the measure, often on upbeats. An example is the first *endecasillabo*[15] of Petrarch's

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11 Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor, publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale, de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, et plusieurs manuscrits des départements et de l'étranger*, ed. Polycarpe Chabaille (Paris, 1863), 481.

12 Francesco Bausi and Mario Martelli, *La metrica italiana. Teoria e storia* (Florence, [1]1993, 2021), 11.

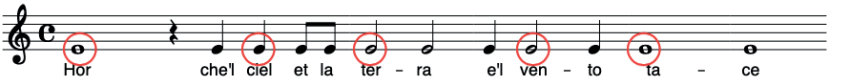
13 Ibid., 9.

14 La Via, *Poesia per musica e musica per poesia* (see n. 4), 91.

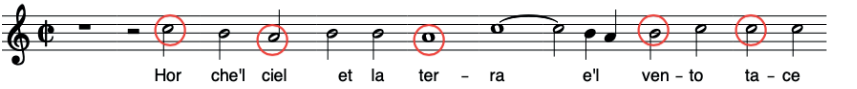
15 The structure of Italian *endecasillabo* is essential to mention here. In the Italian *endecasillabo*, compulsory accents must fall on the tenth syllable, but they must fall also on the fourth or the sixth syllable, according to the type of verse. All the other accents of the verse are free. They can fall on the first, second, third, eighth and ninth syllable. Very rarely a tonic accent falls on the fifth syllable. This means that several rhythmical patterns are possible in one verse: a verse

Hor che'el ciel et la terra set to music by Monteverdi and then the version by Tromboncino. The metrical reading of the verse is:

Hor che 'l ciel et la terra e 'l vento tace (-u,-uu,-u,-u,-u).16



Ex. 1: Claudio Monteverdi, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra' (SV 147), in: *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosa [...] Libro ottavo* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1638), mm. 1–6.



Ex. 2: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', in: *Frottole libro secondo* (Rome: Andrea Antico?, c. 1516) (RISM [c. 1516][10]), mm. 1–6.

In the Monteverdi example, the music respects the metrical structure of the verse. The same is not the case in the frottola of Tromboncino. In the *seconda prattica*, the music was at the service of the text, amplifying the metrical structure and the meaning of the lyrics. But in the case of frottolas the music often seems to be nothing more than a neutral medium for reading the text out loud, in a sort of declamation. It is particularly interesting that Vincenzo Calmeta, a follower and biographer of Serafino dall'Aquila, encourages young lovers who want to conquer ladies through their singing to choose *frottole*, *stanze* or *barzellette* over genres with skilfully crafted diminutions, in order to better understand the text.[17] Calmeta suggests following the example of Cariteo or Serafino: to imitate 'the judgement of a discerning jeweller, who, having to show the finest and whitest pearl, will place it not on a golden cloth, but on some black silk, that it might show up better'.[18]

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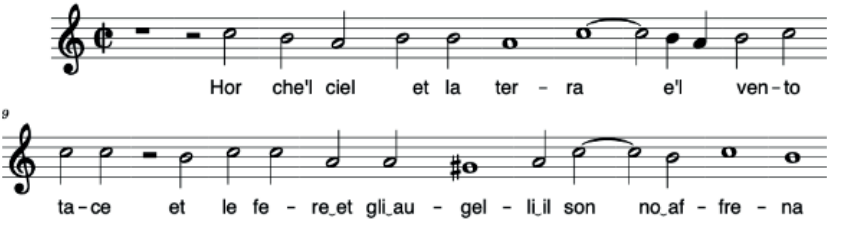
can contain iambic rhythm, trochaic, dactylic, etc., and the *endecasillabo* usually mixes them together. Pietro G. Beltrami, *Piccolo dizionario di metrica* (Bologna, 2015), 50. Concerning rhythmic variety of the *endecasillabo* see Aldo Menichetti, *Prima lezione di metrica* (Rome/Bari, 2013), 63.

16 A more correct representation of the qualitative accentuation of the verse should employ the following symbols /x/xx/x/x/x. The use of classical symbology ('–' for accented syllables and 'u' for unaccented syllables), due to its quantitative nature, facilitates the comparison between the metric structure of the text and the corresponding durations of the musical rhythm. See La Via, *Poesia per musica e musica per poesia* (see n. 4), 57.

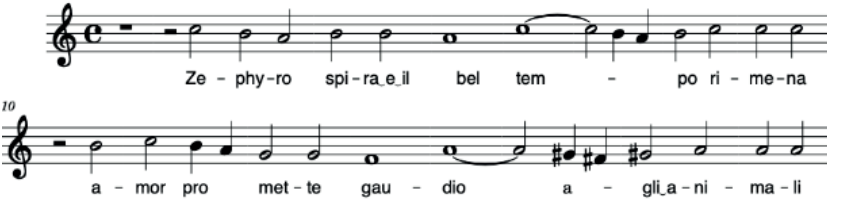
17 Vincenzo Calmeta, *Prose e lettere inedite*, ed. Cecil Grayson (Bologna, 1959), 21.

18 Cit. by Pirrotta, 'Before the Madrigal' (see n. 10), 242.

Therefore, in frottola repertoire the music seems to have been a blank canvas for performing any text; the music was conceived as a generic structure over which different texts could be sung. This would also explain why different texts are often set in music with the same or very similar musical material. In the next examples, the first two verses from Petrarch's sonetto 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra' and from the anonymous *strambotto* 'Zephyro spira', are both set to music by Tromboncino: they show almost identical musical material despite the different texts.

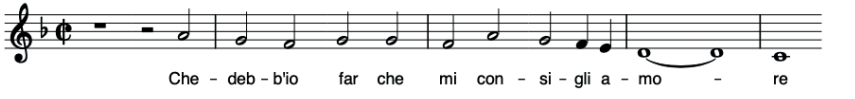


Ex. 3: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', in: *Frottole libro secondo* (Rome: Andrea Antico ?, c. 1516) (RISM [c. 1516][10]), mm. 1–10.



Ex. 4: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, 'Zephyro spira', in: *Frottole libro octavo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1507) (RISM 1507[4]), mm. 1–10.

A similar kind of melodic line can be found in other guises, such as the first verse of Petrarch's canzona *Che debbio far*, set to music by Tromboncino.



Ex. 5: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, 'Che debb'io far', in: *Canzoni novi con alcune scelte di vari libri di canto* (Rome: Andrea Antico, 1510) (RISM 1510[1]), mm. 1–6.

We find a number of melodic formulas in the frottola repertoire, called *aere* or *modi*[19], and each of these formulas fits a different kind of metre. This allows us to find musical formulas for almost any kind of verse.[20]

Similar relationships exist between text and music in the *ottava rima*, where stereotyped melodic formulas reflect its improvisatory origin. The sung *ottava rima* is a popular practice still surviving in Tuscany, with the improvisation of Italian *endecasillabi* while singing standard musical patterns. The performers are familiar enough with the musical patterns that they can use them to sing different texts. As we can still hear in Tuscany today, the sung *ottava rima* has always been improvised in a way that lies between folk and literary tradition.[21] The lyrics are improvised on a musical formula called *aere*, which works as a fixed musical structure to help the poet to compose the texts with the right number of syllables and without the need to count them out.

Renaissance frottolas, as we have seen, are similar: Pirrotta already pointed out that frottolas owe their form to a folkloric oral tradition, though they are a nobler and more refined version of this tradition. Frottolas were equally a product of the cultivated North Italian Courts and a creation for their use.[22]

Like the *ottava rima*, frottolas are based on the *aere* musical formulas. Frottola repertoire is mainly monodic; the use of polyphony is limited. A prominent upper voice often sings syllabically, and melismas are scarce; as in the *ottava rima*, they are present only at cadenzas. Records survive of the preference for solo performances over polyphonic renditions during the Renaissance. These highlight the interconnection between music and text as well as the central role played by the intelligibility of the text. Baldassarre Castiglione praises the 'declamation on the viola' over polyphonic singing not only because we can better understand the melody but because it allows a better recitation of the lyrics:

> […] but as even far more beautiful, to sing to the accompaniment of the viol[23], because nearly all the sweetness lies in the solo part, and we note and observe the fine manner and the melody with much greater attention

19 Filocamo and Baldassari, 'Le "Frottole intabulate da sonare organi"' (see n. 1), 16.

20 Pirrotta, 'Before the Madrigal' (see n. 10), 244. According to Pirrotta, no 'arie per cantar strambotti' have ever been written, as each *strambotto* seems to have a specific music composed particularly for its text. The author mentions this to support his hypothesis that the madrigal had its roots in the *strambotto*.

21 See Biggi, 'La *Fabula di Orpheo*' (see n. 10), 502.

22 Pirrotta, 'Before the Madrigal' (see n. 10), 238 and 246.

23 It is not clear from Castiglione's text whether the instrument in question is a viola da gamba (bowed strings) or a viola da mano (plucked strings). Since this is not an essential point of discussion, I leave the question open. Since there are no studies on the subject today, it is hoped that future articles will clarify the issue.

> when our ears are not occupied with more than a single voice, and moreover every little fault I more clearly discerned, – which is not the case when several sing together, because each singer helps his neighbour. But above all, singing to the viol by way of recitative seems to me most delightful, which adds to the words a charm and grace that are very admirable.[24]

Another similarity with the *ottava rima* is the frottola's roots in oral tradition. This is particularly evident in the case of the *strambotto*, the most widespread poetic form of the genre, as used by the improviser Serafino dall'Aquila. In his *Apologia*, Angelo Colotio describes the way Serafino dall'Aquila performed his *strambotti*. The description highlights the close relationship between text and music in these improvisations, and the attention Serafino paid to the pronunciation of the words:

> They will say that the pronunciation gave him grace; we will confess that in this he surpassed himself. They will say that he spoke in a singular way, but that he tried to match the words to the lute in order to stamp them more deeply on people's minds, to inflame them and calm them down, as Gracchus adapted his style in the Senate. I say that just as Terpander will always be praised for having added his voice to music and Dardanus to his flute, so Seraphin will always be praised for having given a way to express the passions of love in rhyme, more than anyone else ever before.[25]

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Francis Biggi for his advice on this point.

24 '[…] ma ancor molto più il cantare alla viola perché tutta la dolcezza consiste quasi in un solo, e con molto maggior attenzion si nota ed intende il bel modo e l'aria non essendo occupate le orecchie in più che in una sol voce, e meglio ancora vi si discerne ogni piccolo errore; il che non accade cantando in compagnia perché l'uno aiuta l'altro. Ma sopra tutto parmi gratissimo il cantare alla viola per recitare; il che tanto di venustà ed efficacia aggiunge alle parole, che è gran maraviglia'. Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, ed. Amedeo Quondam and Nicola Longo (Milan, 2009), 137. English translation in Baldassare Castiglione, *The book of the courtier by count Baldesar Castiglione*, ed. Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (London, 1901), 194.

25 'Li concedeno el proferir singulare, ma che cercava concordare le parole al leuto per più imprimerle nello animo delle genti & per hor inflamare hora remectere, come Gracco ne' senati la sua lyra adaptava. Dico che come non senza laude sempre sarà Terpandro che agiunse la voce alla musica & Dardano alla tibia, così el Seraphin per haver dato modo & da imprimere e da exprimere in rime le passione d'amore, più ch'alcuno altro mai per adietro sarà da esser celebrato'. *Apologia di Angelo Colotio nell'opere de Seraphino, al Magnifico Sylvio Piccolhomini S. et benefactore*, in: Serafino di Ciminelli, *Le rime di Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila*,

In his essay *Qual stile tra' volgari poeti sia da imitare* (What style to imitate among Italian vernacular poets), Calmeta legitimises accompanied monody as a genre of poetry. He invites the reader to imitate

> those [poems] accompanied with the instrument, in order to better impress upon not only amorous but also learned hearts. […] Likewise, those who, in singing, put all their effort into expressing the words well when they are of substance, and make the music accompany them in the way that masters are accompanied by servants, are to be held in high esteem.[26]

Calmeta's passage clearly illustrates the subordination of music to poetry: poetry, with the help of music, better reaches not only the amorous but also – most importantly – the erudite hearts. It highlights the need to express the words and declaim the text well.

In a letter to Pico della Mirandola, Angelo Poliziano describes a banquet in the Orsini palace.[27] During the dinner, Fabio, the son of Paolo Orsini, sings polyphony with friends for the guests. Poliziano points out that the piece was performed from notation; the musicians were reading the music from part books. However, Poliziano is notably more enthusiastic when Fabio sings some verses by Piero dei Medici alone, accompanying himself on a lute:

> No sooner were we seated at the table than [Fabio] was ordered to sing, together with some other experts, certain of those songs which are put into writing with those little signs of music [it is difficult to render the sense of contemptuous diffidence conveyed by that 'quaedam … notata Musicis accentiunculis carmina'], and immediately he filled our ears, or rather our hearts ['immo vero in praecordia'], with a voice so sweet that (I do not know about the others) as for myself, I was almost transported out of my senses, and was touched beyond doubt by the unspoken feeling of an

vol. 1, ed. Mario Menghini (Bologna, 1894), 27. See also Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei. Da Poliziano a Monteverdi* (Turin, 1975), 44.

26 '[…] quelle con lo instrumento compagnando, per poterle meglio non solo negli amorosi ma ancora negli eruditi cuori imprimere. […] Cosi medesimamente sono da essere essistimati di sommo giudicio coloro che cantando mettono tutto lo sforzo in esprimer bene le parole quando sono di sustanza, e fanno che la musica le accompagna con quel modo che sono i padroni da' servidori accompagnati'. Calmeta quoted by Kolsky in Stephen D. Kolsky, 'The Courtier as Critic: Vincenzo Calmeta's *Vita del facondo poeta vulgare Serafino Aquilano*', in: *Italica* 67 (1990), 161–72, at 164.

27 The extract is taken from a letter contained in Book xii of Angelo Poliziano's letters. According to Pirrotta, the episode refers to Poliziano's trip to Rome in 1488 on the occasion of Piero de' Medici's wedding with Alfonsina Orsini. Nino Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei* (see n. 25), 44.

> altogether divine pleasure. He then performed an heroic song which he had himself recently composed in praise of our own Piero dei Medici … his voice was not entirely that of someone reading, nor entirely that of someone singing: both could be heard, and yet neither separated one from the other; it was, in any case, even or modulated, and changed as required by the passage. Now it was varied, now sustained, now exalted and now restrained, now calm and now vehement, now slowing down and now quickening its pace, but always it was precise, always clear and always pleasant; and his gestures were not indifferent or sluggish, but not posturing or affected either […].[28]

In this account Poliziano explains that Fabio's voice, singing the monody, was neither that of a reader nor that of a singer; the listener could have perceived it as both, without being able to distinguish whether he was singing or reading. These contemporary testimonies emphasise certain recurring elements: first and foremost, the preference for an accompanied monody rather than a polyphonic rendition, through which the singer could better interpret the meaning of the text; and the extreme flexibility of the sung rendition of the text, in which the sung voice was not easily distinguishable from the spoken voice.

If this is how this monodic repertoire was understood by the contemporaries, we should ask ourselves how this was mirrored in the performance practice of instrumental intabulations of the same music and period. Did the player infer the correct accentuation of the music from an implicit text? If so, a correct understanding of the meter and of poetical conventions would be an essential element for a correct performance of Antico's arrangements of this vocal repertoire.

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28 'Ut ergo discubuimus, canere quaedam iussus notata Musicis accentiunculis carmina, simul cum peritis aliis, statim suavissima quadam voce sic in aures nostras illapsus, immo vero in praecordia est, ut me quidem (ceteros nescio) pene extra me rapuerit, certe sensu tacito divinae prorsus cuiusdam voluptatis affecerit. Pronunciavit heroicum deinde carmen, quod ipsemet nuper in Petri Medicis nostri laudem composuerat […] Vox ipsa nec quasi legentis, nec quasi canentis, sed in qua tamen utrumque; sentires, neutrum discerneres: varie tamen prout locus posceret aut aequalis, aut inflexa, nunc distincta, nunc perpetua, nunc sublata, nunc deducta, nunc remissa, nunc contenta, nunc lenta, nunc incitata, semper emendata, semper clara, semper dulcis, gestus non ociosus, non somniculosus, sed nec vultuosus tamen, ac molestus […]'. Angelo Poliziano, *Angeli Politiani* […] *et aliorum eius temporis illustrium virorum epistolae xii. libris contentae* (Basel: Andreas Cratander, Erben: 1542) (VD16 ZV 26479), 447–8. The English translation of this excerpt is taken from Nino Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* (Cambridge, 1982), 36. The Italian translation of this excerpt is quoted in Nino Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei* (see n. 25), 35–6. See also Biggi, 'La *Fabula di Orpheo*' (see n. 10), 499.

Analysis of the Repertoire: Two Examples

In this part, after describing the methodology used, the analysis of two frottolas will be presented in more detail. In order to perform this instrumental repertoire whilst respecting the original vocal model as much as possible, a metrical and semantic analysis of the texts is necessary.

The poetic material can be analysed on the basis of two criteria: first, a metric/prosodic criterium, which defines the subdivision of the verse into metric unities – syllables, feet, stanzas and so on – regardless of the meaning of the text; second, a syntactic/semantic criterium, which divides the text into unities of logically complete meaning.[29] These two unities may or may not coincide, although it is often the case in much Italian Renaissance poetry that the two do overlap.

In this study, the lyrics have first been transcribed from the vocal score, trying to respect the correct placement of the text on the keyboard intabulation as much as possible. The lyrics have then been analysed according to the two criteria mentioned above. Tonic syllables of the text are circled directly on the score. The colour red is used for the first text and blue for the repeat if present. On top of the metrical analysis, a set of signs to indicate a semantic analysis is superimposed: for instance, whenever a comma or a breath is needed for the understanding of the text, this has been indicated on the score. Punctuation marking on the lyrics have also been preserved.

The corpus of frottolas can be divided into two groups: those based on *endecasillabi* and *settenari*, and those based on *ottonari* or *settenari tronchi*. Since *endecassilabi* and *settenari* allow for freer accentuation patterns, the combination between music and text is often conflicting and generates unusual patterns, as we saw in the example previously with the two versions of 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra'. We find several different metric feet in the structure of the verses in these frottolas, such as iambs, trochees, dactyls, resulting at times in a structure close to spoken language. Tonic syllables of the text are placed both on downbeats as well as upbeats of the music. Conversely, we find much clearer accentuation patterns in the second group of frottolas. Here the metrical accents of the verse mainly coincide with the strong accents of the measure, since the *ottonario* or the *settenario tronco* is made mostly of iambic feet that gives a very regular rhythm to the verse.

29 La Via, *Poesia per musica e musica per poesia* (see n. 4), 87.

Hor che'l ciel et la terra

The text comes from Petrarca's *Canzoniere*; it is a sonnet built on Italian *endecasillabi*.

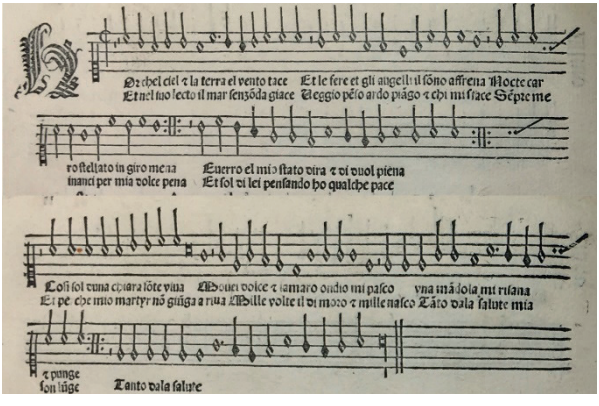
Hor che 'l **ciel** et la **ter**ra e 'l **ven**to **ta**ce
et le **fe**re e gli au**gel**li il **son**no af**fr**ena,
Notte il **ca**rro stel**la**to in **gi**ro **me**na
et **nel** suo **let**to il **mar** senz'**on**da **gia**ce,

vegghio, **pen**so, **ar**do, **pian**go; et chi mi **sfa**ce
sempre m'è i**nan**zi per mia **dol**ce **pe**na:
guerra è 'l mio **sta**to, d'**ir**a et di duol **pi**ena,
et **sol** di **lei** pen**san**do ò **qual**che **pa**ce.

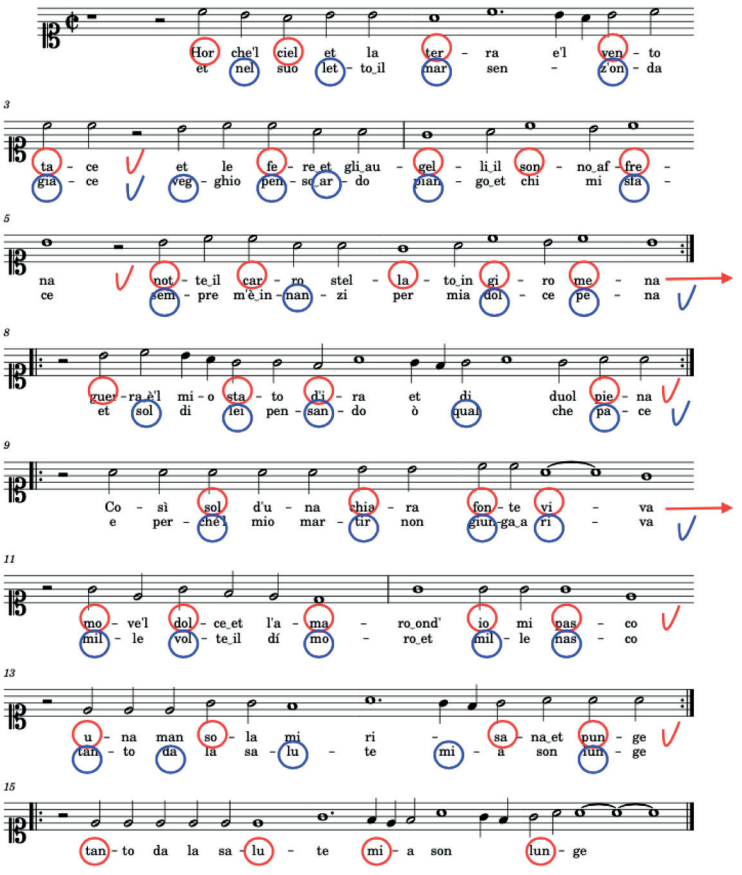
Cosí **sol** d'una **chia**ra **fon**te **vi**va
move 'l **dol**ce et l'a**ma**ro ond'**io** mi **pas**co;
una man **so**la mi ri**sa**na et **pun**ge;

e per**ché** 'l mio mar**tir** non **giun**ga a **ri**va,
mille **vol**te il dí **mo**ro et **mil**le **na**sco,
tanto da la salute **mia** son **lun**ge.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the frottola intabulated by Andrea Antico, an analysis of the original frottola is proposed in the following example. Accented metrical syllables have been circled in red and blue depending on whether they refer to the first or second text. Similarly, indications concerning semantic analysis have been marked in red when referring to the first text and in blue when referring to the second.



Ex. 6: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', cantus, in: *Frottole libro secondo* (Rome: Andrea Antico ?, c. 1516) (RISM [c. 1516][10]).

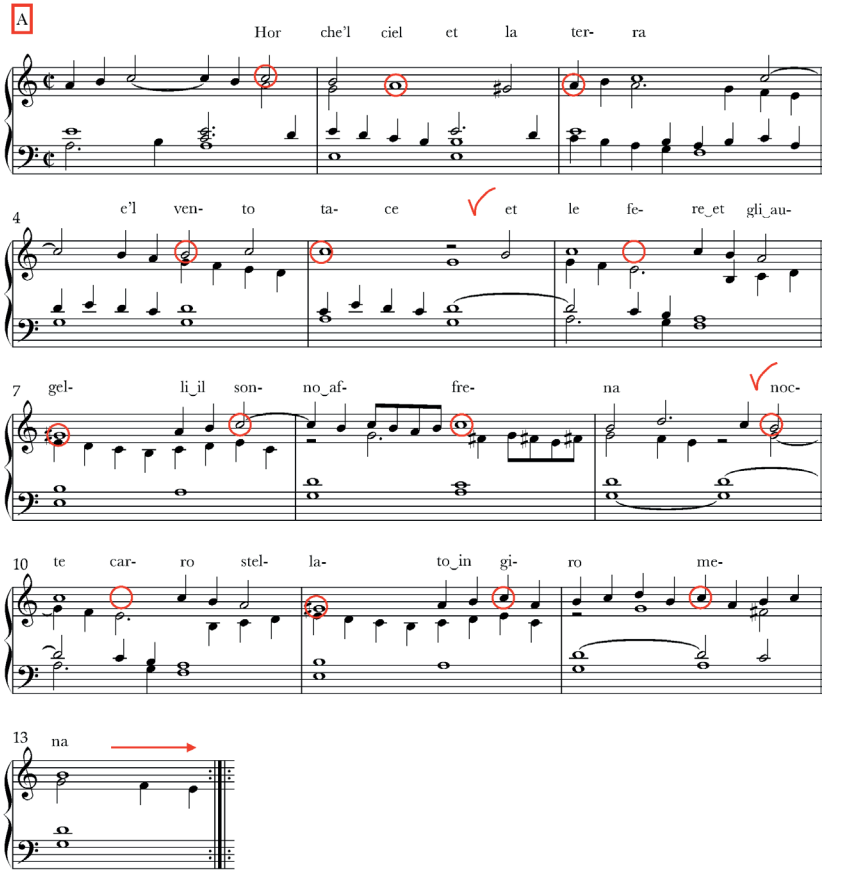


Ex. 7: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', cantus, in: *Frottole libro secondo* (Rome: Andrea Antico ?, c. 1516) (RISM [c. 1516][10]).

The music follows the structure AA'BB'CC'D, and is based on a common *aere*, as mentioned above. The piece begins with shifted accents: we have an upbeat on the syllable 'Hor', that according to the meter of the verse should be on a downbeat, followed by an accented syllable on 'che', which on the contrary should be weak. The second verse of the sonnet starts with an anapest (uu-) with the tonic accent on 'fe-re' falling here on the weak beat of the bar.

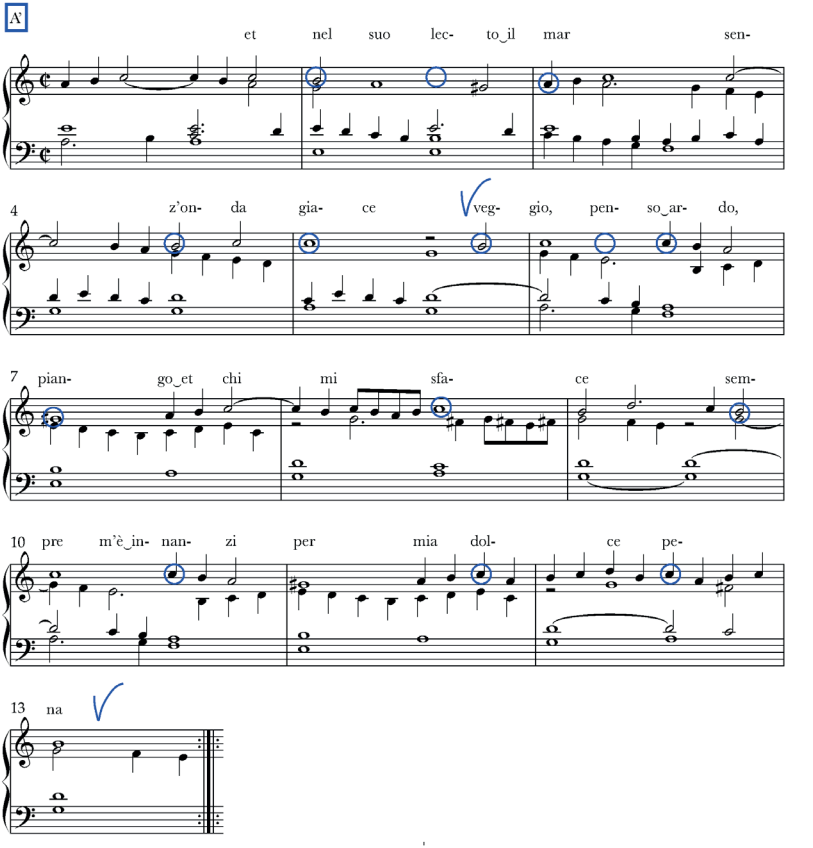
In the instrumental version (see Ex. 8) the note c^2 in the cantus on the syllable 'fe' (the word 'fere', b. 6) is notated as a single long note, probably from imagining a performance on the organ, whereas in the vocal version the note c^2 is syllabically repeated for the two syllables ('fe' and 're'). In order to underline this accentuated syllable, we would repeat the C, breaking the single long note.

The third verse of the sonnet presents the same structure of the first line: a trochee, a dactyl, and other three trochees (-u,-uu,-u,-u,-u). The first tonic accent on the syllable 'noc' (the word 'nocte', b. 9) falls here on an upbeat, and the second strong accent of the syllable 'car' (the word 'carro', b. 10) on a weak beat of the bar. Once again, we have only one long note in the instrumental version. But since the text continues semantically, between A and A', we should in this case not stop the flow of the cadence.



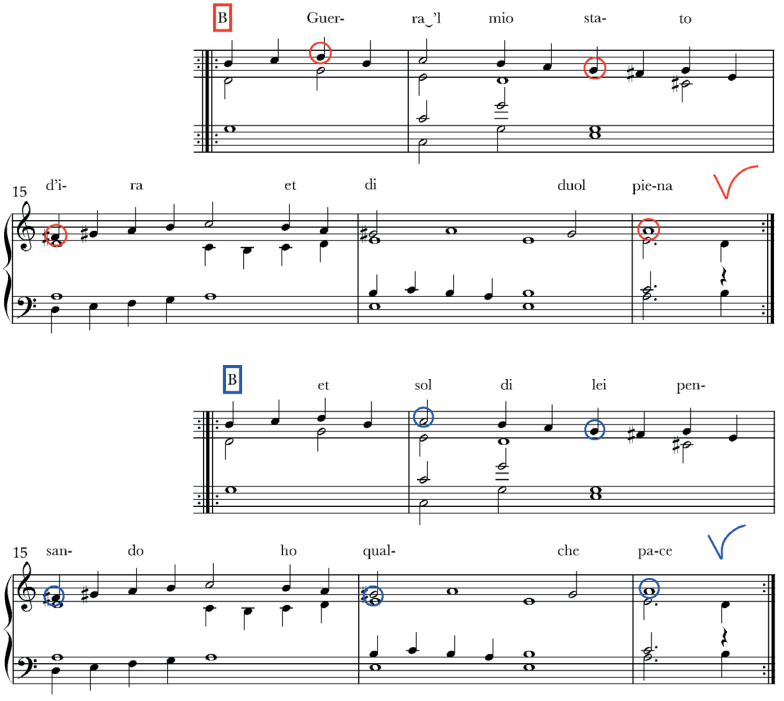
Ex. 8: Andrea Antico, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', in: *Frottole intabulate* 1517, mm. 1–13.

In the section A', the metrical structure is more regular, and the tonic accents of the lyrics generally coincide with the strong beats of the bar. Yet, in the fifth verse of the sonnet the syllable 'veg' (the word 'veggio', b. 5) falls on an upbeat instead of a downbeat, and later on in the same line, the syllable 'pen' (the word 'penso', b. 6) is also placed on a weak beat. The same happens in the sixth verse of the sonnet with the syllables 'sem' ('sempre', b. 9) and 'pe' ('pena', b. 12).



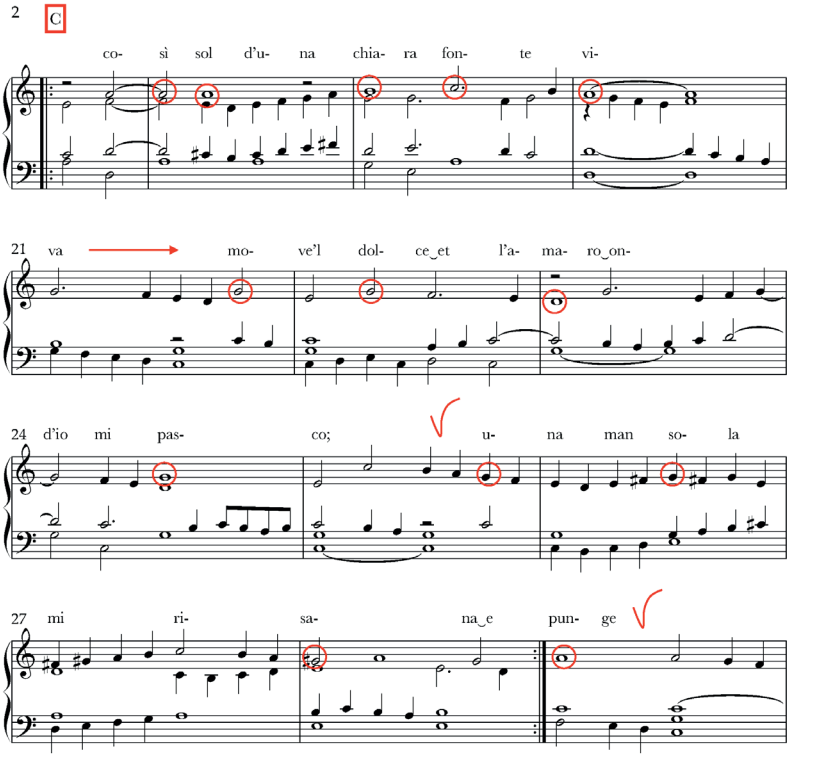
Ex. 9: Andrea Antico, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', in: *Frottole intabulate* 1517, mm. 1–13.

The sections B and B' contain only one discrepancy between text and music: the tonic accent of the word 'guer-ra' falls here on an upbeat rather than the downbeat which is prescribed according with metre of the verse.



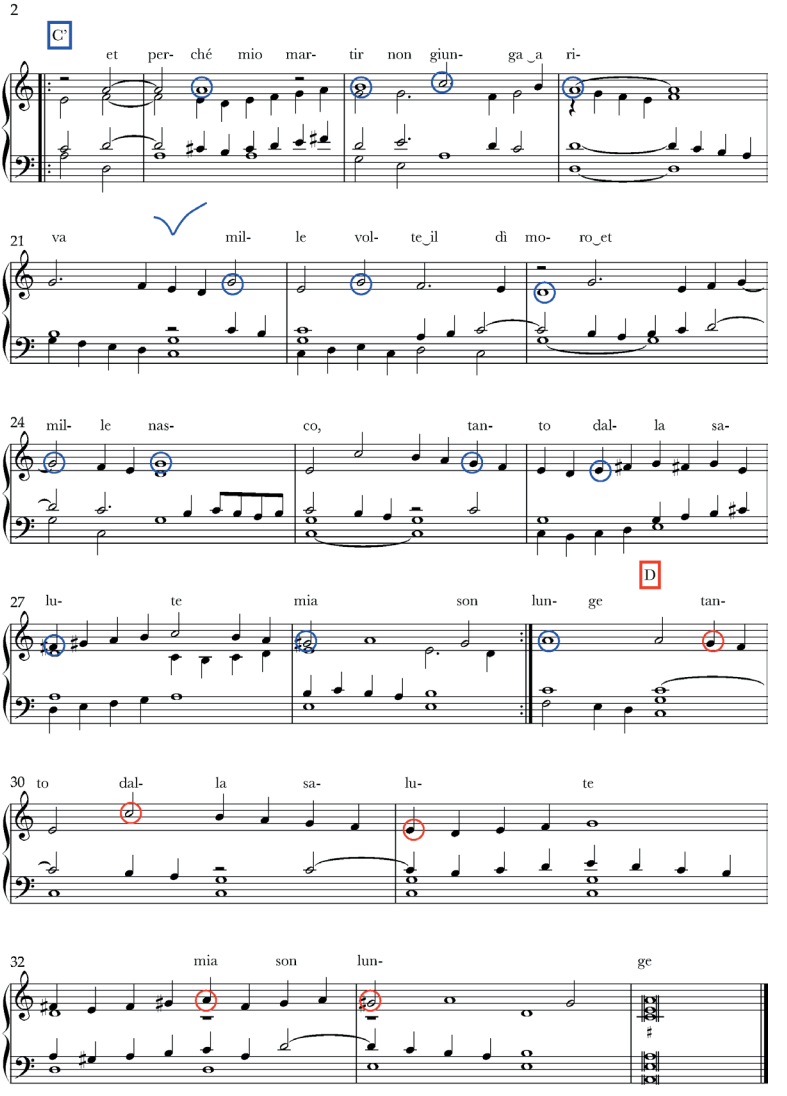
Ex. 10: Andrea Antico, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', in: *Frottole intabulate* 1517, mm. 13–17.

In section C, music and text are not in agreement in line nine of the sonnet: on the anapest 'così sol' (uu–), the accented syllable 'sol' (b. 18) falls on a weak beat of the measure instead of a strong one; the same happens in verse ten on the syllables 'mo' ('move', b. 21) and 'dol' ('dolce', b. 22), and again in line eleven with the syllable 'man'.



Ex. 11: Andrea Antico, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', in: *Frottole intabulate* 1517, mm. 17–28.

Section C' contains the same accented patterns found in section C, excepting line 14 of the sonnet where the syllable 'dal' ('dalla', b. 26) falls on a weak part of the measure instead of a strong one. The same happens in section D, in which the last verse of the sonnet is repeated exactly in the same way.



Ex. 12: Andrea Antico, 'Hor che'l ciel et la terra', in: *Frottole intabulate* 1517, mm. 17–34.

The following video contains the author's version of this frottola. For clarity, the second text has been notated on the lowest staff: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4mLYX2W1KV4>.

Click here to play the video.

O che dirala mo

This frottola is made of regular *settenari tronchi* and uses exclusively iambic feet (u-).

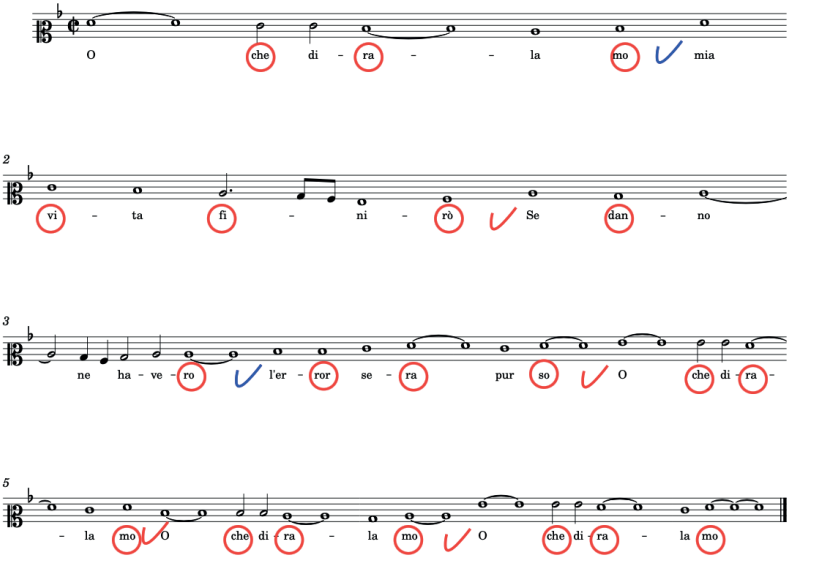
O **che** di**ra**la **mo**
Mia **vi**ta fini**ro**
Se **dan**no ne **ha**ve**ro**
L'er**ror** se**ra** pur **so**

O **che** di**ra**la **mo** …

Piu **non** di**ra** co**sì**
A**man**te a**spec**ta el **di**
Che l **gior**no e l **mo**do e **qui**
Che **pa**ce **tro**va**ro**

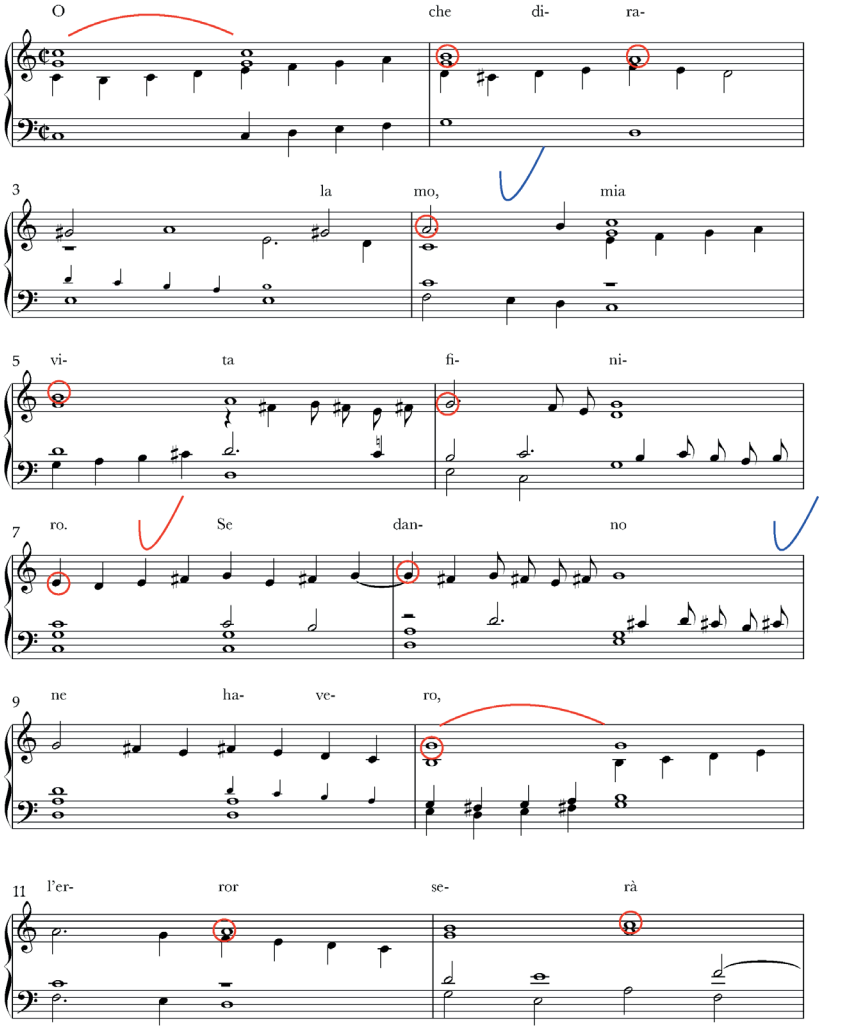
O **che** di**ra**la **mo** …

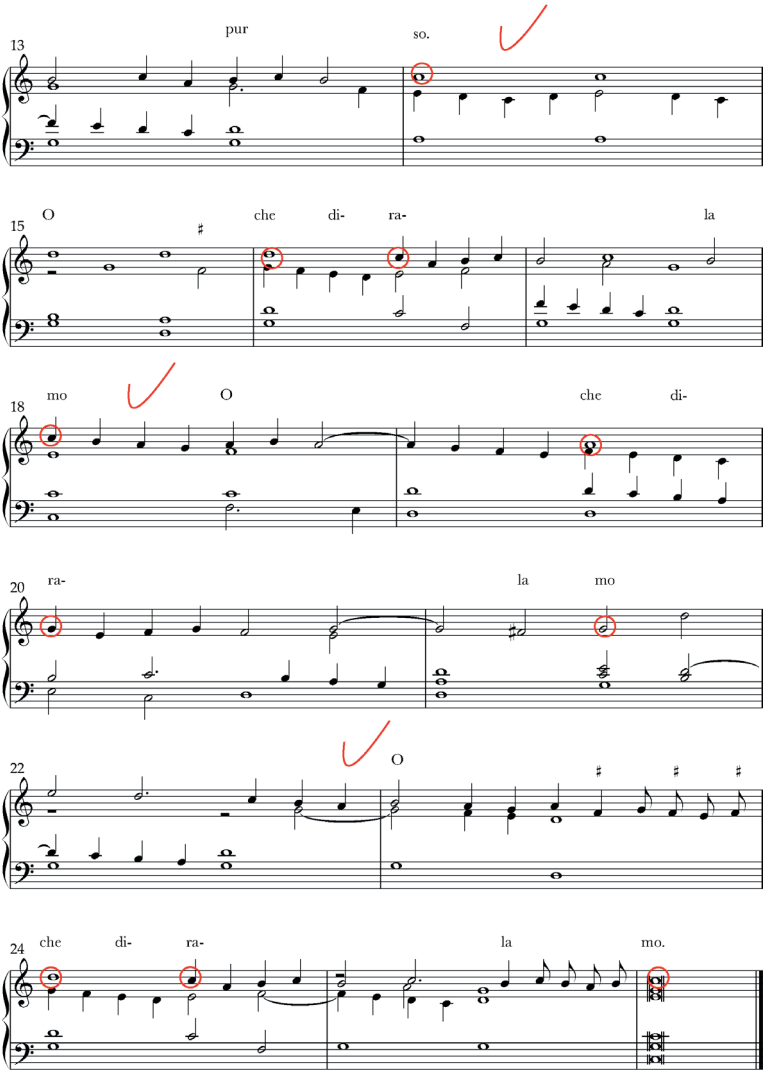
In the following example, an analysis of the original frottola is proposed. The metrical accents in the text of the first stanza are circled in red. Main caesuras in the text are marked in red, while secondary caesuras are marked in blue (for example to indicate the commas).



Ex. 13: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, 'O che dirala mo', cantus, in: *Canzoni Sonetti Strambotti et Frottole libro tertio* (Rome: Andrea Antico ?, c. 1518) (RISM [1518[1]]).

The accentuation pattern in these lyrics is very clear, with a perfect match between metrical accents and musical accents. But in the instrumental adaptation we find some surprises. From a semantic point of view, the end of a musical sentence consistently overlaps the following one. This is emphasised by the quarter note passages systematically employed by Antico at these semantic caesuras, which makes breathing between semantic periods challenging. Given the regularity of the metrical accentuation, in the following example we show only the analysis of the first stanza. This analysis can also be applied to the other texts.





Ex. 14: Andrea Antico, 'O che dirala mo', in: *Frottole intabulate* 1517.

Other examples of this group are 'Per dolor mi bagno il viso', 'Animoso mio desire' and 'Non più morte ha il mio morire'. The following video contains the author's version of the previously analysed frottola: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bpL1Bir9sCs>

Click here to play the video.

Conclusions

The frottola was a codified genre in which the text often dictated the structure of the music, since it followed strict literary rules. In vocal repertoire, the metrical structure of the verse, by its own nature, leads the performer to pre-defined accented patterns that (in the specific case of frottolas) are often different from the musical ones. Conflicting accentuation patterns could ideally be solved in a sung performance: a singer can easily stress any tonic syllable, keeping the right accentuation of the verse, and can counterbalance a wrong accentuation with a correct stress in the performance. The singer can articulate the text, stressing tonic syllables and giving weight to the meaning of the text, and can modulate intonation, slowing down or quickening, to again quote Poliziano.[30]

In the case of the instrumental version of the same repertoire, the same approach would be challenging or could even appear unnatural since no words are present. The literary conventions of the time demand that the instrumentalist rethink the music and opt for what may be some unusual choices. In this article, the author attempts to propose a reading of instrumental repertoire that respects the constraints dictated by the literary conventions underlying the texts of the vocal models.

The solutions in the two frottolas above are practical realisations of what is suggested in this article; many other solutions are possible. Nothing would prevent a performance of these pieces ignoring all literary conventions, just as instrumental pieces on their own. However, if we make the assumption that the audience was familiar with the vocal models, it is fascinating to imagine that our rendition could be close to the practice of the time.

30 See n. 28.

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8 Le mani di Cecilia

Hand Position and Fingering on Keyboards in Italian Iconographical Sources of the Renaissance

Maria Luisa Baldassari

(Musical examples by Maria Luisa Baldassari and Augusta Campagne)

The subject of fingering and hand position in Renaissance and Baroque keyboard music has been debated for many years, and the few extant theoretical and practical sources have been thoroughly studied and discussed. Important contributions came from Mark Lindley,[1] Isolde Ahlgrimm,[2] Maria Boxall,[3] Ludger Lohmann,[4] Bernard Brauchli[5] and others: primarily those scholars who have studied the treatises mentioning fingering, hand movements and position. The iconographical sources, however, are less frequently taken into consideration,

1 The contributions of Mark Lindley to this subject are many: among others, the entry Fingering' for keyboard music up to 1750 in Mark Lindley et al., 'Fingering', in: Grove Music Online, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40049> (accessed 24 February 2022); 'Early Fingering: Some Editing Problems and Some New Readings for J.S. Bach and John Bull', in: *EM* 17 (1989), 60–9; *Ars Ludendi: early German keyboard fingerings c. 1525 – c. 1625* (Neuhof, 1993).

2 Isolde Ahlgrimm, *Manuale der Orgel- und Cembalotechnik: Fingerübungen und Etüden, 1571–1760* (Vienna/Munich, 1982).

3 Maria Boxall, 'Incy wincy spider', in: *The English Harpsichord Magazine* 1, no. 4 (April 1975), <https://www.harpsichord.org.uk/ehm-archive/> (accessed 4 December 2021). Lindley and Boxall have published a selection of keyboard compositions with original fingering: *Early keyboard fingerings: A comprehensive guide* (London, s.d.).

4 Ludger Lohmann, *Die Artikulation auf Tasteninstrumenten des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg, 1990).

5 Bernard Brauchli, 'Hand and finger positions, as seen in early treatises and iconographical documents', in: Bernard Brauchli, *The Clavichord* (Cambridge, 1998), 253–67. In the same volume: 'Appendix 1. A comprehensive list of iconographical documents on the clavichord – Sixteenth century', 283–87.

following the (partially correct) reasoning that the representations rarely focus on music-making and that they are subject to extra-musical criteria such as the pictorial style in different eras and places, the destination of the painting, and the behavioural conventions. Scholars who deal with musical iconography, like Mariagrazia Carlone,[6] clearly state the caveats that one must bear in mind when approaching a representation regarding music: the actual level of verisimilitude, the general context of each representation, the degree of musical knowledge of the painter (if knowable), and so on.

We must, however, not completely discard the information that these pictures give us and that can help us reconstruct the data we lack today: the physical results of fingerings and hand positions and their practical consequences on keyboard technique and interpretation. Iconographical sources present the performer's body and consequently provide us with further suggestions on how to apply the indications of the treatises.[7] The numerous representations of musicians at the keyboard differ in detail and setting: some of the paintings show people in the act of playing where it is even possible to see which fingers are in use. In others, especially the oldest ones, the hands rest on the keyboard in a position that is only suggestive of movement: the musicians seem to have either just stopped playing or are about to begin.[8] All these situations can tell us something about the approach to the keyboard; the most important information regards hand and wrist position.

This field of study is quite vast and includes very diverse eras and styles. I have limited my research to the Italian paintings of the 16th and early 17th centuries, a period when portraits of musicians (and portraits in general) became

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6 The contributions of Carlone are particularly relevant because of her studies of portraits of musicians and their position in playing: see, for example, the articles 'Portraits of Lutenists', in: *Music in Art* 29 (2004), 64–76; 'Copies, Replicas, and Variations in Paintings with a Musical Subject', in: *Music in Art* 26 (2001), 58–74; 'Tastar de corde', in: *La musica al tempo di Caravaggio. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 29 settembre 2010*, ed. Stefania Macioce and Enrico De Pascale (Rome, 2012), 105–13. A more general survey of research guidelines for musical iconography can be found, for example, in Antonio Baldassarre, 'Music Iconography: What is it all about? Some remarks and considerations with a selected bibliography', in: *Ictus: Periódico do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Música da UFBA* 9, no. 2 (2008), 69–114.

7 Similar research focusing on the early piano was conducted by Anne-Noëlle Bailly, starting from studies by Florence Gétreau. The results were presented in a paper entitled *Piano Postures at the Beginning of the 19th Century in France: Consistency between Instruction and Depiction*, at the conference 'The Musical Body: Gesture, Representation and Ergonomics in Musical Performance', London, Royal College 22–24 April 2009.

8 See Anguissola's later portrait (Fig. 4) and Traballesi's painting (Fig. 2).

increasingly frequent: the new role of music-making in aristocratic culture and practice as explained, for example, by Baldassare Castiglione,[9] allowed painters to pull angelic players down from the sky and transform them into gentlemen and ladies proudly standing in front of a keyboard. My research has taken in consideration around 100 paintings by artists such as Tiziano Vecellio, Sofonisba Anguissola, Lavinia Fontana, Antiveduto Grammatica, Bernardino Licinio, Carlo Sellitto and others, from both northern and southern Italy.[10] I have mainly selected portraits, since hands and arms are more clearly visible. Representations of musical ensembles, quite a common subject, seldom show enough detail to draw in-depth conclusions.

The theoretical background in keyboard technique required for the analysis of the selected pictures comes from the most important Spanish and Italian treatises and writings dealing with fingering and hand position:[11] *Arte de tañer fantasía* by Santa María, *Il Transilvano* by Diruta, *Conclusioni* by Banchieri, *Regola* by Sabbatini, *Porta Musicale* by Gentile d'Olevano, and *Li primi albori* by Penna.[12]

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9 Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice: Romano e Asola, 1528). Castiglione describes the qualities and knowledge as required of an accomplished courtier: music, both on the theoretical and practical side, is among the most important. For more information on Castiglione and music see Stefano Lorenzetti, 'La parte della musica nella costruzione del gentiluomo', in: *Studi musicali* 25 (1996), 17–40; Stefano Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'Italia del Rinascimento: educazione, mentalità, immaginario* (Florence, 2003).

10 I consulted two main repositories in tracking down the pictures: the photo collection at the Fondazione Federico Zeri, <https://fondazionezeri.unibo.it/it/fototeca/archivio-fotografico/il-database-online> (accessed 21 January 2022) and the RIdIM, <https://ridim.org/> (accessed 24 December 2021). But simple research on the internet has brought to light other images, such as paintings appearing at auctions or on the art market, without a permanent location in a collection.

11 In the 17th century southern Italy, as well as parts of the North, were under the political influence and/or control of different reigns: the Roman Empire held by the Habsburgs, France and, for the longest period, the Spanish kingdom. Spanish musicians travelled to Naples and southern Italy and their works were sometimes published there, as in the case of Diego Ortiz's *Tratado de glosas* (Rome: Valerio & Luigi Dorico, 1553), printed in both Spanish and Italian. It is assumed that Ascanio Mayone, whose *Ancidetemi pur* is presented in the videos, was likely of Spanish ancestry (Dinko Fabris, 'Ascanio Majone', in: Dizionario biografico degli italiani, vol. 67 [Roma, 2006]; <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ascanio-majone_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 21 January 2022]). There are many studies on fingering in Spanish sources: a general survey is in Robert Parkins, 'Keyboard Fingering in Early Spanish Sources', in: *EM* 11 (1983), 323–31.

12 Tomás de Santa María, *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasía* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Cordova, 1565), 37–45, online: <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000158382>; Girolamo Diruta, *Il Transilvano Dialogo sopra il vero*

The techniques proposed by these writers are quite different: some of them base a correct fingering on the concept of 'good fingers', to be used on 'good' notes (identified according to the rules of counterpoint). This principle differs greatly from the modern technique for the piano, which aims to attain a perfect equality in strength and function for all the fingers. Two main systems are in use: Diruta, for example, proposes even fingers, 2nd and 4th, as good; on the contrary, Banchieri a few years later suggests using the 3rd finger on good notes. Santa María and, generally speaking, the Spanish writers agree on a 'good' 3rd finger but have a more varied approach. The book that dedicates the most pages to technique, the *Arte de tañer fantasía*, goes into detail showing different musical figures and solutions for all of them, at times using three or four consecutive fingers and thus disregarding a regular connection between notes and fingers.

Some treatises also offer hints concerning hand and arm position and the way the fingers should press the keys. Taking into consideration both the books and the portraits, three main types of approach seem to emerge:[13]

a. 'Santa María' position: low wrist, fingers higher than the hand, bent at the tip and with a hollow between fingers and hand: the so called 'cat's paw'. Fingers should hit (*herir*) the keys and should not be held too far

modo di sonar organi, & istromenti da penna / Seconda parte del Transilvano (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti 1593 and 1609), 10–4, online (book of 1593): <https://www.loc.gov/resource/muspre1800.100422/?st=gallery> (book of 1609:) <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_D/D019/> (accessed 5 September 2022); Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna: Heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1609), see the appendix *Copia d'una lettera di D. Adriano Banchieri, che risponde a un Giovane Virtuoso Organista* […], 61–3, online: <https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ReverseLookup/115414> (accessed 5 September 2022); *L'organo suonarino* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1611), 42, online: <https://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/6/67/IMSLP408196-PMLP248070-banchieri_organo_suonarino_1611.pdf> (accessed 21 July 2023); Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo* (Venice: Salvadori, 1628),10–1, online: <https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ReverseLookup/759421> (accessed 5 September 2022); Giovanni Gentile d'Olevano, *Porta musicale* (I-Rc, ms. 2491), fol. 106v–112r; Gentile was working in Rome around 1640. Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori musicali per li principianti della musica figurata* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1672), 152 and 197, online (edition of 1679): <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10527657>. These last three books deal mainly with playing consonances.

13 The main features and fingerings of each book are summarized in the Appendix.

away from them. The instructions refer to all the *instrumentos de tecla* and to the vihuela.[14]

b. 'Diruta' position: hand and wrist at the same height, fingers rounded (*incoppate*); the fingers should rest on the keys and press them without too much strength. Diruta criticizes a conduct of the hand similar to the one described by Santa María, as unsuitable for the organ and its repertoire. However, he says that when playing dance music on the harpsichord the fingers must actually hit the keys, thus establishing a distinction between the technique for the harpsichord and the organ.[15]

c. 'Cecilia' position: high or very high wrist, straight fingers. Quite common in St. Cecilia depictions from the late 16th century until the end of the 17th,[16] this position finds theoretical confirmation around 1670 in the treatise by Lorenzo Penna that speaks of *dita distese* (straight fingers).[17] Penna suggests one should avoid keeping the wrist low and the fingers high (possibly a reference to a practice born in an earlier period). The paintings show the same position for both the organ and for different quilled instruments.

The choice of focusing on Italian music and paintings of the Renaissance and early Baroque reflects my personal musical interests but also aims towards a different perspective on early fingering and hand position. The best known studies on early keyboard technique often have the French and German literature of the 18th century as a point of departure, especially C.Ph.E. Bach's description of his father's way of playing,[18] and sometimes performers try to adapt their hand to this description even when using a fingering chart from an earlier period or a different country. Hand position and fingering must be considered together for a better understanding of the treatises' instructions. This is where portraits and paintings can provide us with relevant information, even when what they show us seems unlikely to modern eyes.

16th-century Italian portraits follow new and specific principles governing proportions for the human body, they present a certain amount of realism, and they reflect the physical bearing of the subject, as suggested in writings like

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14 Tomás de Santa María, *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasía. Primera parte*, fol. 37^{r}–38^{r}.

15 Diruta, *Il Transilvano* (1593) (see n. 12).

16 Later examples of 'Cecilia position' can be seen in Francesco Guarino's *Santa Cecilia al cembalo* (c. 1640–45), Geneva, Valerio Collection, and in Lorenzo Pasinelli's *Santa Cecilia* (c. 1650–99), Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale.

17 Penna, *Li primi albori* (see n. 12), 197.

18 Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Klavier zu spielen*, part 1 (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Henning, 1753), 15–50, see in particular 17.

Il Cortegiano. People in the portraits of musicians are depicted in an upright, open and relaxed position, arms and elbows are close to the body, the angle between them almost 90° with the hand in a relaxed position on the keyboard: an image of grace and simplicity which is a far cry from late gothic models. This new idea of the dignity and gracefulness of the human body had consequences affecting the representation of musicians and their hands.[19]

The connection between technique and beauty is summarized in the words *leggiadria e bellezza* (gracefulness and beauty) that occur frequently in treatises dealing with keyboard playing: Diruta praises the *gravità e leggiadria* (composure and gracefulness) in an organist,[20] Penna, more specifically, the *bella mano* (the lovely hand),[21] a position deriving from correct fingering that makes the hand beautiful to see for the audience. Musicians in the Renaissance and Baroque were required to show a mixture of musical ability and grace, and this same idea guided the way they were portrayed, although this idea changed according to the different concepts of beauty in each era. This also means that grace in playing was not a characteristic separate and independent from technique, but rather a part of it and an integral component of being a musician.

It is uncommon to find representations in early Renaissance Italy of players turning their hands in the direction of the musical line as suggested by Santa María, and I wonder if this depends on the Renaissance ideals of composure and dignity that required the avoidance of inelegant movements. There are no Italian representations that resemble the famous engraving of St. Cecilia by Hendrick Goltzius that inspired the front page of *Parthenia*[22], where the saint's fingers 'jump' in every direction.

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The detailed representation of a keyboard player, together with a singer and a viola player, in Tiziano Vecellio's so-called *Concerto* or *The three ages* (painted c. 1507/08) presents us with a substantial amount of information (Fig. 1).[23]

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19 The representation of the human body and the significance of body position and gestures are described in the famous *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* by Giovan Paolo Lomazzo (Milan: P.G. Pontio, 1584). See also an interesting study written by Francesca Gualandri, *Affetti, passioni, vizi e virtù. La retorica del gesto nel teatro del '600* (Milan, 2001).

20 Diruta, *Il Transilvano* (1593) (see n. 12), 11.

21 Penna, *Li primi albori* (see n. 12), 197.

22 Parthenia, *or the Maydenhead of the first music that ever was printed for the Virginalls* (London: William Hole, [1613]) (RISM 1646[13]), online: <https://imslp.org/wiki/Parthenia_(Various)> (accessed 25 February 2022). See the modern edition of *Parthenia* by John Baxendale and Francis Knights in the Lyrebird edition (Tynset, 2021) for a detailed description of the frontispiece.

23 On the significance of musical groups that represent men of different ages, see Patricia Egan, '"Concert" Scenes in Musical Paintings of the Italian Renaissance',

Fig. 1: Tiziano Vecellio, *Concerto o le tre età* (c. 1507/08), Florence, Galleria Palatina, inv. Palatina n. 185, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 17 July 2023).

The man at the spinet has his hands on the keyboard and seems to be about to play (or maybe has just played some notes) when the viola player stops him by putting a hand on his shoulder.[24] The player's hand position is reminiscent of the description by Tomás de Santa María: the hands are parallel to the keys, with low wrists, high fingers (even if the player is apparently standing) with a hollow between hand and fingers, the right thumb slightly bent inside.

Angels in Flemish paintings playing the portative organ with a very low wrist are often considered as the perfect representation of the Santa María technique.[25] In my opinion, the hand and wrist position in this portrait, where the hand is not hanging as in Flemish pictures, but rather rests on the keys, are closer to the instructions of Santa María, who had in mind not only (positive) organs and quilled instruments but also the clavichord; in my experience, such a position is particularly effective when playing such an instrument.

in: JAMS 14 (1961) 183–95, and Jane Hatter, '*Col tempo*: musical time, aging and sexuality in 16th-century Venetian paintings', in: *EM* 39 (2011), 3–14.

24 A similar situation is also represented in *Venere e il musicista* (Venus and the musician), a subject that Tiziano painted several times with minor differences: three times including a keyboard player and twice a lute player. What distracts the player in these paintings is, understandably, the sight of Venus.

25 See Boxall, 'Incy wincy spider' (see n. 3), 3.

Fig. 2: Francesco Traballesi (attr.), *Uomo alla spinetta* (c. 1570), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. n. KS-a-503, CC0 1.0, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.6605> (accessed 17 July 2023).

This painting comes from the Veneto, the region where Venice is located, and we can see it as proof that Diruta (who lived in Venice) criticized a way of playing that was actually in use. The wrist and hand positions are similar in a later portrait of an anonymous player attributed to Francesco Traballesi (Fig. 2), and also (for the wrist position) in the frontispiece of Andrea Antico's *Frottole intabulate* (Fig. 3).[26]

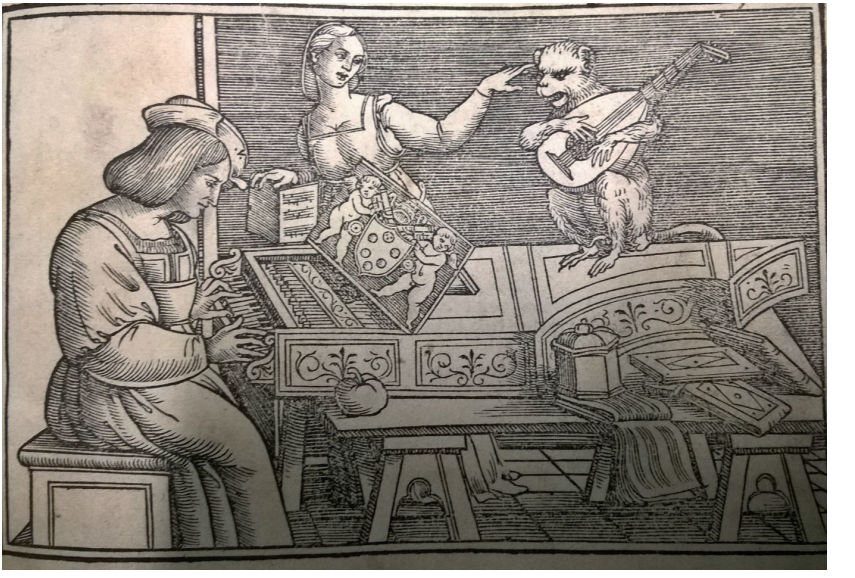

Fig. 3: Andrea Antico, *Frottole intabulate per sonare organi*, Frontispiece (Rome, 1517), personal picture, with permission of the National Library of Prag (Národní knihovna České republiky).

It's difficult to say which sort of fingering is in use in these three representations: there is no sign of turning of the hand in the paintings, and it is unclear in Antico, even if in this woodcut Antico's hands are shown in full movement (maybe less composure was required from an artisan such as Andrea Antico?).

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Four pictures showing women at the keyboard present a somewhat different position of the hand; three of them are self-portraits by two famous painters, Sofonisba Anguissola and Lavinia Fontana (Figs. 4, 6, 7). Anguissola and Fontana

26 *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi, libro primo* (Rome: Andrea Antico, 1517). Antico was a musician, but his main job was to prepare the woodcuts for the print. He is responsible for both the music and the printing in the *Frottole intabulate*.

were both proud of their profession and their self-portraits show their proficiency in various arts.[27] Fontana was probably inspired by the older artist for her depiction at the spinet, where we can also see a painter's easel in the distance: this, a wedding portrait, summarizes the artistic qualities and the domestic virtues of the cultivated bride.[28]

The general composition and the player's position are similar in all pictures: a woman standing (or seated, in the case of Fontana) in front of the spinet. The hands are relaxed in at least two of the pictures, but the wrist is higher than in the ones considered before; the position more closely recalls Diruta's description, where he suggests keeping the hand at the same height as the wrist. We can guess which fingers are playing: in Anguissola's later portrait (c. 1559) (Fig. 4) the left hand plays a fifth or a sixth on diatonic keys with 5th and 2nd finger, the right hand probably a single key with 3rd, with the thumb off the keyboard. The unknown woman in the painting by an unidentified artist, probably from the Venetian mainland, the *terraferma*, (c. 1545) (Fig. 5)[29] seems to be playing two notes with 3rd (or maybe 5th) and 1st finger of the left hand while she bends the 2nd inwards in a funny position: the video examples will show that this position is actually possible and even useful in some circumstances. The right hand has the three last fingers on the keyboard and the thumb off.

27 The three self-portraits mentioned above are not the only ones we have by these painters: Anguissola painted three, two playing and one painting, and Fontana painted two, one whilst playing and another with a pen in her hand. Marietta Robusti, painter, musician and daughter of Tintoretto, represented herself in front of a spinet with music in her hand. On the self-portraits of Anguissola and Fontana see Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Portrait of the Artist as (Female) Musician', in: *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Ashgate, 2007), 15–59.

28 On this portrait and its social and artistic *milieu* see Katherine A. McIver, 'Lavinia Fontana's Self-Portrait Making Music', in: *Woman's Art Journal* 19 (1998), 3–8. Babette Bohn, 'Female self-portraiture in early modern Bologna', in: *Renaissance Studies* 18 (2004), 239–86; Stefano Lorenzetti, 'Public behavior, music and the construction of feminine identity in the Italian Renaissance', in: *Recercare* 23 (2011), 7–34.

29 My thanks to Isabella Chiappara, teacher of History of Fashion and Costume at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Rome for identifying period and provenance of this painting.

Fig. 4: Sofonisba Anguissola, *Autoritratto alla spinetta* (c. 1559), Althorp, Earl of Spencer Collection, CC0 1.0, Wikimedia Commons, photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (accessed 12 February 2022).

Fig. 5: Anonymous, 16th century, *Portrait of a Lady Playing the Harpsichord*, location unknown, Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, Frick Digital Collections (accessed 29 July 2023). I thank Max Bergmann of mdwPress for directing me to the source of this picture.

A reference to Diruta's described (but not recommended) harpsichord technique comes from the older portrait by Sofonisba Anguissola (1554/55) (Fig. 6) and the one by Lavinia Fontana (1577) (Fig. 7): the right hand fingers of Anguissola are not relaxed, but raised and bent as if they were about to 'hit' the keys, just as in Diruta's description of the way the *sonatori da balli* play on quilled instruments. A similar position can be seen in the left hand in Lavinia Fontana. This portrait mirrors the preceding picture: left hand active, right hand relaxed. In both situations the right hand thumb is not on the keyboard.

Fig. 6: Sofonisba Anguissola, *Autoritratto alla spinetta* (1554/55), Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, Inv. n. Q358, CC BY-SA 4.0, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 17 July 2023).

Fig. 7: Lavinia Fontana, *Autoritratto alla spinetta* (1577), Rome, Accademia di S. Luca, Inv. n. 743, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 17 July 2023).

Traballesi's portrait (Fig. 2) shows a finger position that is very similar to the one in Anguissola's later portrait, even if the hand position is quite different. This portrait belongs to the same period as Fontana and Anguissola, though it might have been painted a bit later: proof that many different hand positions coexisted at the same time. Images of players with low wrists are still to be found at the beginning of the 17th century and even later, as can be seen in the St. Cecilia by Antiveduto Grammatica (Fig. 8). A big change in hand position will only take place in the 18th century with the gradual introduction of the passage of the thumb under the other fingers and the great flowering of keyboard

technique manuals that prescribe a position similar to the one approved of by C.Ph.E. Bach.

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The painting by Grammatica introduces a new important pictorial subject emerging between the late 16th and the beginning of the 17th century: Saint Cecilia. This saint had been increasingly associated with music, but the 'discovery' of her body in Rome in 1599 led to an outburst of representations of Cecilias, usually playing an instrument that is, in most cases (but not always), an organ or sometimes a harpsichord. The saint's figure sums up many ideals, allegorical figures and actual practices: music as praise to the Lord, 'lady music' as incarnation of musical art, women making music at home, and so on.[30] The representations of Cecilia at the keyboard, more or less faithful and precise, are a great repository for images of keyboard players.

Fig. 8: Antiveduto Grammatica (attr.), S. *Cecilia* (post 1611), Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, Inv. n. P000353, Prado Photographic Archive (© Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado) (accessed 17 July 2023).

30 The different meanings attributed to the figure of Cecilia and their transformation over the centuries are described by Nico Staiti in *Le metamorfosi di santa Cecilia. L'immagine e la musica* (Lucca, 2002), and by John A. Rice, *Saint Cecilia in the Renaissance*: *The Emergence of a Musical Icon* (Chicago/London 2022).

Fig. 9: Ludovico Carracci, *S. Cecilia* (c. 1607), Roma, Pinacoteca Capitolina, Inv. n. PC 257, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 17 July 2023).

Some of the Cecilia's painted from the end of the 16th century onwards show a peculiar position of the hand: a high wrist (sometimes very high) and hand with straight fingers or a little depression between fingers and hand (Fig. 9).

A similar position of the wrist, quite far from any modern keyboard technique, is suggested and investigated in its practical and artistic consequences by Mark Lindley in his study of German Renaissance technique.[31] The position does not change regardless of whether Cecilia is playing an organ or a quilled instrument, or if she is standing or seated at whatever height. Orazio Gentileschi shows this position in three of his Cecilias (Figs. 10–12).

31 Lindley, *Ars Ludendi* (see n. 1).

Fig. 10: Orazio Gentileschi, *S. Cecilia* (1615–20), Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Inv. n. 1083, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 17 July 2023). The so called 'spinetta' might also be a regal.

Fig. 11: Orazio Gentileschi/Giovanni Lanfranco, *S. Cecilia* (1617–27), Washington DC, National Gallery, Accession n. 1961.9.73, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 17 July 2023).

Fig. 12: Orazio Gentileschi, 'S. Cecilia', detail from *Circoncisione di Gesù* (c. 1607), Ancona, Pinacoteca Civica F. Podesti, Identification n. 1100034669, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 17 July 2023).

The model for the angel playing the organ in the fresco seems to have been Artemisia, Gentileschi's daughter.[32] Besides being a famous painter, she was also a musician, as we know from her self-portrait with a lute;[33] it is possible, therefore, to suppose that the hand position in these paintings is not something totally invented, but instead an actual manner of playing. A further verification of the likelihood of this position comes from the S. Cecilia by the Neapolitan painter Carlo Sellitto (Fig. 13).

32 See *La luce e i silenzi. Orazio Gentileschi e la pittura caravaggesca nelle Marche del Seicento*, [catalogue of an exhibition held at the Pinacoteca civica 'Bruno Molajoli', Fabriano, Italy, 2 August– 8 December 2019], ed. Annamaria Ambrosini Massari and Alessandro Delpriori ([Ancona], 2019).

33 *Self-portrait as a lute player*, c. 1615–17, now in Minneapolis, Curtis Galleries, <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Autoritratto_come_suonatrice_di_liuto#/media/File:Artemisia_Gentileschi_-_Self-Portrait_as_a_Lute_Player.JPG> (accessed 20 February 2022). See also *S. Cecilia* (self-portrait), c. 1620 (Rome, Galleria Spada), <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santa_Cecilia_(Artemisia_Gentileschi)#/media/File:Saint_Cecilia_by_Artemisia_Gentileschi.jpg> (accessed 20 February 2022).

Fig. 13: Carlo Sellitto, *S. Cecilia* (1613), Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, Inv. n. Q 313, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 17 July 2023).

This painting was commissioned by the musicians of the Royal Chapel in Naples, that counted the famous organist Giovanni Maria Trabaci among its members at the time. It seems unlikely that the patron saint of music, painted

for a musical chapel by a follower of Caravaggio, would adopt an unreal hand position.[34]

A partial confirmation of this position of the hand, as well as an allusion to a new concept of gracefulness and *bella mano*, comes some years later from Lorenzo Penna: in the treatise cited above he speaks of *dita distese*, straight fingers (the opposite of Diruta's *mano incoppata*, rounded hand), and warns against keeping the hand low.[35]

Fig. 14: Bernardino Campi, *S. Cecilia e S. Caterina d'Alessandria* (1566), Cremona, Chiesa di S. Sigismondo, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons (accessed 24 July 2023).

34 *Carlo Sellitto: primo caravaggesco napoletano* [catalogue of the exhibition, Naples, Museo e Gallerie nazionali di Capodimonte, 1977], ed. Ferdinando Bologna and Raffaello Causa (Naples, 1977), 73–6.

35 Penna, *Li primi albori* (see n. 12) 197: 'Tanto la Mano sinistra, quanto la destra non stijno à basso, e le dita ad alto, ad alto, ma stijno, e le Mani, e le Dita, distese, che formino bella Mano' (Do not keep the left and right hands low and fingers high, but have hand and fingers outstretched, so they form a nice hand). The complete phrase appears only in the 1684 edition (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1684, same pagination): earlier issues stop after 'alto'.

To conclude this discussion of gentlemen, ladies and saints, we go back in time to a Cecilia painted by Anguissola's teacher, Bernardino Campi (Fig. 14). This painting is one of the few that actually shows the movement of the hand: here we can finally see clearly the most common type of finger-crossing in use before the 19th century: 3rd finger over 4th, the right hand turned slightly upward and the left hand visibly turned in the direction of the music, as according to Santa María's instructions.

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As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the most important observations that we can derive from an analysis of the paintings concern the position of the hand and fingers. This element is treated only briefly in theoretical writings, and only in a few cases are the consequences of each position explained. Trying out 'in the field' the different positions observed in the paintings and combining them with different fingering solutions proposed by the theorists can help us to understand the consequences which each position has on performance and artistic results.

In this practical part of the research I have been assisted by Augusta Campagne, who kindly volunteered to add her experiments to mine: different hands can bring different solutions and this cooperation has led to an enrichment of our knowledge. We confronted fingering, repertoire, impressions and feelings resulting from these experiments, which can be seen in the attached videos.

The common feature in the majority of the portraits is that the right thumb is kept off of the keyboard, while the left one is often on. In the paintings taken in consideration for this study the exceptions to this position are rare, and in those cases the musician is merely resting his hand on the keyboard, not playing. The position matches the indications of the treatises, which usually suggest fingers from 2nd to 5th for the right hand and 4th/3rd to 1st for the left one, at least in *passaggi*. According to the writers the reason for this choice lies in the weakness of the left hand and especially of the 4th finger, but the reasoning behind the use of the thumb in this hand may also be found in Renaissance repertoire, where the left hand often holds chords with octaves while the right hand plays *passaggi* and diminutions. Moreover, one must remember that the keys in Renaissance instruments could be quite short and keeping the thumb on them could be more of a hindrance than a help, especially for scales and *passaggi*.

The position in Anguissola's later portrait, the 'Diruta', is the nearest to the one Augusta Campagne and I grew up with, but we discovered great advantages and interesting results and consequences using the other two. A low wrist (as in Tiziano and Traballesi), gives incredible strength to the fingers and

perfect contact with the keys. In addition, the contact between finger and key involves the pad of the finger more, and this allows for a better control of the pressure, exactly as described by Santa María. This approach gives interesting results on the harpsichord and is a really good technique for the clavichord (see Video 1). Trills, for example, can be played more slowly but with more intensity and direction. The general touch is, however, 'harder', which brings to mind Diruta's remark about the *sonatori da balli*.[36] Anguissola's older portrait shows a relatively low right hand and fingers ready to hit the keys. This technique enhances the rhythm of the dance (see Video 5a).

Video 1: Anonymous, Magnificat (part), ed. in: *Keyboard music at Castell'Arquato*, ed. H. Colin Slim, 3 vols., CMM 37 (Neuhausen/Stuttgart, 1975–1991), ii, 20. Maria Luisa Baldassari, 'Santa María' position, fingerings inspired by Spanish sources.

Click here to play the video.

A very high wrist, on the contrary (Video 2), gives less strength but greater freedom and relaxation to the fingers: the tip of the finger is more involved than the pad, and the contact with the keyboard is a bit less secure in comparison to the preceding technique because of the lack of weight. But this position facilitates the use of Diruta's fingering, with the 2nd and 4th fingers as the good ones, since it makes it easier to pass the 4th finger over the 3rd; it also better suits the attention given to the 3rd finger, the longer one.[37] Quick trills, especially with the 3rd and 4th fingers, and *passaggi* become easier and smoother. The right hand thumb always stays off the keyboard, but this technique may have made its movements easier and thus prepared its shifting under the other fingers in a later period, as is the case with the fingerings written by Alessandro Scarlatti for his toccatas. The high wrist position can also explain why many treatises suggest using the 5th and 2nd fingers for the fifths, and 2nd with 3rd or 3rd with 4th for the thirds: it is easier to use long fingers for these chords instead of moving the thumb inside the keyboard, and straight fingers can stretch better than bent ones. Depending on the repertoire, the wrist of the left hand can be lower than the right one: in pieces like *Chi la dirra* (*Qui la dira*) by Antonio Valente (Video 3) the left hand very often plays chords that include octaves, which are more difficult to play with a high wrist.

36 Diruta, *Il Transilvano* (1593) (see n. 12), 11–2.

37 Although Diruta indicates the 2nd and 4th fingers as 'good', he stresses the fact that the 3rd is the most fatigued one, being involved in all figures.

Video 2: Ascanio Mayone (c. 1560–27), 'Ancidetemi pur', in: *Primo Libro di diversi capricci per sonare* (Naples: Costantino Vitale, 1603), ed. in: Ascanio Mayone, *Diversi Capricci per sonare I (Naples 1603)*, ed. Christopher Stembridge (Padua, 1981), 24–5. Maria Luisa Baldassari, 'Cecilia' position, Diruta fingerings.


Click here to play the video.

Video 3: Antonio Valente, 'Chi la dirra', in: *Intavolatura de cimbalo* […] (Naples: Giuseppe Cacchio dall'Aquila, [1575/76]), ed. in: Valente, *Intavolatura de Cimbalo (Napoli 1576)*, ed. Maria Luisa Baldassari (Bologna, 2021), 44–7. Augusta Campagne, 'Cecilia' position, slightly lower wrist in left hand. Banchieri fingerings.


Click here to play the video.

The 'middle' position is actually midway between the other two in all aspects: strength, weight, freedom of the fingers, control of the keys. According to our experiments, this position works very well with a finger system where the 3rd finger is the good one. However, this position is also recommended by Diruta, who prefers even fingers (Video 4). A system using odd fingers (3rd as the main finger) was used mainly by northern European players, but is also briefly described by Adriano Banchieri[38] and was probably a real alternative to Diruta's fingering in Italy too.

Video 4: Ercole Pasquini (c. 1560–c. 1620), 'Ancor che col partire', ed. in: Ercole Pasquini, *Raccolta completa delle composizioni note per strumento a tastiera*, ed. Marco Ghirotti (Padua, 2012). Maria Luisa Baldassari, 'Diruta' position and fingerings.


Click here to play the video.

The players show different hand positions regardless of whether they are in front of an organ, spinet or harpsichord; players at the clavichord more frequently show a low wrist, but this is not a rule. As suggested before, repertoire could have influenced the choice of hand position: unfortunately, the pictures don't show any readable music. While sitting high or standing helps in adopting the 'Cecilia' position, the portraits also present this position in players sitting relatively low, or show the 'Diruta' and 'Santa María' positions in people standing (Fig. 15–17).

38 Banchieri, *Conclusioni* (see n. 12), 62.

Fig. 15: 'Santa María' position [© photography: Ivan Kitanović].

Fig. 16: 'Diruta' position (with straight wrists) [© photography: Ivan Kitanović].

Fig. 17: 'Cecilia' position [© photography: Ivan Kitanović].

Starting from the idea that many different positions and techniques could coexist at the same time, Augusta Campagne and I decided to present a video of the same piece played in the three different positions in order to make more evident the differences between the different approaches (Video 5a, b, c).

Video 5a, b, c: Marco Facoli (c. 1540–c. 1585), 'Aria della Signora Cinthia', in: *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura, di balli d'arpichordo* […] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), transcription from the original by Augusta Campagne. Augusta Campagne,

a. 'Santa María' position (low hands)

Click here to play the video.

b. 'Cecilia' position (higher hands)

Click here to play the video.

c. 'Diruta' position (middle). 'Diruta' fingerings

Click here to play the video.

Portraits can suggest positions that are quite far from our technique: playing a typical 16th-century Italian dance, the *Aria della Comedia* by Marco Facoli, Augusta Campagne has observed that some left-hand chords, like B *flat*-*f*-*b flat* (octave with a fifth in the middle) are absolutely not playable on the spinettino due to the shortness of the keys and the position of the balance point. Augusta, however, found an unexpected solution: if one bends the central finger touching the *f* with the third knuckle instead of the fingertip, playing this chord becomes possible (Fig. 18, Video 6).

Fig. 18: Bent second finger [© photography: Ivan Kitanović].

Video 6: Marco Facoli (c. 1540–c. 1585), 'Aria della Comedia', in: *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura, di balli d'arpichordo* [...] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), transcription from the original by Augusta Campagne. Augusta Campagne, 'Diruta' harpsichord position and fingerings.

Click here to play the video.

This 'revolutionary' and totally uncommon position finds confirmation in a picture that had previously puzzled me: the left hand of the unknown woman in the portrait from Venetian *terraferma* (Fig. 5) shows the 2nd finger bent exactly in the position required to play the central *f* according to Augusta's experiment.

Musical portraits can offer the modern performer multiple suggestions, not only in terms of instrumental technique but also regarding the role of music and music performers in society during different periods. Trying to understand and embody the positions depicted in the paintings can help us to deepen our knowledge of the music and its underlying aesthetics.

Appendix

Summary of the treatises:[39]

Tomas Luis de Santa María, *Arte de tañer fantasía*

Rich in suggestions on style and technique, the *Arte* devotes many pages to different possibilities for fingering and to the description of the hand position.

Santa María suggests a hand position with low wrist, middle fingers bent at the tip, thumb and little finger slightly bent inside. Keys must be hit by the fingertip with enough force to obtain a clear pronunciation, fingers should stay near to the keys. When moving up or down, the hand can turn in the direction of the movement. 'Good' finger: 3rd.

Direction	Scales r.h., fingering	Scales l.h., fingering
up	3434	3232
down	3232	3434

Quick notes can be played with consecutive fingers, and in this case the correspondence between good fingers and notes is not observed.

Girolamo Diruta, *Il Transilvano*

Providing one of the most detailed descriptions of fingering and hand position, this treatise gives information on both technique and style of playing. The hand must be kept in the same direction as the arm and be guided by arm and wrist; hand and wrist must be at the same height, fingers slightly bent ('incoppate') and at the same level of the keys.

Diruta suggests that the player avoids keeping the wrist too low and the fingers hooked. He also defines the difference between *musici* that play organ and *sonatori da balli* playing the harpsichord: the former touch the keys with a light and relaxed hand, while the latter must hit them to mark dance rhythms and make the instrument play properly. 'Good' fingers: 2nd and 4th.

Direction	Scales r.h., fingering	Scales l.h., fingering	Scales l.h., not recommended
Up	23434	43232	2121
Down	43232	23234	3434

39 See n. 12 for the treatises' bibliographical details.

Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*

This manual gives a few hints regarding the fingers both for scales and chords. 'Good' finger: 3rd.

Direction	**Scales r.h., fingering**	**Scales l.h., fingering**
up	3434	3232
down	3232	3434
Chords and intervals	**r.h. fingering**	**l.h. fingering**
Second	2-4	4-2
Third	2-4	4-2
Fourth	2-4	4-2
Fifth	2-5; with a third 2-4-5	5-2, with a third 5-4-2
Sixt	2-5; with a third 2-3-5	5-2, with a third 5-4-2
Seventh	Not in use	5-1 (see trills)
Octave	1-5; with a fifth 1-3-5	5-1; with a fifth 1-2-5

Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve*

This source only gives information on two-note intervals/chords.

Chords and intervals	**r.h. fingering**	**l.h. fingering**
Third	2-4	4-2
Fifth	2-5	4-1
Octave	1-5	5-1

Giovanni Gentile d'Olevano, *Porta musicale*

The main principle of this manuscript seems to be that most notes are to be played with central fingers: it is not clear whether there is a preferred finger, since scales begin with the 3rd finger for the right hand and with the 4th for the left hand.

Gentile devotes a lot of space to the fingers for the chords and intervals in the left hand; his suggestions are similar to those of Banchieri but he gives more possibilities for each chord.

Chords and intervals	**r.h. fingering**	**l.h. fingering**
Third	2-4	2-1; 3-2; 4-3; 5-3
Fifth	2-5	5-2; 4-1
Sixt	2-5	4-1; 5-2; 5-1
Octave	1-5	1-5

Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori*

The fingers must be extended and not too high, the hand must not be lower than the fingers.
'Good' finger: 3rd.

Direction	Scales r.h., fingering	Scales l.h., fingering
up	3434	3232
down	3232	3434

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9 From Lisbon to Shewa via Goa

Renaissance Keyboards in the Christian Kingdom of Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia[1]

Janie Cole

Keyboards served as essential commodities in early modern European overseas exploration and expansion, and circulated as a motivation of colonial, diplomatic, commercial and religious interests. The presence of Western keyboard instruments in the Far East can be traced back to the 13th century, with

1 This article was completed during my fellowship year as a Research Scholar at the Yale Institute of Sacred Music in 2023/24, and I warmly thank Yale ISM, Martin Jean and Eben Graves for their generous support, and my fellow fellows, especially Davesh Soneji, Ilana Webster-Kogen, Nadieszda Kizenko and Samantha Slaubaugh, for their discussions and friendship. In order to make the text as accessible as possible to non-specialists in Ethiopian studies and to facilitate web searches, transliterations of Amharic, Ge'ez and other Ethiopian languages, together with Ethiopian and Arabic names, do not follow a rigorous transliteration system as, for example, set forth by the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, one of the standards in the field of Ethiopian studies. Instead, a simple romanization of these terms is adopted according to the spelling most commonly found in the literature. Many different spellings are used for the same Ethiopian term and an effort has been made to choose the most popular among them. For names that appeared only in Portuguese texts, Hiob Ludolf's *Historia aethiopica*, Pereira's Index to the *Chronicle of Susenyos* and Huntingford's *Geography* were followed as references to clarify the spelling. Personal names have not been modernized or anglicized, but are given as they appear in the primary source material. As Verena Krebs points out (*Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* [Cham, 2021]), early modern Ethiopian kings were known to their subjects by several names: King Lebnä Dengel (meaning 'Incense of the Virgin') was also known as Dawit III and Wänag Sägäd; here he is referred to by the name most commonly used in scholarship. The use of the term 'Ethiopia' refers to the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia. In the early modern period under consideration, the term 'Ethiopia' (also spelled 'Aethiopia') was identified in European sources as the mostly unknown world south of the Sahara, while the (Christian) kingdom of Ethiopia (which encompassed most of today's northern

an organ being sent from an Arab court to China.[2] As Jennifer Linhart Wood asserts, organs and other keyboards accompanied European travelers to China, Africa, India, Japan, Turkey and Russia between the 13th through 16th centuries whether for diplomacy, as gifts for foreign rulers, or for use by missionaries.[3] Harpsichords, organs and virginals played a significant part in the history of Renaissance oriental diplomacy (especially between c. 1575 and c. 1625), including in musical exchanges and missionary activities in the Ming and Qing courts in Beijing in the early 17th and 18th centuries (from 1601 to 1793), and in Japan by the Jesuits in the 1550s and 1560s.[4] And Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries took many portable organs and small harpsichords with them for use in mission schools in the Americas, including Brazil, Ecuador, New Mexico, Peru and Venezuela.[5]

Yet while we know much about the circulation and use of keyboards in trading centres, missionary activities, ambassadorial ventures and educational institutions in the New World and Asia, few studies have focused on

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Ethiopia and Eritrea) was mostly referred to as 'Abyssinia' in English, 'Abassia' in Italian and 'Abexia' in Portuguese (Matteo Salvadore, *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations, 1402–1555* [London/New York, 2017], 12–3). These are derivatives of the Ge'ez 'habesha', the name used by highland Christians to refer to themselves. The use of the term 'Ethiopian' refers specifically to Ethiopian Christians since in early modern Ethiopia non-Christians were consistently excluded from the political process unless they converted. Hence, whether they were tolerated or persecuted, they were largely marginal to the cultural and political exchanges under consideration here. The use of the term 'African' refers only to Africans hailing from south of the Sahara.

2 Peter Williams, 'Organ', in: *New Grove*, xiii (London 1980), 710–79, at 727; Ian Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy, 1520–1620', in: *JRMA* 115 (1990), 33–62, at 33–4. The history of gifting organs for diplomatic reasons goes back even earlier to the 8th century, see discussion below.

3 Jennifer Linhart Wood, 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire', in: *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 15, no. 4 (2015), 81–105, at 90; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital', 34–9.

4 Ibid., 33; Joyce Lindorff, 'Missionaries, Keyboards and Musical Exchange in the Ming and Qing Courts', in: *EM* 32 (2004), 403–14; Olivia Bloechl, 'The Catholic Mission to Japan, 1549–1614', in: *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge, 2019), 163–75; Eta Harich-Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music* (Oxford, 1973), 448–9; Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (New York, 1995), 184; David B. Waterhouse, 'The Earliest Japanese Contacts with Western Music', in: *Review of Culture* 26 (1996), 36–47.

5 Olivia Bloechl, 'Music in the Early Colonial World', in: *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge, 2019), 128–57, at 139–45.

their presence, dissemination and cultural functions in sub-Saharan Africa.[6] A much-cited and one of the earliest references to missionary organs taken to the kingdom of Kongo is found in Rui de Pina's *Chronica d'el Rei Dom João* II, brought by Portuguese Franciscans who accompanied De Sousa's expedition there in 1490 and took with them 'many, very rich ornaments for altars, crosses, candlesticks, bells, vestments, organs'[7]. A drawing from the early 1650s depicts the king of Kongo, Garcia II (r. 1641–60), on a European throne, accompanied by what Cécile Fromont describes as 'a royal band of ivory horns, marimbas, harpsichords, tambourines, and an iron bell' (Fig. 1a).[8] While this might have constituted a very early ethnographic visual representation of European harpsichords in Africa, on closer inspection of the drawing it is clear that the reference to 'harpsichords' is incorrect: the so-called 'harpsichord' in question is, in fact, not a European keyboard at all, but a west African pluriarc (Fig. 1b), and the king of Kongo is surrounded by an ensemble of royal musicians playing indigenous west African instruments.[9]

6 See Janie Cole, 'Traces of Renaissance Keyboards in Early Modern Sub-Saharan Africa' (forthcoming).

7 Rui de Pina, 'Chrónica d'el Rei Dom João II', in: *Collecção de livros ineditos da historia portuguesa dos reinados de D. João I, D. Duarte, D. Affonso V, e D. João II*, ed. J. Correa da Serra (Lisbon, 1792), II, 150; cit. in Robert Stevenson, 'The Afro-American Musical Legacy to 1800', in: MQ 54 (1968), 475–502, at 478, who incorrectly gives the year 1491; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 34.

8 Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo* (Chapel Hill/Williamsburg, Virginia, 2014), 41.

9 For an analysis of the depiction of King Garcia II surrounded by indigenous west African instruments and the marginalia notes in Italian attached to the drawings of each musician, which clearly describe and identify each instrument, see Janie Cole, 'Constructing Racial Identity and Power in Music, Ceremonial Practices and Indigenous Instruments in Early Modern African Kingdoms', in: *The Routledge Companion to Race in Early Modern Artistic, Material and Visual Production*, ed. Nicholas R. Jones, Christina H. Lee and Dominique Polanco (forthcoming 2024).

Fig. 1a–b: King Garcia II of Kongo and His Attendants, with detail of royal musician playing a west African pluriarc. Detail of Anonymous, *People, Victuals, Customs, Animals, and Fruits of the Kingdoms of Africa*, c. 1652–63, Rome: Franciscan Museum of the Capuchin Historical Institute, MF 1370. Courtesy of the Capuchin Historical Institute.

In South Africa, keyboards were imported into the Cape after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 and actively used in Cape colonial society and the colonization process.[10] A harpsichord was played in 1660 on three separate occasions in aid of diplomatic relations and as a display of European technology between Van Riebeeck and the local indigenous Khoekhoen peoples, which this author believes to be among the earliest accounts of a Western keyboard instrument being played on southern African soil.[11] The harpsichord performances in South Africa act upon displays of European identity, refinement and technological capabilities in order to build trade relations between the Dutch East India Company and the Khoekhoen, and to facilitate commercial activities for their trading post at the Cape.

Other examples of the presence of Western keyboards in southern Africa have yet to be uncovered, and it can be assumed that they would have been present in other parts of the continent along European trade networks and routes of exploration, or in areas of missionary activity, such as in Angola and Mozambique. A case of Portuguese keyboards reaching the North-East African highlands over a century earlier in the early 16th century sheds further light on the dissemination and diplomatic functions of keyboards, in particular a harpsichord, on the continent and Afro-European relations during this period. Indeed, the presence of a harpsichord and other keyboards (including an organ) in this early documented encounter of 1520 necessitates a re-evaluation of assertions by other scholars that the earliest accounts of keyboard instruments being used for diplomatic purposes all concern organs.[12] It also appears to be the earliest documented exemplar of the use of a harpsichord as a diplomatic tool in Africa.

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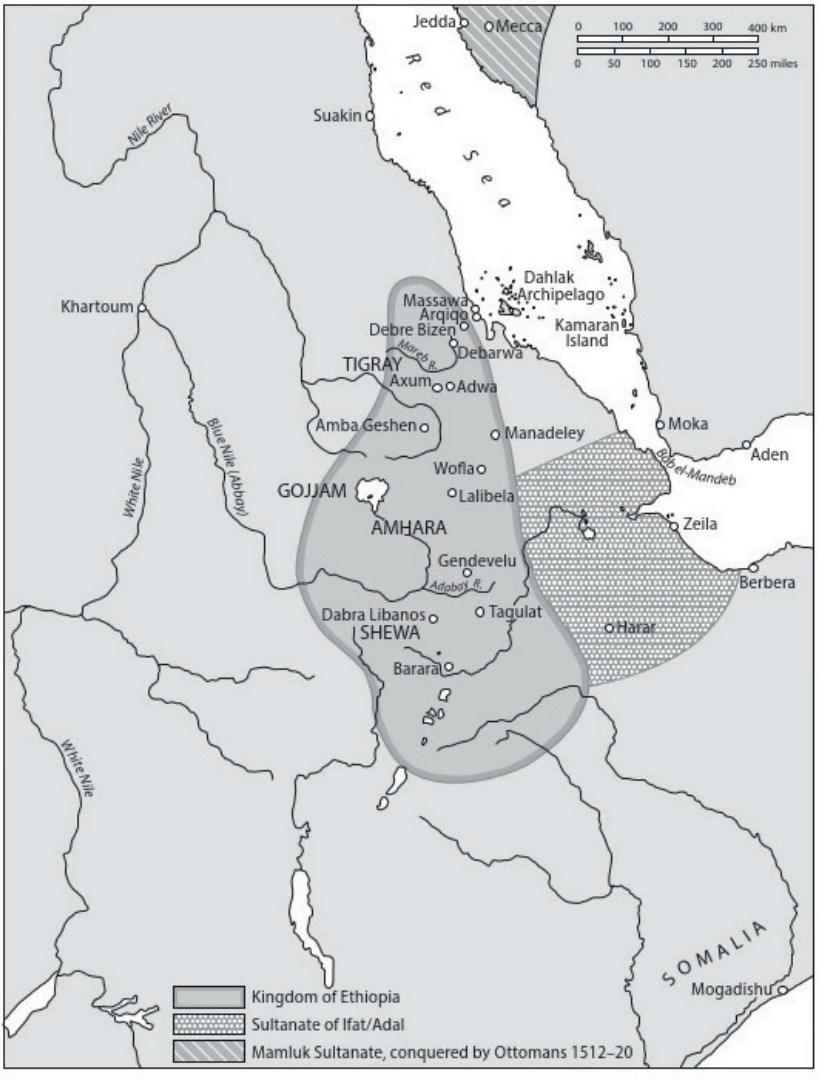
10 Erik Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape: the Role of Domestic Keyboard Instruments in Colonial Society and the Colonisation Process', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 2021, esp. ch. 5.

11 Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck, *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck*, ed. H.B. Thom, trans. by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft, 3 vols. (Cape Town/Amsterdam, 1952), iii, 267, 271, 278, 279; Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape', 2, 27, 59, 124–5, 128–9. When the first Europeans set foot in South Africa, they would have encountered 'the Khoekhoen (pastoralists) and the San (hunter-gatherers), as well as a variety of Bantu-speaking groupings (agriculturalists)', who according to Robert Ross all formed the tripartite division of the population of the Western Cape (see Robert Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa* [Cambridge, 2008], 8; Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape', 28).

12 See, for example, Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape' (see n. 10), 125.



Map 5.1 The world of the encounter: The Indian Ocean and Red Sea worlds, 1400–1550. Cox Cartographic Ltd.

Fig. 2: The Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, 1400–1550 (Cox Cartographic Ltd., Matteo Salvadore, *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations*, 1402–1555 [London/New York, 2017], map 5.1).

Drawing on 15th-, 16th- and 17th-century travellers' narratives, Portuguese dignitaries' letters, and the voluminous surviving Jesuit documentation,[13] this essay explores the dissemination, musical functions and cultural significance of the earliest documented Western keyboards, including a harpsichord, in the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia (Fig. 2) in the early modern period, exploring themes around musical circulation, keyboards as diplomatic and evangelical tools, and how music might have served as a construct for representation, identity, agency and power in Afro-European encounters and colonial perspectives.[14] It draws on two significant encounters between Ethiopia and Latin Europe during the early modern age of exploration – namely one of the first documented Ethiopian contacts with European music on Ethiopian soil—to explore some of the earliest recorded musical contacts and exchanges between Ethiopia and Latin Europe from both secular and sacred contexts. First, one of the earliest documented encounters between a Portuguese embassy and the Ethiopian royal court of King Lebnä Dengel (also known as Dawit III and Wänag Sägäd, 1508–40, Fig. 3) at Shewa in 1520 provides insight into the use of European music, a harpsichord and other keyboard instruments for diplomacy and gift-giving, and the first recorded Western musical instruments to have been brought into Ethiopia in a complex dissemination itinerary from Lisbon to Shewa, via Goa. Then, encounters between Portuguese Jesuit missionaries from Goa and the Ethiopian indigenous communities during the Jesuit period (1557–1632) on the highlands reveal the import of keyboards for Jesuit missionary strategies and their musical art of conversion, which employed music as

13 Indigenous Ethiopian primary sources do survive for this period in the form of the royal Chronicles. However, most of the Chronicles of Lebnä Dengel proceed to the end of 1526, the 19th year of his reign and the beginning of the incursions of the Adali forces headed by the commander, Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, against Solomonic Ethiopia, which dominates the narrative (see Francesco Béguinot, *La cronaca abbreviata d'Abissinia: nuova versione dall'Etiopico e commento* [Rome, 1901], 15–26; Manfred Kropp, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minas* [Leuven, 1988], 3–10). The Chronicles do not acknowledge the long and continued presence from 1520–26 of the Portuguese delegation to the Ethiopian court (noted also in Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* [see n. 1], 51), hence they are not mentioned in the analysis. This means that we have no Ethiopian perspective on the 1520 encounter, only a Portuguese interpretation of the interaction; nonetheless, the Portuguese sources, especially Alvares, offer many new views and details about both Ethiopian and European musical practices and instruments in fairly objective and sympathetic terms.

14 For a detailed account on music at the court of Lebnä Dengel in the wider context of the 1520 encounter, Ethiopian-European relations in the age of exploration, and the circulation of musical knowledge in the Indian Ocean world, see Janie Cole, '*Not a disagreeable sound*: Music, Diplomacy and Foreign Encounters at the Court of Lebnä Dengel in 16th-Century Ethiopia' (forthcoming 2024).

both evangelical and pedagogical tools, and blended indigenous and foreign elements. These musical encounters offer tantalizing views on the spread of keyboard instruments in Portuguese courtly and Jesuit liturgical musical traditions from Lisbon to Goa to the Ethiopian Highlands, and how they were used as ambassadorial and evangelical tools by colonial powers in an intertwined early modern Indian Ocean world where music served to construct identity, agency and religion.

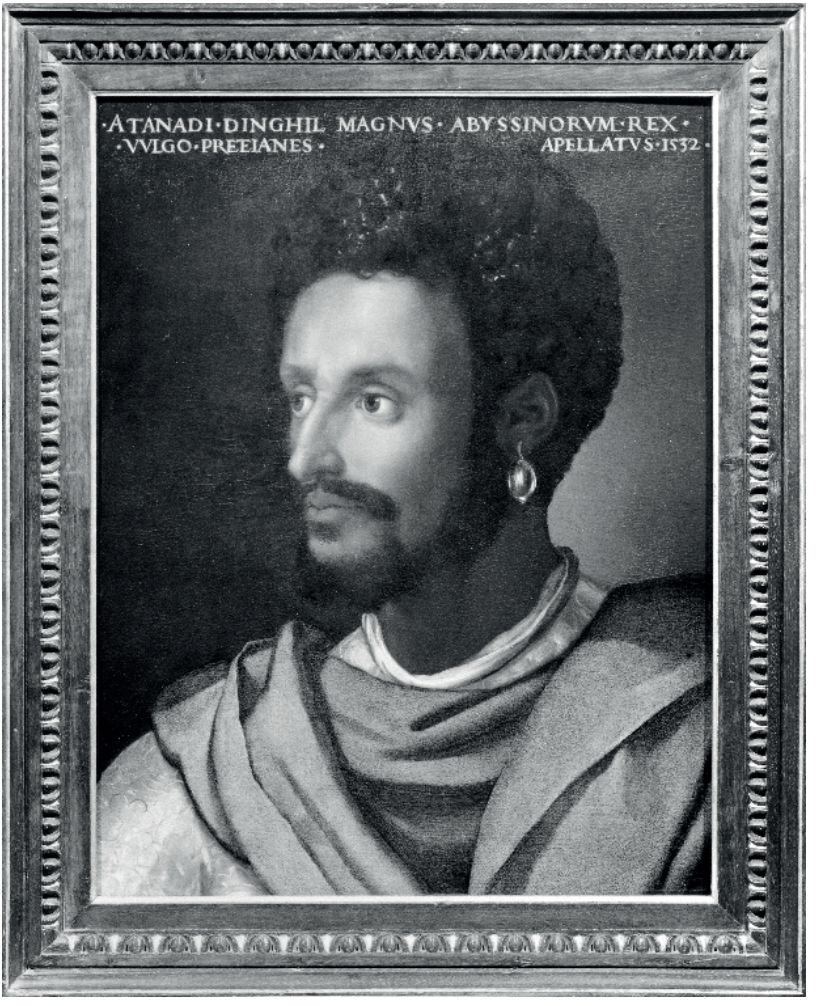


Fig. 3: Cristofano dell'Altissimo, portrait of King Lebnä Dengel, c. 1552–68, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 4: Title-page of the first edition of Francisco Alvares, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Indias* (Lisbon: Luís Rodriguez, 1540).

The 1520 encounter between a Portuguese embassy and the Ethiopian court was recorded in Francisco Alvares' (the mission's chaplain) 1540 account *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Indias*, the first published extensive eyewitness account of Ethiopia (Fig. 4).[15] While Alvares' account must

15 Francisco Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies. A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John, Being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, Written by Father Francisco Alvares*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and George W.B. Huntingford (Cambridge, 1961). On Alvares' account and its impact, see Jean Aubin, 'Le prêtre Jean devant la censure portugaise', in: *Bulletin des Études Portugaises et Brésiliennes* 41 (1980), 33–57; Salvadore, *The African Prester John* (see n. 1), 163–4.

be viewed critically given his ignorance of the country he is describing and the imperialist perspectives of the embassy he represented, we also find an account imbued with accuracy and objective, even sympathetic, observations about the kingdom, including musical practices. Alvares provides details of the Portuguese retinue, including a musician; their long journey from Lisbon to the Ethiopian highlands, via Goa, the capital of Portuguese India; the Ethiopian royal court structure and the encounter between Lebnä Dengel and the Portuguese embassy, including musical performances; and the musical instruments that were taken, and their diplomatic functions.[16]

The Portuguese embassy left Lisbon for Goa on 7 April 1515, and circumnavigated the African continent, with the aim of stopping off at Goa before traveling on to Ethiopia.[17] The gifts brought by the embassy matched the interests of earlier Solomonic rulers in their missions to the Latin West, especially for ecclesiastical garments and objects, but notable is the Portuguese King Manuel's request for two full organs and two organists to be sent to Ethiopia.[18] The embassy arrived in Goa in September 1515, but did not land and sailed on to Cananor and Cochin. There they awaited for most of 1516 to embark on their final mission to Ethiopia, which was delayed until early 1520 when they were forced to return to Goa.[19] Reports show that the fabulous gifts intended for the Ethiopian *negus* (king) were also lost in transit, while the rest was eventually looted in Cochin by the governor Lopo Soares de Albergaria and his cronies.[20] It is therefore unlikely that the two original organs sent from Lisbon by the king of Portugal ever arrived in Goa, or proceeded on to Ethiopia. Finally, on 13 February 1520, a Portuguese fleet again set out from India, which included the Portuguese embassy of about 17 men headed by a young *fidalgo*, Dom Rodrigo de Lima (1500–n.a.). It was the biggest European delegation to an Ethiopian king

16 On the 1520 Portuguese embassy and its encounter with the Ethiopian court, see Salvadore, *The African Prester John* (see n. 1), 115–23, 139–45; Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* (see n. 1), 149–52; Cates Baldridge, *Prisoners of Prester John: The Portuguese Mission to Ethiopia in Search of the Mythical King, 1520–1526* (Jefferson, NC, 2012); Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 183. Only Woodfield briefly mentions the musical encounter between the Portuguese embassy and the Ethiopian court involving keyboards, as discussed in detail below.

17 Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies*, 51, n. 4; Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* (see n. 1), 149.

18 Aida Fernanda Dias, 'Um presente régio', in: *Humanitas* 47 (1995), 685–789, at 690; Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* (see n. 1), 148.

19 Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 42.

20 Ibid., 51, 63–4; Dias, 'Um presente régio', 712; Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, *Envoys of a Human God: The Jesuit Mission to Christian Ethiopia, 1557–1632* (Leiden, 2015), 7. The term *negus* (plural *nägäst*), meaning literally 'king', is the title of an Ethiopian sovereign in Ge'ez.

to date, and included a musician, Manoel de Mares, a 'player of organs'.[21] Since De Mares is not mentioned in the original retinue traveling from Lisbon via Cananor and Cochin to Goa, he may have embarked in Goa on the Portuguese galleon bound for Massawa. However, the Portuguese records of 1514–15, which detail the gifts and personnel to be sent to Ethiopia by order of King Manuel I, explicitly state that 'two organists' were to be sent,[22] therefore it is highly likely that De Mares had originally been hired to be dispatched to Ethiopia by the Ethiopian ambassador Mateus upon his arrival in Portugal in 1514. The choice to bring a musician and painter in the retinue was carefully positioned in the well-known knowledge that the *negus*, as Krebs argues, had previously requested that Western craftsmen be sent to his realm, primarily from Italy and Aragon;[23] though little did the Portuguese know that he already kept a small academy of European artists and probably musicians on the highlands. The presence of a keyboard player was also imperative in order to have the skilled personnel to perform before the Ethiopian king, as they must have assumed that a competent keyboard player would not be found at the Ethiopian court.[24] Their now depleted gifts from the Portuguese king included, amongst other items, 'some organs' and a clavichord.[25] Since the original keyboards from Lisbon were almost certainly lost en route, the present keyboards now heading to Ethiopian soil must have come from Goa, either originally imported to Portuguese India from Europe, or produced in India given the sophisticated skills of Indian craftsmen and the huge supply in manpower of the coastal regions, which served as resources from which the Portuguese and later missionaries were able to mobilize for Ethiopia.

The embassy landed at Massawa, the biggest port on the African littoral, on 9 April 1520 and was shown the way (Figs. 5–6) inland by local Ethiopian

21 The total number of men in the embassy is unclear throughout Alvares' account, however he does list at least 17 men by name, see Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 61–2. Instead the *Carta das Novas* indicates that there were thirteen men in all, in Henry Thomas and Armando Cortesão, *The Discovery of Abyssinia by the Portuguese in 1520: A Facsimile* (London, 1938), 87.

22 Dias, 'Um presente régio' (see n. 18), 690.

23 Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* (see n. 1), 17–39, 61–91.

24 Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 37, gives the example of the first musical instrument to have been presented by English merchants in return for trading concessions in Morocco in 1577, where Edmund Hogan had failed to hire a musician to accompany the gifted bass lute and therefore disastrously it could not be shown off to their trade associates. On later voyages by trading companies, presentation musical instruments were always accompanied by a performer.

25 Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 63. The *Carta das Novas* also indicates among the gifts for the Ethiopian king 'a musician with some organs and a clavichord' (Thomas and Cortesão, *The Discovery of Abyssinia* [see n. 21], 87).

troops to reach the highland royal court in Shewa, going via Debarwa, past the Mareb River into Tigray to Adwa, Axum, then south to Shewa, all with the help of the monk Sägga Zä'ab, a major protagonist in later Ethiopian-European relations who served as the king's ambassador.[26] Finally, six months later on 19 October, it arrived at the royal court in Tagulat in northern Shewa, a vast metropolis containing between 20,000 and 40,000 people in an orderly array of multi-coloured tents, hence easily rivaling Europe's largest capitals.[27]

26 On Sägga Zä'ab, see Giuseppe Marcocci, 'Gli umanisti italiani e l'impero portoghese: una interpretazione della Fides, Religio, Moresque Aethiopum di Damião de Góis', in: *Rinascimento* 45 (2005), 347–9; Salvadore, *The African Prester John* (see n. 1), 153–6, 165–72, 207–8.

27 By the early 15th century, one of the distinctive features of the Ethiopian monarchy was the itinerant nature of the royal court, when Tagulat in northern Shewa ceased to be its permanent capital. On Ethiopia's roving capitals (1412–1636) and the itinerant nature of the royal court, see Ronald J. Horvath, 'The Wandering Capitals of Ethiopia', in: *The Journal of African History* 10 (1969), 205–19; Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia, from Early Times to 1800* (London, 1961), 136–43; Akalou Wolde-Michael, 'The Impermanency of Royal Capitals in Ethiopia', in: *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 28 (1966), 146–56; Manfred Kropp, 'The Ser'atä Gebr: A Mirror View of Daily Life at the Ethiopian Royal Court in the Middle Ages', in: *Northeast African Studies* 10, nos. 2–3 (1988), 51–87; Deresse Ayenachew, 'The Southern Interests of the Royal Court of Ethiopia in the Light of Berber Maryam's Ge'ez and Amharic Manuscripts', in: *Northeast African Studies* 11, no. 2 (2011), 43–57; Deresse Ayenachew, 'Territorial Expansion and Administrative Evolution under the "Solomonic" Dynasty', in: *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea*, ed. Samantha Kelly (Leiden, 2020), 57–86.

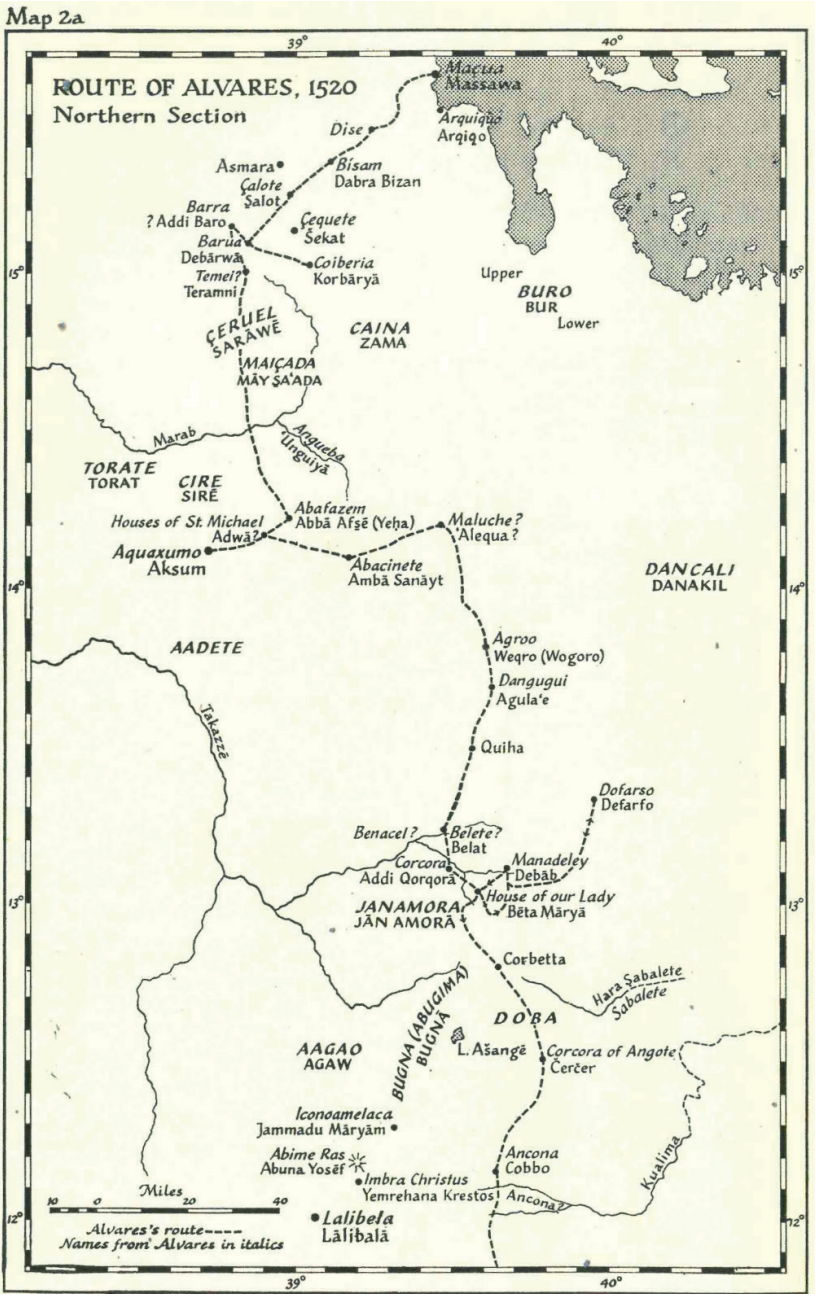


Fig. 5: Route of Francisco Alvares in 1520 (Northern Section) (Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* [...], ed. Charles F. Beckingham and George W.B. Huntingford [Cambridge, 1961], map 2a).

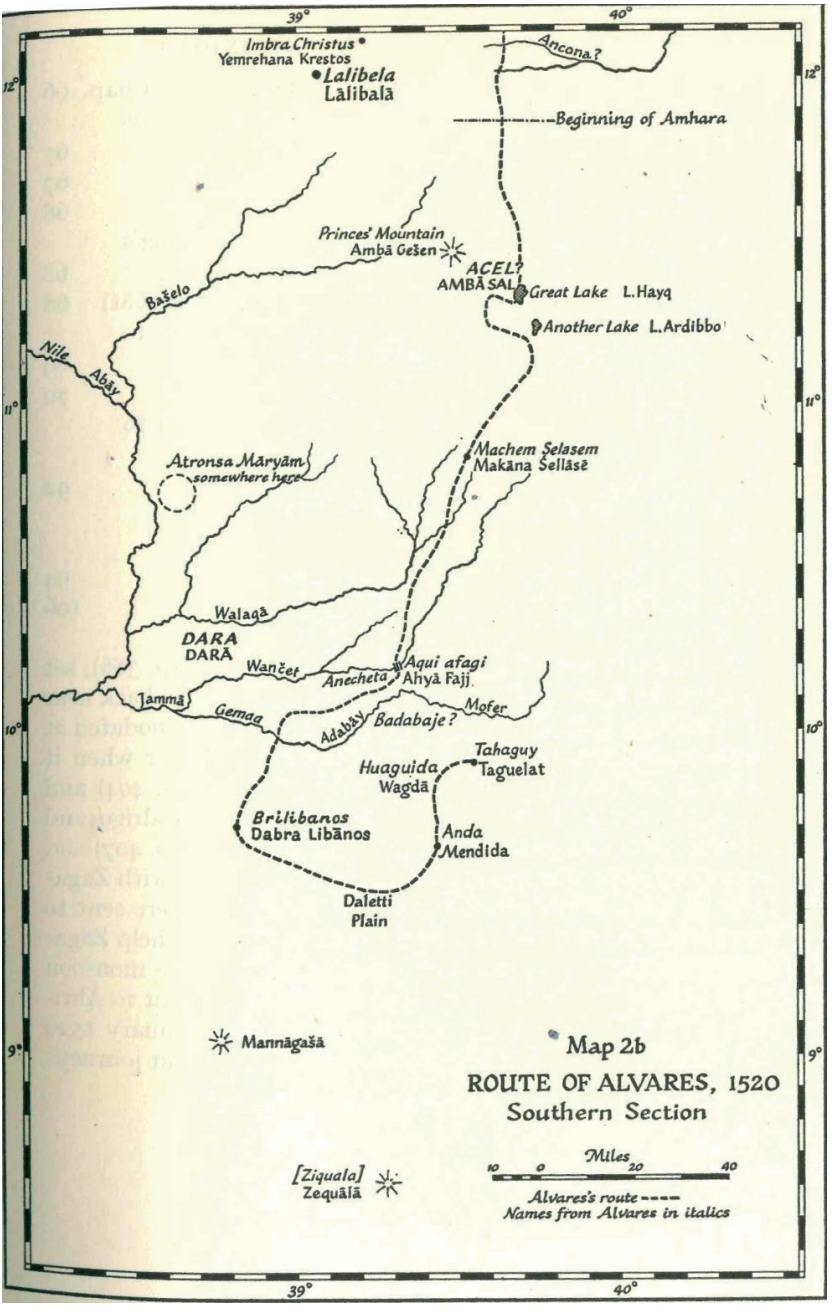


Fig. 6: Route of Francisco Alvares in 1520 (Southern Section) (Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* [...], ed. Charles F. Beckingham and George W.B. Huntingford [Cambridge, 1961], map 2b).

Alvares' account gives details of the musical encounters and Western keyboard instruments used, presumably to be played by Manoel de Mares, and their various functions in the Portuguese diplomatic processes with the Ethiopian *negus*. According to Woodfield, this encounter was, in fact, 'the first recorded instance of the use of keyboards in an overtly diplomatic role in the Portuguese Eastern Empire.'[28] It is the opinion of this author that the keyboards mentioned by Alvares are the earliest documented Western keyboards to have been imported to the Ethiopian highlands, perhaps originating from Lisbon (via Goa), or certainly from Goa. It also appears to be the earliest documented exemplar of the use of a harpsichord being used as a diplomatic tool in Africa and perhaps even one of the first documented cases of the use of Western keyboards for diplomatic use on the continent.

It is, however, highly likely that Western keyboards had already reached the royal court prior to October 1520 given the documented presence of *faranji* (meaning Franks, traditionally used to identify European Catholics) as early as 1402, but almost certainly present in the country decades, if not centuries earlier.[29] The establishment of a fully-fledged European community in the late 1420s and early 1430s might have brought, or constructed locally, keyboards, lutes, shawms, viols, harps, flutes, and other 15th-century European instruments.[30] One trace in the archival records dates an Italian organ present on

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28 Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 183; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 34. Another Portuguese organ was also sent out from Goa in a separate embassy in the same year 1520 to Vijayanagar, the great capital of the Deccan and dominant power in southern India. See David Lopes, *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga* (Lisbon, 1897), 92; trans. into English in Robert Sewell, A *Forgotten Empire* (*Vijayanagar*) (London, 1900).

29 On the presence of foreigners, mainly Italians, in Ethiopia up to the 16th century, see Renato Lefèvre, 'Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento (Parte I)', in: *Annali Lateranensi* 8 (1944), 9–89; Renato Lefèvre, 'Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento (Parte II)', in: *Annali Lateranensi* 9 (1945), 331–444; Renato Lefèvre, 'Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento (Parte III)', in: *Annali Lateranensi* 11 (1947), 255–342; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Venezia, l'Europa e l'Etiopia', in: *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia cristiana* (*Venezia, Ca' Foscari, 13 marzo–10 maggio 2009*), ed. Giuseppe Barbieri and Gianfranco Fiaccadori (Vicenza, 2009), 27–48.

30 On the *faranji* community at the Ethiopian court, see Richard Pankhurst, 'Färäŋǧ', in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig, vol. 2: D-HA (Wiesbaden, 2014), 492; Verena Krebs, 'Windows onto the World: Culture Contacts and Western Christian Art in Ethiopia, 1402–1543', PhD thesis, Universität Konstanz/Mekelle University, 2014, 235–314; Salvadore, *The African Prester John* (see n. 1), 129–45. The *faranji* often enjoyed a privileged life in Ethiopia but were rarely allowed to leave.

the Ethiopian highlands forty years earlier. Francesco Suriano (c. 1450–1530), a Franciscan friar who worked as a missionary in the Holy Land in the early 1480s, recounted in his *Treatise on the Holy Land* the details of a Franciscan mission from Jerusalem to Ethiopia in 1480–84/85, which included Baptista da Imola, who travelled repeatedly between Jerusalem and Ethiopia in the early 1480s.[31] Suriano reported that in late 1481, Baptista da Imola saw 'an organ made in the Italian style' in a 'church of the king [Ba'eda Maryam], who in those days had died', which was as 'large as the church of St. Mary of the Angels' and called 'Geneth Ioryos'.[32] 'Geneth Ioryos' is identifiable as the royal church of Gännätä Giyorgis in Amhara founded by king Eskender (r. 1478–94);[33] however this

31 On the Franciscan mission from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, Baptista da Imola (also referred to as Giovanni Battista da Imola by other scholars) and his connection to Suriano, see Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* (see n. 1), 133–4. In 1483, Suriano was living in the Minorite convent in Jerusalem when he heard Baptista's account of his travels in Ethiopia first-hand, and later included Baptista's account as a first-person narrative in the *Treatise*. Anne Damon-Guillot, 'Toucher le cœur des schismatiques: Stratégies sonores et musicales des jésuites en Éthiopie, 1620–1630', in: *Le Jardin de Musique. Revue de l'Association Musique ancienne en Sorbonne* 6, no. 1 (2009), 65–99, at 72, incorrectly refers to Suriano as traveling in Ethiopia and having seen the organ; in fact, Suriano had never traveled there and was recounting Baptista's experiences. It is unclear here whether Suriano is referring to Baptista da Imola, a commoner letter-carrier, or Giovanni Battista Brocchi da Imola, the well-known pontifical ambassador (see Matteo Salvadore and Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Brocchi, Giovanni Battista', in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig, vol. 5: Y-Z, Supplementa, addenda et corrigenda [Wiesbaden 2014], 284–6). Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* (see n. 1), 122–42 (esp. 133–4, which refers to Baptista da Imola, the letter-carrier, and the Franciscan mission of 1480–84/85) argues that these are two separate men since the chronologies of two missions that departed Cairo for Rome and Ethiopia make it impossible for the nobleman to have been involved in both; while the majority of scholars assign both missions to the same ambassador Giovanni Battista Brocchi da Imola, and the contradiction might be explained as the result of misdating.

32 'Caminammo giorni dodice et andammo fino alla chiesia dello re, che de quelli giorni era morto, in la quale artrovammo uno organo facto ala ytaliano; grande como la chiesia de Sancta Maria delli Angeli, chiamata Geneth Ioryos, cioè chiesia de Sancto Georgio' (Biblioteca Comunale Augusta di Perugia, Ms. 1106, fol. 45v); in Marzia Caria (ed.), 'Il Tratatello delle indulgentie de Terra Sancta secondo il ms. 1106 della Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia. Edizione e note linguistiche', PhD thesis, Università degli Studi di Sassari, 2008, 165; trans. in Theophilus Bellorini, Eugene Hoade and Bellarmino Bagatti (eds.), *Treatise on the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1949), 98; Enrico Cerulli, 'L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici', in: *Africa Italiana* 5 (1933), 57–112, at 110.

33 Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* (see n. 1), 237, n. 82.

church was only founded after the death in 1478 of his father, Ba'eda Maryam, and therefore could not have served as Ba'eda Maryam's burial place unless he was moved there by 1481. Baptista's mention that the church containing the Italian organ was the burial place of Ba'eda Maryam would place it as Atronsa Maryam, where the king had been newly buried in 1478 prior to Baptista's visit. In his *Itineraries*, Alessandro Zorzi recounts the same story of how Suriano and his companions were 'amazed' to find a large painted organ 'in the Italian style' in the 'king's church where he was buried' ('andamo sino alla chiesia dello Re. In la qual de quelli di era stato sepellito. In la qual vedemo uno grande et ornato organo facto alla taliana, et fossimo tuti stupefati'), but dates the visit to 1482 and O.G.S. Crawford identifies the location as the royal church of Atronsa Maryam.[34] Crawford also attributes the design and construction of the organ to the Venetian painter-monk, Nicolò Brancaleon (c. 1460–after 1526), one of the most well-known foreign artists in Ethiopia at the time (whom Alvares also met in 1520), who decorated churches including Atronsa Maryam, and thus deduced that 'doubtless it was he who made that "Italian organ"– surely the first of its kind to be exported – which so naturally surprised our travelers.'[35] Hence the organ appears to have been constructed *in situ*, but there is no hard evidence in the textual sources linking its construction and design to Brancaleon, who

34 O.G.S. Crawford, *Ethiopian Itineraries Circa 1400–1524* (Cambridge, 1958), 41, 44, 52, who identifies the church as Atronsa Maryam, presumably on the basis that Baptista's account indicates that the church served as the burial place for king Ba'eda Maryam.

35 Crawford, *Ethiopian Itineraries*, 52. Crawford ascertains that since Ba'eda Maryam commissioned Brancaleon to decorate the church, then he undoubtedly painted the organ; however, Ba'eda Maryam could not have commissioned Brancaleon to decorate either the church or organ since he had died in 1478 and Brancaleon only arrived in Ethiopia between 1480 and 1482. The error is repeated by other scholars, see for example Damon-Guillot, 'Toucher le cœur' (see n. 31), 72. Brancaleon did paint murals in Atronsa Maryam sometime between 1480 and 1494, see Marie-Laure Derat, *Le domaine des rois* éthiopiens, *1270–1527: Espace, pouvoir et monarchisme* (Paris, 2003), 235; also described by Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 332. On Brancaleon, see Stanislaw Chojnacki, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting: Indigenous Developments, the Influence of Foreign Models and their Adaptation from the 13th to the 19th Century* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 378–98; Stanislaw Chojnacki and Carolyn Gossage, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University* (Milan, 2000), 27; Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Brancaleone, Nicolò', in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig, vol. 1: A-C (Wiesbaden, 2003), 620–1; Ian Campbell, 'A Historical Note on Nicolò Brancaleon: as Revealed by an Iconographic Inscription', in: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2004), 83–102; Krebs, 'Windows onto the World' (see n. 30), 259–81.

had arrived in Ethiopia between 1480 and 1482.[36] Brancaleon is a possible candidate for the decoration of the organ given his prominent court status as a painter, his work in the church of Atronsa Maryam, and his presence in Ethiopia before Baptista's visit.[37] Brancaleon, another foreign artist, or a contemporary Ethiopian artist (such as the priest-artist Afnin) belonging to the same artistic circles painting in a European style during 1460–1530 might have been commissioned by the *negus* Eskender.[38] But it is unlikely that he would have known how to construct an organ, an intricate mechanical device, as there is no evidence of him having received any musical training. Rather the 1481/82 Italian organ is more likely to have been constructed by an Italian musician, indicating that Italian and other foreign musicians were almost certainly among the *faranji* community on the Ethiopian highlands by the second half of the 15th century.[39] Whether the 1481/82 Italian organ was designed by Brancaleon or another foreign artist or musician living at the court, it is clear that the Ethiopian court had already been introduced to European keyboards by this time. However, the details given in Alvares' narrative appear to reveal the first documented keyboards to have been imported to the Ethiopian highlands in 1520 and their use as diplomatic tools.

The three versions of Alvares' narrative which survive offer slightly different accounts of the European instruments involved in the 1520 musical encounter at the Ethiopian court, though the basic facts are the same. These are Alvares' original Portuguese account and the version in the first volume of Giovanni Battista Ramusio's ground-breaking collection of travel narratives, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice, 1550), which incorporates another lost source.[40] Already

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36 The main studies on Brancaleon (cit. in n. 35) do not mention the 1481/82 Italian organ as being attributed to Brancaleon at all, with the exception of Stanislaw Chojnacki, 'Notes on Art in Ethiopia in the 15th and Early 16th Century', in: *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 8, no. 2 (1970), 21–65, at 63, who mentions the organ but does not give an attribution.

37 Bellorini, Hoade and Bagatti, *Treatise on the Holy Land* (see n. 32), 99.

38 On the *faranji* period in Ethiopian art and Ethiopian royal art patronage in Ethiopia during 1460–1530, see Krebs, 'Windows onto the World' (see n. 30), 254–310.

39 Baptista da Imola mentioned the presence of Italians at the Ethiopian court in the second half of the 15th century, most of whom had come there a long time ago as fortune-seekers, see Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship* (see n. 1), 134, 195; Krebs, 'Windows onto the World' (see n. 30), 235–6; Crawford, *Ethiopian Itineraries* (see n. 34), 44–5. Alvares refers to the *faranji* at the royal court as the 'white men of other nations', see *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 275–81, 313, 319, 332, 369–76, 467.

40 The account in Ramusio is based partly on Alvares, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Indias* (Lisbon: Luis Rodriguez, 1540), and partly on a

noted as accompanying Alvares was Manoel de Mares, 'player of organs', and the gifts destined for the court of Lebnä Dengel included 'some organs',[41] or as Ramusio says 'un organo'.[42] Gift-giving was central to European diplomatic visits to Africa and the East, often in return for the permission to trade, or in this case, where the Portuguese sought an alliance with the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia in the context of competing Portuguese and Ottoman expansions in the Indian Ocean. The Adali were also asserting their claims in the outskirts of Ethiopia, while the Portuguese and the Ottomans converged on the region.[43] Every European institution with interests in Africa and the East was concerned with the choice of suitable objects for presentation on diplomatic voyages. As Ian Woodfield explains, an ideal gift displayed the best aspects of European craftsmanship, mechanical ingenuity and artistry, with costs kept at a low.[44] A keyboard instrument met all these requirements. Tracing the historical lineage of keyboards, Woodfield writes that 'the practice of presenting organs, musical clocks and other automata as diplomatic gifts can be traced back to the 8th-century Byzantine Empire',[45] when an 'organum' was sent from Constantinople to Francia by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V to Pepin, King of the Franks, in 757.[46] Further continuities evolved when 'Western keyboard instruments were

lost source: see Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 1–22; Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 183, n. 7. My analysis and citations come primarily from Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), only citing Ramusio where major differences in the narrative occur. The 1961 English translation of Alvares is by far the best available because it is a combined edition: Beckingham and Huntingford cross-referenced the 1540 Portuguese edition with an Italian manuscript (revised and commented upon by Beccadelli with Tesfa Seyon's help) which was probably based on Alvares' lost manuscript, as well as with Ramusio's published version (see Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* [see n. 15], introduction). The original Portuguese version has also been checked for specific vocabulary, especially pertaining to musical instruments.

41 Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 61, 63; Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 183.

42 Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Heredi di Lucantonio Giunti, 1550), fol. 206; Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 183. Ramusio's reference to one organ only is probably incorrect given the evidence outlined in this study.

43 Salvadore, *The African Prester John* (see n. 1), 108.

44 On musical instruments as diplomatic gifts, see Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 181–2.

45 For an overview, see ibid., 182.

46 Williams, 'Organ' (see n. 2); Jean Perrot, *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the End of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Norma Deane (London, 1971), 206; Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 182; Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape' (see n. 10), 125.

sent out to the Far East in the 13th century' at a time when 'the Mongol Empire was open to European travelers'. Woodfield surmises that the Portuguese probably rediscovered the attraction of keyboards as musical gifts in their overseas empire in the East through the experiences of Portuguese missionaries who took many portable organs and small harpsichords for use in mission schools.[47] Already mentioned are missionary organs taken to the Kongo by Portuguese Franciscans accompanying De Sousa's expedition in 1490. Woodfield further cites 'the first portable organ to land on Indian soil was probably an instrument brought by the Franciscans who accompanied Cabral in 1500'.[48] The success of gifting these functional instruments may have encouraged more ornate presentation keyboards and at this stage in European history, the organ (as well as the clock) was 'one of the most technologically advanced objects then in existence' and 'the most complex of all mechanical instruments developed before the Industrial Revolution.'[49] In the 1520 Ethiopian context, a painted harpsichord could be displayed as an artistic work of art, was (like the organ) an innovative mechanical device with its method of sound production, would undoubtedly have been seen as a novelty on Ethiopian soil, and the costs to produce, transport and hire a musician to accompany it would not have been exorbitant.[50] Like the Ethiopian royal drums (*nägärit*), its visual presence alone was significant and, as Richard Leppert argues in the Indian colonial context, this was as much a 'totemic function as a musical one', as the emphasis on sight over sound attributes to music a 'potential but unrealized practice […] but one nonetheless semantically rich.'[51] Leppert even suggests that the high impracticality of having keyboards – being delicate, easily damaged, difficult to maintain, and sensitive to temperature and humidity, especially within the context of a southern African climate – increases their 'ideological value' and as expensive pieces of furniture (made of rare materials like exotic woods, ivory or silver) which essentially do not 'do' anything, aside from produce a sound which is ethereal, positioned them as 'perfect signs of social position' and 'markers of

47 Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 182.

48 William Brooks Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India: From Contemporary Documents and Narratives* (London, 1938), 201; Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 182. It is not known whether Vasco da Gama had any keyboards with him in 1497.

49 Barbara Owen, Peter Williams and Stephen Bicknell, 'Organ', in: *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.44010> (accessed 3 March 2021).

50 Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 33.

51 Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley, 1995), 64, 107; Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape' (see n. 10), 135–6.

racial difference.'[52] The sound of a plucked stringed keyboard (harpsichord), as opposed to the air-blown mechanism of the organ, would have been a further sonic novelty on the Ethiopian highlands.

The Portuguese visitors were taken to the royal enclosure, however they were not permitted to either see or speak to King Lebnä Dengel, who instead questioned them through his officials. Lebnä Dengel repeatedly summoned and questioned Ambassador Lima, but never revealed himself, even asking Lima to perform for his own amusement. On the night of 3 November, Alvares reported: '[The king] sent to say that they should play with sword and shield, and the Ambassador ordered two men of his suite to come out. They did it reasonably well, and yet not as well as the Ambassador desired that things Portuguese should be done [...] The Prester could see them very well from behind the curtains, and took great pleasure in it [...] After this the Prester John sent to ask that they should sing to a manichord [clavichord], and dance, and they did so.'[53] Ramusio refers to the instrument as 'un organo', a discrepancy which is probably a simple error.[54] The performance with sword and shield served to showcase their military, athletic and tactical prowess, while the request for a musical encounter acts upon discourses in cultural identity, refinement and expertise. While organs and a harpsichord were important as diplomatic gifts, the musical performance itself and communication between the Portuguese musician and his Ethiopian audience were less significant; the Portuguese simply sought approval to get access to the king and to further their political cause.

Wood suggests, in the context of Thomas Dallam's organ in the Ottoman empire, that the instrument is not merely an object of commercial or musical exchange, but instead early modern cross-cultural encounters at sonic events created soundwaves that 'calibrate everything on the same frequency of vibration', producing what she theorizes as the 'sonic uncanny', which offers a new framework to consider these intercultural interactions beyond the categories of Western musical theory, mimicry or colonization projects, rather 'conceptualized as a vibrating wave calibrating bodies on the same frequency.'[55] In this

52 Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 8, 107; Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape' (see n. 10), 135–6, 145.

53 Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 286–7; Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India* [c. 1560], vols. 2–4 (Nendeln, 1976), ii, 587. Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 184, correctly translates the instrument as 'clavichord', not 'manicord'; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 35.

54 Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (see n. 42), fol. 241v; Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 183; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 35.

55 Wood, 'An Organ's Metamorphosis' (see n. 3), 90, 98; Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape' (see n. 10), 139–44, who adopts Wood's theory to the southern African

way, as Wood clarifies, 'the vibrating sonic uncanny makes the foreign familiar through the connective soundwave', so the Portuguese embassy's harpsichord performance had a physical impact on the space where it was played and on the indigenous audience if we consider sound 'as a vibrating wave that touches all matter present at a sonic event […] networks or assemblages are formed among bodies, objects, and environments as they are attuned to the same frequency of vibration', and as a result it creates the sensation of experiencing the foreign and the familiar simultaneously and 'blurs the demarcation between the familiar and the foreign, the self and the "other"'.[56] The instrumental performance on the highlands can thus be seen as one of colonial expansion by sonically claiming and altering a space, as the sound of the instrument moved bodies present where it was played 'quite literally along the same wavelength, changing them in the process.'[57] However, unlike the 1660s context of harpsichord and keyboard performances in South Africa where keyboards were used as an aggressive display of power in the Cape, the 1520 encounter was very clearly structured on the Ethiopians' own terms from the outset: Lebnä Dengel demonstrated active agency by acting independently and exerting his power over the embassy by turning down its repeated appeals for an audience; not revealing himself for weeks on end and only communicating through his officials; humiliating them by seeming to advance, only to suddenly hinder their mission; and turning his Portuguese guests into objects of entertainment and curiosity.[58]

As relations between the embassy and *negus* developed over the coming months, other musical encounters ensued. On 17 January 1521, the Portuguese performed a vocal piece accompanied by the harpsichord: 'The whole of this tent was spread with very beautiful carpets, and it was large like a reception room […] The Prester sent to tell us to sing and dance after our fashion, and to enjoy ourselves. Then our people began to sing songs to a harpsichord which we had here, and afterwards dance and sing all together.'[59] Ramusio also confirms

colonial context.

56 Wood, 'An Organ's Metamorphosis' (see n. 3), 82, 91; Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape' (see n. 10), 140, 142, but recontextualized in a very different Southern African colonial context. It is important to note that Ethiopia was never colonized and hence the Afro-European cultural dynamics unfolding on the highlands were not comparable to the South African ones.

57 Wood, 'An Organ's Metamorphosis' (see n. 3), 91; Dippenaar, 'Conquering the Cape' (see n. 10), 144.

58 On further displays of agency and power in music, ceremonial practices and indigenous instruments at the Ethiopian royal court, see Cole, 'Constructing Racial Identity and Power in Music' (see n. 9).

59 Alvares, *The Prester John of the Indies* (see n. 15), 363–4; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 35.

the instrument: 'Subito li nostri cominciarono à cantar canzoni in un clavocimbalo, che havevamo portato noi.'[60] Thus, it is clear that the Portuguese brought several instruments: organs (as confirmed by both Alvares and the *Carta das Novas*)[61] and a string keyboard, whether a harpsichord and/or a clavichord. The exact identification of the string keyboard is difficult to ascertain, as Woodfield says, 'since confusion between the terms for the harpsichord ('cravo') and the clavichord ('manicordio') is commonplace in accounts written by non-musician travellers', as, indeed, were both Alvares and Ramusio.[62] Both Alvares and the *Carta das Novas* concur that the musician carried a clavichord, so perhaps Ramusio mistranslated the term. In any case, as Woodfield also concludes, it is likely 'that the harpsichord or clavichord was played during the secular entertainments', while 'the organ was [probably] reserved for the celebration of Mass', and also in this case as a gift.[63]

Most members of the Portuguese embassy finally left Ethiopia in 1526, back to Portuguese Goa, having left Shewa for the coast in 1521. The keyboard player, Manoel de Mares, was presumably with the party, and it is unknown whether he left his keyboard instruments behind at the Ethiopian court. By the mid 16th century, harpsichords and organs were used regularly as diplomatic gifts throughout the Portuguese Eastern Empire. Francis Xavier presented keyboards in Japan in 1551, which according to Woodfield, precipitated an influx of small keyboard instruments into Japan thereafter, where Western musical instruments were sought intensively.[64] In the context of missionary ventures, harpsichords, organs and clavichords are mentioned extensively in numerous letters by Jesuit missionaries working in various parts of the world, such as in Japan during the 1560s and 1570s,[65] in China at the Ming and Qing courts in the early 17th century,[66] and in Portuguese Goa, for example in 1558, when

60 Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (see n. 42), fol. 253; Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 184; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 35.

61 The *Carta das Novas Que Vieram a El Rey Nosso Senhor Do Descobrimento Do Preste Joham* is composed from the letters of the governor and auditor general of the Estado da India, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1465–1530) and Pero Gomez Teixeira (fl. 1520s), who had accompanied Lima's delegation. A copy of the *Carta* can be found in London, British Museum MS C.96.e.2. See Thomas and Cortesão, *The Discovery of Abyssinia* (see n. 21), with an English translation by Henry Thomas and a transcription into modern Portuguese by Armando Cortesão.

62 Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 184; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 35.

63 Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 184; Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 35.

64 Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital' (see n. 2), 36.

65 Ibid.

66 Lindorff, 'Missionaries, Keyboards and Musical Exchange' (see n. 4).

the Viceroy joined the Jesuit Colégio de São Paulo and held magnificent public processions on the Feast of the Virgin, with Portuguese fidalgos, litters, parasols, Portuguese pages, Mozambican slaves, and bands of musicians 'playing shawms, drums, trumpets, flutes, viols and a harpsichord.'[67] The musical education at the Colégio de São Paulo in Goa, considered by 1560 the most influential Jesuit institution in the East, included instrumental learning on the organ, harpsichord and the viol.[68] Portuguese missionaries took many portable organs and small harpsichords for use in mission schools abroad.[69]

Likewise, music and keyboard instruments played a central role in Jesuit musical practices on the Ethiopian highlands at Catholic seminars and services, especially after the Ethiopian kingdom briefly became Catholic from 1624 to 1632 following King Susenyos' (1606–32) conversion.[70] In c.1550, Ignatius of Loyola (co-founder of the Society of Jesus) instructed those Jesuit missionaries going to Ethiopia to found a chapel with a choir and organs if the Ethiopian king so permitted.[71] Luís Cardeira (1585–1640), who arrived on the highlands in 1624 with several instruments (including viols, bandurria, a harp and an organ), was a skilled musician and keyboard player of organs, harpsichord and clavichord, who founded a choir at the Gorgora residence[72] and taught polyphonic sing-

67 Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 221–2. On music in Portuguese Goa, see Victor Coelho, 'Connecting Histories: Portuguese Music in Renaissance Goa', in: *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, ed. C. Borges, S. J. and Helmut Feldmann, Xavier Centre of Historical Research Series 7 (New Delhi, 1997), 131–47.

68 Woodfield, *English Musicians* (see n. 4), 221–2.

69 Ibid., 182.

70 On Jesuits and their use of music for pedagogical and evangelical purposes in Ethiopia, see Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, *Envoys of a Human God* (see n. 20), 154–7; Damon-Guillot, 'Toucher le cœur' (see n. 31); Anne Damon-Guillot, 'Sounds of Hell and Sounds of Eden. Sonic Worlds in Ethiopia in the Catholic Missionary Context, 17th–18th Centuries', in: *Toward an Anthropology of Ambient Sound*, ed. Christine Guillebaud (New York, 2017), 39–55. For an updated more detailed study on the topic, see Janie Cole, 'Jesuit Missionaries, the Musical Art of Conversion and Indigenous Encounters in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia (1557–1632)', in: *Music in Africa and its Diffusion in the Early Modern World*, ed. Janie Cole and Camilla Cavicchi (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming 2024).

71 'Che se al Re piacesse aver cappella di cantori e organi, quantunque tali cose sembrino giovare su questi principii, pure come cosa estranea al nostro istituto si dovrebbe a questo provvedere per mezzo di persone […] fuori della Compagnia', cit. in Camillo Beccari (ed.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo* XVI *ad* XIX, 14 vols. (Rome, 1903–1917), i, 244–5; Damon-Guillot, 'Toucher le cœur' (see n. 31), 66; Leonardo Cohen, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (1555–1632) (Wiesbaden, 2009), 155.

72 Beccari, *Rerum*, xv, 84; Damon-Guillot, 'Toucher le cœur' (see n. 31), 69.

ing, multiple instrumental playing and instrument-making.[73] The Jesuits set up educational programs teaching catechism, reading, writing and mathematics in Feremona and Gorgora from 1608 onwards, and music was incorporated to teach Christian spirituality and doctrine, as well as for children to sing and play in the divine offices and at other religious festivities. At the church of Gorgora Iyäsus during Easter week, the *Laudate Dominum* and *Magnificat* psalms were sung accompanied by an organ.[74] In 1624, the Jesuit father Manoel de Almeida visited the king at Dänqäz (the royal camp) and brought 'organs, which Father Luís Cardeira played skilfully, then the harp, harpsichord and other musical instruments, which he [the king] greatly applauded.'[75] Western keyboards, including harpsichords and clavichords, were therefore both imported into the Ethiopian highlands from the mid 16th century and fabricated locally.

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The evidence of these earliest documented European keyboards, including a harpsichord, organs and a clavichord, in the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia in 1520 points to the importance of musical performance and keyboard instruments specifically as central components in European, in this case Portuguese, overseas diplomatic discourses in Africa. Music served as a construct for identity, agency and power by both Europeans and Ethiopians in the earliest documented musical encounters that survive between Ethiopia and Latin Europe.[76] Their interactions reveal an Afro-European story of mobility and migration which offers insights into the workings of an intertwined early modern Indian Ocean world that reached across three continents, from Lisbon to Shewa, via

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73 'P. Antonius Fernandez ad Praepositum Generalem S.I. 18 febr. 1624', in Beccari, *Rerum*, xii, 40; Cohen, *The Missionary Strategies*, 155; Damon-Guillot, 'Toucher le cœur' (see n. 31), 68–9. On Cardeira, see also J. Vaz de Carvalho, 'Cardeira, Luís', in: *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín Ma. Domínguez (Madrid/Rome, 2001), 652; Felix Zabala Lana, 'Cardeira, Luis', in: *Músicos jesuitas a lo largo de la historia* (Bilbao, 2008), 558-9; Leonardo Cohen, 'Cardeira, Luís', in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig, vol. 1: A-C (Wiesbaden, 2003), 686.

74 Gasparo Páez, *Lettere annue di Etiopia del 1624, 1625 e 1626. Scritte al M.R.P. Mutio Vitelleschi Generale della Compagnia di Giesù* (Rome, 1628), 71–2; Cohen, *The Missionary Strategies* (see n. 71), 156.

75 Manuel de Almeida, *Some Records of Ethiopia 1593–1646: Being Extracts from the History of High Ethiopia or Abassia, by Manoel de Almeida, together with Bahrey's History of the Galla*, ed. C.F. Beckingham and G.B.W. Huntingford (London, 2010), 109–32, at 109; Damon-Guillot, 'Toucher le cœur' (see n. 31), 69.

76 For a discussion of Ethiopian agency and their use of music and musical instruments to assert identity and power in this period, see Janie Cole, '*Not a Disagreeable sound*' (see n. 14); Cole, 'Constructing Racial Identity' (see n. 9).

Goa. When the Portuguese mission finally reached the Ethiopian royal court after a century of relentless efforts in search of the fabled Prester John, one of the most surprising aspects of the Ethiopian kingdom was the existence of a *faranji* community and several well-integrated Europeans living and detained there as subjects. The existence of this foreigners' community – which almost certainly included foreign musicians given the presence of the 1481/82 Italian organ – in 15th- and 16th-century Ethiopia adds to wider scholarship that dispels the Ethiopian isolation paradigm as it demonstrates the circulation of European musical knowledge in the Indian Ocean world and that Christian Ethiopians of the highlands were not only an integral part of the Red Sea world, but also that they welcomed foreigners, especially those with technology and artistic accomplishments – both qualities that are embodied in European musicians, musical performance and keyboards. Whether the harpsichord, clavichord and organs brought by the 1520 Portuguese embassy to the Ethiopian court were, in fact, the earliest exemplars to be brought into the highland kingdom and North-East Africa, or merely the earliest *documented* exemplars, the Ethiopian court had officially been introduced to Western keyboards – beyond the 1481/82 Italian organ constructed locally and found in a local prestigious royal church – and early modern European music and technology. It also appears to be the earliest documented exemplar that we have so far of the use of a harpsichord as a diplomatic tool in sub-Saharan Africa. These early Afro-European musical contacts offer views on the spread of Portuguese musical traditions and instruments along the Portuguese routes of exploration, giving broader insight into the role of music in constructing and defining identity and cultural hierarchies by colonial powers in early modern North-East Africa. Further research on early Western keyboard instruments in Ethiopia should explore iconography and iconological questions, as a closer look at paintings, mural illustrations and manuscript drawings might yield visual representations of Western keyboards. It is unlikely that harpsichords, clavichords and organs from 1520 or the later Jesuit period would have survived after the devastating impact of the invasion by the Sultanate of Adal headed by Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi the Grañ (1506–43) in the mid-late 1520s,[77] which saw the destruction of churches and monasteries, plundering of precious materials, massacre of priests and monks, and almost surely destroyed what musical instruments and cultural artefacts were on the highlands from either side of the Ethio-Portuguese encounter. In the later Jesuit period, very little material culture has survived since the missionaries' expulsion saw their residences looted, temples desecrated and

77 Franz-Christoph Muth, 'Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Gazi', in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig, vol. 1: A-C (Wiesbaden, 2003), 155–8.

the buildings partly or totally destroyed.[78] The Jesuits themselves claimed to have destroyed many of their possessions to prevent the Ethiopians from doing the same, and only a few valuable items might have been taken back to India.[79] For any artefacts that did survive the Jesuit expulsion, climatic conditions, parasites and a lack of maintenance would probably have left them to decay in any case. Further investigation is now needed into other sub-Saharan African locales to discern how widespread the use of Western keyboards, especially harpsichords, was on the continent and how these were perceived by local indigenous communities in the context of wider Afro-Eurasian encounters and relations in these distant outposts of Renaissance music.

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79 Ibid.

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10 Antonio de Cabezón at the Centre of the World

Repertoire, Interpretation and Meaning

Andrés Cea Galán

> Bive agora Antonio el ciego, tañedor de la Capilla de la Emperatriz, que en el arte no se puede más exmerar, porque dicen que [ha] hallado el centro en el componer.[1]

This article aims to offer an overview of Antonio de Cabezón's music in the European context of his time. Before entering into the relevant aspects of his compositional output, it is necessary to review an important part of Cabezón's life. Only then can any guidelines for the interpretation of his music be presented in light of the most recent research.

As a point of departure, let us consider the words contained in the preface to *Obras de música*, published by Antonio's son, Hernando, in 1578:[2]

> And no one was so mad as to not surrender their fantasies to the renowned genius of Antonio de Cabezón. This was understood not only in Spain, but also in Flanders and Italy, where he journeyed in the service of our lord the Catholic Monarch King Philip.[3]

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1 'In our time there lives Antonio [de Cabezón], the blind, a musician in the Empress' Chapel. They say that in his art none can perfect it any further, as he has come upon the very center of composition'. Cristóbal Villalón, *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente* (Valladolid: Nicolas Tyerri, 1539), ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, Libros publicados por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles 33 (Madrid 1898), 176–7; online: <https://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=18741> (accessed 5 September 2022).

2 It is not known for certain whether or not these eloquent words from the preface to this book are those of Hernando de Cabezón or those of another author. On this matter, José Sierra Pérez, *Antonio de Cabezón (1510–1566). Una vista maravillosa de* ánimo (Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2010), preface.

3 'Y ninguno huvo tan loco, que no rindiesse sus fantasias a la grandeza de ingenio que en Antonio de Cabeçon se conocia. Lo qual se entendio assi no solo en España:

Evidently, this passage seeks to express the importance and singular nature of Antonio de Cabezón as a composer and performer in the European context of his time. Though this description may seem an exaggeration to us, one must bear in mind that during his lifetime, Antonio de Cabezón stood at the centre of the world.

It bears emphasising that Antonio de Cabezón served as a musician in the Spanish Royal Court over the span of 40 years, beginning in 1526 at the age of 16 and continuing uninterrupted until his death in 1566.[4] During this period, he was in turn in the service of the members of the royal family listed in Tab. 1.

Tab. 1: Antonio de Cabezón (1510–66) in the service of the Spanish Royal Court	
1526–39	Empress Isabel of Portugal
1539–48	*Infantas* (princesses) Juana and María, and Prince Philip, alternating every six months with Francisco de Soto
1548–56	Prince (later King) Philip II
1557–59	Prince Carlos (son of Philip II)
1559–66	King Philip II

Empress Isabel of Portugal was the wife of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, grandson of Maximilian I of Habsburg. Isabel acted as regent in the Spanish territories during the long absences of her husband, whose involvement in state affairs required extensive travel. Following the death of the empress in 1539, Cabezón went into the service of her daughters Juana and María of Austria.

María of Austria married Maximilian II of Austria in 1548. Together they succeeded the Empress Isabel as regents in Castille during the continued absences of the emperor, now often accompanied by his own son, Prince Philip. Maximilian and María left Spain in 1552 for his native Vienna. Following the death of Maximilian in 1576, María returned to Madrid and retired to the convent of Las Descalzas Reales, an institution founded in 1577 by her sister Juana. Among her retinue there, serving as a chaplain, was the composer Tomás Luis de Victoria. Though now relegated to the role of dowager empress, given her status as the widow of Emperor Maximilian, two of her sons, Rudolf

pero en Flandes y en Italia, por donde anduvo siguiendo y sirviendo al catholico Rey don Philippe nuestro señor de quien fue tambien querido y estimado, quanto pudo ser hombre de su facultad de Rey ninguno […].' Hernando de Cabezón, *Obras de Música* (Madrid: Francisco Sanchez, 1578) (RISM 1578[24]), proemio (n.pag.); online: <http://purl.org/rism/BI/1578/24> (accessed 24 June 2022).

4 For all biographical data, if not stated otherwise, Macario Santiago Kastner, *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón. Eine Chronik dargestellt am Leben zweier Generationen von Organisten* (Tutzing, 1977); Spanish edition published as Macario Santiago Kastner, *Antonio de Cabezón*, ed. Antonio Baciero (Burgos 2000).

and Matthias, would both eventually secure their own election to the imperial throne.[5] Furthermore, María was mother of two rulers of the Low Countries (Ernest and Albert of Austria),[6] as well as mother of Maximilian III, regent of Austria. María's daughter Elisabeth became queen of France by marriage[7] and her daughter Ana married her own uncle, Prince Philip, after his accession to the Spanish throne as Philip II.

María of Austria's younger sister, Juana, married King Joâo Manuel of Portugal. Their son would later succeed to the Portuguese throne as Sebastiâo I. Following the death of her husband in 1554, she returned to Spain and assumed a regency for the duration of her brother Philip II's voyage to England to marry Mary Tudor.

Throughout this period, the Spanish court had no fixed residence. As a court musician, Cabezón's travels therefore took him across Europe, where he passed through the many cities listed in Tab. 2.

5 Rudolf II of Habsburg was educated in Madrid. He became Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and was Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1576 till his death in 1612. Matthias of Habsburg was governor of Austria, King of Hungary, Bohemia and Croatia, and became emperor in 1612.

6 Ernest, also educated in Madrid, was Archduke of Austria and became governor of the Low Countries in 1594. Albert was Archduke of Austria, Chancellor of Castille, Viceroy of Portugal, archbishop of Toledo and governor of the Low Countries together with king Philip II's daughter Isabel Clara Eugenia from 1596 to 1621.

7 After the death of Charles, she returned to the Stallburg (a part of the Hofburg palace in Vienna) in 1575 and founded the Klarissenkloster St. Maria, Königin der Engel. She died there in 1592.

Tab. 2: Cities in which Antonio de Cabezón's music sounded
1. SPANISH CITIES WHERE ANTONIO DE CABEZÓN LIVED WITH THE COURT
Valladolid, Palencia, Burgos, Toledo, Segovia, **Avila**, Salamanca, Zamora, Badajoz, Burgo de Osma, Medina del Campo, Tordesillas, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, Lerma, Arévalo, Aranda de Duero, Ocaña, Aranjuez, El Pardo, Torquemada, Villalón, Monzón, Zaragoza, Barcelona or Valencia, among many others.
2. THE ITINERARY WITH PRINCE PHILIP TO BRUSSELS
Valladolid (2th October 1548), Zaragoza, Barcelona
Genoa (25th November 1548), Alessandria, Pavia, **Milano**, Malegnano, Lodi, Cremona, Mantova, Villafranca, Rovereto, Trent, Bolzano, Brixen
Innsbruck (4th February 1549), Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, Heidelberg, Saarbrücken, Luxemburg, Namur
Brussels (1st of March 1549–12th July 1549)
3. CITIES VISITED IN THE LOW COUNTRIES WITH PRINCE PHILIP
Lovain, Dendermonde, Gant, Brugge, Ypres, Bergues, St. Omer, Bethune, Lille, Tournai, Douai, Bapaume, Cambrai, Valenciennes, Le Quesnoy, Binche, Mons, Soignies, Malines, Lier, Amberes, Bergen op Zoom, 's-Hertogenbosch, Gorinchem, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Delft, 's-Gravenhage, Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Amersfoort, Harderwijk, Campen, Zwolle, Deventer, Zutphen, Arnhem, Nijmegen, Middelaar, Venlo, Roermond, Weert and Turnhout, among other cities along the way.
4. ITINERARY OF THE RETURN TO SPAIN WITH PRINCE PHILIP
Brussels (26th October 1549–7th June 1550), Aachen, Köln, **Augsburg** (8th July 1550–25th May 1551), Genoa, Barcelona (12th July 1551)
5. TRIP TO ENGLAND WITH PRINCE PHILIP
Tordesillas, Santiago de Compostela, La Coruña (13th June 1554), Southampton (24th July), Winchester, **London** and other Tudor residences (mid-August 1554–August 1555), **Brussels** (September 1555–January 1556). Antonio de Cabezón returned to Ávila (Spain).

From 1548, Cabezón was in the exclusive service of Prince Philip. This decision was taken at the start of the prince's journey to Italy, Austria and Germany, where he was to be presented as the successor to the Spanish crown in the Low Countries.[8] As a member of the entourage, Cabezón departed from Valladolid on the 2nd of October 1548 (Tab. 2). Travelling via Zaragoza and Barcelona, their fleet of one hundred ships was received in Genoa by Admiral Andrea Doria him-

8 A complete report of this journey appears in Juan Cristóbal Calvete de la Estrella, *El felicíssimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Príncipe don Phelippe* (Amberes: Martín Nucio, 1552), modern edition by Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Carlos V y Felipe II (Madrid, 2001). Online: <https://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=4546> (accessed 5 September 2022).

self. From Genoa, they travelled on through Milan, Cremona, Mantua, Rovereto and Trent. They crossed the Alps via Bolzano and Brixen, arriving in Innsbruck in early February of 1549. Here the entourage was received by Ferdinand I, the regent of Austria and Prince Philip's uncle. They continued on through Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, Heidelberg, Luxembourg and Namur, arriving in Brussels on the 1st of March 1549, six months after their departure from Spain. Prince Philip finally joined his father, the Emperor Charles, as well as the Emperor's two sisters, Queen Mary of Hungary and Queen Eleanor of France. After an initial four-month stay in Brussels, the retinue (Cabezón ever present in the roster) visited the most important cities in Flanders and Holland, which were ready to acknowledge Philip as the apparent heir to the throne. This trip, along the cities listed in Tab. 2, took more than three months. They then returned to Brussels and remained for another seven months, finally departing at the beginning of June 1550. Thus, Cabezón spent a total of fourteen months in the Low Countries in the course of this journey.

On the 7th of June of 1550, Philip and his father, accompanied by their respective entourages, departed for Augsburg via Aachen and Cologne. There they were hosted by the Fugger family and attended the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire. Its main agenda at the time was to contain the spread of Protestantism in Europe. Their stay in Augsburg lasted more than ten months: from the 8th of July 1550 to the 25th of May 1551.[9] They finally returned to Spain via Genoa in July 1551. In total, Cabezón's journey in the service of the prince lasted two years and eight months.

Just three years later, Cabezón again accompanied Philip on his journey to England to marry Queen Mary Tudor. They departed from Spain on the 13th of June 1554, this time with a fleet of 125 ships, arriving in Southampton 41 days later. The princely court settled in Winchester, where the wedding was celebrated in the cathedral. Their arrival in London was delayed until mid-August, where they remained for one year until August 1555, when Philip departed to Brussels for a third visit. Cabezón spent another four and a half months there before he was granted permission to return to Spain. His brother Juan de Cabezón, also a member of the Spanish Royal Chapel since 1546, continued in the Prince's service.

Thus, Cabezón spent a total of four years and five months of his life away from Spain, with long stays in Brussels (more than fifteen months), Augsburg (more than ten months) and London (one year) and punctuated by visits to many important cities in Italy, Austria, Germany, the Low Countries, England.
It is worth noting, that in addition to other ceremonies, the sung Catholic mass was celebrated daily by the Spanish Royal Chapel in each and every one of the

9 Even if the session of the diet had adjourned officially on the 14th of February 1551.

cities they visited. No doubt local musicians participated in many of these ceremonies, religious or otherwise. The frequency and variety of these occasions provided a rich meeting place for Cabezón and a diverse array of musicians, an environment in which he would have encountered many different repertoires and styles of playing. Given his official role as a court organist, he would surely have been able to listen to and perhaps even play many of the organs of the churches in which the Royal Chapel heard and celebrated mass.[10]

Philip remained abroad until 1559. Back in Spain, Antonio de Cabezón spent the next two years in the service of Philip's son Prince Carlos in Valladolid, after one year's leave of absence in his hometown in Ávila to marry Luisa Nuñez. When Philip returned to Spain to rule, Cabezón returned to his service. At this time, the members of the now defunct Emperor's Flemish Chapel were incorporated into the Spanish Chapel in Madrid, thus strengthening and consolidating the pre-existing musical exchange between these two professional institutions.[11]

As far as the context of Antonio de Cabezón's professional life is concerned, the most thorough analysis can be found in the work of the musicologist Macario Santiago Kastner. His research seeks to establish concrete connections between Cabezón and the numerous musicians whom he would have been able to meet, both in Spain and abroad. He notes, for example, Cabezón's possible influence on Peter Paix, the organist of the Fugger family in Augsburg. This hypothesis is based on the appearance of the first description of the use of both thumbs in the context of German keyboard music, in the writings of Jacob Paix, Peter's son.[12] This practice had been an integral facet of keyboard technique in Spain since the middle of the 16th century, if not earlier. Kastner also notes the presence of a copy of Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de música* in the library of Wolfenbüttel, signed by Gregor Aichinger, an organist and

10 On this matter, Andrés Cea Galán, '*Audire*, *tangere*, *mirari*: Notas sobre el *instrumentarium* de los Cabezón', in: *An*M 69 (2014), 225–48.

11 An updated study about the Chapel of king Philip II can be found in Luis Robledo Estaire, 'La música en la Casa del Rey', in: *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, ed. Luis Robledo Estaire et al., Patrimonio Musical Español 6 (Madrid, 2000), 99–193.

12 Kastner, *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón* (see n. 4), 216. The text from Paix's edition quoted by Kastner reads, '[…] Dann so man mit dem Daum an der rechten Hand auch haltet, wirt die Coloratur mit dem hinderm und kleinen finger leichtlich gefuhrt: deszgleichen auch mit der linken hand geschehen kan. Dann ich mit fleisz nachgesuchet, wie drey Stimen mit einer hand gegriffen, unnd dennach ein Coloratur könte mit lauffen […]'. In any case, this must be contrasted with Harald Vogel's essay on German organ technique, 'Zur Spielweise der Musik für Tasteninstrumente um 1600', in: *Samuel Scheidt. Tabulatura nova*, ed. by Harald Vogel, Part II (Wiesbaden/Leipzig/Paris, 1999), 145–71.

composer active in Augsburg. For Kastner, these facts point to a probable diffusion of Cabezón's music in the region.[13] Moreover, Kastner points out that Cabezón's visit to London coincides with Thomas Tallis's duties in the English capital, when he was employed by the Chapel Royal under Mary Tudor. He also speculates on the possibility of a meeting between Cabezón and Tallis' student William Byrd (who was at this time about fourteen years old), and thus suggests Cabezón's variations as a model for the style of the English virginalists.[14] Appearing some years after Willi Apel's publication 'Neapolitan links between Cabezón and Frescobaldi', Kastner's observations are part of a well-established line of research into the probable connections between Cabezón and other national schools of composition.[15]

We could add some more data to those connections. The presence of *Obras de música* in France, for example, can be traced back to a reference by Pierre Trichet in his *Traité des instruments* (c. 1640). In 1586, only eight years after the publication of *Obras de música*, at least seven copies of the book were sent to colonial Mexico. Likewise, two of the extant exemplars preserved in Brussels and Washington D.C. attest to the presence of Cabezón's music in Portugal.[16] One can also imagine Antonio de Cabezón hearing and likely playing the organ of the cathedral church of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer. Jehan Titelouze was born there in 1562 and later took up his first post as organist in this very church. Also noteworthy is Cabezón's visit to the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, which at this time boasted two organs. Jan Pieterzoon Sweelinck began his illustrious career as city organist associated with this church in 1577. Even more intriguing is the meeting in Brussels between Peter Phillips, Peter Cornet and John Bull in the immediate wake of Cabezón's 18 month stay in this city.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to draw any solid conclusions about these relationships and possible influences in the absence of both concrete documentary references and of any surviving music by many of the musicians whom Cabezón would have encountered (especially those attached to the courts of

13 Kastner, *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón* (see n. 4), 226. Unfortunatly, this particular copy with the signature '5.2 Musica 2°' has been misplaced.

14 On this topic, see Macario Santiago Kastner, 'Parallels and discrepancies between English and Spanish keyboard music of the 16th and 17th century', in: *AnM* 7 (1952), 77–115, and William Porter, 'A stylistic analysis of the fugas, tientos and diferencias of Antonio de Cabezón and an examination of his influence on the English Keyboard School', DMA thesis, Boston University, 1994.

15 Willi Apel, 'Neapolitan links between Cabezón and Frescobaldi', in: *MQ* 24 (1938), 419–37.

16 B-Br Fétis 2000C (RP), US-Wc M7.C145. The former belonged to the 'Congregaçâo do Oratorio de Estremoz', the latter bears the inscription 'Do uso do irmâo frei Gaspar de S. Joâo'.

Brussels and London and to the city of Augsburg). What is known for certain, however, is that having heard and probably played a great many instruments in the course of such widespread travels across Europe, Cabezón proposed to engage a Flemish organ builder when the construction of new organs became an imperative for the Royal Chapel in Madrid.[17] In particular, he put forward the name of Jean Crinon, who had built not only the organ of St-Omer mentioned above (later played by Titelouze), but also several other important instruments which he would have known in Brussels, at least from their regular use at state occasions. Crinon declined the royal invitation to work in Spain, because he was already busy with a number of important commissions in Flanders, and by this time, also surely because of his advanced age. These circumstances paved the way for the appearance of Gilles Brebos in the context of organ building in Spain.[18] Brebos was commissioned to carry out the most important organ project in 16th century Europe: four large organs for the Basilica of the Monastery at El Escorial. In addition, he provided a variety of smaller instruments, both for the monastery itself and for other institutions associated with the Spanish Royal Court.[19]

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All things considered, Antonio de Cabezón's most important legacy is his music, which still speaks to us eloquently five centuries after its creation. The printed sources account for a total of at least 282 compositions, of which 157 are brief versets or *fabordones*. A further 125 pieces can be considered major works. The composition of one vocal piece has been attributed to the period of his stay

17 On this topic, see Cea Galán, '*Audire*, *tangere*, *mirari*' (see n. 10).

18 The documents relating to this matter were published by Cristina Bordas, 'Nuevos datos sobre los organeros Brebos', in: *Livro de homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner*, ed. Maria Fernanda Cidrais Rodrigues, Manuel Morais and Rui Vieira Nery (Lisbon, 1992), 51–67. This documentation complements the dates presented by Guido Persoons, *De Orgels en de Organisten van der Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk te Antwerpen van 1500 tot 1650* (Brussels, 1981), 158, and Jeannine Lambrecht-Douillez, *Orgelbouwers te Antwerpen in de 16de eeuw*, Mededelingen van het Ruckers-Genootschap 6 (Antwerpen, 1987), 16.

19 On this topic, see Andrés Cea Galán, 'Órganos en la España de Felipe II: elementos de procedencia foránea en la organería autóctona', in: *Políticas y prácticas musicales en el mundo de Felipe II*, ed. John Griffiths and Javier Suárez-Pajares (Madrid, 2004), 325–92. An abbreviated version of this article (in English, French and German) was published in Andrés Cea Galán, 'Órganos en España entre los siglos XVI y XVII', in: *ISO Journal* 23 (July 2006), 6–32. See also Louis Jambou, *Evolución del órgano español. Siglos XVI-XVIII*, 2 vols., Ethos música 2 (Universidad de Oviedo, 1988).

in England.[20] Not included in this account are a number of pieces probably by Cabezón, but without any indication of authorship. These are the anonymous pieces published in the *Libro de cifra nueva* of 1557[21] and the pieces marked *Ca* or A.C. in the Coimbra manuscript (P-Cug MM 242).[22] Also excluded are pieces by other composers which have been misattributed to Cabezón.[23]

As presented in Tab. 3, the preserved repertoire is remarkable for its quantity and in its variety. These qualities led Willi Apel to define Antonio de Cabezón as an exception in the panorama of 16th-century European keyboard music, since his output includes examples that represent the full range of genres and styles used by the musicians of his time.[24] In absolute terms, because of the large amount of surviving music, he occupies a position among Renaissance composers of keyboard music which is similar to that of Francesco da Milano in the field of lute music.

Tab. 3: Pieces by Antonio de Cabezón preserved in printed sources

	1557	1578	Total
Tientos	15	12	27
Hymns	17	20	37
Versets	-	124	124
Fabordones	1	32	33
Intabulations	-	42	42
Diferencias	3	9	12
Others	3	4	7
Total	39	241	282

20 A *Letanía pro Regina gravida* composed during the supposed pregnancy of Mary Tudor, published by Luis Robledo Estaire, 'Sobre la letanía de Antonio de Cabezón', in: NASS 5, no. 2 (1989), 143–9.

21 Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueva* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan de Brocar, 1557), title page; online: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000039213&page=1> (accessed 23 June 2022).

22 The question of the identification of these pieces in the manuscript MM 242 of the University of Coimbra is rather complex. One of the pieces by Antonio de Cabezón published in *Libro de cifra nueva* was copied in the fol. 13 under the name *Ca*. In total, another 13 pieces bear the same letters identifying their authorship, but Kastner assigned all of them to Antonio Carreira. This composer is identified in the sources with *A. carreira*, with only his surname *carreira*, twice with *A. Car*. and once with A.C. On this topic see also Gerhard Doderer, 'Os manuscritos MM 48 e MM 242 da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra e a presenca de organistas ibéricos', in: *RdM* 34, no. 2 (2011), 43–62.

23 See Andrés Cea Galán, 'New Approaches to the Music of Antonio de Cabezón', in: *Early Keyboard Journal* 27–29 (2012), 7–25.

24 Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700* (Bloomington, 1972), 76.

Although all of the *tientos* by Cabezón printed in 1557 and half of those published in 1578 generally fit the *ricercar* or the *fantasia* models,[25] six *tientos* in *Obras de música* exhibit considerable originality at many levels. Commenting on these six pieces, Willi Apel writes that each of them, 'is a master-piece, and has individual features and many remarkable and captivating details'.[26] Combining imitative sections with others based on *fabourdon* techniques, they anticipate the toccata style, a genre whose nascent features scarcely appear in any other keyboard repertoire before Cabezón's death in 1566. Of the six, Apel believes that it is the *Tiento de primer tono* which 'represent[s] the climax of Cabezón's works'.[27] In many respects, the style achieved by Cabezón in these pieces not only predates the style developed in the *tientos* of Aguilera de Heredia, Correa de Arauxo or Rodrigues Coelho in Spain, but also exhibits many of the techniques explored in the fantasias of Sweelinck and Pieter Cornet.[28]

With regard to the hymn settings, Willi Apel likewise observes that, 'no organ master crystallised this [cantus firmus] style so purely, filled it so perfectly with content, as Cabezón'.[29] Many extraordinary passages in these pieces confirm a unique approach to diminution. For those hymns in which Cabezón places the melody as a *cantus firmus* in the bass, the resulting texture heralds the style adopted by Titelouze for each of the opening versets of his own *Hymnes*, published in 1623. Among other conspicuous outliers is a singular *Pange lingua* composed in *protus* mode, with the cantus firmus maintained in *tritus*.

No less remarkable is Cabezón's collection of *diferencias* (variations). Among them, the *Diferencias sobre el canto llano del caballero* is an elaboration of the cantus firmus of the Gombert chanson 'Dezilde al cavallero', presented successively in the sopran, tenor, altus and bass. This same technique is found in the work of later composers, including in that of Sweelinck and Titelouze. Cabezón's other *diferencias* are developed as variations on a ground, but with

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25 In fact, one of the *tientos* attributed to Antonio de Cabezón in the *Libro de cifra nueva* is, in reality, a *ricercar* by Julio Segni da Modena published in *Musica nova* (Venice: [Andrea Arrivabene], 1540) (RISM 1540[22]). The same piece is published twice in *Musicque de Joye* (Lyon: Jacques Moderne, [c. 1550]) (RISM [c. 1550][24]), attributed to Segni and to Adrian Willaert. On the other hand, the *Tiento de tercer tono* published in *Obras de música* also appears in two Italian manuscript sources under an attribution to 'Giaches'. On this matter, Andrés Cea Galán, 'Nuevas rutas para Cabezón en manuscritos de Roma y París', in: *RdM* 34, no. 2 (2011), 223–34, and idem, 'New Approaches to the Music of Antonio de Cabezón'.

26 Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music*, 190.

27 Ibid., 193.

28 Unfortunately, the lack of 16th century instrumental musical sources from the Low Countries makes it impossible to establish the possible connections between the two repertoires.

29 Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music*, 129.

incessant reference to the original melodies. Among these, three are clearly constructed adhering to Italian dance forms: *Discante sobre la pavana italiana*, *Diferencias sobre la Gallarda milanesa* and *Diferencias sobre la pavana italiana*. The *Diferencias sobre el canto de La Dama le demanda* is simply another version of the same Italian pavan, a piece later reproduced by Thoinot Arbeau in the *Orchésographie* of 1588. From this collection, the *Discante sobre la pavana italiana* (Appendix 1) emerges as a highly significant piece, for it became a model reused by John Bull, Sweelinck, Scheidt, Thomas Robinson, Alfonso Ferrabosco, Michael Praetorius and many other European composers, who often acknowledged its provenance with such titles as *Spanish pavan* or *Pavana hispanica*.[30]

Three pieces in *Obras de música* are based on the ground of *Las Vacas*, a Hispanic variant of the Romanesca. However, it is the *Diferencias sobre el villancico de quien te me enojó Isabel* that stand out as the most remarkable of Cabezón's variations (Appendix 2). As has already been expressed in an article,[31] this piece comes down to us in a corrupted version. This is probably due to the fact that Cabezón's son Hernando copied and published his father's music from incomplete or imperfect drafts. This piece consists of three main sections: the first presents four complete variations on the *passamezzo moderno*; the second comprises two variations and is constructed as a pavan on the same ground, albeit harmonically enriched, with the main melody in the bass. This latter technique echoes the style found some decades later in the pavans composed by William Byrd. The final section exhibits many textural changes, which according to subsequently codified performance practices can suggest interesting changes of character and tempo in the overall context of a style which also anticipates some elements of the nascent Italian *toccata*.

Apart from these phenomena, it is perhaps the collection of intabulations (based on 3, 4, 5 and 6-part chansons, madrigals, motets and sections of the mass), which represents Cabezón's most valuable contribution to the keyboard repertoire. The importance of the intabulations in terms of volume is immediately evident when comparing the number of pages devoted to each of the genres represented in *Obras de música*, as shown in Tab. 4:

There are several elements of interest in these intabulations that merit further scrutiny, such as the homogeneous distribution of the diminutions between the different voices as well as the introduction of imitative tech-

30 For an updated review of the origin and diffusion of these pieces, see Giuseppe Fiorentino, 'Música española del Renacimiento entre tradición oral y transmisión escrita: El esquema de folía en procesos de composición e improvisación', doctoral thesis, University of Granada, 2009.

31 Andrés Cea Galán, '¿Quién te me enojó, Isabel? y otras preguntas sin respuesta en las obras de música de Antonio de Cabezón', in: *Cinco siglos de música de tecla española*, ed. Luisa Morales (Garrucha, 2007), 169–94.

niques in the ornamental material. Moreover, Cabezón seems to be the first to write intabulations in six voices with diminutions explicitly for keyboard instruments. Four motets and two madrigals of this kind are included in the publication. Particularly in these pieces, the overall impression is one of the original polyphony reduced to simple chords and consonances while the diminutions flow around. The scales and passages pass from one voice to another in a style that frequently approaches that found in the *intonazioni* and *toccate* of the Gabrieli family as well as in those of Claudio Merulo. Nevertheless, there are important stylistic differences between Antonio's intabulations and those of his son Hernando. Four of Hernando's intabulations have survived, included in *Obras de música*, whose title page conspicuously bears his father's name. As Marie-Louise Göllner asserts in a 1990 article, Hernando makes use of new and advanced imitative techniques and treats each verse of the original work differently in relation to the meaning of its text. In her view, the appearance of similar elements in the music of succeeding generations connects his compositions with the *toccata* and *madrigale passeggiato* style developed by Neapolitan composers (among them Ascanio Mayone and Giovanni Maria Trabaci) some three or four decades later.[32]

Tab. 4: Obras de música. Repertoire in proportion	
Duos	2%
Tercios	2%
Versets and *fabordones*	11%
Kyries	5%
Hymns	6%
Tientos	9%
Intabulations	57%
Diferencias or Variations	8%

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Interest in Cabezón's music is heightened by the fact that there is an enormous quantity of information about his playing style at the keyboard, as well as about his compositional process. The principal source for this information is *Arte de*

32 Marie-Louise Göllner, 'The intabulations of Hernando de Cabezón', in: *De musica hispana et aliis. Miscelánea en honor al Prof. Dr. José López-Calo en su 65 cumpleaños*, ed. Emilio Casares y Carlos Villanueva, 2 vols. (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1990), i, 275–90. Here, again, the lack of early Italian *toccate* or intabulations makes it impossible to establish any precise comparison between the two styles and schools.

tañer fantasía, published by Tomás de Santa María in 1565.[33] This book includes the first and most complete description of all the fundamental aspects of keyboard music interpretation: the position of the hands and fingers, fingering, articulation, ornamentation and diminution. Santa María readily informs us that his work was supervised by both Antonio and Juan de Cabezón. Just as it was addressed to the musicians and theorists of their time, this affiliation continues to affirm the work's faithful transmission of the interpretative and compositional tradition of the Cabezón brothers.[34]

It bears noting that Santa María's treatise presents an evidently advanced approach to fingering in the context of mid-16th century Europe, with extensive use of the thumb in both hands and the use of groups of two, three, four and even five fingers up and down in succession (*arreo*).[35] With regards to ornamentation, Santa María offers descriptions of both small ornaments and trills as well as diminutions. He also differentiates between the 'old' and 'new' ornaments, encouraging players to apply the latter rather than the former, and therefore implying a clear idea of evolution, progress and adaptation to the prevailing tastes of the day. These 'new' ornaments start on the upper note and before the beat. Curiously, the quantity and quality of information about ornamentation transmitted by Santa María and other Spanish theorists contrasts with an almost total absence of signs in the music itself indicating where these ornaments are to be played. The exact opposite situation occurs in the English repertoire of the same period, wherein an abundance of signs in the musical sources contrasts with a lack of information about the meaning of these signs.[36]

Perhaps the most interesting part of Santa María's treatise refers to the practice of 'tañer con buen ayre' ('playing with good taste'). This signifies pri-

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33 Tomas de Santa María, *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasía* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, 1565); online: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158382&page=1> (accessed 23 June 2022).

34 This topic was studied in detail by Miguel Ángel Roig-Francolí, 'Compositional theory and practice in mid-sixteenth century spanish instrumental music: the 'Arte de tañer fantasía' by Tomás de Santa María and the music of Antonio de Cabezón', PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1990; idem, 'En torno a la figura de Cabezón y la obra de Tomás de Santa María: aclaraciones, evaluaciones y relaciones con la música de Cabezón', in: *RdM* 15 (1992), 55–85; idem, 'Modal paradigms in mid-sixteenth-century Spanish instrumental composition: Theory and practice in Antonio de Cabezón and Tomás de Santa María', in: *JMT* 38 (1994), 249–91; idem, 'Playing in consonances: a Spanish Renaissance technique of chordal improvisation', in: *EM* 23 (1995), 437–49.

35 See also the chapter of Maria Luisa Baldassari in this volume.

36 On this topic see Andrés Cea Galán, 'La cifra hispana: música, tañedores e instrumentos (siglos XVI-XVIII)', Doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014, part II.

marily an articulation technique, but also a manner of *inégal* interpretation. In tandem, these two elements are associated with good taste or grace in playing.[37] Similar forms of *inégalité* likewise existed in France and Italy at this time. As Anne Smith writes broadly concerning Renaissance music, 'this is one of the areas of 16th century performance practice where much may still be discovered'.[38]

Furthermore, Santa María's book is a manual for the study of polyphonic improvisation, describing Renaissance compositional techniques in all their rigour as well as how to apply them extempore.[39] From this wealth of detailed contemporary information, Antonio de Cabezón emerges as the sole composer of Renaissance instrumental music for whom such a complete textual record exists, both of the prevailing method of composition and of the interpretation of his work. In this respect he can only be compared to Claudio Merulo who actively participated in the writing of Girolamo Diruta's treatise *Il Transilvano*.

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Another prominent feature of *Obras de música* is the inclusion of a complete system of both binary and ternary tempo indications (Tabs. 5 and 6). These were used to indicate the proper playing speed of a piece or sections thereof, following a practice previously described in multiple vihuela books published by Milán, Narváez, Mudarra, Valderrábano and Pisador. In one way or another, together with Cabezón, they anticipate the use of the terms *adagio* and *allegro* invented in Italy for similar purposes around the year 1600. The Spanish system of indicating tempo reaches its peak with the *Facultad orgánica* of Francisco Correa de Arauxo, published in 1626.[40] [41]

37 An updated appraisal of this question can be found in ibid.

38 Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music. Learning from the Theorists* (Oxford, 2011), 70.

39 On this topic see also the chapter by August Valentin Rabe in this volume.

40 Francisco Correa de Arauxo, Francisco, *Libro de tientos y discursos de música práctica y theórica de* órgano *intitulado Facultad orgánica* (Alcalá de Henares: Antonio Arnao, 1626).

41 On this topic, see Andrés Cea Galán, 'La cifra hispana', part II and chapter *Cabezón*.

Tab. 5: Binary tempo signatures in Spanish printed sources (1536–1626)

Milán	1536		*bien mesurado*	*algún tanto apriesa* *algo apriessa* *algo apresurado*	*apressurado o batido*
Narváez	1538		*compasillo* *muy de espacio* 𝄵		*compasillo algo aprisa* 𝄴
Mudarra	1540		*despacio* 𝄵 breve al compás	*ni muy apriessa ni muy a espacio* 𝄡 semibreve al compás	*apriessa* 𝄴 semibreve al compás
Valderrábano	1547		*a espacio* 𝄵·	*más apriesa* 𝄵:	*muy más apriesa* 𝄵:·
Pisador	1551		*despacio* 𝄵		
Cabezón	1578		𝄵	𝄡	𝅝
Correa	1626	*el más grave de todos* 𝅝	*a espacio* 𝄡	*ni a espacio ni apriesa* 𝄴	*andado, ligero veloz* 𝄵

Tab. 6: Ternary tempo signatures in Spanish printed sources (1538–1626)

Narváez	1538	tres semibreves al compás $\frac{3}{1}$ 𝄵3 𝅝3	tres mínimas $\frac{3}{2}$	seis semínimas $\frac{6}{4}$	nueve semibreves $\frac{9}{3}$
Pisador	1551	tres semibreves 3	tres mínimas 3	tres semínimas 3	
Cabezón	1578	tres semibreves 𝄵3 𝅝3	tres mínimas 𝄡3		
Correa	1626	proporción mayor, tres semibreves más o menos aprisa según el número de figuras 𝄴 $\frac{3}{2}$	prop. menor tres mínimas 𝄡3 3		

These tempo indications are complemented by Luis Milán's instructions concerning the concept of 'tañer de gala'[42] on the vihuela. He describes a refined manner of playing and implies alternating between slow and fast sections in a single piece.[43]

Nearly two centuries later, Pablo Nassarre, a student of Pablo Bruna, describes a similar manner of playing in his publication *Escuela música* (1724),[44] in which he compares the performance practices of the Spanish and Italian musicians of his time. According to his description, both groups played 'especially in instrumental music' alternating between slow and fast sections within a piece. However, it is the 'early Spanish masters' (as Nassarre refers to them) who preferred to handle transitions between sections by applying *accelerando* and *ritardando*, while it was the Italians who performed tempo changes abruptly.[45] Nassarre thus attributes to these early Spanish musicians a practice which at present, interpreters tend to associate solely with the Italian style cultivated by members of the Frescobaldi circle. It is also possible that Nassarre had in mind the Italian sonata or cantata style of the 17th century. A more difficult task, however, is to locate the music of Spanish origin to which he refers. Although it can be inferred that he was addressing his remarks to keyboardists and organists, it seems evident that Nassarre's general approach is equally applicable to the vihuela/guitar and harp repertoire, as well as to some vocal

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42 'Gala' refers to the special dress worn for significant occasions, as well as to the grace, charm or elegance employed when doing something. The term has connotations of perfection, excellence and exquisiteness, referring to specially chosen actions, persons or objects.

43 Milán expressed this clearly on several occasions. For example: 'Ya os dixe q[ue] todo lo q[ue] es redobles que l[os] agays apriessa y la consonancia a espacio. De manera que en una mesma fantasia aveys de hacer mutación de compas. Y por esto os dixe que esta musica no tiene mucho respecto al compas para darle su natural ayre […].' (I already told you that you have to play all the diminutions quickly and the consonances slowly. In such a manner that in a single fantasia you have to change the measure. And for this reason I told you that this music does not have much respect for the measure to give it its natural air.) Luis Milán, *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano, intitulado El maestro* (Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1536), fol. [23ʳ]; <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000022795> (accessed 3 July 2022).

44 Pablo Nassarre, *Escuela música según la práctica moderna* (Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego de Larumbe, 1724), parte primera, lib. iv, cap. xii, 443–4, 'De la mucha utilidad que puede sacar el músico en la práctica de las proporciones'; <https://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000014534> (accessed 5 September 2022).

45 On this topic, see Andrés Cea Galán, 'Ayre de España: zu Tempo und Stil in der *Escuela Música* von Fray Pablo Nassarre', in: *In Organo Pleno: Festschrift für Jean-Claude Zehnder zum 65. Geburstag*, ed. Luigi Collarile and Alexandra Nigito (Bern, 2007), 113–22. See also Cea Galán, 'La cifra hispana' (see n. 36), part II.

music. Though a connection can be made with Milan´s instructions of 1536, it is otherwise difficult to establish with any degree of certainty the provenance of this Spanish approach to the performance of instrumental music as described by Nassarre. With regard to the practice of tempo changes in Spanish music, it is worth noting that the term *allarga la batutta* first appeared around 1600 in the music of composers such as Giovanni Maria Trabaci, all of whom were associated with the Spanish court in Naples.

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Another important aspect in the European context of Cabezón's music is the question of temperament and the different approaches to the tuning of musical instruments described in Spanish treatises. Apart from a controversial precedent expressed by Gonzalo Martínez Bizcargui (1511), the aforementioned Santa María was the first in Spain to characterise the diatonic, or singable (*cantable*) semitone as 'major'. He thus positions himself as an advocate of a novel approach to temperament, as first defended in Italy by Zarlino in 1558 and later again in Spain by Salinas in 1577 (Tab. 7).

Tab. 7: Spanish treatises classified according to their consideration of the diatonic semitone as minor (Pythagorean approach) or major (Meantone approach)				
Diatonic semitone as minor (Pythagorean)			Diatonic semitone as major (Meantone)	
Domingo Marcós Durán	*Lux bella*	1492		
Guillermo de Podio	*Ars musicorum*	1495		
Alfonso Españón	*Introducción de canto llano*	1498		
Diego del Puerto	*Portus musice*	1504		
Francisco Tovar	*Libro de música práctica*	1510		
		1511	Gonzalo Martínez Bizcargui	*Arte de canto llano*
Juan Espinosa	*Tractado de principios*	1520		
Matheo de Aranda	*Tractado de canto mensurable*	1535		
Gaspar de Aguilar	*Arte de principios*	1537		
Fray Juan Bermudo	*Arte tripharia*	1550		
Fray Juan Bermudo	*Declaración de instrumentos*	1555		
Juan Pérez de Moya	*Discursos de Aritmética práctica*	1562		
Luis de Villafranca	*Breve instrucción*	1565		
		1565	Fray Tomás de Santa María	*Arte de tañer fantasía*
		1571	Juan Pérez de Moya	*Tratado de mathemáticas*
		1577	Francisco Salinas	*De Musica*
		1592	Francisco de Montanos	*Arte de música*

Tab. 7: Spanish treatises classified according to their consideration of the diatonic semitone as minor (Pythagorean approach) or major (Meantone approach)				
Diatonic semitone as minor (Pythagorean)			Diatonic semitone as major (Meantone)	
Andrés de Monserrate	*Arte breve y compendioso …*	1614		
		1626	Antonio Fernández	*Arte de música*
		1649	Fray Tomás Gómez	*Arte de canto llano*, órgano y *cifra*
		1672	Andrés Lorente	*El porqué de la música*
		1700	Fray Pablo Nassarre	*Fragmentos músicos*
		1707	Antonio de la Cruz Brocarte	*Médula de música teórica*
		1742	José de la Fuente	*Reglas de canto llano*
		1748	Antonio Ventura Roel del Río	*Institución harmónica*
		1760	Diego de Roxas y Montes	*Promptuatio armónico*
		1761	Gerónimo Romero de Ávila	*Arte de canto llano*
		1765	Pedro de Villasagra	*Arte y compedio*
		1767	Manuel de Paz	*Médula de canto llano*
		1776	Francisco Marcos y Navas	*Arte o compendio general*
		1778	Francisco de Santa María	*Dialectos músicos*

More fundamentally, the first rejection of the classical Pythagorean division of the octave is found in the treatise *Musica práctica* (Bologna: Baltasar de Hyrberia, 1482) written by Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja. Later, Juan Bermudo presents an exemplary approach to equal temperament in his *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*.[46] Using the term *preparación* to describe the process, his method is based on the division of the syntonic comma into three parts. Bermudo also proposes a modified version of this temperament suitable for the organ, the result of which approximates 1/8 comma meantone. As shown, Bermudo's *preparación* of the syntonic comma anticipates the concept of *participatio* utilized by Zarlino in his mathematical and geometric definition of the various meantone temperaments.[47]

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Tab. 8. *Libro de cifra nueva*, 1557: Keyboard pieces in tablature printed with text

Psalms	Motets	*Chanzonetas* / *Villancicos*	Hymns and others
Cum invocarem Fabordón, in 4 parts	*Aspice Domine* Palero, in 5 parts Text in the bass	*Iesu Christo hombre y Dios* Polyphony in 4 parts	*Sacris solemniis Ioseph vir* Polyphony in 4 parts c.f. in the sopran
Nunc dimittis Fabordón, in 4 parts	*Si bona suscepimus* Palero, in 5 parts Text in the bass	*Míralo como llora* Polyphony in 6 parts Text applied to second soprano	*Salve regina*, Antonio de Cabezón, in 4 parts Text in the bass
Non accedet In 5 parts Text in the bass		*De la virgen que parió* In 4 parts Text in the bass	*O gloriosa domina* Polyphony in 3 parts c.f. in the tenor
In pace In 5 parts Text in the bass		*Mundo qué me puedes dar* In 5 parts Text in the bass	*Te Matrem Dei laudamus* Fabordón, in 4 parts
		Al rebuelo de una garça In 4 parts Text in the bass	

46 Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1555), facs.ed. by Macario Santiago Kastner (Kassel/Basel, 1957). Online: <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000046174> (accessed 5 September 2022).

47 On this matter, Cea Galán, 'La cifra hispana' (see n. 36), part II and the chapter *Bermudo*.

Antonio de Cabezón's responsibilities as chamber musician at the Spanish court offer a final point of interest. Although he was then, as now, renowned as an instrumentalist, his duties also included singing. The eyewitness account of Pierre Maillard describes Cabezón singing while accompanying himself at the keyboard. A number of the hymn settings and motet intabulations included in Luis Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva* are presented with their original texts printed in such a way that they align with the notated music (Tab. 8). This seems to suggest the practice described above, that of singing at the organ (*cantar al* órgano). In any case, the presence of these texts alongside the music opens up new perspectives for the interpretation of this repertoire.[48]

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To conclude, even with the wealth of information available to help us interpret the music of Antonio de Cabezón, something will always be missing. Its real essence is not captured on paper or in the minutiae of Santa María, Milán and others; the scores and treatises alone cannot not describe all that it takes to achieve a convincing rendition. This repertoire lived in the mind, in the imagination of the blind Cabezón. His music became a true sonic reality to his audience only through his fingers and his voice. In this sense, one must always maintain a critical attitude when confronting Cabezón's musical texts, especially bearing in mind the difficult circumstances surrounding their transmission, having passed first over the desk of copyist Pedro Blanco before their final delivery into the hands of Hernando de Cabezón. One must also consider the further editorial challenge which this music presented to Hernando himself, and also to Venegas de Henestrosa.[49] Above all, it is essential to accept the impossibility of reaching the true centre, which is a complete understanding of the original meaning and importance of Antonio de Cabezón's music, both in his context and in ours. Such efforts can never be in vain, however, as this music has been heralded as that of a new Orpheus, praised for 'sweetness', but also admired because of its 'strangeness'.[50]

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48 This aspect is analysed in Andrés Cea Galán, 'Cantar Victoria al órgano. Documentos, música y praxis', in: *Tomás Luis de Victoria: Estudios/Studies*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares and Manuel del Sol (Madrid, 2013), 307–57.

49 On all these subjects, Cea Galán, '¿Quién te me enojó, Isabel?' (see n. 31); idem, 'Nuevos pasajes corruptos en las *Obras de música* de Antonio de Cabezón', in: *Diferencias* 1, 2ª época (2010), 67–98; idem, 'Nuevas rutas para Cabezón' (see n. 25); idem, 'New Approaches to the Music of Antonio de Cabezón' (see n. 23).

50 Calvete de la Estrella described Cabezón's playing in *El felicíssimo viaje* (see n. 8), fol. 17v–18r, when refering to the mass celebrated in the Genoa cathedral on the 8th of December 1548: 'Celebrose la missa de pontifical. Oficiaronla los cantores y capilla d'el Principe con gran admiracion de todo el pueblo de ver la solenidad con que se haziay y con tan divina musica y de tan escogidas vozes y de oyr la

Appendix 1

Antonio de Cabezón, 'Discante sobre la pavana italiana', in: *Obras de música* (Madrid, 1578), fol. 186v–187v.

Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán

This edition is based on the analysis presented in a prior journal article 'Nuevos pasajes corruptos en las *Obras de música* de Antonio de Cabezón' (2010).[51] In order to paint a clearer picture of the metric structure of the piece (exemplified by its characteristic up-beat opening) in this edition, each bar is equivalent to two bars of the original. Original note values have been retained. Bars 40 and 48–49, missing from the original source, have been reconstructed and are differentiated in the score by a slightly reduced font size. Additional chromatic alterations are signaled above and beneath certain notes. Previously used to indicate the end of each variation, certain fermatas have been restored to their proper places. Each variation has been assigned a number in brackets. Each performer may view these modifications as suggestions, which in no way should hinder any personal interpretative decisions concerning both the structure and details of this composition with reference to the original source material.

suavidad y estrañeza con que tocava el organo el unico en este genero de musica Antonio de Cabeçon, otro Orpheo de nuestros tiempos.' (The pontifical mass was celebrated with participation of the singers and chapel of the Prince, producing great admiration into the people due to the solemnity with which everything was done, with such a divine music and such selected voices, and also hearing the softness and strangeness with which the organ was played by the very unique man in this genre of music, Antonio de Cabezón, another Orpheus of our times.)

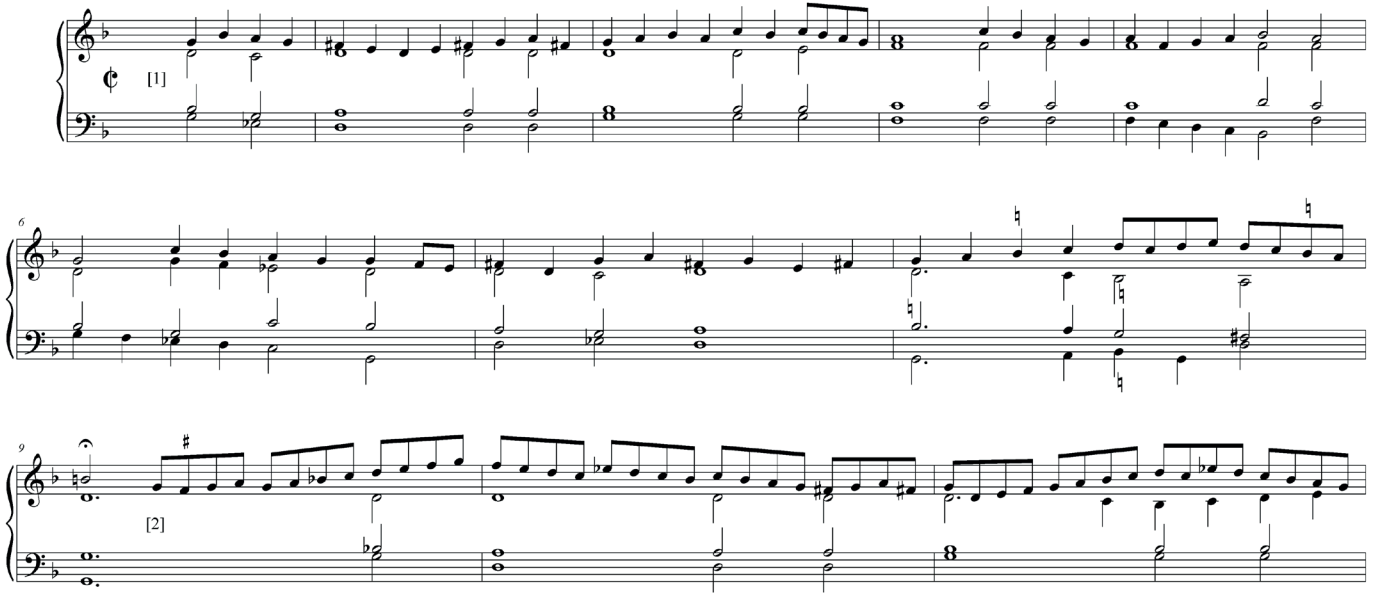
51 See n. 49.

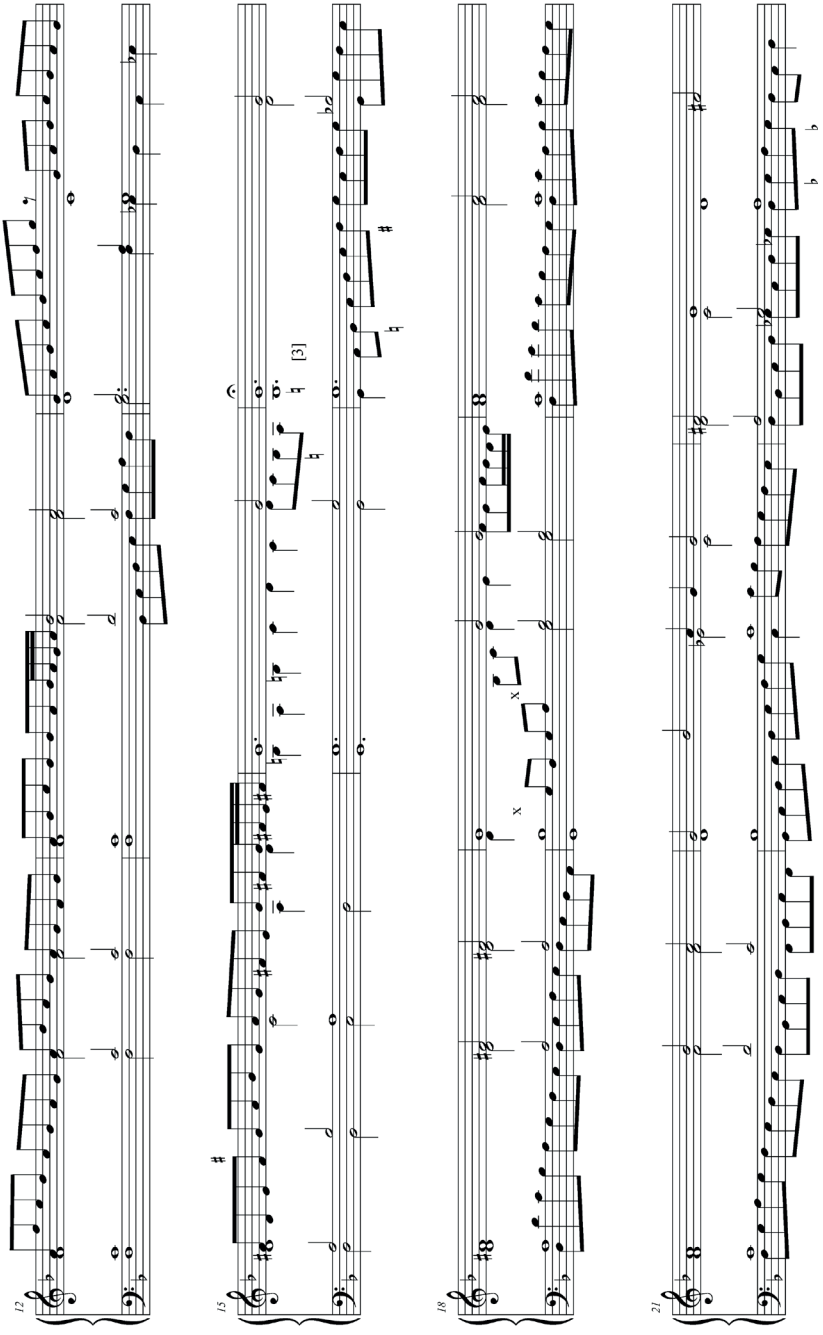
Discante sobre la pavana italiana

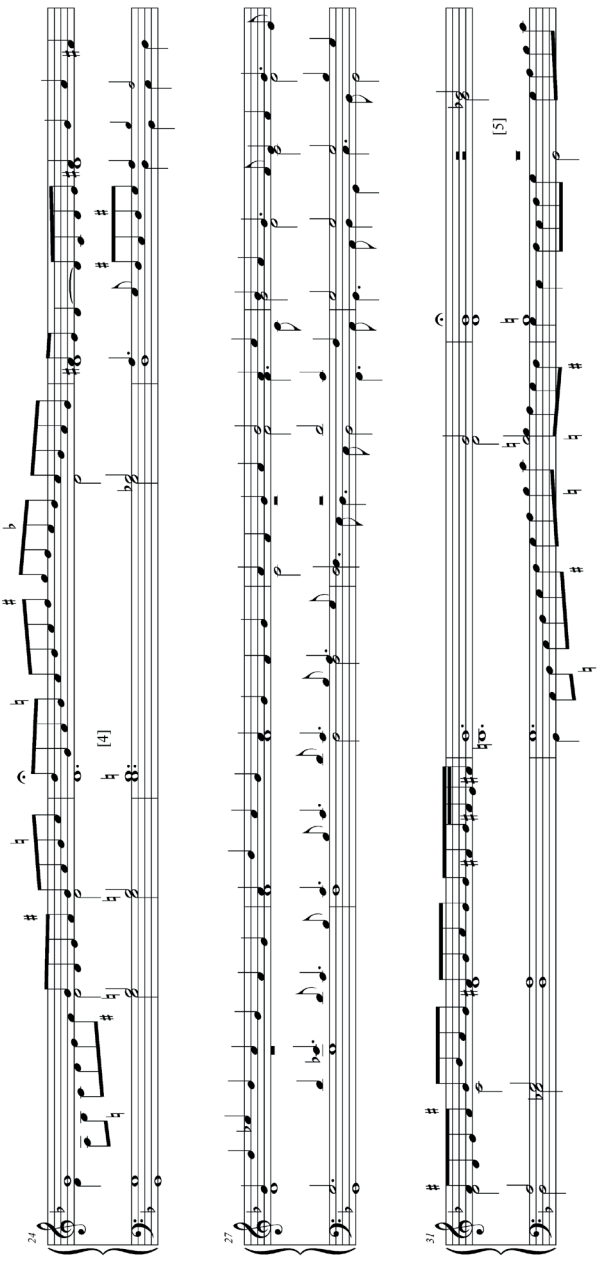
Obras de música, fol. 186v-187v

Antonio de Cabezón

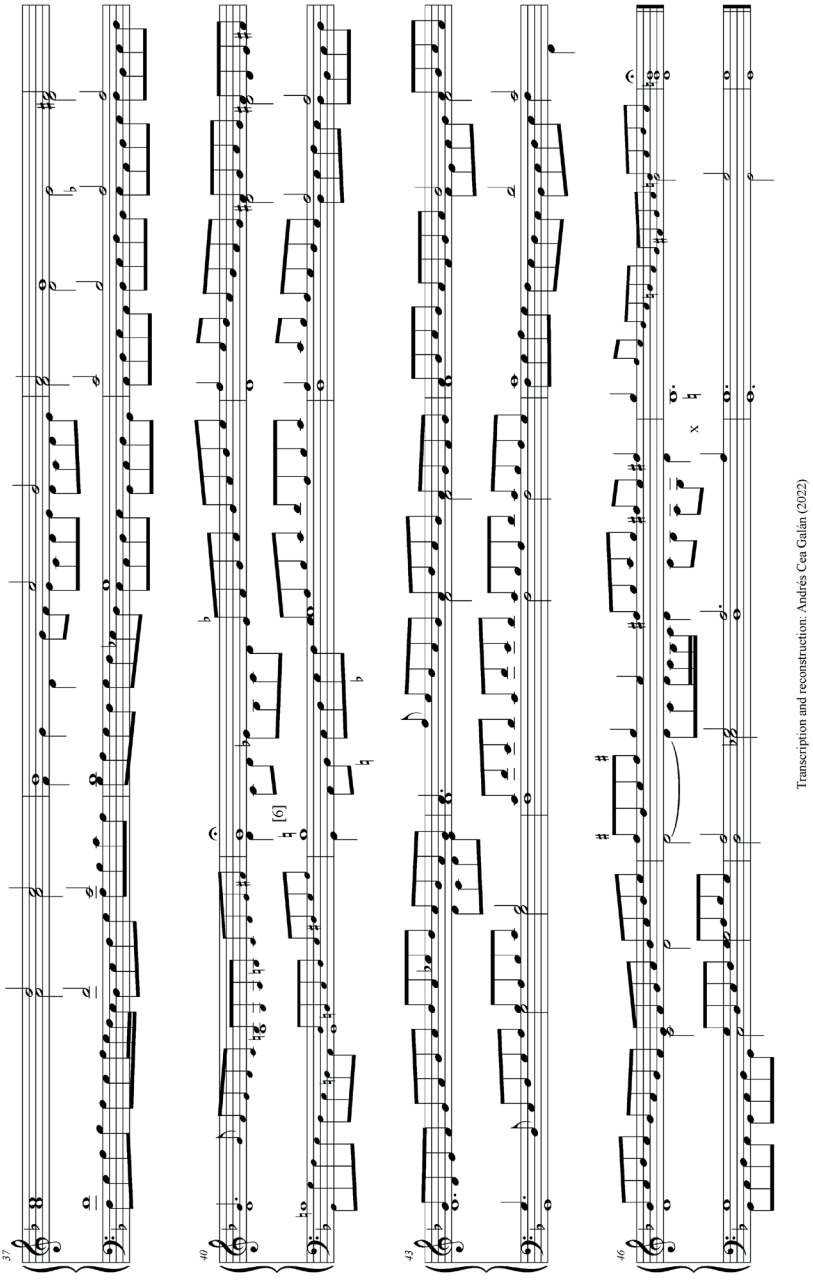
Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)




12
13
[3]
18
21



Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)


37
40
43
46
[6]
Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)

Appendix 2

Antonio de Cabezón, 'Diferencias sobre el villancico de quién te me enojó, Isabel', in: *Obras de música* (Madrid, 1578), fol. 193^{v}–196^{v}.

Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán

This edition is also based on a previous analysis made in another article, '¿Quién te me enojó, Isabel? y otras preguntas sin respuesta en las obras de música de Antonio de Cabezón' (2007),[52] wherein a preliminary version was presented. This piece comes down to us from the original source in a fairly corrupted version. Specifically in b. 17, and beginning from b. 19 on, the note values have been doubled in the original printed version, thereby obscuring the structure of the piece as a whole. Furthermore, the reprise included in each variation has usually been misplaced, as is the case with the fermatas indicating the end of each variation. In the original, only the first variation up to the middle of the second is presented in a correct reading. From an editorial point of view, the last variation is especially problematic in its presentation of unnecessary repeated bars among other inconsistences. Thus, in its reconstruction, the present version presumes the original structure and form of each variation.

Likewise, each bar is equivalent to two bars of the original so as to paint a clearer picture of the piece's metrical structure, especially as it opens on an up-beat. Occasional notes missing from the original have been restored and are differentiated in the score by a slightly reduced font size. Additional chromatic alterations are signalled above and beneath certain notes. The fermatas have been restored to their proper places. Each variation has been assigned a number in brackets. Each performer may view these modifications as suggestions, which in no way should hinder any personal interpretative decisions concerning both the structure and details of this composition with reference to the original source material.

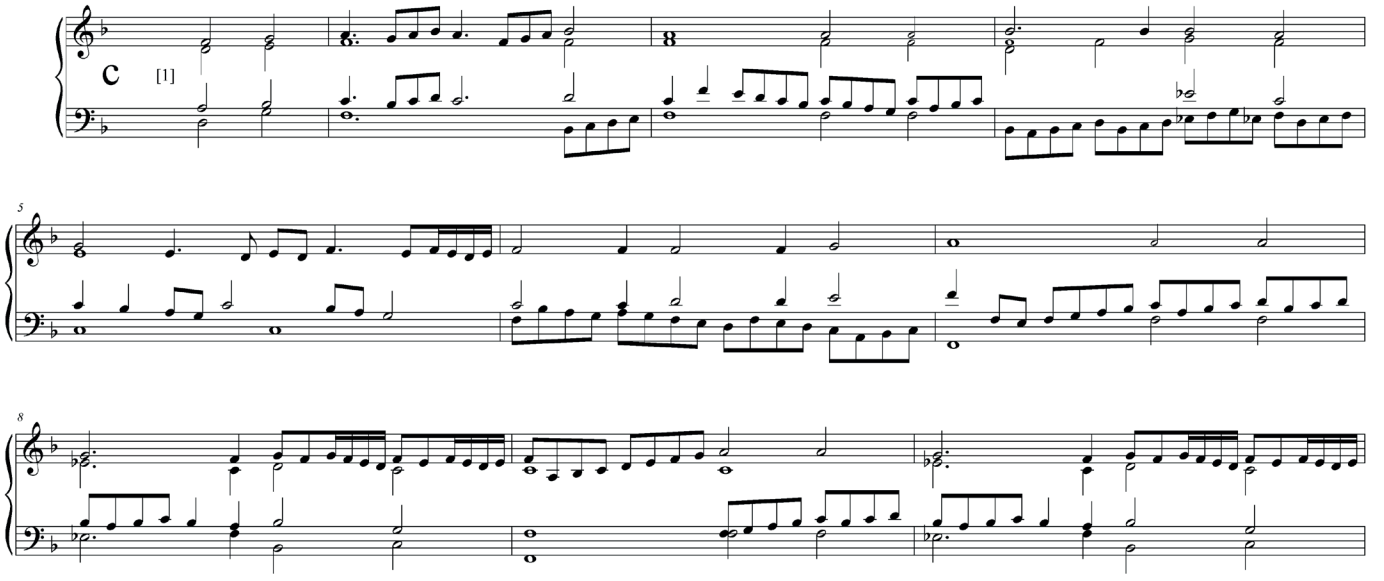
52 See n. 31.

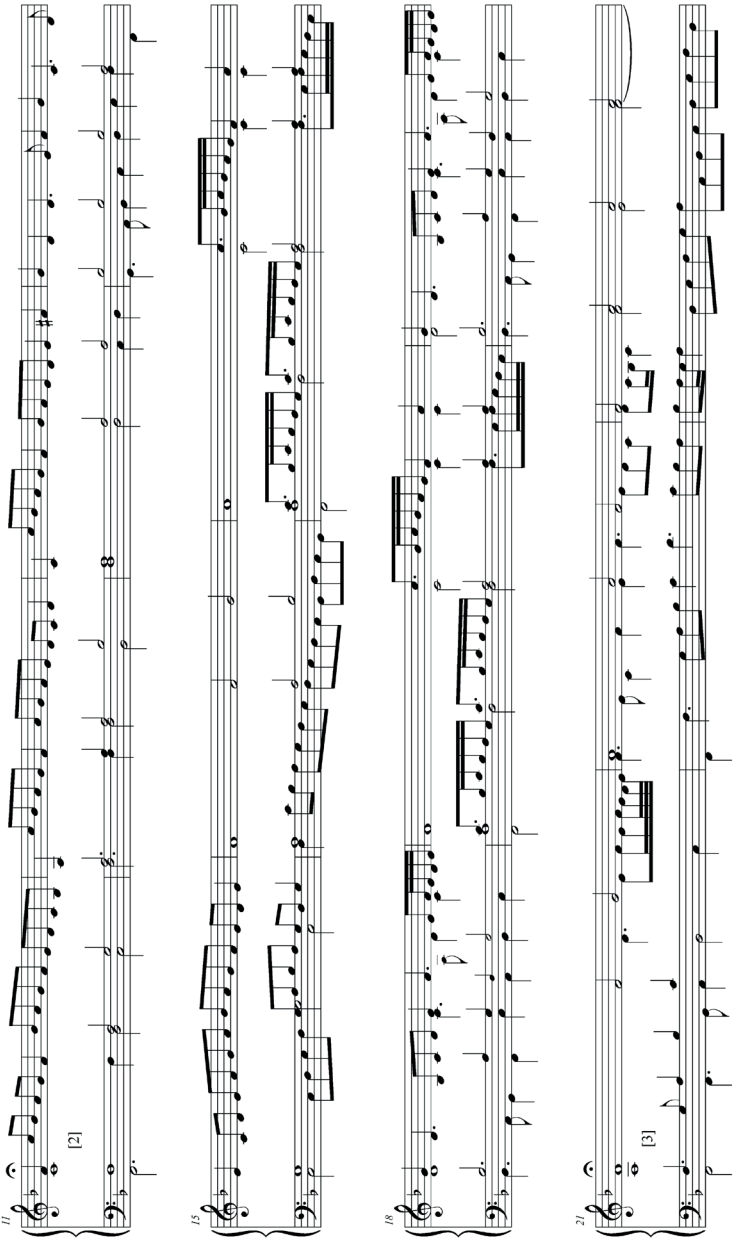
Differencias sobre el villancico de quien te me enojo Isabel

Obras de música, fol. 193v-196v

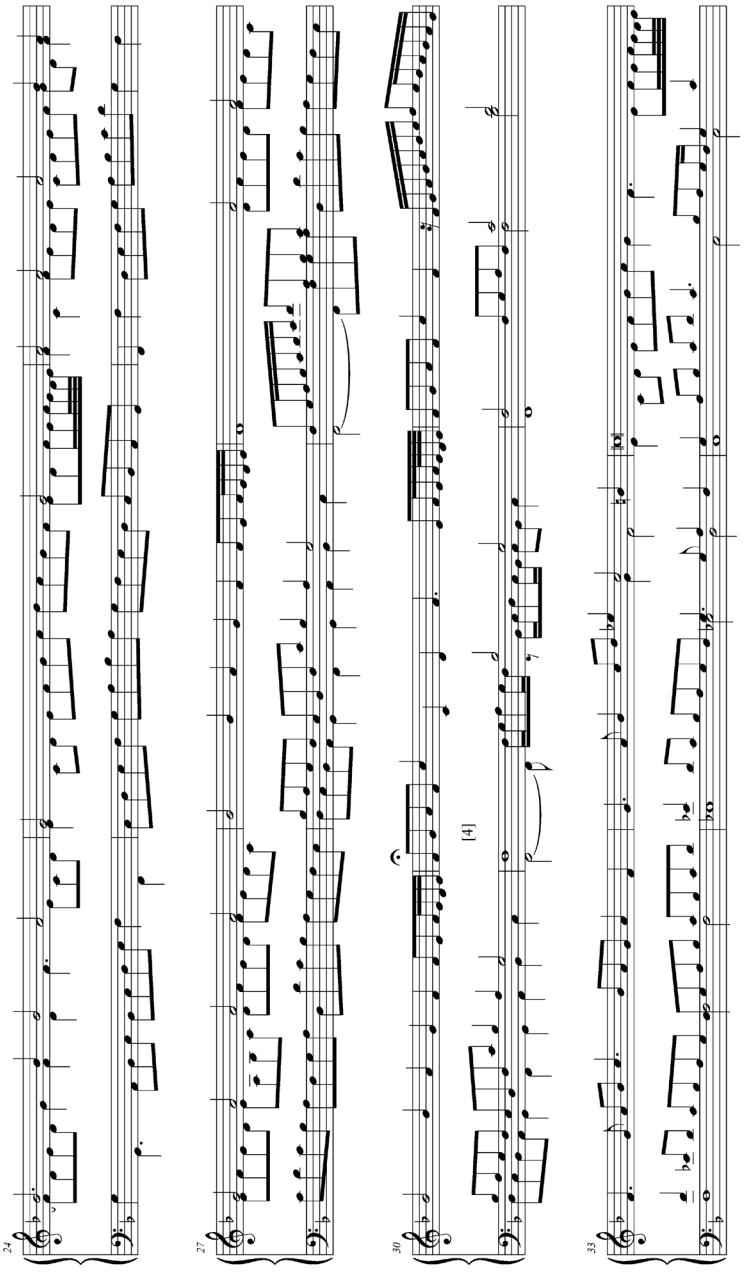
Antonio de Cabezón

Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)

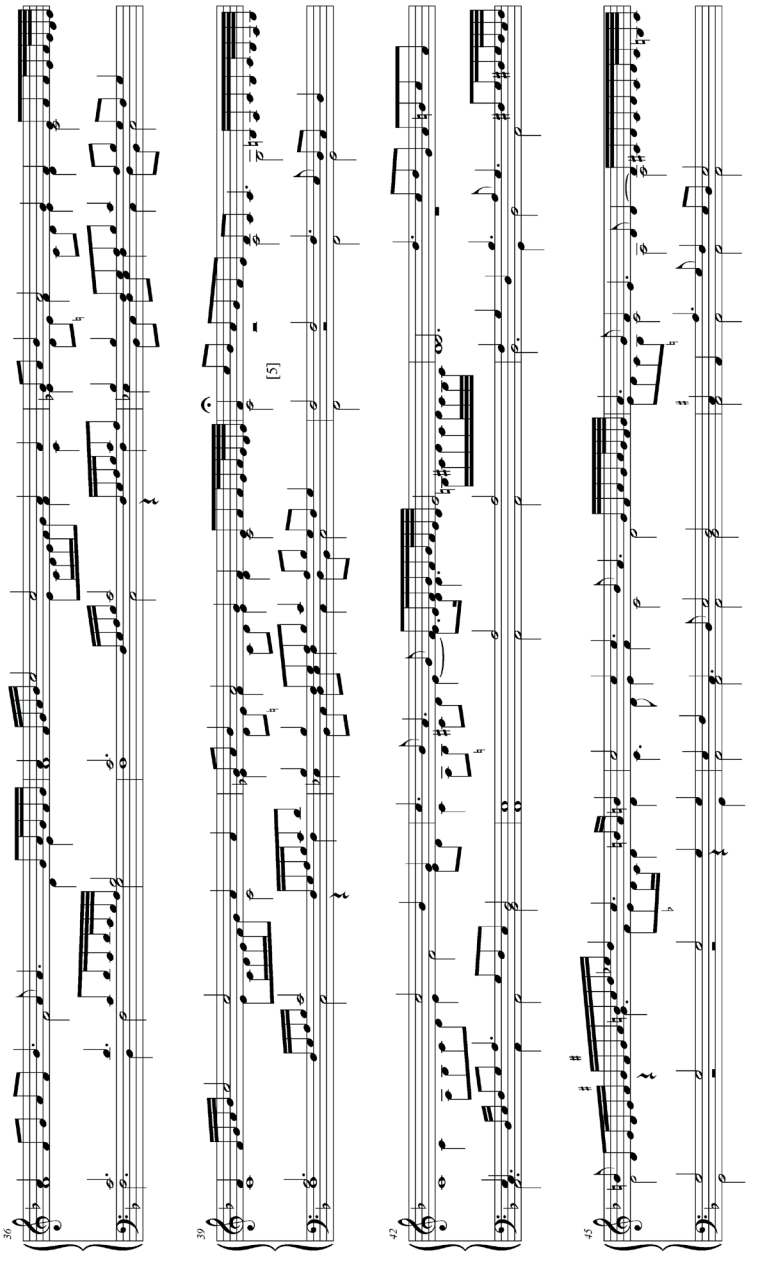




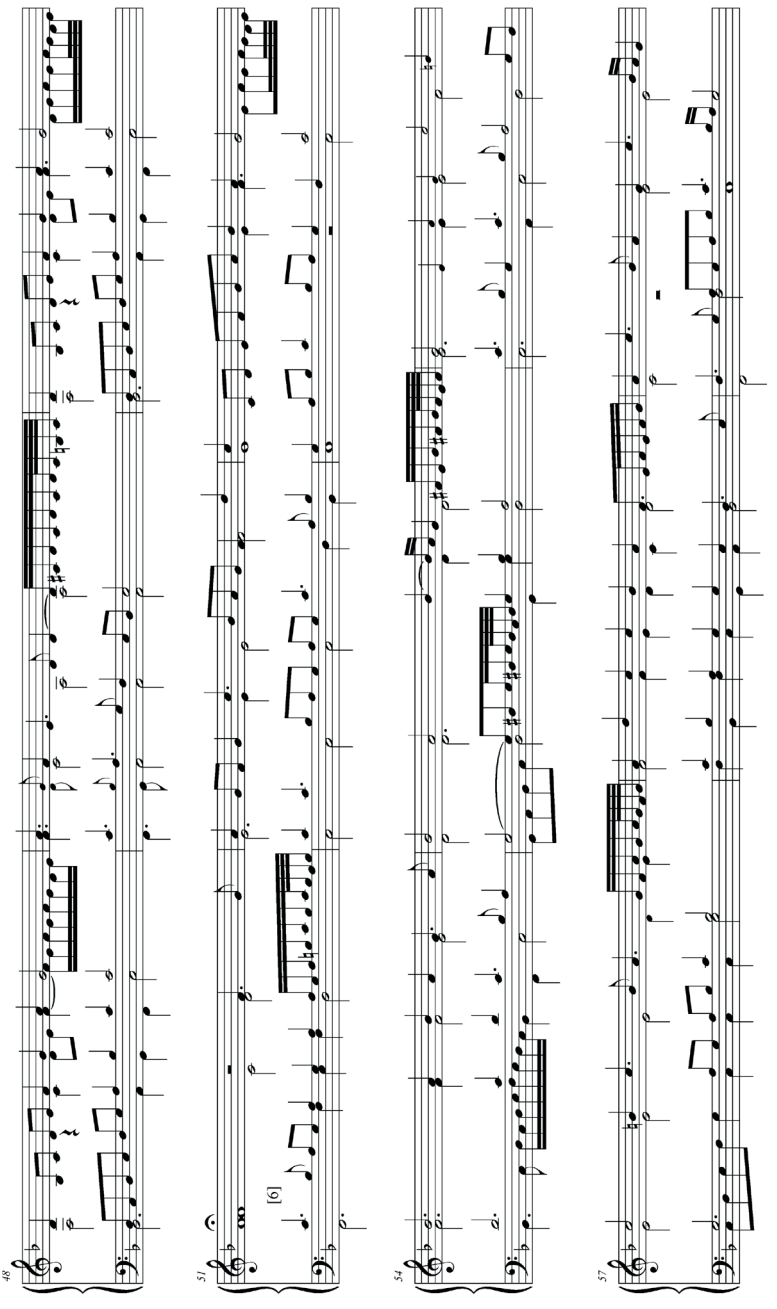
Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)



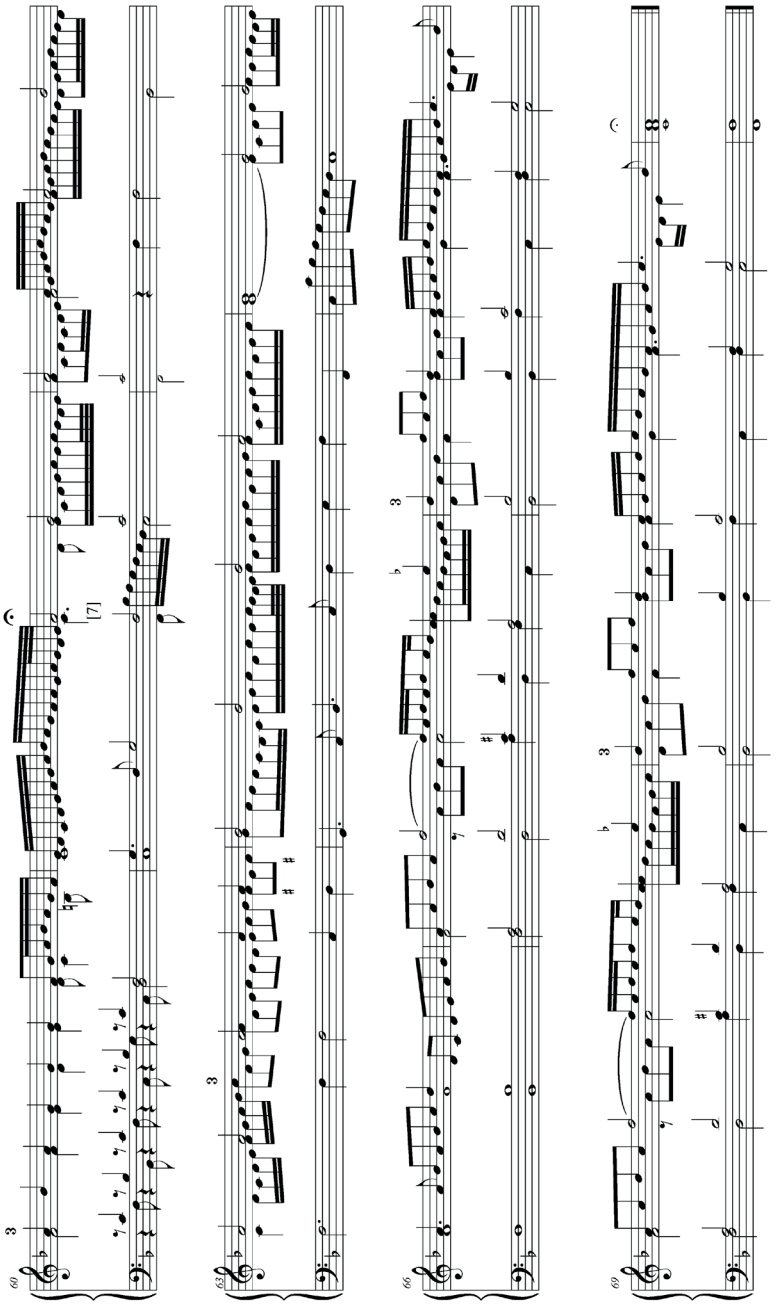
Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)



Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)



Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)



Transcription and reconstruction: Andrés Cea Galán (2022)

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11 Appendix

Programme of the Symposium

'universum rei harmonicae concentum absolvunt'
Das Cembalo im 16. Jahrhundert / The Harpsichord in the 16th Century

Symposium – Workshops – Recitals

University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, Department of Musicology and Performance Studies and Department of Early Music
Vienna, 20–22 April 2021

Tuesday, 20 April

9:30 – 10:45 Opening
Introduction (Augusta Campagne / Markus Grassl)

Keynote Lecture and Recital
Catalina Vicens (Brussels / Leiden / Basel): *The Rhetoric of Sweetness: Towards Ideals of Perception and Performance in Sixteenth-Century Keyboard Music*

11:15 – 13:00 Papers
John Griffiths (Melbourne / Tours): *Imaginary Interchangeability: Notation, Keyboards and Lutes in the Sixteenth Century*

Domen Marinčič (Lubljana): *'nach seinem selbst gefallen mit der Mensur wexln': Varying the Beat in Sixteenth-Century Keyboard Music on Account of Ornamentation and Changing Note Values*

14:30 – 16:30 Lecture Recitals
Paweł Gancarczyk (Warsaw) / Corina Marti (Basel): *Traces of the Renaissance Harpsichord in Poland*

Christina Edelen (Den Haag): *Beyond Sweelinck: The Sixteenth Century Harpsichord in the Lowlands*

17:00 – 20:00 Workshop Nicholas Parle (Vienna / London)

Wednesday, 21 April

9:30 – 12:30 Workshop Corina Marti (Basel)

13:15 – 15:15 Lecture Recitals
Vania Dal Maso (Verona): *On Performing Josquin's Chansons on the Clavicytherium*

Fabio Antonio Falcone (Geneva): *Andrea Antico – Frottole Intabulate Da Sonare Organi Libro Primo*

15:45 – 17:45 Lecture Recitals
Gwendolyn Toth (New York): *Let Me Die: Rhetoric, Poetry and Intabulations on Themes of Ovid*

Thérèse de Goede (Amsterdam): *Glossing Cadences and Descanting over a Tenor: Improvising Diminution and Counterpoint According to Diego Ortiz, Thomas de Sancta Maria and Antonio de Cabezón*

18:15 – 19:30 Papers
Janie Cole (Cape Town): *From Lisbon via Goa to Shewa: Harpsichords, Missionaries and Musical Encounters in Late Renaissance Ethiopia*

Ian Pritchard (Los Angeles): *Hacking the System: Italian Keyboard Tablature as Observed Through Scribal Habit*

Thursday, 22 April

9:30 – 10:45 Papers
Maria Luisa Baldassari (Bologna): *Le mani di Cecilia: Keyboard Players in Italian Renaissance Paintings*

Heidelinde Pollerus (Graz): *„Aussehen und Ansehen". Phänomene der Dekoration historischer Tasteninstrumente im 16. Jahrhundert*
11:15 – 13:00 Lecture Recital
Andrés Cea Galán (Sevilla): *Antonio de Cabezón at the Center of the World: The Repertory, the Interpretation, the Meaning*

14:30 – 16:30 Workshop Andrés Cea Galán

17:00 – 20:00 Workshop Catalina Vicens

Authors

Maria Luisa Baldassari graduated in piano, harpsichord and musicology. She has played in European festivals, in the USA and Canada and has founded Les Nations, a group made up of well-known Italian specialists in early music. The ensemble has recorded seven CDs of Italian music. M. Luisa Baldassari has recorded for many record companies; her solo CDs are devoted to A. Antico and F. Durante. She teaches harpsichord at the Bologna Conservatoire, holds performance masterclasses in Italy and abroad and is president of the association *Collegium Musicum Classense*. As a musicologist she specialises in Renaissance keyboard music and vocal music of the 17th century. She has published articles in musicological journals, critical editions for 'Ut Orpheus' and has been invited to speak at international conferences.

Janie Cole (PhD University of London) is a Research Scholar at Yale University's Institute of Sacred Music and Visiting Professor in Yale's Department of Music (2023–24), Research Officer for East Africa on the University of the Witwatersrand/University of Cape Town's interdisciplinary project Re-Centring AfroAsia (2018–), and a Research Associate at Stanford University's Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustics (2022–). She will join the University of Connecticut's Department of Music as an Assistant Professor of Musicology in 2024. Prior to this, she was a Senior Lecturer (adjunct) at the University of Cape Town's South African College of Music for nine years (2015–23). Her research areas focus on musical practices, instruments and thought in early modern African kingdoms and Afro-Eurasian encounters, transcultural circulation and entanglements in the age of exploration; the intersection of music, consumption and production, politics, patronage and gender in late Renaissance and early Baroque Italy and France; and music and the anti-apartheid struggle in 20th-century South Africa and musical constructions of Blackness, apartheid struggle movement politics, violence, resistance, trauma, and social change. She serves on the Renaissance Society of America Council as founding Discipline Representative in Africana Studies (2019–23), is the co-founder of the international Study Group Early African Sound Worlds sponsored by the International Musicological Society, and is the Founder/ Executive Director of Music Beyond Borders (www.musicbeyondborders.net).

Organist, musicologist, educator and editor, **Andrés Cea Galan** studied in Spain, France and at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. He completed his doctorate at Madrid Complutense University with a dissertation on Spanish keyboard tablatures. His books and articles are devoted to the performance of Spanish music as well as to the history and aesthetics of the organ in Spain. As a music editor,

he has published the music of Francisco Fernández Palero, Sebastián Raval and Juan Cabanilles, among others. As a performer, he is frequently invited to play concerts all around Europe, México, South-America and Japan, and has also been invited to lecture and teach by international academic institutions. He has recorded for Lindoro, Almaviva, Tritó, Aeolus and Universal labels. He is the president of the Instituto del Órgano Hispano (www.institutodelorgano-hispano.es).

Fabio Antonio Falcone is a performer specialized in Renaissance and early Baroque repertoire. He is especially interested in 16th-century Italian keyboard music, as well as vocal and instrumental repertoire of the Baroque period. He performs as a soloist and continuo player at international venues and festivals such as MITO Festival, Early Music Festival Bad Arolsen, Maison de la Radio France, Fondazione Giorgio Cini Venice. He studied in the Netherlands with Bob van Asperen, in Italy with Maria Luisa Baldassari and Jesper Bøje Christensen, and in Switzerland with Francis Biggi. He devotes himself to research in music didactics, in particular to the reconstruction of teaching practices from the analysis of historical sources. He is currently a member of the research group in didactics of arts (DAM) and lecturer in didactics of music at the University of Geneva.

John Griffiths researches Renaissance music and early instrumental music, especially from Spain. His work ranges from history and criticism to organology, music printing, notation and urban music. His recent work includes an encyclopaedia of tablature (in press), a new edition of the music of Luis de Narváez (Le Luth Doré), and essays on tablature and the nature of Renaissance performance. Currently he holds positions at the University of Melbourne and the Centre d'Etudes Superieures de la Renaissance (Tours). He is Editor of the *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, vice-president of the International Musicological Society and also performs on vihuela, lute and early guitars.

Domen Marinčič studied viola da gamba, harpsichord, and thorough bass in Nuremberg and Trossingen. He has performed extensively throughout Europe, in Canada, USA, China, Korea, and Vietnam, participating in more than 40 CD recordings for well-known labels. In 2021 he was appointed professor of historical performance practice at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg.

Ian Pritchard, harpsichordist, organist, and musicologist, is a specialist in early music and historical keyboard practices. A Fulbright scholar, he earned his PhD in musicology from the University of Southern California; his research interests include keyboard music of the late Renaissance and early Baroque, improvisation, notation, compositional process, and performance practice. Ian

has released two discs of solo keyboard music, and has worked as a continuo player with many leading ensembles in Europe and the United States. Ian is currently based in Los Angeles, where he serves as Chair of Music History and Literature at the Colburn School Conservatory of Music. He also serves as music director of the Los Angeles-based ensemble *Tesserae*. In 2015 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy of Music.

August Valentin Rabe has been a postdoctoral researcher in the *New Senfl Edition* at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna since March 2022. He studied musicology, musical performance, harpsichord and art history at the Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt Weimar and the Friedrich Schiller University Jena and received his doctorate from the University of Vienna in 2021 with the thesis „*Benutze nun die Tafeln selbst*". *Sammeln, Schreiben, Lehren und Üben mit einem Fundamentum (ca. 1440–1550)*. Making vocal and instrumental music from historical notations fascinates him as much as the scholarly questions it raises.

Catalina Vicens performs globally as a soloist on antique keyboards encompassing harpsichords, organs, and pianos, and is considered one of the leading experts on medieval and Renaissance keyboards. Directing the Tagliavini Collection of historical keyboards at San Colombano Museum in Bologna, she passionately promotes these musical treasures. Her role as a researcher and harpsichord teacher extends worldwide, with posts at the Royal Conservatory of Brussels, Oberlin Conservatory, delivering masterclasses at renowned centres such as the Curtis Institute, the Juilliard School and UdK Berlin. She imparts her expertise as a jury member at esteemed competitions, notably the International Harpsichord Competition in Bruges, and her lectures resonate in museums and universities across the globe.

Abstracts

Maria Luisa Baldassari: Le mani di Cecilia: Hand Position and Fingering on Keyboards in Italian Iconographical Sources of the Renaissance

This paper presents the conclusions of an experimental study on fingering and hand position guided by Renaissance portraits of keyboard players as well as contemporary theoretical writings on keyboard technique. The author investigates the relationship between theoretical statements and representations in art, comparing and analyzing the different positions of fingers, hands and wrists in both type of sources.

Particular attention is paid to a subject that began to appear in the first years of the 16th century and became fully fashionable from the beginning of the 17th century onwards: St. Cecilia at the keyboard. The representations of Cecilia dramatically increased after the 'discovery' of the saint's body in 1599, and they offer a vast repository of images of keyboard players.

The results of these investigations are presented in their practical application through images and videos recorded by Maria Luisa Baldassari and Augusta Campagne; the study finishes with a comprehensive reference guide that summarizes the rules for fingering and hand position of the most important treatises.

Andrés Cea Galán: Antonio de Cabezón at the Centre of the World: Repertoire, Interpretation and Meaning

Antonio de Cabezón (1510–1566), as a musician in the service of the Spanish royal court, held a really prominent position that allowed him to come into contact with musicans and players of very diverse origins, not only in Spain but also in Italy, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and England. In this paper, an overview of his work is presented in the context of European music of his time, together with comments on aspects of the interpretation and meaning of this repertory in the light of historical sources.

Janie Cole: From Lisbon to Shewa via Goa: Renaissance Keyboards in the Christian Kingdom of Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia

Keyboards served as essential commodities in early modern European overseas exploration and expansion, and circulated as a motivation of colonial, diplomatic, commercial and religious interests. Yet while we know much about the circulation and use of keyboards in trading centres, missionary and ambassadorial ventures, and educational institutions in the New World and Asia, few studies have focused on their presence, dissemination and cultural functions in sub-Saharan Africa, aside from some traces in the kingdom of Kongo and in South Africa.

Drawing on 15th–17th-century travellers' accounts, Portuguese dignitaries' letters, and the voluminous surviving Jesuit documentation, this essay explores the dissemination, musical functions and cultural significance of the earliest documented Western keyboards, including harpsichords, in the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia in the early modern period, exploring themes around musical circulation, keyboards as diplomatic and evangelical tools, and how keyboard music served as a construct for representation, identity, agency and power in Afro-European encounters and colonial perspectives. It draws on two significant encounters between Ethiopia and Latin Europe during the early modern age of exploration, namely some of the earliest documented Ethiopian contacts with European music on Ethiopian soil from both secular and sacred contexts. First, one of the earliest documented encounters between a Portuguese embassy and the Ethiopian royal court of King Lebnä Dengel in 1520 provides significant new insights into the use of European music, a harpsichord and other keyboard instruments for diplomacy and gift-giving, the local *faranji* (foreigners) community, and arguably the earliest recorded Western keyboards to be brought into Ethiopia in a complex dissemination itinerary from Lisbon to Shewa, via Goa. The 1520 import of a harpsichord to the North-East African highlands appears to be the earliest documented exemplar of the use of a harpsichord as a diplomatic tool in sub-Saharan Africa. Then, encounters between Portuguese Jesuit missionaries from Goa and the Ethiopian indigenous communities during the Jesuit period (1557–1632) on the highlands reveal the import of keyboards for Jesuit missionary strategies and their musical art of conversion, which employed music as both evangelical and pedagogical tools, and blended indigenous and foreign elements.

These Ethio-European musical encounters offer tantalizing views on the spread of keyboard instruments in Portuguese courtly and Jesuit liturgical musical traditions across three continents, and how they served as central components of ambassadorial and evangelical ventures by colonial powers. The sources provide new documentation about how keyboard instruments were transmitted along the Portuguese routes of discovery, allowing the Oriental and Old Worlds to collide in interconnected musical experiences, thus giving broader insight into the role of harpsichords and other keyboards in constructing identity, religion, and the collisions of political, social and cultural hierarchies outside of Europe in an entangled global early modern period. Further investigation is now needed into other African locales to discern how widespread the use of Western keyboards was on the continent and how these were perceived by local indigenous communities in the context of wider Afro-Eurasian encounters and relations in these distant outposts of Renaissance music.

Fabio Antonio Falcone: On the Performance Practice of Andrea Antico's Frottole intabulate da sonare organi, libro primo (Rome, 1517)

Andrea Antico's 1517 print of keyboard intabulations of frottolas is rather well known to modern scholars, mostly because it is the first print of keyboard repertoire in Italy. Frottolas were a codified genre where a strophic text often predated the music and followed strict literary rules. Since Antico published instrumental arrangements, the texts are not immediately visible, yet they were very well known to the reader of those days. How was the music then performed when no text was heard? How was this monodic repertoire understood by the contemporaries? Did the player infer the correct accentuation of the music from an implicit text? If so, a correct understanding of the meter and of poetical conventions would be an essential element for an adequate performance of Antico's arrangements of this vocal repertoire.

John Griffiths: Keyboard Tablatures and Imaginary Instrumental Interchange in the Sixteenth Century

The invention and widespread dissemination of music in tablature was one of the great novelties and a key factor in the proliferation of solo instrumental music during the 16th century. An alternative to mensural notation, tablature offered systems of writing music better suited to polyphonic instruments, particularly keyboards and plucked strings such as lute, guitar, and vihuela. Tablatures emerged in a variety of forms that used the letters, numbers and conventional mensural symbols, and many aspects were shared between the notations devised for keyboards and plucked strings. Although we recognise specific idiomatic styles associated with individual instrument types, there is also a significant amount of music that shares common features and that can be performed on diverse instruments. This was recognised by Spanish musicians such as Luis Venegas de Henestrosa whose tablature published in 1557 was advertised as being for 'tecla, harpa y vihuela'. This paper explores the idea of interchangeability associated with such tablatures, and a range of issues extending from the particularities of the Venegas book and its emulation by Cabezón in 1578, beyond national borders to consider the nature of tablature across notation styles, and instrumental practice in distinct regions of Europe.

Domen Marinčič: 'Nach seinem selbst gefallen mit der Mensur wexln': Instances in Sixteenth-century Keyboard Music where Ornamentation and Changing Note Values Might Induce the Player to Vary the Beat

Nicola Vicentino's description of singers varying the beat in order to clarify the affect of the words and the harmony may seem to be relevant to certain keyboard music, all the more since sources point out that solo performers enjoy greater freedom than do ensembles. Tempo changes sometimes seem to be

implied by striking differences between predominant note values in sections of a piece. One might expect shorter note values to be generally associated with a slower *tactus*, and longer note values with a quicker one, but some composers demand the opposite, so that the contrasts in the music are amplified rather than understated. Ornamented keyboard intabulations can occasionally be seen to imply textually and musically motivated tempo changes via noticeable variation in the density of ornamentation.

Ian Pritchard: Hacking the System: Italian Keyboard Intavolatura and Scribal Habit

The commonly-understood conception of Italian keyboard *intavolatura* as a species of tablature notation carries with it certain implications: that *intavolatura* shares a basic affinity with lute and figure-based keyboard notational systems; that it is a 'finger notation', designed to transmit information necessary for the mechanical actions of playing, but not for voice leading and polyphonic detail; that its functioning was predicated upon a particular set of notational conventions or laws. The identification of *intavolatura* as a distinct notational system has been primarily established through a reading of Diruta's treatise *Il Transilvano* – our most complete historical source describing *intavolatura* and the process of intabulating music in it – and through the volumes of keyboard music printed by 16th-century houses such as Gardano, Vincenti, and Verovio. However, not fully examined to this point has been conceptualizations of *intavolatura* on the part of scribes working on the Italian peninsula, mainly because there hasn't been a thorough examination of extant intabulations in manuscript.

An examination of these intabulations further supports the conceptual framing of *intavolatura* as a system of conventions – a system that was tacitly understood by scribes as well as printing houses. An investigation into scribal habits further highlights the functioning of *intavolatura* as a kind of lute tablature for keyboard that used mensural notation in place of figures. At the same time, the use of mensural notation allowed for instances in which scribes use *intavolatura* as a kind of 'partitura', ignoring its conventions and rules in order to show the original voice leading of the polyphonic model. In their very divergence from *intavolatura* convention these instances further solidify the systematic conception of *intavolatura*; at the same time, they also show that scribes were aware of the possibility of bypassing the rules for the sake of showing polyphonic detail.

Augustin Valentin Rabe: Singing, Reading, Writing, Playing. Practising with Tomás de Santa María

This article approaches the question how people practised at a keyboard instrument in the 16th century by evaluating the most extensive source, Tomás de Santa María's *Arte de tañer Fantasia* (1565). Avoiding specific problems such as fingering or hand position, this article focuses on how practising can be organized, and how the advice given in the historical source can be applied in today's didactic practice. As the hints scattered throughout the treatise suggest, learning is guided by an active engagement with singing, solmization and written-out compositions in various notational formats – instead of merely 'interpreting works'. Equipped with a plethora of musical ideas and motor patterns acquired through vocal and instrumental experience, a skilled musician – in the sense of Santa María – can play polyphonic pieces based on paired imitations spontaneously, which sound as if they were written-out compositions.

Catalina Vicens: The Rhetoric of Sweetness: Towards Ideals of Perception and Performance in Sixteenth-Century Keyboard Music

The study of 16th-century keyboard music, integral to historical performance since the early music revival of the late 20th century, has traditionally focused on structural analysis from notated sources and inferred improvisation practices. A paucity of historical performance sources has left many performance aspects unaddressed, relying heavily on aesthetics established by earlier generations.

This article takes a transdisciplinary approach to examine Renaissance keyboard music, unravelling the complex interplay of elements in harpsichord playing, encompassing tangible and intangible factors. It aims to bridge the gap between contemporary aesthetics and the historical context, shedding light on the ideals shaping musical perception and performance.

Exploring George of Trebizond's rhetorical treatise *De suavitate dicendi*, and its emphasis in the importance of sweetness in rhetoric, the article parallels ideals of speech delivery with the art of harpsichord playing. It introduces a novel method to integrate non-musical historical sources into performance practice, applying rhetorical principles to analyse 16th-century keyboard musical taste, including tempo, rhythm, embellishments, timbral variety, technical aspects, material culture, and the composition-performance relationship.

Addressing how to translate theory into guidance for modern performers, the methodology offers a structured framework for studying and performing 16th-century keyboard music, not presenting empirical results but fostering a alternative approach to better understand and convey the era's musical ideals.

Abbreviations

attr.	attributed
b./bb.	bar(s)
c.	circa
cap.	capitulum
ch.	chapter
cit.	cited
ed., eds.	editor(s)/edited
esp.	especially
et al.	et alia, -i, -ae
ex., exs.	example(s)
f.	and following
facs.	facsimile
fasc.	fascicle
fig., figs.	figure(s)
fl.	floruit
fol./fols.	folio(s)
ibid.	ibidem
inv.	inventory
lib.	libro/liber
m./mm.	measure/measures
MS.	Manuscript
n.	footnote
n.a.	not available
n.d.	no date
no.	number
n.p.	no place
n.pag.	no pagination
p./pp.	page(s)
pt.	part
r.	reign(ed)
repr.	reprint/reprinted
rev.	revised
s.d.	sine dato
tab./tabs.	table(s)
trans.	translated/translation
vol./vols.	volume(s)

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AfMw	Archiv für Musikwissenschaft
AnM	Anuario musical
BJbHM	Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis
Brown	Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge MA, 1967)
CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
EdM	Das Erbe deutscher Musik
EM	Early Music
EMH	Early Music History
JAMIS	Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
JM	Journal of Musicology
JMT	Journal of Music Theory
JRMA	Journal of the Royal Musical Association
MD	Musica Disciplina
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 17 vols. (Kassel, 1949–1986)
MGG2	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, zweite neubearbeitete Ausgabe*, hrsg. von Ludwig Finscher, 29 vols. (Kassel/Stuttgart, 1994–2008)
MQ	The Musical Quarterly
NASS	Nassarre. Revista aragonesa de musicología
New Grove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980)
New Grove2	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second Edition, ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (London, 2001)
RdM	Revista de musicología
RIDM	Rivista italiana di musicologia
RISM	*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*: B/I: Récueils Imprimés XVIe–XVIIe siècles (Munich/Duisburg, 1960)
RMl	Revue de musicologie
RRMR	Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance
VD 16	Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (www.vd16.de)
VD 17	Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts (www.vd17.de)
vdm	Verzeichnis deutscher Musikfrühdrucke (www.vdm16.sbg.ac.at)

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