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 organo-logy, 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 histo-rical 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)

List of Figures and Examples

Singing, Reading, Writing, Playing

Nach seinem selbst gefallen mit der Mensur wexln

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

Le mani di Cecilia

From Lisbon to Shewa via Goa

Antonio de Cabezón at the Centre of the World

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About This Volume

This volume gathers contributions based on keynotes, papers and lecture recitals presented at '*universum rei harmonicae concentum absolvunt*' – *Das Cembalo im 16. Jahrhundert / The Harpsichord in the 16th Century*, April 20–22, 2021. After the project proposal was accepted by the academic board of mdw-Press, the editors invited selected presenters of the symposium to submit chapters and undertook a careful editorial review. In a second step, the whole volume was double-blind peer reviewed by two external reviewers. The mdw-Press coordination supervised the external review process and the academic board accepted the final manuscript for publication.