SPEAKING IN TONES: PLAINCHANT, MONODY,
AND THE EVOCATION OF ANTIQUITY IN EARLY MODERN ITALY

by

BARBARA DIANNE SWANSON

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Dissertation Adviser: Dr. David Rothenberg

Department of Music
CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

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We hereby approve the thesis/dissertation of

Barbara Swanson

candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree *

(signed) Dr. David Rothenberg (chair of the committee)

Dr. Peter Bennett

Dr. Ross Duffin

Dr. Charles Burroughs

(date) March 19, 2013

*We also certify that written approval has been obtained for any proprietary material contained therein.
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Speaking in Tones: Plainchant, Monody, and the Evocation of Antiquity in Early Modern Italy

Abstract

by

BARBARA DIANNE SWANSON

Jacopo Peri, Giulio Caccini, Emilio de’ Cavalieri, and Claudio Monteverdi used plainchant formulas in their compositions for solo voice: Peri used psalm tones in Euridice; Caccini used Tenebrae chant melisma in Le nuove musiche; Cavalieri quoted the Lamentations chant in his Lamentationes; Monteverdi evoked plainchant psalmody in the Lamento d’Arianna. Chant recitation was clearly a familiar model that could inform how to compose in the celebrated speech-like manner. As this dissertation demonstrates, chant and monody were also contiguous musical practices, united by imitation of ancient speech-like song.

The evocation of chant in early monody may have had a pointed purpose: to gesture musically towards antiquity, and to formulate a distinct melodic character for solo-voiced music. In writings that circulated among creators of solo song and early opera, both Girolamo Mei and Vincenzo Galilei posited plainchant as a vestige of ancient music. In doing so, they imagined ecclesiastical recitation as a bridge between ancient music and modern attempts to revive the power of ancient singing. This was by virtue of chant’s apparently “antique” remnants: use of mode, extended recitation, and centrality of text.

Vatican chant reformer Giovanni Guidetti, contemporary with Mei and Galilei,
also connected antiquity and chant. In a previously unknown edition of his work that I have discovered, Guidetti compared Christian plainsong with Pythagorean theories of music, including its power to move affections and reform the soul. Mei, Galilei, and Guidetti thus espoused similar ideas about chant and antiquity, leading alternately to early solo song and opera, and the reform of Catholic liturgy and devotion. The idea of chant as a vestige of ancient song thus had strong cultural currency, operating across sacred-secular boundaries.

By revealing how sacred and secular spheres intersected in early modern Italy, and by examining chant, monodies, and theoretical writings from ca. 1600, this dissertation highlights the previously obscured triangle of chant, ancient song, and monody. It furthermore provides new tools for analysis of music in the formative years of the first operas, and reframes 16th-century plainchant—largely neglected in music histories—as a significant creative force in early modern musical culture.
Introduction

Seeking the Vestiges of Ancient Song in Ecclesiastical Chant

Two controversial musical reform movements emerged in two seemingly disparate communities in late 16th-century Italy: the reform of plainchant within and beyond the Vatican, and the emergence of expressive solo, song central to the invention of opera. Although both have been associated with humanist thought, no detailed study has yet investigated the important relationship between the repertoires, although work by Murray Bradshaw and Nils Holger Petersen has certainly pointed in this direction. And yet Monody and plainchant shared a fundamental similarity. Distinct from polyphonic music with its multiple interweaving musical lines, both chant and monody employed a single musical “melody” to declaim text.

Chant and monody were contiguous musical practices in many other ways as well. In the late 16th century, practitioners of both were looking back to the powerful speech-like songs of antiquity for inspiration. Jacopo Peri (1561–1633), Giulio Caccini (1551–1618), and Emilio de’ Cavalieri (ca. 1550–1602), each employed by the Florentine

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Medici court, claimed to have invented a new style of speech-like singing capable of moving the affections in the manner of ancient music. Only a few years prior, Vatican cleric Giovanni Guidetti (1532–1592) had published six volumes of speech-like chants using a large rhythmic palette to convey the subtle rhythms of speech, and invoking ancient authorities as exemplars. Speech-like singing in the manner of the ancients was thus heralded by musicians, courtiers, as well as churchmen for its expressive power.

As many musicologists have made clear, the invention of “this new manner of song” was in fact the culmination of a long history of recitational singing in Italy. Less recognized by musicologists is that plainchant recitation participated in this tradition of speech-like singing that stretched from the late 15th to the late 16th century. While courts throughout Italy sought out poet-musicians like Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500), clerics in Italian churches advocated the performance of plainchant psalmody, prayers, and lessons in an increasingly rhythmicized, speech-like manner. As early as 1505, for example, the papal master of ceremonies, Paris de Grassi (1470–1528), provided

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2 Jacopo Peri, Le musiche di Iacopo Peri nobil fiorentino sopra L’Euridice (Florence: Marescotti, 1600); Giulio Caccini, L’Euridice composta in musica Stile rappresentativo (Florence: Marescotti, 1600); Giulio Caccini, Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano (Florence: Marescotti, 1602); Emilio de’Cavalieri, Rappresentatione di anima e di corpo (Rome: Muti, 1600); See translations in Piero Weiss, Opera: A History in Documents (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

3 Giovanni Guidetti, Directorium chori ad usum Sacrosanctae basilicae vaticanae (Rome: Granjon, 1582); Giovanni Guidetti, Directorium chori ad usum omnium ecclesiarum, iam cathedralium quam collegiatarum, nuper restitutum, & nunc secundo in lucem editum (Rome: Coattinum, 1589); Giovanni Guidetti, Directorium chori ad usum omnium ecclesiarum (Rome: Gardano, 1591); Giovanni Guidetti, Cantus ecclesiasticus Passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam & Ioannem (Rome: Alexandrum Gardanum, 1586); Giovanni Guidetti, Cantus ecclesiasticus officii Maioris Hebdomadae: iuxta ritum Capellae sanctissimi Domini nostri Papae ac Basilicae Vaticanae collectus, & emendatus (Rome: Tornierij, 1587); Giovanni Guidetti, Praefationes in cantu firmo (Rome: Tornierij, 1588).

examples of speech-like chant recitation in his Ceremonial for Cardinals, with advice on how to modulate the voice to communicate appropriate affect, as if inspired by the fervor in Rome for ancient oratory, and indeed, all things ancient.  

These contiguous practices intersected ca. 1600, with chant formulas being used by Jacopo Peri (1561–1633), Giulio Caccini (1551–1618), and Emilio de’ Cavalieri (ca.1550–1602) in the first operas and solo songs performed for Ferdinando de’ Medici’s court. Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) later also evoked chant recitation in his Arianna (1608). Chant recitation was certainly a well-known recitational model that could inform a composer’s attempts to write in the celebrated speech-like manner. Peri, for example, was a singer at the Florentine Baptistry and organist at Florence’s Badia church. Caccini and Galilei participated in the popular devotions of the Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello. Monteverdi was, by 1613, the maestro di cappella at S. Marco in Venice, and later in his life he became a priest. Plainchant psalm formulas would have been well known to these composers, providing them with models of recitation that could easily be imported into recitational musical works.

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Their contemporaries certainly perceived the connection. A Marchese de Piano described Peri’s *Euridice* as being like the chanting of the Passion.\(^8\) Giovanni Battista Doni described one of his three kinds of recitative as suited to the pulpit.\(^9\) Caccini’s student, Severo Bonini, compared operatic recitation to ecclesiastical chant, naming chants for the Passion, Holy Week, the Prefaces, *Pater noster*, and Office of the Dead.\(^{10}\)

The evocation of chant in early opera and solo song may have had a pointed purpose: to gesture musically towards antiquity, and to formulate a distinct melodic character for solo-voiced music. In writings that circulated among creators of solo song and early opera, both Girolamo Mei (1519–1594) and Vincenzo Galilei (ca. 1520–1591) posited plainchant as a vestige of ancient Greek music.\(^{11}\) In doing so, they imagined ecclesiastical recitation as a bridge between ancient music and modern attempts to reclaim the power of ancient song. This was by virtue of chant’s apparently “antique” remnants: use of mode, extended recitation on single pitches, and the centrality of text. Using chant-like formulas in early opera and solo song may thus have provided composers with a way of recapturing ancient *tonoi*. Mimicking chant would certainly have been easier than assimilating actual ancient modal theories.

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\(^{10}\) Severo Bonini, “Prima parte de’ discorsi e regole sopra la musica et il contrappunto,” ca 1650, f. 102r–v, MS 2218, Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana; Mary Ann Bonino, *Severo Bonini’s Discorsi e regole sopra la musica* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), 179.

Each of the composers mentioned above certainly “publicized” the inspiration of antiquity, with Peri and Caccini referring especially to ancient tragedy in the prefaces to their respective versions of *Euridice*. Many musicologists have downplayed such references to sung tragedy as mere lip-service.\(^\text{12}\) Renato di Benedetto has stated this position forcefully, worth quoting here:

Can, or even should, opera aspire to assume the role of legitimate heir to ancient tragedy and restorer of the mythical, lost unity of text, music, and action? This is the fundamental question, the starting point for all the arguments for and against opera … but their words [Peri, Cavalieri] reveal no restorative purpose or any antiquarian disposition; what we find is the will to bring to life a new and ‘modern’ type of theatrical representation, in relation to which ancient tragedy was an ideal model, certainly always to be kept in mind but, owing to the absence of direct evidence, something that could not actually be imitated or recovered.\(^\text{13}\)

Recent scholarship has re-opened the case, at least on a literary front. Blair Hoxby, for example, has shown how 19th century notions of ancient tragedy have clouded the 16th-century preference for Euripidean tragedy, with its often pastoral dimensions, similar to works like Peri’s *Euridice*.\(^\text{14}\) My research into the chant-antiquity link suggests that the revival of sung tragedy may have taken musical form via the quotation of plainchant in early operas. In other words, by virtue of the plainchant-antiquity connection, liturgical chant could stand in for the absent ancient musical evidence referred to by Benedetto.

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The idea of chant as a vestige of ancient song had strong cultural currency beyond the Florentine court and operated across sacred-secular boundaries. The Vatican chant reformer Giovanni Guidetti, contemporary with Mei and Galilei, aligned Christian plainsong with Pythagorean theories about music, including the power to move affections and reform the soul.\(^\text{15}\) Cardinal Federico Borromeo, a correspondent of both Mei’s and Caccini’s, also associated chant with antiquity.\(^\text{16}\) Mei, Galilei, Borromeo, and Guidetti thus espoused similar ideas about chant and antiquity, leading on the one hand to early solo song and opera, and on the other, reform of Catholic liturgy and devotion. At the same time, their mutual appeals to antiquity contributed to notions of virtue and the ennoblement of the soul.

It is significant that Guidetti’s chants and Borromeo’s ideas circulated at the same time and in the same spheres as the writings of Mei and Galilei. Borromeo lived within Vatican Rome in the same years as Guidetti, Mei, and Ferdinando de’ Medici, before Ferdinando became Grand Duke of Tuscany. After his move to Milan as the city’s Archbishop, Borromeo corresponded with Caccini regarding the training and recruitment of singers. Guidetti was also likely known at the Florentine court, given that Ferdinando owned one of Guidetti’s chants books, perhaps to aid in establishing Roman ceremony at the Medici chapels after 1587.\(^\text{17}\) The idea of chant as a vestige of ancient song was thus

\(^{15}\) See the dedication to Odoardo Farnese in Guidetti, *Directorium chori ad usum omnium ecclesiarum*.


\(^{17}\) Guidetti, *Praefationes in cantu firmo*. The copy belonging to Ferdinando (in a binding bearing his crest) is currently in the Newberry Library VAULT Case folio M2153.2.G84 P7 1588.
operative beyond that of any “camp.” Its circulation in both Roman curial and Florentine musico-intellectual circles would have bolstered the idea on both sides.

Evoking ancient practices and authors as authoritative and authentic models was certainly common throughout 16th-century Italy in both sacred and secular circles. Antiquity inspired well-known art works like Raphael’s *School of Athens*, with Plato and Aristotle pictured at the center, pointing to heaven and earth respectively, and with Pythagoras depicted as well. Evoking antiquity in artworks was often used to herald the authority and glory of a new leader. Elected to the papacy in 1585, Sixtus V, for example, embarked on an elaborate project of cultural patronage as well as city planning to evoke the idea of his papacy as a new Golden Age for Rome. His election to the papacy was facilitated by none other than Ferdinando I de’ Medici, in his capacity of cardinal. Once becoming Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando similarly established a unified cultural program overseen by the aristocratic composer Emilio de’ Cavalieri with a similar message: a new Golden Age is beginning. Commencing with his marriage to the French Christine of Lorraine in 1589, the new Golden Age of power was celebrated by her elaborate entry procession into Florence, as well as with the famous 1589 *intermedi*, including music by Cristofano Malvezzi (1547–1599), Luca Marenzio (1553–1599),

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Giovanni de’ Bardi (1534–1612), Cavalieri, Caccini, and Peri. As was clear in the numerous official accounts of the event sanctioned by the Medici, the mythological program of the elaborate intermedi represented not only the harmony of music but also the harmony of the spheres and of the state. Apollo, father of the muses and therefore of harmonious music, was to be understood as Ferdinando himself.

It is because of this overt image-making that scholars have interpreted Peri’s and Caccini’s “new music” and austere speech-like singing as an extension of the Medici image. Scholars including Suzanne Cusick and John Walter Hill have read the rhetoric of composers like Peri and Caccini as a platform for elevating a musical tradition of speech-like singing already current in Italy, tailoring it for noble consumption, participation, and propaganda at the Medici court. In doing so, Peri in particular stretched the boundaries of the existing speech-song idiom into expressive recitatives characterized by fragmented

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21 See, for example, Raffaello Gualterotti, Della descrizione del regale apparato fatto nella nobile citta di Firenze per la venuta, e per le nozze della serenissima madama Christina di Loreno moglie del serenissimo don Ferdinando Medici terzo gran duca di Toscana (Florence: Padovani, 1589); Bastiano de Rossi, Descrizione dell’apparato, e degl’intermedi. Fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle nozze de’serenissimi don Ferdinando Medici, e madama Cristina di Loreno (Florence: Padovani, 1589); Li solenni apparati et suntuose cerimonie, fatte nell’intrata della gran duchessa di Toscana nella città di Fiorenza. (Bologna: Bonardo Fausto, 1589).

22 Treadwell, Music and Wonder at the Medici Court, 24.

phrases and chromatic harmonic support, with the goal of making music respond affectively to text, and inducing affective responses in listeners.24 He thus contributed to the aesthetics of antiquity then popular at the Medici court and among its courtiers, further contributing to the narrative of a new Golden Age being fostered by Ferdinando I.

In the case of late-16th century chant editors, speech-like singing became a sign of ecclesiastical reform and bolstered the refashioning of Catholicism in the face of Protestant dissent. On one level, speech-like chanting participated in the Counter-Reformation turn towards intelligible worship.25 With Protestant churches inaugurating worship in the vernacular and orienting laity towards self-study of the Bible, intelligibility was a powerful sign of reform.26 The Catholic Church similarly embraced intelligibility as a devotional imperative, but within a uniquely Catholic frame—the


retention of ancient church practices, including Latin sacramental worship, and increasing emphasis on catechism for priests and lay-folk alike. Emphasis on the antiquity of chant versus the new congregational singing of many Protestant factions further bolstered the authoritative claims of Counter-Reformation Catholicism. Gregory XIII and Sixtus V (already mentioned) especially sought to refashion Rome, and Catholicism more generally, as the ancient and true church that rose out of and then transcended pagan antiquity.

Viewing chant and monody as contiguous practices of speech-like song within an authoritative rhetoric of antiquity provides a new window onto the politicized aesthetics of the Renaissance, in Rome and Florence in particular. Situating them within this common sphere also opens new interpretive avenues in the history of early monody and opera. To date, this history has been viewed within a largely secular framework. Scholars of early monody and operatic recitation have explored questions of gender, the influence of Neapolitan solo singing on expressive solo song, as well as theatrical gesture and vocal inflection. This is certainly important work, especially when it not only sheds light onto the history of solo song, the bodies that sang, the often permeable boundary between composition and performance, and the role of improvisation in fostering compositional practices and ideals.


Seeing this history within a broader framework that incorporates sacred musical culture opens other important interpretive avenues. John Walter Hill, Tim Carter, Murray Bradshaw, John Bettley, and Nils Holger Petersen have each made important contributions to the bridging of sacred and secular in the history of monody.\(^{29}\) Hill has demonstrated how Florentine musicians were members of the religious *Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello*.\(^{30}\) Carter has urged that scholars broaden their historical view to see interplay between institutions. Bradshaw and Bettley have explored the relationship between *falsobordone* and the development of monody’s recitational style underpinned by chordal bass lines. Petersen has identified the ways in which Christian narratives often underpinned the new Florentine *favola*.

In this dissertation, I continue this line of inquiry by demonstrating how plainchant not only operated within a parallel musical aesthetics, but was invoked by theorists of early monody as a window into ancient music and, by implication, a model for a new wave of expressive speech-like song. I further emphasize how the important patron of new music, Ferdinando I de’ Medici, bridged sacred and secular in the two halves of his career: first as a Cardinal in Rome, then as Grand Duke of Tuscany. Although Ferdinando’s dual offices have been discussed in numerous articles by art historians, his move from cardinal to Grand Duke has received comparably little attention.


by musicologists, despite the importance of this for histories of his musical patronage, including early operas and solo-voiced works sung at court.\textsuperscript{31}

Galilei’s \textit{Dialogo} of 1581 provides insight into what might seem a surprising practice: the evocation of plainchant psalmody in early operas and solo songs. From Peri to Monteverdi, composers of early opera quoted, ornamented, and fragmented plainchant psalms in their earliest works. Although it would be possible to address the chant-monody intersection around a myriad of different chant types, focusing on psalm recitation is inspired by Mei and Galilei: Mei identifies plainchant psalmody as a particular apt example of seemingly ancient song.\textsuperscript{32} This association then reappeared in Galilei’s \textit{Dialogo}—a theoretical work that has been described as the single-most important treatise of the late 16th century, one that influenced the intellectual climate of solo song and opera in Florence.\textsuperscript{33} Galilei furthermore compared the eight ecclesiastical modes with ancient modal theories.

Even given the musical triangle created by Galilei between psalmody, ancient music and solo song, it likely sounds absurd to suggest that a composer like Monteverdi used plainchant to structure recitational passage of \textit{Orfeo} or the heart-rendering lament of

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Arianna. Preliminary investigation into recitational passages in Peri’s *Dafne* (1598) and *Euridice* (1600), Caccini’s *Euridice* (1600) Monteverdi’s *Orfeo* (1607) as well as the *Lamento d’Arianna* (1608) demonstrate often obvious, sometimes obscured references to plainchant psalmody.

It is hardly surprising that musicologists have yet to investigate the connection between plainchant and monody in late 16th century Italy. One reason is the state of scholarship on both chant and monody. Early monody has an extensive and long-standing history of scholarly investigation, spearheaded by Claude Palisca and Nino Pirrotta in the 1950s and 60s. Early modern chant, on the other hand, has only begun to interest scholars, with a small but growing number of dissertations, monographs, and essays exploring the history and character of its various reforms. And whereas the perceived

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divide between sacred and secular has begun to be traversed by scholars of monody, this has been much more rare in plainchant studies: James Borders has suggested a relationship between chant recitation and humanist oratory in early 16th century Rome;\(^{36}\) Hyun-Ah Kim has explored the role of humanism in John Merbecke’s reform of chant in England in the mid-16th century;\(^{37}\) and Cecile Davy-Rigaud has touched on the struggle of the impoverished noblewomen of St. Cyr to adapt to religious life and its plainchant tradition.\(^{38}\) That said, many scholars have noted a similarity between plainchant and Italian monody, paving the way for this study.\(^{39}\) Most recently, Nils Holger Peterson has

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\(^{39}\) See, for example, Carl Winterfeld in the early 19th century, writing on Caccini recitative, Herrmann Kretschmar in 1919 comparing plainsong passions to early attempts at opera, and Murray Bradshaw and John Bettley in their work on falsobordone and monody: Carl Winterfeld, *Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1834), 17; Hermann Kretschmar, *Geschichte der Oper* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919), 14; Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone: A Study in Renaissance and Baroque Music*, 118; Bettley, “North Italian Falsobordone and Its Relevance to the Early Stile Recitativo,” 15; Karl Fellerer has discussed both chant and monody in this period, but as entirely separate phenomenon. See Karl Fellerer, “Zur kirchlichen Monodie nach dem Tridentum,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 57 (1973): 45–55; In his edition of monodies entitled *The Monody*, Fellerer connected chant and monody but only in an oblique and general way: “With the song and dance, Gregorian chant, certain tendencies in polyphony, and tablature
suggested a relationship between chanted liturgical dramas and fully sung operas.\textsuperscript{40} Hyun-Ah Kim has noted similarities between Heinrich Glarean’s writings on chant reform and the ancient ideals of the Florentine Camerata.\textsuperscript{41} Gary Tomlinson has also gestured to a connection by identifying opera and liturgical chant as two repertoires bridging supersensory and material realms through the medium of the voice.\textsuperscript{42}

The relative lack of scholarship on early modern chant has enabled the persistence of the narrative that chant, although recitational in certain aspects of its practice, did not have an affective element worth comparing with affective solo song. For example, Palisca, whose work on monody was foundational, stated that plainchant bore no relationship to monody, because plainchant had no regard for the “meanings and feelings” of the text.\textsuperscript{43} As this dissertation demonstrates, however, speech-like chant often stretched beyond the intelligible rendering of text into the realm of expressivity. In the case of papal master of ceremonies Paris de Grassis (c. 1470–1528), chant declamation was being associated with theatrical delivery of text as early as 1505. In the work of Guidetti, accompaniments, the ground was prepared to receive the seed of expression which was to unfold into monody as we now understand the term,”\textsuperscript{44} from Karl Fellerer and Robert Kolben, eds., The Monody (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1968), 5.

\textsuperscript{40} Nils Holger Peterson, “Intermedial Strategy and Spirituality in the Emerging Opera: Gagliano’s Dafne and Confraternity Devotion,” in Cultural Functions of Intermedial Exploration, ed. Eric Hedling (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2002), 81. See Chapter Two for discussion of Mei’s comparisons.


\textsuperscript{42} Gary Tomlinson, Metaphysical Song (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1999), 4: “Operatic singing has supplied for the elite societies of early modern and modern Europe a potent experience of a metaphysics as well as of a physics, of an immaterial as well as of a material world. Opera, needless to say, was not the first and has not been the only other important European singing to bring about such an experience. Another, the liturgical chant of the Middle Ages, always walked a fine line between the revelation of a Christian supersensible and some other, more mundane display.”

we see these practices taking on renewed force in the fervor of Counter-Reformation politics and devotional reform.\textsuperscript{44} Many of Guidetti’s chants, for example, use devices like dramatic pauses, rhythmic acceleration to express textual tension, and elongation of affective text to accentuate moments of pathos and perhaps also to create space for ornamentation. It is significant then that Guidetti’s books were used by the Jesuits, who were themselves among the first to make use of “new music” in worship as a way of appealing to the “heart” and thereby attracting and retaining congregants.\textsuperscript{45}

Guidetti’s edition of the Lamentations chant in particular shows numerous similarities with Cavalieri’s solo song version of the same text written for the Oratorian devotional community. Like the Jesuits, the Oratorians emphasized the sensuality of worship appealing to the ears and eyes with musico-dramatic productions that led to the oratorio.\textsuperscript{46} Situating Guidetti’s chants alongside these affective devotional currents clarifies affective strategies in his chants, challenging Palisca’s assumption that chant lacked an affective dimension and as such could not be compared fruitfully with monody.

Piecing together this picture of Guidetti’s contribution to early modern chant has been complicated, however, by the lack both of known documentary evidence and of in-depth studies of Guidetti’s work since the 19th century. Aside from a 2004 dissertation

\textsuperscript{44} Barbara Swanson, “‘To Grieve, Be Sad, and Weep:’ Giovanni Guidetti, Chant Reform, and Counter-Reformation Holy Week Devotion,” ed. Pascale Duhamel and Barbara Swanson (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 2010), 113–138.


by Joshua Veltman comparing Guidetti’s notation with that of the 1614 Medicean Gradual and a recent dissertation by Diego Toigo on Passion tones in Italy (including Guidetti’s), there are no book-length or even article-length investigations of his work. And yet Baini and Molitor were each entrenched in ideological projects of their own affecting how they represented Guidetti. In the case of Baini, this entailed establishing Palestrina as the most significant composer of the Renaissance and the authority behind Guidetti’s work. Molitor, by contrast, following in the spirit of the 19th century Solesmes monks, denigrated post-Tridentine chant as a corruption of medieval liturgical melody, identifying Guidetti as the unfortunate beginning of the decline. This scholarly trend has continued even as late as David Hiley’s Introduction to Gregorian Chant in which he associates Guidetti and the Medicean Gradual with the “disastrous” reformulation of the chant heritage.

It has been possible, however, to generate a more comprehensive sense of Guidetti’s career and impact by sifting through the work of his various champions and

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47 See Joshua Veltman, “Prosody and rhythm in the post-Tridentine reform of plainchant” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2004); and Diego Toigo, “Intonazioni monodiche della Passione in Italia fra i secoli XIII e XVI” (PhD diss., University of Padua, 2010), currently unavailable while Dr. Toigo prepares the work for publication.


50 See Molitor, Die nach tridentinische Choral-Reform, 158. Molitor also refers to the reforms in terms of a “Krisis.”

51 David Hiley, Gregorian Chant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 210–211.
detractors, the prefaces to Guidetti’s publications, his edited chants, and various historical documents. From these sources, a picture emerges of an ambitious chant editor, deeply entrenched in the ideals of the Counter-Reformation, preoccupied with liturgical reform, and using musical tools at the cutting-edge of declamatory expression. In 1589, for example, Guidetti was mentioned alongside the early 16th century papal master of ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, in a set of Synod proceedings—suggesting a comparable status for Guidetti in setting standards for Vatican music and ceremony.⁵² In 1590, Guidetti was named as one of the first in the procession surrounding the installation and blessing of an ancient obelisk in St. Peter’s Square—a significant event in Sixtus V’s plans to remake Rome in the image of the ancient Roman Empire, but as the Christian Republic and eternal city.⁵³ Translations of all the prefaces to his works are included in the Appendix, forming an important new resource for scholars of early modern chant.

My discovery of a hitherto unknown edition of Guidetti’s Directorium chori from 1591 in the Biblioteca vallicelliana in Rome sheds further light on Guidetti’s identification of chant declamation with antiquity and the affections, as well as on his impressive circle of patrons. In addition to Guidetti’s known dedications to the militant Catholic Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, Sixtus V, and the Vatican choirs, the 1591 edition

⁵² See Synodus Dioecesana sub admodum Ill. Et Reverendissimo Domino D. Philippo Sega, Episcopo Plentiae, & Comite (Placentiae: Bazachij, 1589), 85. For Paris de Grassis’ volume on liturgical ceremony, see Paridis Crassi, De ceremoniis Cardinalium et Episcoporum in eorum dioecesibus (Rome, 1564). The book was reprinted numerous times in the 16th century, including 1580 and 1587.

⁵³ Guidetti’ was among the first 15 in the procession, followed by the singers, led by Palestrina, who sang psalms and possibly also Palestrina’s “Vexilla regis prodeunt.” Scipione Gonzaga was also part of the procession. See Domenico Fontana, Della trasportatione dell’ obelisco vaticano et delle fabbriche di nostro signore Papa Sisto V fatte dal cavalier Domenico Fontana architetto di sua santita (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1590), 33v–34v; see also Lino Bianchi, ed., Palestrina Nella Vita, Nelle Opere, Nel Suo Tempo (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 1995), 213–216.
was dedicated to Odoardo Farnese, one of Rome’s most powerful cardinals. A 1604 posthumous edition of Guidetti’s Directorium chori edited by Ioanne Francisco Massano, a beneficed priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, suggests that Guidetti’s work may also have been known to Cardinal Montalto. Montalto was Vice Chancellor of the Vatican as of 1589, and his titular church was S. Lorenzo in Damaso, attached even to his residence. Montalto was a significant patron of solo song in Rome, was in regular dialogue with Ferdinando de’ Medici, and paid a retainer to Emilio de’ Cavalieri as an antiquities scout.

The lack of scholarship linking plainchant and monody in the late sixteenth century is equally due to a commonly upheld distinction in musicological narratives between sacred and secular music-making. While numerous scholars of Renaissance and early modern music are increasingly demonstrating overlap between sacred and secular spheres, our music history texts and reference works continue to divide repertoire according to sacred and secular categories. In the case of the early modern period,

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56 Ibid., 46.

however, there is something else at work in reifying the divide; for the early modern period is the historical moment typically identified with the emergence of the modern self. In the 16th and following centuries, human observation and sensation began to be elevated; the nature of the heavens was questioned and with it the place of humanity within the order of the universe. The notion of a divinely tuned cosmos fell out of fashion in favor of a more mechanistic language and the rise of experimental science. In this same period, the Catholic Church condemned figures who later became prophets of the modern secular age. The philosopher Giordano Bruno, for example, was burned at the stake by the Catholic Church in 1600 for postulating an infinite universe, and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642)—son of Vincenzo—faced the Inquisition for his heliocentric theories.58

The emergence of this recognizably modern culture in the late 16th century, in which the sacred and secular became increasingly divided, has helped to entrench the modern sense of a divide between the two spheres of music-making in the early modern period. Claude Palisca, for example, lauded Vincenzo Galilei as the father of the first experimental scientist and Mei as a critic of Catholicism without crediting the many references to Catholic liturgy and practice in their works.59 In doing so, Palisca referred to Galilei as “an intensely secular person, disbeliever in things mystic, divine, or

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Palisca similarly emphasized Mei’s “humanized and secularized frame of thinking.” While it would be false to ignore the experimental impulse in Galilei and Mei, it is equally false to ignore the importance of liturgical experience to their work. As scholars in other fields have begun to demonstrate, sacred and secular spheres continued to intersect in the 16th and 17th centuries, with Penelope Gouk, J. Henry, and S. Schaffer, for example, demonstrating the persistence of an occult language in the scientific theories of Newton and the first wave of modern scientists.

The rise of an experimental scientific method, as seen in the work of Mei and Galilei, did not necessarily indicate a radical break with religious culture and thought.

Using speech-like recitation as a unifying theme, the following chapters examine the intersection of plainchant and monody guided by three predominant questions. First: Why would Mei use plainchant as a model for the new music for solo voice? Second: How was chant used in early monodies? And finally: What does the intersection of chant and monody as comparable speech-like musical practices reveal about changing notions of language and culture at the end of the 16th century?

The first two chapters provide the musical and cultural context for these questions. In Chapter 1, tracing the history of speech-like recitation in both church and court from the end of the 15th century into the 16th provides an innovative juxtaposition of the

60 Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, xxix.


practices of chant and monody in Renaissance Italy. The second chapter continues this work, but by examining overlapping cultural milieus and the movement of musicians and patrons between sacred and secular realms in both Florence and Rome.

The next four chapters delve into specific intersections of plainchant and monody in the last decades of the 16th century. The third chapter demonstrates how plainchant mediated the idea of ancient mode, declamation and affective expression to composers and patrons of Florence in the writings and thought of Mei and Galilei. In the fourth chapter, a preliminary examination of plainchant recitation in early operas and monodies, including Peri’s *Dafne* and *Euridice*, Caccini’s *Euridice* and Monteverdi’s *Orfeo* illustrates how plainchant psalm tones helped to structure operatic prologues and also recitational narrations. The fifth chapter moves away from the consideration of psalm tones, and examines resonances between plainchant and monody through the lens of Caccini’s songs and Guidetti’s chant editing. The sixth chapter examines the importance of lament and lamentation to both genres from a variety of angles: the use of the lamentations tone in Cavalieri’s Lamentations of Jeremiah as well as Peri’s “Per quel vago boschetto;” comparison of Guidetti’s affective musical editing strategies with comparable approaches by Peri and Cavalieri; and the use of the *tonus peregrinus* as well as other tones in Monteverdi’s *Lamento d’Arianna*, a landmark work in the history of operatic recitation. The final chapter returns more pointedly to the idea of speech-like recitation, exploring why speech-song was so celebrated in the sixteenth century, and how the practices of speech-song, whether for church or court, participated in a shift away from magical notions of language towards language as a potent vehicle of human expression.
Seen as a whole, this dissertation contributes a new frame for considering the fashion for speech-like singing in 16th century Italy as one transcending church and court; adds significantly to understanding of Giovanni Guidetti, one of the most-cited chant reformers of the late 16th century; situates Guidetti’s chant reforms within the rhetoric of affect and antiquity so prevalent in early modern Italy; and offers new tools for interpreting early monody by demonstrating how psalmody helped to define the antique orientation of the new musical language of solo song and opera.
Chapter One

Parallel Practices: Speech-like Music at Court and Church

Musicians in late 16th-century Italy performed plainchant and monody in distinct locations indicative of different musical and cultural functions. In the case of plainchant, these included a church, a monastery, or a college chapel for religious worship conducted by parish priests, monks, nuns, cardinals, or even the pope himself. In the case of monody and opera, this included an apartment, a palace, or a theatre, for elite audiences of nobles, intellectuals, and ruling powers, in entertainments that could amuse or enlighten, all the while enhancing the public prestige of the patron or host. These distinct environments are reflected in very basic differences between the two musical practices, from the sacred texts and traditional melodies of plainchant to the newly composed love songs and laments intended to impress and to move the affections. By first exploring the varied histories and practices within each genre, this chapter will present plainchant and monody as parallel practices, each partaking in the fashion for speech-like singing inspired by antiquity that flourished in Italy from the late 15th century into the early 17th.

Monody, the Ancients, and the Florentine Court

Broadly defined, monody in the late 16th century encompassed the expressive recitations of early opera, as in Jacopo Peri’s Euridice, as well as affective solo songs sung in private courts. Melodies could be through-composed or strophic, recite extensively on a single note or be tuneful. Caccini himself designated two types of monody: the through-composed madrigal and the strophic aria.¹ Common to each kind

was a bass line that did not act like an independent polyphonic line, but as a support to the melody, over which the given melody could be embellished. Equally common was the importance attributed to text, ancient Greek and Roman models, and an interest in moving the affections.

In the late 16th century, the most publicized promoters of a new style of expressive solo song composed in Florence in the aristocratic circles of Giovanni de’ Bardi, Jacopo Corsi, and the Medici: Jacopo Peri, Giulio Caccini, and Emilio de’ Cavalieri.² The perceived importance of this new Florentine style is evident in Monteverdi’s emulation of *Euridice* in his 1607 *Orfeo*, and in efforts of other courts—from that of Cardinal Montalto in Rome to the Gonazagas in Mantua—to recruit musicians from Ferdinando’s court as a way of enhancing their own.³ Florentine prominence was in part established through the composers’ quick efforts to publish their work in the new style: Cavalieri published his *Rappresentatione di anima e di corpo* in the fall of 1600, Caccini published his *Euridice* a few months later in December 1600, and Peri followed with his *Euridice* dated less than two months after.⁴ That said, the three

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² Cavalieri’s role in establishing the new idiom has been disputed, with Nino Pirrotta dismissing Cavalieri’s recitativistic style in his 1600 *Rappresentatione* as lacking eloquence or expressivity. In his edition of Cavalieri’s Lamentations, Murray Bradshaw counters this argument with the example of the various declamatory styles of Cavalieri’s Lamentations, which were never published. See Murray Bradshaw, *Lamentations and Responsories of 1599 and 1600* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1990), xxxvi; also Murray Bradshaw, “Cavalieri and Early Monody,” *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (1991): 238–253; Pirrotta, “Early Opera and Aria,” 245.


⁴ Cavalieri, *Rappresentatione di anima e di corpo* (dedication date September 3, 1600); Caccini, *L’Euridice composta in musica Stile rappresantativo* (dedication date, 20 December, 1600); Peri, *Le musiche di Jacopo*
composers were not the only composers to publish in a new style at the turn of the 17th century. Luzzasco Luzzaschi had published a book of madrigals for one to three sopranos in 1601 and Domenico Melli had published his *Musiche* containing numerous solo songs in 1602.\(^5\) Various sacred works, from ornamented psalmody to sacred concertos, were published for solo voice and continuo accompaniment by Luca Conforti, Gabriele Fattorini, Asprilio Pacelli, and Lodovico da Viadana.\(^6\)

The Florentine rush to publish has been viewed as a sign of the rivalry between the composers and the need for self-promotion within Medici circles.\(^7\) Caccini was certainly the rising star of the Medici court whose *Il rapimento di Cefalo* was given top billing for the 1600 wedding of Maria de’ Medici over Peri’s *Euridice*. Whereas Caccini’s work was staged in the theatre of the Uffizi, *Euridice* was staged in the private apartment of Don Antonio de’ Medici in the Pitti Palace a few days earlier for a much smaller audience.\(^8\) By 1600, Cavalieri had fallen out of Medici favor, for although he was technically the Superintendent of all the arts, his role had been superseded in practice by Giovanni de’ Medici, who oversaw the production of *Il rapimento di Cefalo*.

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\(^{6}\) Giovanni Luca Conforti, *Salmi passaggiati sopra tutti i toni che ordinariamente canta Santa Chiesa. Ne* (Rome: Mutij, 1601); Gabriele Fattorini, *I sacri concerti a due voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1600); Asprilio Pacelli, *Chorici psalmi et motecta* (Rome: Mutij, 1599); Lodovico Viadana, *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (Venice, 1602); for a useful study situating these works within the history of the Roman vocal concerted works, see Noel O’Regan, “Asprilio Pacelli, Ludovico Da Viadana and the Origins of the Roman *Concerto Ecclesiastico*,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 6, no. 1 (2000): online.

\(^{7}\) On the rivalry between the composers see Palisca, “Musical Asides in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Emilio De’ Cavalieri,” 349–350.

The rivalry established between Peri, Caccini, and Cavalieri in the prefaces to their first publications in the new style created a sense of urgency to the idea of expressive solo song. Cavalieri claimed to be the first to set music in the manner of the ancients, saying that “no one had ever seen or heard such a manner [of performance] before.” Peri acknowledged Cavalieri as “the first to let us hear our music upon the stage,” but emphasized that he was “making a different use of it.” Caccini claimed to be the first to publish this kind of music, despite Cavalieri’s publication a few months previous, and insinuated that he had been singing and composing in this style the longest: “having been the first to entrust to the press this sort of song and its style and manner, which may be observed in all my other music circulating in manuscript and composed by me more than fifteen years ago.”

The idea that the new music emulated ancient Greek musical ideals is one of the most enduring narratives in music history, despite the wide range of current musicological scholarship that has demonstrated other important influences. Although some scholars have diminished the influence of ancient ideals as a mere foil for modern invention, the evocation of ancient authorities and precedents was certainly a highly

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10 Cavalieri, Rappresentatione di anima e di corpo; translated in Weiss, Opera: A History in Documents, 20: “Da quel tempo in dietro mai da persona alcuna simil modo veduto, ne pur udito.”

11 Peri, Le musiche di Iacopo Peri nobil fiorentino sopra L’Euridice; translated in Weiss, Opera: A History in Documents, 15: “Ben chè dal Sig. Emilio del Cavaliere, prima chè da ogni alto, ch’io sappia, con maravigliosa invenzione ci fusse fatta udire la nostra Musica su le Scene.”

12 Caccini, L’Euridice composta in musica Stile rappresentativo; facsimile edition L’Euridice (Bologna: Forni, 1976); translated in Weiss, Opera: A History in Documents, 18: “riportando io per hora questa sola sodisfazione di essere stato il primo à dare alla stampa simile sorte di canti, e lo stile, e la maniera di essi, la quale si vede per tutte l’altre mie musiche, che son fuori in penna, composti da me piu di quindici anni sono in diversi tempi.”
publicized aspect of Florentine solo song.\(^{13}\) Peri cited the influence of ancient Greek and Roman tragedy and the idea of singing dramas in their entirety, as well as ancient ideals of speech-like song capable of moving the affections. Caccini also described the idea of fully sung tragic drama as a model for his *Euridice* (1601), and in his *Le nuove musiche* (1602) he proposed to have been inspired by ancient speech-like song:

> that manner so lauded by Plato and other philosophers (who declared that music is naught but speech with rhythm and tone coming after; not vice versa) with the aim that it enter into the minds of men and have those wonderful effects admired by the great writers … designed to enter into the minds of others and to create those wonderful effects that writers admire … a kind of music in which one could almost speak in tones.\(^{14}\)

Caccini and Peri certainly described ancient song at greater length than Cavalieri, but even Cavalieri spoke of “reviving that ancient custom” and the style of ancient Greeks and Romans, capable of moving the affections.\(^{15}\)

The idea of speech-like song had certainly interested the intellectual elite of Florence and the patrons of Caccini and Peri in particular. Giovanni de Bardi’s circle, including Caccini, Vincenzo Galilei, and Piero Strozzi, were privy to the research of Girolamo Mei in Rome, who described ancient Greek song in his letters to Galilei. In addition to postulating that ancient tragedies were fully sung, Mei described ancient Greek song as comprising few notes, using vocal ranges appropriate to specific affects.

\(^{13}\) Bujić, “‘Figura Poetica Molto Vaga’”; Tomlinson, “Ancora su Ottavio Rinuccini”; Others have defended the idea of ancient exemplars, including Hanning, “Letter from Barbara Russano Hanning”; Hoxby, “The Doleful Airs of Euripides.”

\(^{14}\) Caccini, *Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano*; translated in Hitchcock, *Le nuove musiche*, 44: “à quella maniera cotanto lodata da Platone, & altri Filosofi, che affermarono la musica altro non essere, che la favella, e’l ritmo, & il suono per ultimo, e non per lo contrario, à volere, che ella possa penetrare nell’altrui intelletto, e fare quei mirabili effetti, che ammirano gli Scrittori … una sorte di musica, per cui altri potesse quasi che in armonia favellare.”

(high for lament, middle for magnificence, low for despondency), accompanied simply by the lyre or kithara, in a speech-like manner.\textsuperscript{16} In another treatise, he described this pointedly as “in a manner intermediate between fluent speech and song.”\textsuperscript{17} This idea seems in fact to have filtered through Mei to Galieli and Peri: Galilei described the new manner of singing as “different from speech only enough to distinguish it from speaking,”\textsuperscript{18} and Peri as between the “slow movements of song and the fluent, rapid ones of speech.”\textsuperscript{19} When Galilei published such ideas, honed in correspondence with Mei, in the 1581 \textit{Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna}, the ideas of ancient speech-song and fully sung drama went into circulation even beyond these Florentine circles.

Speech-like solo singing was not new in the late 16th century, however, and neither was the association between solo singing, ancient models, and affective effect.\textsuperscript{20} Madrigals had been sung by a single voice with the other lines performed by instruments since early in the 16th century.\textsuperscript{21} The close attention to textual rhythms in works by


\textsuperscript{17} Girolamo Mei, “Della compositura delle parole,” n.d., 60v–61r, MS Magliabechiana VI.34, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale; cited and translated in Palisca, \textit{Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought}, 349: “in una maniera mezzana trà il parlar’ corrente e’ il Canto.”


\textsuperscript{20} See, for example, Pirrotta, “‘The Wonderous Show, Alas, of the \textit{Intermedii}!’,” 197.

\textsuperscript{21} Tim Carter cites 1509 as the beginning of the trend to perform arrangements of polyphonic works as solo songs with lute accompaniment, likely referring to the work of Franciscus Bossinensis. See Franciscus Bossinensis, \textit{Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto Libro primo} (Venice: Petrucci, 1509); Tim Carter, “On the Composition and Performance of Caccini’s \textit{Le Nuove Musiche} (1602),” \textit{Early Music} 12, no. 2 (1984): 208; Howard Mayer Brown, “Bossinensis, Willaert and
Adrian Willaert and Cipriano de Rore, for example, would have resulted in a certain speech-like resemblance. There was also an extensive history of reciting poetry to musical accompaniment dating back to the 14th century. And there was a long-standing interest in imitating ancient musicians, with Marisilio Ficino being a well-known proponent, renowned in late 15th-century Florence for his Orphic singing with ostensibly magical effects. Recitational singing also flourished in Naples in the late 15th century, and the influence of antiquity is evident in the reputations of Naples’ most celebrated singers. Aurelio Brandolini (ca. 1454–1497) was described as a Christian Orpheus, and Benedetto Gareth (ca. 1450–1514) was well known for his recitations of Virgil’s Aeneid. Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500) was hailed as a virtuoso improviser whose sang like the ancient Romans. The popularity of the music cultivated by these and other singers is attested by the numerous prints released by Ottaviano Petrucci in the early decades of the 16th century, with music in the Neapolitan style, including Strambotti, ode, frottole, sonetti, et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli. These rustic songs with a homophonic character and an obvious melody both revitalized native Italian music-making and established an Italian flair for melody-dominated music shared by late 16th-


22 Rijk, Parlar cantando, 13–58.


24 See Paolo Cortese, De cardinalatu (Castel Cortesiano, 1510), cited in Atlas, Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples, 102.

25 See ibid., 82–83.

26 Ottaviano Petrucci, Strambotti, Ode, Frottole, Sonetti, Et Modo De Cantar Versi Latini e Capituli, Libro Quarto (Venice: Petrucci, 1507).
century solo song. It is no wonder that these celebrated singers active in Naples were in
demand throughout Italy. While Serafino began his career in the second largest city in the
Kingdom of Naples, Aquila, he lived in Rome for nearly five years and was also active in
Mantua, Venice, Genoa, and Milan.

Florentine solo song composers continued this tradition of presumed imitation of
antiquity, benefitting from Mei’s unprecedented access to ancient musical writings, the
circumstances of Medici court culture under Ferdinando I, and the relationship of this
court to the Florentine Academies. As is well known, many of the Academies were
directly sponsored or even established by the Medici as a proving ground for their
political programs.\(^{27}\) For example Cosimo I enlisted the Florentine Academy in 1541 to
create the themes for public theatrical events. He also founded the Academy of Art in
1563 both to preserve Italian cultural heritage and to undertake new projects based on
mythological themes that would enhance the Medici image.\(^{28}\) Nobles in these Academies
were further involved in establishing a court aesthetics, including Giovanni de’ Bardi for
the court of Francesco I.\(^{29}\) The interest in Plato and other ancient writers furthermore
helped to foster the image of an ideal state in which music served the creation of a
virtuous populace, with Plato’s *Republic*, for example, standing as just such a model.\(^{30}\)
Aristotle’s theories of catharsis further contributed to the model of the virtuous soul as
key to the virtuous state, as debated in the *Accademia degli alterati*, of which Bardi,

\(^{27}\) David Sanderson Chambers, *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute,
University of London, 1995).


\(^{29}\) Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court*, 10.

\(^{30}\) Ibid.
Rinuccini, and Corsi were members. Galilei himself mentioned Aristotle on the use of music in the well-functioning state, suggesting that nobles and even princes should perform music.

The evocation of antiquity by composers of the new music was often paired with claims to noble singing and manners, with Caccini especially describing the new manner of singing as noble in its nonchalance. Thus, while the emerging solo and operatic art was bolstered by claims of antiquity, the same rhetoric also bolstered the image of its patrons. The private theatres and rooms of the earliest performances thus became stages of self-affirmation, whereby the nobility were aggrandized. This is especially clear in the prologues to operas like Euridice and Orfeo. The first words in Orfeo, for example, laud the assembled noble guests and their unsurpassable virtue:

From my beloved Permessus I come to you,
Illustrious heroes, noble blood of kings,
of whom Fame relates their lofty worth,
yet falls short of the truth because the standard is too high.

Marco da Gagliano described his Dafne of 1608 as nothing less than “true princely

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32 Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 81; Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 200; Regarding Medici state-building and the arts, see Strong, Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650, 126–152. Medici authority needed bolstering of all kinds in the mid-16th century. The first Medici back in power after the fall of the Medici republic, Alessandro, was assassinated by republican backers. His successor, Cosimo I, used military force to protect his rule, and fostered political alliances through calculated family marriages. His son, Francesco followed his father’s reign of might with a reign characterized by self-indulgence and little public favor. While Medici power in Florence was more secure in the reign of Ferdinando, only 50 years stood between him and the assassination of Alessandro, the memory of which was still alive and well among the Florentine populace.


34 Claudio Monteverdi, Orfeo favola in musica da Claudio Monteverdi (Venice: Amadino, 1609); Anne Ridler, trans., The Operas of Monteverdi (London; New York: Calder Publications, Riverrun Press, 1992): “Dal mio Permesso amato a voi ne vegno, Incliti eroi, sangue gentil di Regi, Di cui narra la Fama eccelsi pregi, Né giunge al ver, perch’è tropp’alto il segno.”
spectacle.”35 Within this frame, the ancient-inspired, speech-like rhetoric of Peri and Caccini can be read both as stylistic models and as emblems of political culture.

**Ancient-Modern Polemics: Neapolitan Influences, Stylistic Precedents**

Caccini and Peri not only suggested ancient precedents for their work, but also more contemporary models. Caccini confessed Neapolitan influences by naming his teacher, Scipione delle Palle (d. 1569), in the preface to his *Le nuove musiche* of 1602. Caccini seems to have been versed in the Neapolitan style as early as 1564. When Cosimo wrote to his ambassador in Rome in search of a young singer, he requested someone well-versed in the Neapolitan style of singing: Caccini was chosen.36 Arriving in Florence in 1565 to perform in the *intermedi* for the wedding of Francesco de’ Medici to Johanna of Austria, he began studies with delle Palle by 1566.

The musical practices of Naples were indeed very much in fashion in mid-16th-century Italy. In Florence, this was partly due to Eleonora de’ Medici’s dual status as wife of Cosimo and second daughter to the viceroy of Naples. The Neapolitan villanesca in particular inspired widespread imitations, especially after the publication of *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana* in 1537. Using Neapolitan dialect in imitation of local rustic traditions, these pieces for three or four voices featured melody in the top voice, homophonic textures, and declamatory passages.37 The style gained popularity across

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36 For more on Caccini’s early career, see Brown, “The Geography of Florentine Monody,” 147–168.

Italy, perhaps coinciding with interest in all things pastoral.\(^3\) In the hands of madrigal composers, the villanesca underwent various transformations, from a rustic to a courtly genre with more refined texts.\(^4\) Marenzio’s versions of villanelle, for example, capitalize on the polarized melody-bass texture of the villanesca but used a more refined Italian.\(^5\)

Although he spent the majority of his career in Naples, delle Palle was originally a nobleman from Siena, and was likely a member of the Sienese Accademia degli Intronati in his early years. Intronati meetings provide a glimpse into what delle Palle’s early musico-theatrical formation may have been like, and the importance of theatre to the formation of his musical style. For Intronati meetings included discussion as well as musical performances, and games that often involved imitating various nationalities and personnages.\(^6\) The Intronati also performed comedies and other theatrical entertainments for courtly functions. Thus, like many academies, the Intronati were important to the development of early modern Italian theatrical idiom.\(^7\) They were responsible, for example, for performing Girolamo Bargagli’s La pellegrina for the 1589 wedding festivities of Florence, between which the famous 1589 intermedi were performed.


\(^6\) For a brief biography of delle Palle, see Brown, “The Geography of Florentine Monody,” 148.

Della Palle spent the majority of his career in Naples, however, likely from 1545 to 1560, at which point he entered the court of Cosimo I de’ Medici. In Naples he would have been immersed in the court’s theatrical culture. Delle Palle is known, for example, to have performed in the comedy *Gl’Inganni* in 1545, and in the *intermedi* for Alessandro Piccolomini’s *Alessandro* in 1558. A surviving song from this performance, “Che non può far,” attests to one mode of performing common at the Neapolitan court: recitation on a single tone, simple cadential formulas, strophic structure.\(^{43}\) Rocco Rodio’s *Aeri racolti* of 1577 in which it is preserved also includes examples of *ottava rima, terza rima*, tuneful strophic songs, and a few through-composed pieces, with these various examples providing a window into mid-15th-century musical life in Naples.\(^{44}\) Another example from this anthology, “Dura legge d’Amor,” is also attributed to delle Palle, and exhibits similar emphasis on recitation, narrow melodic ranges and strophic structure (example 1.1) When he entered the service of Cosimo de’ Medici in 1560, delle Palle thus brought a well-honed musical and theatrical skill, and he would later be famed as “the foremost singer” of his century.\(^{45}\)

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\(^{43}\) Pirrotta reproduces the music, possibly by Scipione delle Palle, in Pirrotta, “‘The Wonderous Show, Alas, of the Intermedi!’,” 199.

\(^{44}\) Rocco Rodio, ed., *Aeri racolti: insieme con altri bellissimi aggiunti di diversi dove si cantano sonetti, stanze & terze rime, nuovamente ristampati* (Naples: Cacchio, 1577); see also Pirrotta, “‘The Wonderous Show, Alas, of the Intermedi!’,” 201.

\(^{45}\) Antonio Brunelli, *Canoni Varii Musicali Sopra Un Soggetto Solo* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1612).
Example 1.1 “Dura legge d’Amor” in *Aeri racolti* (1577)

The relationship between the popular song styles found in the Rodio anthology and the self-described new music of the Florentine school was identified early in the 17th century by Giovanni Battista Doni, who described one of his three types of recitative, “lo speciale Recitativo,” as having roots in *ottava rima*—a poetic type upon which poet-musicians would improvise and which composers would use in setting frottole and also madrigals. Doni’s example of this kind of special recitative was the prologue to Peri’s Euridice: “Io che d’alti sospir,” with its strophic structure and simple recitational lines very much resembling the printed songs of the Neapolitan school as recorded in Rodio’s *Aeri racolti*.

A slightly more distant relation of these Neapolitan styles can be found in the widespread 16th-century practice of *falsobordone*, or harmonized plainchant using root position chords, which Murray Bradshaw has linked the development of monody.

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47 As mentioned in the introduction: while Bradshaw’s connection between monody and *falsobordone* implies plainchant and is an invaluable backdrop to my research, Bradshaw’s focus on *falsobordone* was primarily concerned with the harmonic underpinnings of *falsobordone*, whereas the focus of this dissertation is on the speech-like rhythmic qualities of 16th-century plainchant.
Like the path of Serafino Aquilano from Naples to Rome, the earliest records of falsobordone are in a manuscript written ca. 1480 for Aragonese court of Naples. The practice had moved to Rome by 1518, when papal master of ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, reported on a performance of the Miserere mei in falsobordone. Bradshaw describes Caccini’s “Caduca fiamma” and Peri’s “Io che d’alti sospir,” with its sustained chords in the bass, as embellished falsobordone. Other examples include Monteverdi’s “Sfogava con le stelle,” which used the notation of falsobordone—a single breve for the recitation of much text, implying a free meter—as well as the “Dixit dominus” from Monteverdi’s Vespers, and Heinrich Schutz’s Resurrection Story, which explicitly labels its recitations as falsobordoni.

Theatre, Emotion, Gesture, and Character in Speech-like Songs

Musicologists have recently begun to explore the influence of theatre and gesture on expressive song, drawing attention to exponents of physical theatricality and improvisation as a model for the new music. The recurring references to speech-like song have also been read as the core of a new self-consciousness, as have the many characters like La Tragedia in Peri’s Euridice and La Musica in Monteverdi’s Orfeo who proclaim their presence on stage by employing the rarely used Italian pronoun io. It is no wonder then that the new music coincides with the idea of the singer as a character and music as a

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49 Ibid., 43.
50 Ibid., 119.
51 Ibid., 121.
52 See, for example Calcagno, From Madrigal to Opera, 1–90.
form of expression whereby the performance moves the listener through the inhabiting of vocal and physical gestures as familiar experiences of self-hood.⁵³

To this effect, Vincenzo Galilei in fact prescribed observing *commedia dell’arte* performance for models of affective speech-like song:

When they [the composers] go for entertainment to the tragedies and comedies recited by the Zanni, let them restrain their immoderate laughter and instead observe if they would in what manner and at what pitch (high or low), volume of sound, accents and gestures, speed or slowness of articulation a gentleman speaks quietly with another. Let them pay attention to the difference with respect to all these qualities when one of them speaks with his servant, or a servant to another. Let them consider when this happens to be a prince talking with his subjects or vassals, or a suppliant pleading, how a furious or excited person speaks, how a married woman, a girl, a mere tot, a clever harlot, someone in love speaking to his beloved when he is trying to bend her to his will, how someone who laments, or one who cries out, how a timid person or one exulting in joy sounds. From these characteristics, observed with attention and diligently examined, they could take the norm of what suits the expression of any other idea that might come to hand.⁵⁴

An account of sung tragedy performed in Reggio Emilia in 1568 for the Duchess of Ferrara, Barbara of Austria, attests to the importance of facial gesture and the representation of character in conjunction with speech-like music:

Imitating the words so felicitously, that one would sooner call them speeches than songs…they moved at the pace of ordinary speech, always avoiding any repetition. In the perorations, in the prayers to the gods, in the exclamations, complaints, questions, weeping and sighing [the songs] expressed the affections

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⁵⁴ Palisca, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music,* 224–225; Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna,* 1581, 89: “Quando per lor diporto vanno alle Tragedia & Comedie, che recitano i Zanni, lascino alcuna volta da parte le immoderate risa; & in lor vece osservino di gratia in qual maniera parla, con qual voce circa l’acutezza & gravità, con che quantità di suono, con qual forte d’accenti & di gesti, come profferite quanto alla velocità & tardità del moto, l’uno con l’altro quieto gentilhuomo, attendino un poco la differenza che occorre tra tutte quelle cose, quando uno di essi parla con un suo servo, ove l’uno con l’altro di questi; considerino quando ci ò faccia l’infurìato, ò concitato; come la donna maritata; come la fanciulla; come il semplice putto; come l’astuta meretrice; come l’innamorato nel parlare con la sua amata mentre cerca disporla alle sue voglie; come quelli che si lamenta; come quelli che grida; come il timoroso; e come quelli che esulta d’allegrezza, da quali diversi accidenti, essendo da essi con attenzione avvertiti & con diligenza essaminati, potranno pigliar norma di quello che convenga per l’espressione di qual si voglia altro concetto che venire gli potesse tra mano.”
of the soul as if, far from being fictitious, they came from real feelings of the heart ... And at the right moments whilst she was displaying her voice, she altered the expression of her face and eyes, and her gestures and movements, to accord with the changes in meaning of the words she sang.\textsuperscript{55}

These theatrical performances provide insight into the cultivation of the singer as a character, and the ability, through imitating gesture, to inhabit character. It seems that certain celebrated songs by Caccini and Monteverdi were composed in observation of just this kind of character-creation, as performed by actors on the stage. Emily Wilbourne, for example, has suggested that the strophic aria “Tu c’hai le penne, Amore” from Caccini’s \textit{Nuove musiche} of 1614 was related to Virginia Andreini performance of it in \textit{Lo schiavetto}, a \textit{commedia dell’arte} play of 1612 by Battista Andreini.\textsuperscript{56} Whether Virginia Andreini sang Caccini’s version in the performance or Caccini modeled his song in the manner of her performance is unclear, but the simple strophic quality of the song suggests that theatrical gesture and improvisation would have been essential to the effective delivery of the song. The fact that Andreini may have collaborated with Caccini in other circumstances gives further weight to the connection.\textsuperscript{57}

Theatrical performance may also have influenced the new vocal idiom in the case of Monteverdi’s \textit{Arianna} and its surviving \textit{Lamento}—often cited as a landmark composition that heralds the beginning of the new arioso recitative style.\textsuperscript{58} In other words,

\textsuperscript{55} Quoted from Giovanni Crocioni, \textit{L’Alidoro o dei primordi del melodramma} (Bologna, 1938) in Pirrotta, “‘The Wonderous Show, Alas, of the Intermedi!’,” 202.

\textsuperscript{56} Wilbourne, “Lo Schiavetto (1612),” 29–32.


\textsuperscript{58} Doni was among the first to herald Arianna as the beginning of a new approach to recitative. See Doni, \textit{Annotazioni sopra il compendio de’ generi e de’ modi della musica}, 62; Since, the Lamento d’Arianna has received extensive attention from musicologists. See Tim Carter, “Lamenting Ariadne?,“ \textit{Early Music} 27, no. 3 (1999): 395–405; Suzanne G. Cusick, “‘There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear’: Arianna’s Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood,” \textit{Early Music} 22, no. 1 (1994): 21–43;
the *Lamento d’Arianna* signals a shift away from the dry experiments of the Florentine school to the fully expressive recitational style. Virginia Andreini performed in Monteverdi’s opera as a last-minute replacement.\(^5^9\) Tim Carter suggests that her theatrical skills allowed her to partly improvise on Monteverdi’s written lament in a manner that would later influence Monteverdi’s published notation of the piece.\(^6^0\) According to this interpretation, the lines between theatrical improvisation and composition are blurred. Wilbourne describes this complex of relationships as “the extent to which the *commedia dell’arte* can help modern scholars to understand the affective qualities of late Renaissance and early Baroque musical repertoires” through gesture.\(^6^1\) The influence of gesture and improvisation also provide a useful window onto a debate in musicological circles regarding the significance of speech-like song ca. 1600. Various scholars have demonstrated the perceived magical power of speech-like song in the Renaissance and into the 17th century.\(^6^2\) In the context of these theatrical models, the Florentine fervor for speech-like song also revealed a new interest in human expression.

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\(^6^1\) Wilbourne, “Lo Schiavetto (1612),” 33.

Humanism and Rhetoric in Plainchant

By the late 16th century, the eve of Peri’s, Caccini’s, and Cavalieri’s publications, Catholic plainchant was in a state of flux. In Protestant regions of Germany, England, France, and Switzerland, plainchant was being abandoned, translated and edited, or significantly supplemented with vernacular congregational psalms and hymns. In Lutheran Germany, for example, plainchant continued to be sung, but was increasingly replaced by chorales and vernacular versified renderings that were barely recognizable as plainchant. During the reign of Elizabeth I in England, congregational singing of metrical psalms had also become common, before and after sermons as well as before and after morning and evening prayer. Metrical psalms were even used outside of worship to express anti-Catholic sentiment and the expression of a unique Protestant identity. At the defeat of the Catholic Spanish armada in 1588, for example, celebrations included metrical psalm singing. Catholic mission priests in England clearly disapproved of this pointed rejection of plainchant practice, with the Jesuit John Gerard reportedly preferring the sound of his chains to the metrical psalm singing (and bawdy songs) sung by his fellow prisoners.

63 For example, the hymns Allein Gott in der Höhe sei Ehr, and All Ehr und Lob soll Gottes sein increasingly replaced the Gloria in mass. Both used the plainchant Gloria tempore paschali, the first taking the melody from the Et in terra pax, and the second beginning with the intonation. Robin A. Leaver, “Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes”: English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 9. See also Robin A. Leaver, Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications (Grand Rapids, Mich: William B. Eerdmans, 2007), 187.


65 Ibid., 247.

Despite plainchant’s contested status in Protestant worship, its priority of place was retained in Catholic worship—a sign that although Catholicism was in the midst of its own reform, it was rebuilding by anchoring into its deep traditions of Latin worship. This included maintaining the notion of a sacred language and sacred song, mediated to laity via priests, despite Protestant interest in individualized relationships to religion facilitated by vernacular Bibles and the increasing use of vernacular music. Whereas plainchant had been the backbone of worship across Europe until the early 16th century, its presence or absence in worship became a clear marker of confessional identity as the 16th century came to a close.

Not only did the Catholic Church retain plainchant in its worship; for a few clerics it marked a more pure form of religious worship than the polyphonic masses and motets performed increasingly since the late 15th century. Although a small faction, these clerics advocated a return to plainchant and the complete abandonment of polyphony, which they associated with sensual pleasures and unintelligible worship. As seen in Council of Trent documents, intelligibility was indeed a catch-phrase of the new Catholicism—a Catholic counterpart to the Protestant interest in vernacular comprehension.67

The more moderate stance on plainchant and musical reform within this prevailing rhetoric of intelligibility was to re-evaluate plainchant melodies, purge them of so-called barbarisms, and reform them according to Latin grammatical principles.68 As is well known, Gregory XIII commissioned Palestrina and Zoilo to undertake this reform in 1577, within the same decade that Girolamo Mei in Rome and Vincenzo Galilei in

67 Monson, “The Council of Trent Revisted.”

Florence were corresponding about ancient Greek song and the new music. The reform itself was so controversial that Gregory XIII halted the project only a year later, under pressure from Philip II of Spain. Four years later, Giovanni Guidetti published the first book of reformed chant after the Council of Trent, his Directorium chori of 1582, in which he thanked Palestrina for reviewing and approving the chants therein.

Some have speculated that the original commission of Gregory XIII was fulfilled, beginning with this work, by Guidetti. Guidetti’s varied publications were idiosyncratic, however, when compared Gregory XIII’s request for reformed Antiphoners and Graduals. Instead of creating anthologies of chant for the entire liturgical year, Guidetti created two books of Holy Week chant, a book of priests’ chants for the consecration of the Eucharist, and a large volume containing the incipits for cantors celebrating the Divine Offices. For this later volume, the Directorium chori, Guidetti also used an unusual rhythmic notation comprised of semicircles and fermatas over notes.

Subsequent, more official chant reforms in Rome were undertaken by a prestigious group of musicians: Luca Marenzio and Giovanni Dragoni were commissioned on 21 December 1594 for Clement VIII’s Pontificale of 1595, with Cardinal del Monte providing oversight, Felice Anerio, Pietro Felini, Ruggiero Giovannelli, Curzio Mancini, Giovanni Maria Nanino, and Francesco Soriano were commissioned on 31 May 1608 by Paul V (by 1611, only Anerio and Soriano remained)

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for the Medicean Gradual of 1614. Marenzio’s celebrated status as a madrigal composer makes him an unexpected choice for a chant reformer. At the same time, Marenzio was active among patrons with strong Vatican connections. From roughly 1574-1578, Marenzio served in the court of Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, then for Cardinal Luigi d’Este. In 1579, Cardinal d’Este unsuccessfully tried to secure Marenzio a position in the Sistine choir. During these same years, Marenzio occasionally provided music for Holy Week worship at SS. Trinità. In 1587 he traveled with Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici and Cavalieri from Rome to Florence to help in Roman-izing the Medici court and in preparing the *intermedi* for the 1589 wedding of Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine. Dismissed from Medici service in 1589, Marenzio was living in the Vatican residences by the early 1590’s in the service of Cardinal Aldobrandini, brother to Pope Clement VIII. Bardi was also living in Vatican quarters at this time as *maestro di camera* to Clement VIII, as will be discussed further in Chapter 2. Cardinal del Monte, who oversaw Marenzio’s work on the Pontifical project, was a close confidant of Ferdinando de’ Medici, Cavalieri, and Cardinal Montalto, and would certainly have know Bardi as well.

Marenzio, along with Giovannelli and Anerio in particular, comprised a Roman “school” of madrigal writing represented in collections including *Dolci Affetti* of 1582 and *Le gioie* of 1589. Aside from Marenzio, the band of composer-chant reformers

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included active *maestri di cappella* for Rome’s leading churches. Nanino, Soriano, and Giovanelli each served successive terms as *maestro di cappella* at S. Luigi dei Francesi. Giovanelli continued at the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum, and was Palestrina’s successor at the Capella Giulia in 1594, and finally for the Sistine Chapel in 1614. Anerio had a similarly high-profile career as *maestro di cappella* for the English mission College in 1584, then as papal composer in 1594. Soriano moved in these same circles, as *maestro di cappella* for S. Luigi dei Francesi before Giovannelli, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Giovanni Laterano, and finally for the Cappella Giulia.

Reform was not limited to Rome, and numerous reformed chant editions were published across Italy, in France, and in the Netherlands, all reflecting varied approaches to the dictates of Tridentine intelligibility.76 For the Gardano Gradual of 1591, another prestigious band of composers was commissioned, including Orazio Vecchi, Ludovico Balbi, and Andrea Gabrieli, who six years prior had composed music for a revival of Greek tragedy.77 From Marenzio to Vecchi and Gabrieli, it is intriguing to speculate regarding the intersection of chant reform with textual intelligibility in madrigal-writing as well as in musica-dramatic productions.

For other chant editions, the editors were often anonymous, and the approach to editing varied widely. The Medicean Gradual was among the most radical, with melismas heavily trimmed and realigned to match the short and long quantities of classical Latin

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prosody. Notes were also altered to make older chants fit into modern notions of mode. Certain reformed chant books, like the Plantin and Millange Graduals of 1599 introduced the semibreve for short syllables of chant, thus leaning towards rhythmicized chant performance.

**Chant Rhythm, Human and Divine**

Where, in this picture, was speech-like recitation? Guidetti’s rhythmicized chants were certainly one manifestation of spoken rhythms, part of a tradition dating back to the late 15th century of rendering chant into speech-like declamation. Tracing this history, involves following the history of rhythm in chant more generally, for the use of rhythm in chant melody was of course not new to the Renaissance. Early medieval notations, like those of Laon and St. Gall of the 10th century, had rhythmic significance: a “c,” for example, placed over text or neumes indicated “celeriter” or “faster.” A “t” indicated the opposite: “trahere” or to prolong. Musicologists have long since debated the rhythmic significance of Medieval neumes themselves, with scholars weighing in differently. Often this has led to a search for an originary chant language, a pure rendition of chant. The Solesmes monks led this wave of scholarship in 19th century, as they sought to re-

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establish Catholicism in France after Revolutionary destruction of all vestiges of Catholicism, from buildings to books.\(^\text{81}\) Even within this school, there was debate: Dom Joseph Pothier in his *Les melodies grégoriennes d’après la tradition* argued for oratorical rhythm in chant, whereas Dom André Mocquereau developed his own rhythmic system.\(^\text{82}\)

By the 15th-17th centuries this history of chant performance was marked by varied practices that could co-exist within a single liturgy. The equal-note performance of a chant might be used with the same worship service as a Credo sung mensurally and as a prayer sung in a speech-like manner.\(^\text{83}\) Mary Berry describes this very mixture in a 15th century French Processional, which contains an ornate sequence, *Regit victor*, using varied neumes, a funeral responsory using only square notes, and a sequence, *Letare puerpura*, using square puncta and lozenge-shaped notes, suggesting mensural performance.\(^\text{84}\) Paris de Grassis’s *De tonus sive tenoribus* of 1505 also includes a notable range of rhythmic performance practices: long and short note values for orations, only longs for the *Confiteor* sung after the sermons of papal masses, and the use of dotted rhythms and rests in lections.\(^\text{85}\) In the late 16th century, speech-like renderings of prayers and readings were common, while more ornate chants continued to be sung with melismas of varying lengths, sometimes including mensural values, sometimes not. Often

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\(^{82}\) For a useful overview of the issues see the section “Gregorian Chant” in Don Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought: From Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1986), 39–44.

\(^{83}\) Berry, “The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century,” 134.


\(^{85}\) Borders, “Rhythmic Performance of *accentus* in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome.”
these differences were attributable to chant types. By the 15th century, for example, Credo IV was often performed rhythmically, called the Credo Cardinale.86

Different communities also had different practices. The French and Spanish preference for rhythmicized chant is notable well into the 16th century, with the works of Guidetti finding their closest comparisons in comparable Spanish and French sources. The existence of national chant languages raises important questions about the transmission of rhythmic chant “dialects” within cosmopolitan, multi-national milieus like Rome. The importance of Spanish influenced Neapolitan music to the development of monody makes these national influences on chant even more worthy of study. Given the fashion for Neapolitan solo song across Italy, would there been equivalent interest in Neapolitan-Spanish chant dialect? Tinctoris was employed by the court of Naples, as was Gaffurius, and both wrote about the rhythmic, speech-like chant performance. Tinctoris wrote, for example, “Plainchant is simple notes of uncertain values…. Now with measure, now without, now with perfect quantity, now with imperfect singing, according to the rite of the church or the will of the singer.”87

These differing practices—between chant types, periods, and communities—can furthermore be seen to interweave with notions of the divine, hardly surprising considering that plainchant is a form of sacred song. This is very clear in the writings of Guillaume Gabriel Nivers, composer in the court of Louis XIV who also composed and


edited chant. In his *Dissertation sur le Chant Gregorien* he described even-note performance as reflecting the perfection of the divine, while mensural performance captured human imperfections.\(^{88}\)

This perfect and perpetual equality represents the triumphant Church, or the Angels and Blessed who never cease singing Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus … while we demonstrate the contradictions of corrupt nature by the inequality of the notes in the praises we render to God, which we can only sing very imperfectly in this life.\(^{89}\)

In the 16th century, it was common to refer to even-note performance using the terms “inalterabile” and “indivisibile.” Mauro of Florence, for example, described plainchant as “pronounced in the voice with simple notes of uniform duration, indivisible and unalterable”\(^{90}\)—as if chant participated in a notion of an unchanging divinity.

Little research has yet been done to link notions of divinity with chant performance practice, but Nivers’s clear associations suggest rich territory worth exploring. In Chapter 7, I will examine this question relative to Guidetti’s editing, examining how the rhythmicized chants of his *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587 capture the Jesuit interest in a human, affective connection to the divine. Although Nivers wrote nearly a century after Guidetti and in France, his idea about human rhythms and divine constancies seem to find voice as early as Guidetti’s late 16th century Italian chants.

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\(^{89}\) Ibid.: “Cette égalité parfaite & perpetuelle represente l’Eglise triomphante, ou les Anges & les Bien-heureuz ne cessent jamais de chanter, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus … tantost nous éprouvons la contradictions de la nature corrompuë par l’inégalité des Notes dans les louanges que nous rendons à Dieu, lesquelles nous ne pouvons pas chanter en cette vie que tres-imparfaitement.”

Recitational or Melismatic / Madrigal or Aria?

By the late 15th century, speech-like chant was increasingly theorized by writers and associated with the recitational chants of the liturgy: prayers, the recitation of Biblical lessons, and even psalms.⁹¹ In 1490, for example, the French scholar and singer Jean LeMunerat differentiated between melody-driven chant (antiphons, responsories, introits, graduals) and text-driven chants (lessons, collects, prayers), with psalms and canticles lying in a middle ground between the two.⁹²

By distinguishing between these two types, LeMunerat tried to limit a trend towards the rhythmicization of chant. Certain Parisian singers of the period were performing chant with rhythmic values, regardless of chant style and function, even using a single short note for a short syllable. While LeMunerat disagreed with this declamatory approach to melismatic chant, he approved it for recitational chants and provided advice regarding its performance. Recognized as late as the 18th century by the historian Jean Lebeuf (1687–1760) as an expert in chant accentuation, LeMunerat provided examples of Latin declamation for plainchant recitation in both his De moderatione et Concordia grammaticae et musice, and at the end of an edition of his Martirologium.⁹³

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⁹¹ For an extensive description of such sources, see Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought: From Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, 38–50.


⁹³ *De moderatione et Concordia grammaticae et musice* (Paris, 1490) and *Martirologium* (1490). See ibid., 3–8.
Biagio Rossetti, priest, teacher, singer, and organist at the Cathedral of Verona, upheld this same distinction between recitational and melismatic chant in his *Libellus de rudimentis musices*.  

Respondories, Graduals and Introits where you find ligatures, melismas and various connected groups: in these we cannot alter the order, long observed, [of their presentation], for we are bound to perform all the musical embellishments [as written]. Here grammar is the handmaiden of music, as was asserted by the most discerning philosophers Archytas and Aristoxenus: they said that grammar was subordinate to music."  

A book directed to boys in the *schola accolitorum*, which included Vincenzo Ruffo in the 1520s, the *Libellus* also provided guidelines on how to respect Latin prosody in the singing of chant. Unlike LeMunerat, who was conservative with regard to rhythm, Rossetti advocated the use of multiple rhythmic values as a way of creating more subtle speech rhythms.  

Although Rossetti’s work is indicative of a trend with much earlier roots, it seems that it was not intuitive for singers to reflect textual prosody in chant, especially because syllable quantity (or length) might conflict with syllable accent (or inflection). Rossetti provided various examples of good and bad musical prosody in his book, ranging from proper and improper accentuation to inappropriate speed and elision of words.

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Example 1.2 Correction of Poor Prosody in *Libellus de rudimentis musice* (Verona, 1529)

Using such guides, singers could navigate the potential pitfalls of singing recitational chant with speech-like rhythms—a skill particular to recitational as opposed to melismatic chant.

Nils Holger Petersen has identified the recitational and melismatic forms of chant as continuous with the song varieties of late 16th century Florence. Noting in particular the recitational versus celebratory utterances of early opera, he describes a comparable differentiation between chant types, albeit within his focus on liturgical drama as an antecedent to early opera.\(^7\) In his discussion of ancient music, Galilei similarly made allowances for recitational and melismatic passages in ancient song, using the example of chant.\(^8\)

**Humanism and the Fashion for Antiquity in Rome**

Within 15 years of LeMunerat’s treatise, and nearly 25 years prior to Rossetti’s, Paris de Grassis, the master of ceremonies of the papal chapel, wrote a chapter on the rhythmic performance of recitational chants in his Ceremonial for Cardinals, reprinted many times into the 16th century.\(^9\) De Grassis himself remarked that he had never before

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\(^7\) Petersen, “Intermedial Strategy and Spirituality in the Emerging Opera: Gagliano’s *Dafne* and Confraternity Devotion,” 80–82.

\(^8\) Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna*, 1581, 96–97; Palisca, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, 238–240. For further discussion, see Chapter 3.

\(^9\) de Grassis, “De tonis sive tenoribus”; Paris de Grassis, *De caeremoniis Cardinalium & Episcoporum in*
seen this kind of notation for recitational chant and James Borders has suggested that it is the earliest surviving example of such performance practice in the papal chapel.\textsuperscript{100} Using multiple note values ranging from rests to semibreves and longs, his recitational chants reflected speech-like rhythms in texts ranging from prayers and lessons to short versicles. Whether or not he knew of LeMunerat, there was certainly much communication between French and Italian musicians of the period, given the fashion for Franco-Flemish music in Rome.\textsuperscript{101}

In addition to notating speech rhythm, de Grassis advised singers to modulate the voice differently depending on liturgical occasion. In a Mass, Matins, or Vespers for the dead, he advised the celebrant to use a heavy vocal quality with: “true majesty and weight.”\textsuperscript{102} On a festive occasions, he advised using a bold effect “like an organ or buzzing in the voice.”\textsuperscript{103} In examples notating the recitation of Biblical lessons, he inserted numerous rests, as if to evoke the dramatic pauses of rhetorical flourish.\textsuperscript{104}

Drawing attention to de Grassis’ use of the words, “decorum” (\textit{decore}), and “musical art” (\textit{ars musicalis}), Borders suggests that this approach to chant recitation reflected a notion

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{100} Borders, “Rhythmic Performance of \textit{accentus} in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 397.


\textsuperscript{104} See, for example, the tones for \textit{Lectio}, \textit{Benedictio}, and \textit{Evangelium} in de Grassis, “De tonis sive tenoribus,” 79r, 88r–v; transcribed in Borders, “Rhythmic Performance of \textit{accentus} in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 398–399.
of liturgy as “theatre,” of embellishing liturgy with the tools of humanism (good declamation, elegant delivery), and in turn, a desire to foster an aura of majesty in Catholic worship.  

This new impetus towards speech-like chant in early 16th-century Rome coincided with the flourishing of humanist oratory in Rome and a near cult-like imitation of ancient Greek and Roman culture. The Roman Academy of Leto, for example, met in grottos, dressed in sheets and crowned themselves with laurels, where they practiced orations in the Roman style with one another. These same humanist scholars were employed by the Vatican hierarchy to pen a full range of papal documents, putting their ancient-inspired oratorical skills to use. In sermons, priests cultivated the elegant and persuasive style, modeled on Roman writers like Cicero, indicative of the humanist influence. Within this rhetoric, ancient models, persuasive delivery, and emotions were linked. For Good Friday, 1504, Tommaso Inghirami (1470–1516) delivered a dramatic oration on the Passion of Christ equating the crucifixion with a crime. Using theatrical language that blurred lines between past and present, Inghirami depicted an imagined scene in which Christ reached out to Pope Julius himself. This vision ostensibly reduced its orator to tears: “Look, Holy Father, He [Christ] stretches out His arms to you. Look, he inclines His head to offer you a kiss … Tears prevent me from speaking further.”

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Egidio da’ Viterbo was the other celebrated orator of the early 16th century, whose preaching was described as if an accompanied solo song:

What can I say about Egidio da Viterbo? Who else among the multitudes seems so uniquely born to persuade … in the supreme harmony of his words, and it flows so gently and rhythmically with the pitch and variety of his voice that one seems to hear sounds like that of a plucked lute?\(^{109}\)

Borders has described what he perceives to be a comparable impulse in de Grassi’s recititational modes as evidence of liturgical theatricality and imitation of Roman antiquity.

That the ideals of antiquity could influence sacred music in 16\(^{th}\) century Italy is confirmed in a letter written in 1549 by Bernardino Cirillo.\(^{110}\) A priest in Loreto until 1553 and later active in Rome for roughly 20 years, Cirillo wrote vehemently about the power of ancient song as a model for Italian sacred music:

Music among the ancients was the most splendid of all the fine arts. With it they created powerful effects that we nowadays cannot produce either with rhetoric or with oratory in moving the passions and affections of the soul … Thus the musicians of today should endeavor in their profession to do what the sculptors, painters, and architects of our time have done, who have recovered the art of the ancients … In our times they [musicians] have put all their industry and effort into the writing of imitative passages, so that while one voice says “Sanctus,” another says “Sabaoth,” still another says “Gloria tua,” with howling, bellowing, and stammering, so that they seem at times like cats in January or bulls in May.\(^{111}\)

\(^{109}\) Paolo Cortesi, *De cardinalatu* (Castel Cortesiano, 1510), 103r, cited in Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*, 143: “Quid item modo de Egidio Viterbense dicam? qui unus inter multos videri potest ad Italorum ingenia flectenda et mitiganda natus, cuius sermonis litterarioris elegantiae sale conditur? ut in summa verborum concinnitate omnis adst in sententiarum success, ac in suaviter et numerose fluit, ut in vocis varietate et flexu plectri similes exaudiantur soni?”.


Although concerned primarily with modal ethos, Cirillo clearly also took issue with polyphonic imitation, thus providing an early example of how the desire for intelligibility, touted after the Council of Trent, was viewed equally within the frame of ancient musical exemplars. Later in the century, Federico Borromeo would continue to connect ancient music with contemporary sacred music, but focusing instead on plainchant, positing plainchant as a vestige of ancient musical practice (see Chapter 3). Although Archbishop of Milan by 1595, Borromeo was active in Rome from 1560 until 1605, and corresponded with none other than Girolamo Mei.

**Giovanni Guidetti and the Tradition of Italian Speech-Like Chants**

Giovanni Guidetti (1532–1592) was active as a chant editor between 1582 and 1591 in Rome. Originally from Bologna, he became chaplain to Gregory XIII in 1575, was a beneficed cleric of the Vatican until his death, and considered an important figure in the Vatican hierarchy. His five published volumes of edited chant traveled widely in his lifetime and beyond, from England to Germany and even Asia. After his death, a version of the *Directorium chori* was printed for Jesuit use, and Guidetti’s *Cantus ecclesiasticus officii maioiris hebdomadae* 1587 was reprinted nearly a hundred years later in a book for the Jesuit College in Rome, attesting to a strong link between

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Guidetti’s work and the missionary activity of the Jesuit order.\textsuperscript{114} It seems in fact that Guidetti created his books with Catholic mission in mind. For example, he dedicated his \textit{Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis} 1586 to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, stating that “the sacred practices of the Roman rite” should be “transferred thither into the nations and diligently observed.”\textsuperscript{115} As will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, Ferdinando I was also active in creating mission-oriented publications while still a cardinal in Rome, as a member of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

Guidetti dedicated his 1582 \textit{Directorium chori} to the choirs of the Vatican Basilica and purported to have preserved in its pages the long-standing chant performance practice of the Vatican choirs. In the preface, Guidetti explained his rhythmic notation: a breve indicated a single tempus, a breve under a semicircle was equivalent to one and a half tempora and was typically followed by a semibreve indicating half of a tempus, while a breve topped by a fermata indicated two tempora (example 1.3). A breve and semibreve could also be united under a larger slur, indicating a vocal inflection, which Guidetti described as if singing “Do-ominus.” Antonio Lovato has described this rhythm as a form of imperfect tempus, imperfect prolation, whereby all note values are binary.\textsuperscript{116} In 1586, Guidetti altered his notation, adapting his various note signs to more traditional renderings of long, breve, and semibreve.

\textsuperscript{114}Giovanni Guidetti, \textit{Directorium Chori} (Rome: Phaeum, 1615); Marzio Ercoleo, \textit{Cantus Omnis Ecclesiasticus Ad Hebdomadae Maioris} (Modena: Hæredum Cassiani, 1688).

\textsuperscript{115}Guidetti, \textit{Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis} (Rome: Gardano, 1586), unnumbered page from the dedication: “Quo in genera illam quoque cogitationem suscipere dicitur, ut qui sacrorum ritus Romae in prinis celebres, ac probati habentur eos istuc transferri curet, diligenterque per omnes suae ditionis Ecclesias observari.”

\textsuperscript{116}Lovato, “Aspetti ritmici del canto piano nei trattati dei secoli XVI-XVII,” 104.
Example 1.3 Giovanni Guidetti’s Note Forms, 1582-1591

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>1582, 1589, 1591</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1586-1588</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>½ tempus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cereles et percurrenda</td>
<td></td>
<td>Syllabam brevam; pronunciatione celerius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tempus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ½ tempora</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tardius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tempora</td>
<td></td>
<td>Magis et protrahenda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rearticulation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cum decore et gratia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spiritus impulsu; in fine tantum lectionum &amp; Prophetarrium est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barline</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spiritum possit resumere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Guidetti’s notation also included ligatures: in recitational chants ligatures were typically used for the short intonations and terminations; in melismatic chants like the Tenebrae responsories, they were required to notate long melismatic passages (Example 1.4a-d). In other words, ligatures were interspersed throughout his chants, alongside the easily interpreted recitational passages. Guidetti did not indicate how to perform ligatures—perhaps a sign that all note shapes were to be interpreted at face value?—and to date their interpretation has not been investigated.117

117 On the interpretation of ligatures, see Willi Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600 (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1961), 87–95. Given that Guidetti describes his notation in precise terms but omits discussion of ligatures entirely, it is tempting to conclude that Guidetti wanted individual notes within ligatures to be interpreted by their appearance alone (any stemmed square is a long, any square is a breve) without regard for older notions of propriety and perfection. To this effect, in Example 1.4a above, Guidetti stems two descending notes (indicating long values for each), as if to modernize the notation for a ligature without propriety and with perfection. In Examples 1.4a and 1.4b, however, he uses an upwards left hand stem, nowhere described in his prefaces, leaving the interpreter to decide whether or not to perform such notations within the traditional sense as two semibreves in a row. Until Guidetti’s ligature usage can be situated within a history of changing chant practices, many questions for performance practice will be left unanswered.
Example 1.4 Ligatures in Guidetti’s Edited Chants

De Grassis, Guidetti, and Oratory

Given that de Grassis had been advocating such rhythmicization of recitational chant since 1505, Guidetti’s claims regarding Vatican performance practice can be taken at face value. Brief comparison of the “Domine labia mea” versicle from de Grassis and Guidetti reveals a shift, however, in Roman practice between 1505 and 1582 within the common frame of rhythmicized recitational chant (example 1.5).

Both Guidetti and de Grassis indicate numerous pauses for such a short chant, with de Grassis using even one more pause than Guidetti, after each word no less. Within this similarity of overall structure, however, the rendering of each word differs significantly, with Guidetti using more dotted rhythms and de Grassis using primarily quick values separated by rests. One can imagine de Grassis’ version being sung in a large space with a grand echo, creating a sense of majesty with its notably longer declamation of “Domine.” Guidetti’s version is also amenable to a grand acoustic with its many pauses, but with a greater attention to the grace of individual words, animating the particularities of those words with individual rhythms.

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Example 1.5 16th century Roman Chant Recitation: “Domine labia mea aperies”

a. Paris de Grassis, *De tonis*, fol. 86v

b. Guidetti, *Directorium chori*, p. 1

In describing these rhythmically nuanced lections, including their dotted rhythms and pauses, de Grassis pointedly describes music as an art. This is the only such passage in the document, and Borders suggests it provides the key to de Grassis’s rhythms:

And granted that, in the cantillation of such epistles, great be a kind of grace (gratia) in observing proper decorum (Decore), which the art of music (ars musicalis) serves by pattern, yet more plainly will the art of manner of the cantillation thus be molded by notes.

Guidetti’s remarks on music as art are equally suggestive in this context. In the introduction to his final *Directorium chori* of 1591, he speaks of the power of music to assuage souls:

Musical art (artem musicam) is useful to the Church of God … because it assuages the disorders of the spirits and raises them up with a certain marvelous force and bears them to the sky, which is rightly proven by the example of

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119 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5634/2. See also de Grassis, *De caeremoniis Cardinalium & Episcoporum in eorum Diocesibus libri duo*, 1587, 300 (in this version, more contemporary with Guidetti, the chant is rendered in semibreves with a breve only for the first syllable of Domine, suggesting that in later editions of de Grassis’s *De caeremoniis*, the approach to chant had changed yet again. The difference between the 1587 edition of *De caeremoniis* and Guidetti’s 1582 *Directorium* suggests that Guidetti’s version was not universal.

120 Borders suggests this for interpreting the de Grassis use of rhythm and rests, and I think it bears true in comparing Guidetti and de Grassis as well. Borders, “Rhythmic Performance of accentus in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 398.

Pythagoras, whom they say had restored violent spirits to tranquility through the harmony of music (*musicae harmonia*).\(^{122}\)

Both de Grassis’s “decorum” and Guidetti’s “power of music” traded in humanist lingo. “Decorum” was associated with the oratorical tradition, and the appropriateness of delivery to content.\(^{123}\) Guidetti’s powerful music evoked the Pythagorean notion of harmony of the spheres and the individual soul as a mirror of the cosmos. While de Grassis’s rhythms might have enhanced the theatre of the liturgy through effective rhetorical oration, Guidetti’s implied music’s power to cure ailing souls.

These themes will be elaborated in subsequent chapters. Closer examination of Guidetti’s work, in Chapter 7, will demonstrate how his chant editing also participated in changing notions of language, comparable to those explored in my review of monody—between language as an instrument of divine harmony, more typical of the earlier Renaissance, and of language as a tool of expressive subjectivity, more typical in the 17th century.\(^{124}\) These tensions between revealed, divine language and subjective expression can be seen especially through the lens of two very different influences on Guidetti’s work: on the one hand, that of Johannes Reuchlin, the Christian humanist and expert on

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\(^{122}\) Guidetti, *Directorium chori ad usum omnium ecclesiarum*, unnumbered page from the preface: “idque si ita est, quis ait negare artem musicam utilem esse Ecclesiae Dei, cuius cum variae, & multae sint laudes, haec solet medium afferri, quod animorum sedat illa perturbationes, ac mira quidam vi erigit, atque ad caelum tollit, quod recte exemplo Pitagorae comprobatur, quem dicunt iratos animos musicae harmonia placidos reddidisse.”


Hebrew Kaballah, whose work instigated widespread Hebrew language study; on the other hand, the Jesuits, whose missionary work relied heavily on affective, expressive arts. As a chant editor, Guidetti thus vacillated between two different approaches to language: the sublime enunciation of revealed Scripture and the expressive recitation of dramatic scriptural text. Given that his publications emerged in the 1580’s, when Catholicism was in the process of both refashioning its identity as the one true church and intensifying its missionary activity, Guidetti’s work provides a fascinating window into how these contrasting approaches to language bolstered the goals of Catholicism in very different ways, reflecting changing notations of self, church, and world. Like the speech-like singing of Florentine monody, thought to participate in both magical and expressive culture, Guidetti’s chants bridged the magical medieval heritage of Catholicism with the expressive arts of Counter-Reformation devotional practice.

It is also useful to view the chants of de Grassis and Guidetti as bookmarks of 16th century Roman speech-like chant. Whereas de Grassis’s chant looks more like delle Palle’s “Dura legge d’amor,” Guidetti’s uses a rhythmic fluidity more typical of songs in


Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche*. Just as delle Palle and his contemporaries would have ornamented their more simply notated songs, it seems that by the mid-16th century, chant was also being ornamented with simple *passagi*, as attested by Pietro Cinciarino’s chant treatise *Introduttorio abbreviato*.\(^{127}\) By the end of the 16th century, both Guidetti as chant editor and Caccini as song composer would reign in ornamentation with carefully controlled notation (see Chapter 5).

As these various examples attest, both monody and plainchant recitation participated in the tradition of speech-like singing that stretched from the late 15th to the late 16th century. In a sense, monody and plainchant were the sacred and secular faces of a widespread fashion: for speech-like declamation informed by humanist ideals and ancient practices. Monody and chant were furthermore both used within politicized aesthetics—of the Medici and of the Vatican respectively. As the subsequent chapter will demonstrate, they were also often performed by the same musicians, for the same patrons.

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Chapter Two

Musicians and their Patrons: Between Sacred and Secular in Rome and Florence

From Vatican cardinals to Medici courtiers, the wealthy patrons of Rome and Florence circulated between court commitments and church appearances, from personal and public entertainment to private prayer and public liturgy. Musicians also participated in this mobility between sacred and secular, whether in the service of a single patron, or piecing together a living from multiple institutions, often between cities. This physical, economic, and social mobility allowed for cross-fertilization between sacred and secular realms as well as between courts. By tracing the interweaving of sacred and secular in and between Rome and Florence, it becomes possible to see how plainchant and monody intersected in the careers and lives of patrons and musicians.

Florence

The musical life of Florence took place in a myriad of institutions: the Medici court and chapels, the Cathedral and Baptistry, numerous convents and monasteries, private courts and homes. Among these, the Medici court was of central importance by

virtue of its influence and wealth. The court employed numerous musicians, artists and artisans in its regular staff, and most of the city’s active musicians provided services for the court at some point in their careers. Employment at court also provided the benefit of “tenure,” for once hired, most musicians continued in court employ in some capacity for the rest of their lives.\textsuperscript{2} During the reign of Cosimo de’ Medici, for example, as many as 19 musicians were employed, including singers, lutenists, trumpeters, and trombonists, as well as harpists and an organist.\textsuperscript{3} These musici, all-around musicians, would have served chamber, court, and chapel, creating musical forces ranging from a wind band for private meals, public ceremonial, and public receptions in the Palazzo Vecchio to music for chapel services. In other words, the court musician was required to be a jack-of-all-trades, capable of performing on multiple instruments, singing, and composing.\textsuperscript{4}

Musical life at court also included the celebrated but more occasional lavish spectacles, usually for a Medici wedding. For these special events, the court supported musicians from across Italy for a shorter duration. For example, Luca Marenzio served the court for the preparations of the intermedi of 1589 for the wedding of Ferdinando I to Christine of Lorraine. The intermedi in fact employed 31 musicians in both short-term and long-term positions, including Marenzio, Vittoria Archilei, Caccini, and Cristofano


\textsuperscript{2} Carter, \textit{Jacopo Peri, 1561-1633}, 25.

\textsuperscript{3} Frank A. D’Accone, “Florence: To 1600,” in \textit{New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians}, vol. 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1–3; in 1560 this seems to have dipped to 13 salaried musicians and 9 artists out of a total staff of approximately 300. See Kirkendale, \textit{The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici}, 36.

Malvezzi. From 1588 to the end of the century, Emilio de’ Cavalieri oversaw the employment of artists and musicians at court, having the title of Superintendent of all the Arts (*intendente generale delle belle arti*). Warren Kirkendale has described this centralization of control under Cavalieri as anticipating the cultural program of Louis XIV.

Sacred and secular were interwoven in court and city life. Court musicians functioned in the court chapels of S. Felicità, S. Lorenzo (the Medici parish church where they worshipped twice a year and site of Medici funerals and burials), and S. Nicola in Pisa. The court also worshipped weekly at SS. Annunziata, where the Medici were important patrons and had supplied the church with its organ. Court musicians might also serve in one of the city’s primary churches: the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, the baptistry of S. Giovanni Battista, S. Croce, S. Maria Novella (Dominican order), or Santo Spirito. Cristofano Malvezzi, for example, held the most important church position in Florence as *maestro di cappella* of S. Giovanni from 1574 to his death and became the third organist at the cathedral in 1594. He was associated with the church of S. Lorenzo as early as 1562, provided Holy Week music in 1581, and lived at the convent of S.

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5 Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici*, 49–52.

6 Ibid., 35.

7 A corridor adjoining S. Felicità to the Uffizi allowed for a small upper chamber over the altar of the church where the Medici could participate unseen in the liturgy. On this use of this room as a tool of image-making for the Medici as well as a musical performance space used to created seemingly disembodied music for worshippers, see Treadwell, *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court*, 43–44; Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court*, 17–18; On music and liturgy in court churches, see Hae-Jong, “Liturgy, Music, and Patronage at the Cappella di Medici in the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence, 1550-1609”; David Nutter, “Aspects of Sacred Music in Late Sixteenth-century Florence,” in *Atti Del VII Centenario Del Duomo Di Firenze. III: Cantate Domino—Musica Nei Secoli Per Il Duomo Di Firenze* (Florence: Edifir Firenze, 2001), 124–138.

Lorenzo from 1589. In addition to these church offices, he composed three books of madrigals, dedicated first to Francesco de’ Medici, the last to Emilio de’ Cavalieri, and was employed by the court as composer for three court productions: the 5th intermedio for Giovanni Fedini’s Le due Persilie, performed 16 February, 1583; two intermedi for Giovanni de’ Bardi’s L’amico fido, including four solos and two choruses (lost), performed five times for wedding of Cesare d’Este and Virginia di Cosimo Medici as well as in 1586 for the opening of the Uffizi theatre; and most of the 1589 intermedi, along with Luca Marenzio, for the wedding of Ferdinando and Christine of Lorraine.

Peri was a student of Malvezzi’s who was also employed by both the Medici court and church. His earliest church employment was in 1573 at SS. Annunziata, where he was hired to sing laude with organ accompaniment, a common form of first employment for a young musician. An auspicious place to begin one’s career, SS. Annunziata was favored by the Medici, seen, for example, in Ferdinando’s choosing to make his official first appearance as Grand Duke there. After beginning studies with Malvezzi, Peri secured his first long-term appointment as organist at the Badia fiorentina, a post that he held until 1605. These church appointments were in addition to musical activity at the Medici court: during the tenure of Francesco Medici, he composed the first intermedio for the 1583 Le due Persilie, provided Dunque fra torbid onde for the 1589 intermedi, and sang numerous roles. By the 1580’s, he worked in the same circles as Florence’s most prestigious musicians and was reputed to be one of the finest tenors in the city.

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This double-status as court and church musician was by no means limited to Peri and Malvezzi. The organists Jacomelli (also a string player) and Pompeo Regianotti (also a lutenist) were paid by both cathedral and court.\(^{11}\) The singers Mario Luchini and Fra Bartolomeo Binaschi were also in double employ.\(^{12}\) Caccini too bridged these worlds. He began his career in the Capella Giulia of St. Peter’s in 1564 with the Florentine Giovanni Animuccia as *maestro di cappella*.\(^{13}\) Although not employed specifically as a church musician after this, he was known to conduct court musicians at the church of Santo Stefano in Pisa, the other home of the Medici court.\(^{14}\) By at least 1602 he was also conducting music for Holy Week in the passageway connecting palace and chapel for the Medici family, provided Holy Week music for the city’s *Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello*, as I will discuss in more detail shortly.\(^{15}\)

Mobility between court and church was facilitated by Medici power over church institutions. From the reign of Cosimo I until the mid-17th century, the *maestro di cappella* of the Cathedral and Baptistry was appointed and/or confirmed by the Grand Duke.\(^{16}\) This important church position seems to have implied *maestro di cappella* of the court as well, as in the case of Malvezzi and later Marco da Gagliano. This integration of church and court life was further facilitated by having a Medici Archbishop of Florence.

\(^{11}\) Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici*, 260, 295.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 250, 284–5.


\(^{15}\) Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court*, 17.

from 1574 to 1596. Musicians hence often appealed to the Medici to intervene in church
decision-making. Malvezzi, for example, appealed to Ferdinando I, for example, to grant
his church positions in perpetuity, likely because he was unwell. His successor, Luca Bati,
similarly approached the Medici regarding church matters. Musicians’ professional
mobility between church and court must certainly have been facilitated by this
overarching Medici presence. For example, Pier Amadori, sacristan of the Cathedral,
ocasionally performed in Medici court events.

The Cathedral in particular functioned doubly as both religious and court
institution, and as an important site of Medici pomp. Medici weddings, for example,
occurred in the Cathedral. For the arrival of Christine of Lorraine into Florence in 1589,
the Cathedral was lit with thousands of candles and musicians descended from a cloud
over the altar while the archbishop delivered a wedding oration. To mark the occasion
and to continue a longstanding practice of church patronage, Ferdinando honored the
Archbishop of Pisa with a silk hat and assigned him the privilege of carrying Christine’s
crown in procession to the Cathedral. The fact that Ferdinando himself had been a
 cardinal until the previous year further emphasizes the important role church ceremonial
and patronage would have played in the fostering of what Saslow calles his “aura of
sacred legitimacy.” Although his marriage marked a decisive shift in his identity, the
appearance of piety remained a significant aspect of his reign, one fostered through
patronage of churches and monasteries, regular participation in liturgical worship, and

18 Carter, “Crossing the boundaries,” 11.
19 Saslow, Medici Wedding: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi, 144.
20 Ibid., 145.
through the notably pious character of his new wife.\textsuperscript{21} The significance of this shift from cardinal to Grand Duke has been addressed by art historians, but rarely by musicologists, despite its significance for questions of musical patronage and identity formation, as I will discuss in greater detail towards the end of this chapter.

Power and influence was not only in the purview of the Medici, however. The choirs of both the Cathedral and Baptistry, for example, were supported by the guilds of prosperous wool and cloth merchants, the Wool Guild and the Calimala Guild.\textsuperscript{22} As well, many of the musicians in court employ benefited from the patronage of local nobility, with Jacopo Corsi being one such prominent figure. Corsi employed Malvezzi as a keyboard teacher and also studied voice with a Ser Fabrizio (possibly Fabrizio Pini, singer in cathedral from 1586-87).\textsuperscript{23} Peri too was supported by Corsi’s noble patronage. Corsi, for example, lent Peri money to publish a madrigal in Malvezzi’s madrigal volume. Malvezzi had already dedicated his first book of madrigals to Corsi, so this extension of support to Peri was in keeping with not only Peri’s status as student of Malvezzi but Corsi’s previous patronage of Malvezzi.\textsuperscript{24} Corsi, of course, also provided the opportunity for Peri to compose music for both Dafne and Euridice, the latter work becoming a gift for the wedding of Maria de’ Medici. Peri also cultivated ties to other noble courts, receiving invitations to Ferrara and Mantua.\textsuperscript{25} And Corsi extended his patronage equally

\textsuperscript{21} Regarding Christine’s piety, see Cusick, Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court, 42–44.

\textsuperscript{22} D’Accone, “The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry During the First Half of the 16th Century,” 2–3, 9–11.

\textsuperscript{23} Carter, “Crossing the boundaries,” 142; Carter, “Music and Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence,” 98, 100.

\textsuperscript{24} Carter, “Crossing the boundaries,” 141.

\textsuperscript{25} Kirkendale, The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici, 644.
widely, to include Caccini, the cathedral musician Luca Bati, and the organists Giovan Piero Manenti and Giovanni Battista Jacomelli, who was a singer in the Sistine Chapel before moving to Florence in 1587. 26 Indeed, patronage by lesser nobles was increasingly fashionable in the late 16th century, creating a further level of mobility between Medici court, church, and noble households. 27

Uniting musicians and nobility as well as sacred and secular were the numerous confraternities in Florence, to which most men in Florence belonged as “courtiers of God.” 28 Peri, Caccini, Bardi, Corsi, Mei, and possibly Galilei were all members of the Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello, whose mandate in the years following the Council of Trent was less on the education of boys and more on cultivating devotion among its members. 29 In addition to daily devotions comprising the offices and mass, the Compagnia held special services for the feast days of the year, especially the Triduum of Holy Week, the feast of the Archangel Raphael, and All Saints/All Souls. 30 Musically, the Compagnia tended towards the theatrical, including the singing of popular laude and the performance of sacre rappresentatione. 31 Many such productions have been considered both forerunners of opera and oratorio, and the participation of the leading musicians of Florence certainly influenced the development of these musical genres.


29 Ibid., 149.

30 Ibid., 138.

Caccini became a member of the Compagnia in 1575 and he provided music on numerous occasions. At least three of these were for All Saints Day: in 1584 Caccini planned three madrigals and arranged for a young castrato to sing the Miserere mei and Benedictus with lyre accompaniment from within a tomb—a sign of the Compagnia’s theatrical tastes. The madrigals were likely performed after the chanting of each nocturne of Matins, as records from the previous year indicate such performance.

Caccini again provided music for the Compagnia in 1587, and presumably for an earlier All Saint’s service, given Bardi’s remarks in his Discorso:

Recall the extraordinary satisfaction that the Florentine populace gained from the solemnities of the last All Saints’ Day, when the words of your music were well understood.

Bardi was also likely a member (no records survive from before 1562) as Bardi’s sons entered the confraternity beginning in 1575.

Vincenzo’s participation is suggested by his composition of Lamentations and Responsories for Holy Week ca. 1581, which would have been appropriate for the Compagnia’s celebrated Tenebrae service, such as this one in 1583:

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32 Brown, “The Geography of Florentine Monody.”


The usual office was said with the usual music, and further at the *Benedictus* there was one of our brothers who played a large musical harp, accompanying himself and a little boy in the responses; and at the *Miserere* playing a large lira. And in truth people were well satisfied. And Tenebrae finished, everyone was dismissed.\(^{36}\)

A Vincenzo Galilei is recorded in the membership records after 1615, either the son or grandson of Vincenzo’s own Galileo.

The Medici family was also involved in the confraternity, which by the turn of the 17th century comprised most of the city’s noble families.\(^{37}\) Noted for her piety, Christine of Lorraine was so impressed by the devotions and music of the Confraternity that she enlisted her son Cosimo in 1591. In subsequent years, participation in the Compagnia became both fashionable and an important way of participating in Medici court culture.

Seen thus, the music within and for the Medici court was produced within a richly varied musical culture. The Medici certainly enabled the professional mobility of musicians between court and church and required their musicians to be capable in multiple arenas, from chamber and theatre to chapel. Although there would have been distinct “sacred” and “secular” spaces within the court, musicians moved easily between worlds, bridging court, chapel, and confraternity. The ancient-inspired music so lauded by Florence’s elite was thus practiced and cultivated side-by-side with plainchant within liturgical worship.

\(^{36}\)“Holy Thursday,” April 07, 1583, f.26v, Doc. 162 no. 22, Florence, Archivio di stato, Compagnie religiosi soppresse; Hill, “Oratory Music in Florence I: ‘Recitar Cantando,’ 1583-1655,” 113: “La sera si disse il solito hufitio con le solite musiche et di piu ci fu al benedictus, uno de nostri fratelli che nella risposta sonava una grande Arpe musicale cantandovi sopra lui et un putto et al Miserere sonando una Gran Lira che in vero il populo ne resto molto soddisfatto et fatto le tenebre ciaschuno fu licentiato.” Worth noting is that Mei described the music of Olympus and Terpander as plainchant, but played with a lyre or kithara. The music of the Compagnia for Tenebrae, including much plainchant, is here described in similar terms: a Benedictus, possibly chanted, played with a large harp.

Rome

In Rome, movement between church liturgies and court culture was expressed in the papal office itself, for the pope was both the spiritual ruler of Western Christendom and the ruler of Rome as well as the papal states. While the Medici formed the center of power in Florence, with strong links to the church, circled by lesser nobles, academies and confraternities, in Rome, the central papal power was circled by other networks: cardinals’ courts and an extensive papal bureaucracy, the Roman aristocracy and a civic senate, as well as numerous seminaries, oratories, confraternities, and parish churches.

The papacy and papal bureaucracy were the foremost patrons of the arts in Rome, followed next by cardinals’ courts. The ancient Roman princely and noble households were also wealthy patrons whose cultural life often intersected with that of cardinals and the papacy. Cardinal Flavio Orsini provides an apt example as a member of one of Rome’s most powerful families as well as a cardinal beginning in 1565. Within this web of patronage, the reigning pope set the tone: Pius V (1565–1572), for example, instituted an austere reign with intense Counter-Reformation ideals at the core, and cardinals as a result dramatically reduced spending on their private courts. The emphasis on magnificence and splendor fostered by Sixtus V correspondingly encouraged expansive patronage of art and music by cardinals, including by his cardinal nephew, Montalto.

The pope himself benefited from two musical circles that reflected his sacred and secular offices. On the one hand, he had musicians at his disposal for his private chamber,

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40 On Montalto’s relationship to Sixtus V, see Hill, Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles Around Cardinal Montalto, 8–30; On Sixtus V’s patronage of the arts and cultural policies, see Fagiolo and Madonna, Roma di Sisto V; Mandel, Sixtus V and the Lateran Palace.
meals, receptions, and theatrical entertainments. The size of this “musical chamber” depended on the interests of the pope and could be quite large, as in the case of the Medici Leo X who hosted elaborate parties for his guests that included music by his chamber musicians, the *cantores et musici secreti*.\footnote{A list of some of these musicians, as well as description of various festivities, can be found in Bonnie J. Blackburn, “Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X: A Venetian View,” *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* 11 (1992): 5–10.} Clement VIII may also have had a vibrant musical chamber including possibly Marenzio. Marenzio was living in Vatican apartments by 1594, indicating close proximity to the papal court. His death notice in the *Liber mortuorum* of S. Lorenzo in Lucina notes that he was a "Cantore di N[ostro] Sig[no]re, which has been read as a sign of his service to the private papal court. Bardi was also in the service of Clement VIII as his *maestro da camera* beginning in 1592.\footnote{Carter, *Jacopo Peri, 1561-1633*, 20.} While this appears to have been a political office, as *maestro* Bardi would have participated in the intellectual culture of court life with opportunities to share his Florentine musical ideals. His service furthermore placed Bardi in close proximity to Marenzio only a few years after their collaboration on the 1589 *intermedi* for the Medici wedding.\footnote{See Steven Ledbetter and James Chater, “Marenzio, Luca,” in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).}

Popes also had a hand in other secular musical entertainments. The festivities of Carnival, for example, while organized by the city’s magistrates, were funded by the papacy and each year’s programs were subject to papal approval. Events included races of naked Jews, old men, animals, and scantily clad prostitutes. These races were so popular that Pope Paul II had their location moved so that he could watch them from his...
Palace at Piazza di Venezia. The most prestigious musical institution of the papacy was the Cappella Sistina, well known for its performance of liturgical polyphony but equally versed in plainchant. The Sistine singers maintained a sense of distinction from the city’s other musicians. For example, when the city’s musicians established a confraternity in Rome with members including Palestrina and Marenzio, the papal singers refused membership. That said, papal singers participated in the city’s varied musical life, from the confraternities and oratories to cardinals’ courts and theatrical entertainments. Tracing the “extra-curricular” activities of papal singers as well as musicians of the Cappella Giulia in fact results in painting a fairly complete picture of Roman musical life, given that their non-Vatican activities overlapped so extensively with the city’s other primary musical institutions.

Rome’s confraternities were one such case. Confraternities including SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini and the SS. Crocefisso, attracted wide membership among the city’s nobility as well as middle class, including cardinals, merchants, musicians and clerics.

44 Blackburn, “Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X,” 4.


Papal singers as well as composers were hired to sing in confraternity celebrations including Holy Week and Corpus Christi processions.

Numerous papal singers and composers developed a particular connection to Filippo Neri’s Oratory in Rome: Palestrina, for example, was associated with the Oratory in his later life. This would have brought him into contact with non-Vatican musicians including Victoria as well as Cavalieri, who provided the Rappresentatione in 1600.\footnote{Charles Sebastian Ritchie, “St. Philip Romolo Neri,” in The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911) Neri and Cavalieri may have met during the years that Neri frequented Cavalieri’s parish Church, S. Eustachio.} It also would have exposed Vatican musicians to more popular musical trends, given the “populist” nature of the organization. Neri used, for example, a non-liturgical evening devotional service comprised of prayers, singing of laude, readings, time for discussion of theology, and devotion. Thus, instead of the elaborate polyphony, to which papal singers would be accustomed, the Oratory used more homophonic, tuneful and declamatory styles of singing. The Oratory later fostered the devotional musico-theatrical idiom of the oratorio, emblematic of Neri’s fervor for a Christianity that stepped outside the bounds of official religion—in keeping with his “street” ethic of bringing religion into hospitals, banks, brothels, and shops as a kind of missionary within Rome itself. Vatican musicians were clearly not alone in their affection for the order. Attendance nearing 3000 by the end of the 16th century attests to the fashion for Oratorian devotion in Rome, as well as the important role played by the Oratorians in popularizing new musical idioms,
matched only by the Jesuits, who were themselves influenced by the Oratorians. The Oratorian practice of singing *laude*, for example, was eventually adopted by the Jesuits, used before and between recitations of the catechism. Oratorian musical preferences must certainly have filtered into papal practice as well.

The seminaries were another type of institution through which papal composers and singers passed, and which contributed to Rome’s vibrant and mobile musical life. The seminaries themselves were a new kind of institution fostered by the Council of Trent’s mandate to standardize education of the clergy. In Rome, the seminaries were predominantly Jesuit and provided a way of preparing priests for missions in Protestant countries as well as Asia and the New World, with the responsibility of teaching “grammar, singing, ecclesiastical computation, and other useful arts; … Sacred Scripture, ecclesiastical books, the homilies of the saints, the manner of administering the sacraments, especially those things that seem adapted to the hearing of confessions, and the rites and ceremonies.” Palestrina, for example, was the *maestro di cappella* for the Seminario Romano in Rome from 1566 until 1571. Ruggiero Giovannelli worked for

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50 Ibid., 271.


53 Thomas D Culley, *Jesuits and Music … A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome During the 17th Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe*, Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits v. 2 (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970), 39, fn. 31.
the Collegium Germanicum followed by employment in the Cappella Giulia and Cappella Sistina.\textsuperscript{54}

The vicissitudes of a musical career meant that other composers in Rome also moved between institutions, allowing for constant cross-fertilization. Giovanni Francesco Anerio for example, was music director of the Seminario Romano in addition to being the first \textit{maestro di cappella} for Neri’s Oratory and also organist for various Roman churches. Victoria was a teacher at the German College, then its \textit{maestro di cappella} beginning in 1573, followed by service as a priest of Neri’s Oratory as well as providing occasional service for the church of S. Giacomo Spagnoli.\textsuperscript{55}

Papal singers were also employed for the secular entertainments of cardinals’ courts as well as courts abroad. For example, Melchior Palantrotti was a papal singer employed by Cardinal Montalto’s court, who also performed roles in Florence, including as Plutone in \textit{Euridice} (1600) and in \textit{Il rapimento di Cefalo} (1600) by Caccini.\textsuperscript{56} Ercole Ferruzzi, papal chapel singer from 1594-1626, was employed by Cardinal Montalto at his court and noted for cultivating a style of solo singing in keeping with the Florentine Medici court.\textsuperscript{57} Hence papal musicians, among the highest ranking in the city, were working in multiple musical idioms, between various courts, and bridging musical worlds.\textsuperscript{58}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[54] Ibid., 50–51.
\item[56] Carter, “Rediscovering \textit{Il rapimento di Cefalo},” 5.3.
\item[57] Hill, \textit{Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles Around Cardinal Montalto}, 37.
\item[58] This practice continued in the 17th century. Loreto Vittori (1604-1670) for example, was a singer in the papal chapel, but also performed in theatrical works, including in \textit{La Flora} in 1628, composed by Marco da Gagliano and Jacopo Peri. Many papal singers were also involved in the production of Sant’Alessio by the
\end{footnotes}
equally evident in Jesuit and Oratorian practices, with both the Jesuits and Oratorians taking a leading role not only spiritual direction and liturgical training (including plainchant) but in fostering music drama in Rome’s early Baroque period. As music director at the German College, Agostino Agazzari (1578-1640), for example wrote an important treatise on basso continuo and also wrote one of Rome’s early music dramas, *Eumelio*, in 1606, albeit more polyphonic than declamatory in conception.  

Cardinals’ courts also bridged sacred and secular musical realms beyond the involvement of papal musicians. The office itself, like the papacy, straddled both functions, and in the late 16th century the tensions between the princely and pious functions of the cardinal were especially present, given the new fervor for Catholic reform.  

For well-connected, wealthy cardinals, their court was as much a secular institution concerned with family power-brokering and prestige-building as it was a sacred institution with religious imperatives. At least in the early 16th century, the surest way to a cardinalate was to have family connections and wealth; devotional and intellectual acuity were much less important. The most powerful families in Italy and the Catholic nations were represented by cardinals in the curia to ensure their sway in the election of a new pope, and to ensure the balance of power in Italy. To this effect, the

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Jesuit trained and employed Stefano Landi in 1632. Many were even granted permission to attend the final rehearsal over regular worship. See Leopold, “Rome: Sacred and Secular,” 57, 62.

59 Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso con tutti li stromenti e dell’usu loro nel conserto* (Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607).


62 Ibid., 2–13.
College of Cardinals had an unspoken hierarchy within it, based on proximity to the pope, family power, and, in the later 16th century especially, reforming zeal, as was the case with Cardinal Borromeo.\textsuperscript{63}

Into the later 16th century, as the popes began to wield increasing power and cardinals much less, the need for cardinal splendor seems to have increased.\textsuperscript{64} Books like \textit{De cardinalatu}, were succeeded in the last decades of the 16th century with numerous guides that also advised spending by cardinals on the arts, with the display of virtue being a common theme, whether regarding one’s “secular heritage” or “religious calling.”\textsuperscript{65} To that effect, many cardinals’ courts had yearly expenditures that could rival and even exceed those of the leading political dynasties of Italy.\textsuperscript{66} Even Borromeo distinguished between personal poverty and the maintenance of a cardinal’s courtly largesse.\textsuperscript{67}

In their private courts, cardinals would typically maintain a musical chamber to match the state of their public prestige. Cardinal Montalto, for example, holding the office of Vice Chancellor by 1589 and thus second in stature to the pope, maintained a vibrant musical chamber with singers and instrumentalists, many of whom specialized in


\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 241; For contemporary works on the role of the cardinal, see Fabio Alberga\textsuperscript{ti}, \textit{Del Cardinale} (Rome: Facciotto, 1598); Giovanni Botero, \textit{Dell’Uffizio Del Cardinale Intorno Al Promover La Virtù} (Rome, 1599).

\textsuperscript{66} See Fragnito, “Cardinals’ Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome,” 40–42.

\textsuperscript{67} Jones, “The Court of Humility: Carlo Borromeo and the Ritual of Reform.”
solo song. Musicians in his service included at various times Sebastiano Raval, Scipione Dentice, Bartolomeo Roy (who was also the maestro di capella of S. Luigi dei Francesi), and the singers Melchior Palantrotti and Ercole Feruzzi, as already mentioned. Cardinal Ippolito d’Este of the prominent Ferrarese family, employed Palestrina in his court from 1567-71 while Palestrina was concurrently engaged by the Seminario Romano. The majority of Marenzio’s career was in fact spent between cardinals courts: first in the service of Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo (ca. 1574-78), then Cardinal Luigi d’Este (1578-1586), followed by Cardinal Ferdinando Medici (1587-89), then brief engagements with Cardinal Montalto in at least 1593, and finally in the service of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, the nephew of Pope Clement VIII. Like other composers and singers in cardinal employ, Marenzio also participated in the typical mobility between sacred and secular institutions: while the majority of Marenzio’s output was secular madrigals, he too received sacred commissions, including the prestigious commission to reform the chant books of the Catholic Church and thereby complete the unfinished project of Palestrina. He was also hired by the Confraternities of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini and SS. Crocefisso to provide Lenten music on at least four occasions in the 1580s and 90s. Cardinals themselves had daily religious obligations, with Cardinal Montalto, for example, being head of the parish church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, with Ioanne Matelart as maestro di cappella and then G.B. Nanino. Perhaps interested in Neri’s Oratory, he was present for the 1600 performance of Cavalieri’s

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68 See Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles Around Cardinal Montalto*, especially the second volume which includes an extensive solo repertory.

69 For an extensive biography of Marenzio, see Bizzarini, *Luca Marenzio*.

70 O’Regan, “Marenzio’s Sacred Music.”
Although few could compete with the lavish resources of cardinals, noble households were also important sites in the circulation of music within Rome and between Rome and Florence. Caccini, for example, described performing his music in the 1590s at the home of Nero Neri and for gentlemen including Lione Strozzi:71

Everyone can testify how I was urged to continue as I had begun, and was told that never before had anyone heard music for a solo voice, to a simple stringed instrument, with such power to move the affect of the soul as these madrigals.72

Only with the arrival of Christina, Queen of Sweden, however, was there a household outside the Vatican circle that could rival the elaborate court life and patronage of the papacy and its cardinals.73

Thus, in Rome, like in Florence, sacred and secular musical life overlapped and intertwined. Musicians worked for both court and church, even those like Marenzio who did not hold an official church appointment, despite his efforts to attain one. This mobility was in part due to the vagaries of a musician’s life. It also, however, reflected intrinsic relationships between church and court.

Ferdinando de’ Medici: From Cardinal to Grand Duke

This intrinsic relationship is especially evident in the career of Ferdinando I de’ Medici, who begin his professional life as a cardinal in 1562 and ended it as Grand Duke

71 H. Wiley Hitchcock presumes that this is Leone Strozzi (1555-1632) who lived in Rome although Florentine nobility. See Hitchcock, Le nuove musiche, 45.

72 Ibid.: “Tutti possono rendere buona testimonianza quanto mi esor tassero a continovare l’incominciata impresa, dicendomi per fino a quei tempo, non havere udito mai armonia a’ una voce sola, sopra un semplice strumento di corde, che havuto tanta forza di muovere l’affetto dell’animo quanto quie madrigali.”

of Tuscany in 1609, at the height of Medici artistic patronage. For one year, between 1587 and 1588, he in fact occupied both offices simultaneously while waiting for Sixtus V to approve his “resignation” and approve a marriage to continue the Medici dynastic line. While art historians have addressed the significance of Ferdinando’s dual status within the history of Medici patronage, this ground has not been adequately addressed by musicologists, despite its importance for situating Medici patronage of solo song and early opera.

From the beginning of his cardinalate at age 14, Ferdinando inclined to the secular aspects of the office. Appointed cardinal during the Medici papacy of Pius IV, his presence in Rome allowed the Medici family to acquire and leverage power against other prominent Italian families. He was only ever ordained a deacon, and this without any specialized training. His study of Latin, for example, began only in 1568, five years after entering the cardinalate. Other prominent cardinals also resisted priestly ordination in case they were needed to continue the dynastic line. Alessandro Farnese, the most powerful cardinal in Rome, was also created a cardinal at the age of 14, but only ordained a priest at the age of 44, after 30 years in office. Odoardo Farnese similarly resisted priesthood. Cardinal Borromeo provides an apt counter-example as one who refused secular leadership in his family in favor of ordination.

In the case of Ferdinando and the Farnese, however, both seem to have viewed their role as primarily political as opposed to theological, liturgical, or devotional.

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Ferdinando was certainly heir to an impressive line of Medici power in Rome, including three popes: Leo X (Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici), who reigned from 1513-1521; Clement VII (Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici), who was pope from 1523-1534; and Pius IV (Giovanni Angelo Medici), who was in power 1559 to 1565 and who presided over the final sessions of the Council of Trent (1559-1663). As a cardinal, Ferdinando was furthermore preceded by Ippolito de’ Medici in 1529 (also Vice-Chancellor, second only to the pope in power)\(^{76}\) and Giovanni Cosimo I in 1560. The line of Medici Archbishops was also strong, and seems to have been used as a stepping stone to the papacy in the case of both Giulio de’ Medici (Archbishop of Florence in 1513, later Clement VII) in 1513 and Alessandro de’ Medici (Archbishop of Florence 1574-1596, later, Pope Leo XI, an election facilitated by Ferdinando I).\(^{77}\)

A sign of the prestige of his new office, Ferdinando’s court upon his arrival in Rome was more elaborate than that of his father in Florence (while his father’s employed 168 in his *famiglia* in 1564, Ferdinando traveled to Rome with no less than 300).\(^{78}\) Repeated letters home requested more money and complained about the difficulty of meeting the expectations of cardinal’s courts.\(^{79}\) Within the curia, however, he used his power well to the benefit of his family’s interests. He facilitated the new title of Grand

\(^{76}\) It was common for a reigning pope to grant this office to a nephew or close relative as a way of ensuring the influence of his family but also ensuring loyalty within the hierarchy. Pope Paul III (Alessandra Farnese), did the same with his grandson, Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), in 1535, upon Ippolito’s death. This ensured the supremacy of the Farnese family in Rome well after Alessandro’s death in 1589. See ibid., 9–10.

\(^{77}\) For more on the relationship between Alessandro and Ferdinando I and their role in papal and Tuscan politics, see Butters, “Contrasting Priorities: Ferdinando I de’ Medici, Cardinal and Grand Duke,” 196.


\(^{79}\) Ibid., 61–63.
Duke of Tuscany for his father. He corresponded extensively with his brother, providing insider information about international political dealings, and he influenced politically-savvy marriage alliances.  

However, Ferdinando also served numerous theological and devotional roles in the curia. Appointed to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, he devoted himself to facilitating missions in Asia. The founder of the Medici Press that later printed the Medicean Gradual, he oversaw the translation of the Bible into Arabic and Syriac. He was Cardinal Deacon of three churches: S. Maria in Domnica (1565), S. Eustachio (1585), and S. Maria in Via Lata (1587). He was also the Cardinal Protector of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, one of the most active confraternities closely linked to Neri’s Oratory in Rome that held elaborate processions for Holy Week and Corpus Christi, which he both administered and occasionally funded.

After becoming Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1587, Ferdinando continued to cultivate favors among the cardinalate to influence the election of future popes favorable to Medici rule. In 1585, Ferdinando I, still a cardinal, influenced the election of Pope Sixtus V (Cardinal Felice Peretti Montalto). Having risen to the powerful status of senior Cardinal Deacon, or Protodeacon, Ferdinando I had the prestigious and prominent role during the coronation ceremony of bestowing the tiara on Peretti. Before this election, Ferdinando’s brother, Francesco had come to Peretti’s aid, providing a pension for Peretti after Gregory XIII had revoked his Vatican-paid pension. Once Ferdinando

80 Ibid., 59.


82 Mandel, Sixtus V and the Lateran Palace, 27.
became Grand Duke in 1587, he maintained close ties to Sixtus V through connections with the Peretti family: cardinal nephew Montalto was a frequent invitee of the Medici household, and his sister (Sixtus V’s grand-neice), Flavia Peretti Damasceni lived in the Pitti palace with her husband Virginio Orsini (a Medici nephew through his mother, Isabella de’ Medici), along with Emilio de’ Cavalieri. Ferdinando had in fact arranged this marriage, which would place the Montalto and Medici into an important family alliance.\(^8^3\)

Ferdinando furthermore identified himself closely with the Medici Pope Leo X and his cultural as well as missionary program.\(^8^4\) Recent scholarship suggests that his experience in Rome in fact became the model for centralizing Florentine government, and his careful construction of a network of alliances.\(^8^5\) Upon his arrival in Florence, Ferdinando was conspicuous in his favor towards Romans over Florentine natives, and towards his own Roman musicians over those of his brother Francesco’s court.\(^8^6\)

Numerous intellectuals, patrons, and musicians benefited from the corridor of power maintained by the Medici, participating in lines of cultural trade between Rome and Florence, and between sacred and secular circles. The household of Cardinal

\(^8^3\) Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles Around Cardinal Montalto*, 45.


Montalto, with whom Ferdinando and Cavalieri maintained close ties, was an important site in the development of early monody, as already mentioned. Cardinal Montalto travelled frequently between Rome and Florence, invited to hear the latest musical entertainments, including a repeat of Peri’s *Dafne* in 1599 in the Pitti Palace.\(^8^7\) Giovanni de’ Bardi moved to Rome in 1592 in service to the new Florentine pope, Clement VIII.\(^8^8\) Philip Neri, founder of the Oratorian community in Rome, was from Florence, but moved permanently to Rome in 1533 at the age of 18 and began an active and persuasive ministry that drew thousands to the Oratory by the late 16th century, as well as hosting early Oratorian services in the Florentine Church of Rome, S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. One of Neri’s “persuaded” was none other than Giovanni Battista Strozzi, one of the hosts of the influential *Accademia degli Alterati* of which Bardi and Mei were members, and author of the fourth *intermedio* of the 1589 production. In 1590, Strozzi left Florence for Rome to become a lay member of Neri’s Oratory.\(^8^9\)

Given these numerous examples, from curial political alliances, to cardinals devotions, the fashionability of confraternity worship, and the vagaries of musicians’ day-to-day lives, it is certain that musicians and patrons in Rome and Florence participated in both sacred and secular spheres on a weekly, if not daily basis. This constant crossing between realms provides an important and oft neglected context for early modern music-making. In the case of plainchant and monody, this “crossing of

\(^8^7\) See Palisca, “Musical Asides,” 400.

\(^8^8\) Palisca, “Musical Asides,” 394.

“boundaries” provides a concrete backdrop for considering how plainchant and monody could enter into actual dialogue, whether in discourse or in practice.
Chapter Three

“Truly a plainchant”:
From Ancient Greek Song to Opera

“It should be sufficiently evident except to someone who goes to any length to pervert the truth … that the music of the ancients was without a doubt a plainchant [canto fermo].”

I considered it certain that the singing of the ancients was in every song a single air, such as we hear today in church in the recitation of the psalmody [salmeggiare] of the Divine Office, and especially when it is celebrated solemnly.

Such bold claims, made by Mei at the beginning of his 1572 letter to Galilei, leave no room for doubt that plainchant and ancient-inspired monody crossed paths, at least in late 16th-century musical discourse. For Mei, the connection between plainchant and ancient music was so clear that to miss it meant willful distortion of the obvious.

Making such comparisons within the first paragraphs of the letter, Mei ensured that the chant-ancient music link was visible to even those who might want to “pervert the truth.”

Nearly ten years later, Galilei put many of the ideas from this correspondence into print, reiterating several of Mei’s plainchant comparisons nearly word-for-word. Portions of Mei’s letter were later also put into print, attesting to its perceived importance as not only

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1 Mei, “Letter to Vincenzo Galilei,” 19r; Palisca, The Florentine Camerata, 63: “Or per tutte queste cagioni sin qui addotte, lasciando indietro ogni altra autorità et argumentazione, che da chi minutamente, et con maggior sottigliezza andasse per tutto ricercando ci si potrebbe aggiugnere per non volere soverchiamente a senza proposito esser piu oltre tedioso in cosa che ormai à chi non voglia gareggiando per ogni verso perfidiare contro la verità sia certa abbastanza apparisce stimo io appertamente esser che la musica e cantar de gli antichi fusse senza altro dubbio un canto fermo.”


a personal statement of ideas, but as a document influential to the intellectual climate of solo song and opera in Florence. But why would Mei choose to elucidate ancient Greek music using the example of plainchant?

**Girolamo Mei and his Florentine Correspondents**

Girolamo Mei, one of the most influential figures in the articulation of the new music for solo voice, was part of the Rome-Florence corridor of ideas fostered by years of Medici presence in both cities. A Florentine living in Rome since 1559, Mei had maintained close ties with the Florentine intellectual community, both through his teacher, Piero Vettori, and his various Academy memberships, including the *Accademia fiorentina* (1540) and *Accademia degli alterati* (by 1585). Highly regarded by these Florentine intellectuals as an expert on ancient Greek music, Mei had read every available source on ancient Greek modes, tuning, and poetics as well as on musical metaphysics and ethics. Among his credentials, Mei had edited the tragedies of Aeschylus and Euripides as well as works by Cicero, Ptolemy, and Aristotle. He wrote a

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5 Florentine intellectuals and court musical life were often at odds, as demonstrated by Accademia della Crusca member Giovanni de’ Rossi’s disapproval of court preferences for theatrical spectacle in the intermedi of 1585/6 and 1589 over Accademia ideals. Tim Carter, Jacopo Peri, 1561-1633: His Life and Works (Garland Pub., 1989), 13.


7 Mei listed his sources on ancient music theory in his 1572 letter to Vincenzo Galilei, including the authors Aristoxenus, Plutarch, Ptolemy, Porphyry, St. Augustine, and Boethius. For the list, see Palisca, The Florentine Camerata, 75–77; and Palisca, Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought, 265–267.
manuscript treatise *De modis musicis antiquorum* (1568–1573), as well as treatises on rhythm in oratory and on Tuscan literature and language.\(^8\)

Mei was well situated in Rome to undertake this research. As secretary to Cardinal Giovanni Ricci de Montepulciano from 1561 to 1574, Mei had daily access to the Vatican library. He also made use of various Cardinals’ private libraries, including the libraries of the Cardinals Sant’Angelo and Carpi.\(^9\) Given the long-standing fashion for antiquity in Rome, these collections were among the best in the world. He was also well situated professionally, given his interest in antiquity and his need of secure employment: Ricci was well-regarded as a collector of antiquities and liked to surround himself with educated humanists.\(^10\) Ricci also had long-standing connections to Florence via the Medici, beginning as an ally to Cosimo I in Roman affairs. Ricci was involved in nominating Ferdinando to the cardinalate, and served from then on as Ferdinando’s mentor and protector.

Mei corresponded with members of the *Accademia degli alterati* in Florence, and his ideas about tragedy and ancient Greek music were read at Academy meetings and debated by its members, which included Lorenzo Giacomini (1552–1598), a

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\(^9\) The Cardinal Carpi referred to by Mei was likely Cardinal Rudolfo Pio da Carpi (1500-1564), a humanist, collector of antiquities, with a celebrated library. He was also the Cardinal Protector of the Jesuits and was in regular contact with Ignatius of Loyola. For Mei’s reference to Carpi see Palisca, *Girolamo Mei*, 156; for references to Carpi in the works of Loyola, see “The Spiritual Diary,” section 74 from February 23 to March 4, 1544 in Saint Ignatius (of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, ed. George E. Ganss (New York; Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1991), 250, 443 f. 52.

distinguished scholar of Greek tragedy, music, and poetics who was also a student of Vettori’s. The Academy was indeed fertile ground for exploring the creation of modern tragedies based on ancient exemplars, including an interest in whether or not ancient tragedies were sung throughout. In 1586, Lorenzo Giacomini presented a lecture “De la purgation de la tragedia,” in which he cited Mei as an expert, sympathetic to his ideas. Debates over tragedy in fact recurred throughout the 1580s, addressing whether or not tragedies should end happily (debated by Torquato Malaspina and Francesco Bonciani in 1582), whether tragedy purged pity and fear (debated by Giulio del Bene and Filippo Strozzi in 1583), the ideal number of acts in a tragedy (del Bene and Marcello Adriani in 1584), and whether or not prologues should be related to the action or not (Giacomini and Marcello Adriana in 1589).

These debates were accompanied by an interest in reviving tragedy and provided fodder for contemporary poets to explore the genre as modern poetic expression. Guarini’s *Il pastor-fido*, completed by 1585 and described as *tragi-commedia pastorale*, was in fact read to the Academy members before being published. Ottavio Rinuccini

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12 Published in Giacomini, *Orationi e Discorsi Di Lorenzo Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini*; edited in Weinberg, *Trattati Di Poetica e Retorica Del Cinquecento*.


14 Ibid., 425.
was also a member of the Academy, beginning in 1586, the same year as Giacomini’s discourse in which he cited Mei as an expert. His collaborations with fellow Academy member Jacopo Corsi as well as the composers Jacopo Peri on *Dafne* (1598) and *Euridice* (1600), suggest an Academy-fostered intellectual inspiration informed by the discourses of Mei, Giacomini and other Academy members. Also a member, Giovanni Bardi created a short treatise on tragedy that implied modern recreations.¹⁵

Mei was a friend of Giovanni de’ Bardi, and in 1578 had even invited Bardi to live with him in Rome. They corresponded regularly, with Bardi asking Mei for charts of the Greek modes, for example, in 1578.¹⁶ Bardi’s debt to Mei and his interest in ancient Greek musical theory and principles is evident in his discourse to Caccini, entitled “On Ancient and Good Singing.”¹⁷ The “countless discussions” mentioned at the opening of the discourse presumably refer to Bardi’s own active circle of musicians and nobles, including Giulio Caccini, Piero Strozzi, Vincenzo Galilei, and possibly Jacopo Corsi, in which they discussed the ancient music as a model for a new music capable of moving the affections.¹⁸ Bardi himself experimented with these ideas in the 1589 *intermedi* for

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¹⁵ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Magliabecchiana, MS VII.398. Although anonymous and included in a 1763 edition of Giovanni Battista Doni’s complete works, the treatise has been attributed by Palisca to Bardi based on resonances with Bardi’s literary style and ideas. See Claude V. Palisca, trans., “The Discourse on How Tragedy Should Be Performed by Giovanni Bardi” (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 132–151.


¹⁸ Carter has demonstrated that although Bardi and Corsi had separate “Cameratas,” they were not necessarily rivals and in fact traveled together on various occasions to other courts. See Carter, “Music and Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence.”
the wedding of Ferdinando I de’ Medici and Christine of Lorraine, as the music director and composer of some of the music. Bardi had been well entrenched in Medici court culture since at least 1573, producing expensive theatrical productions for court consumption.

An active member of this circle, Galilei was a lutenist, composer, as well as father to the later famous astronomer Galileo Galilei. Galilei had studied with Zarlino in Venice in the early 1560s, thanks to Bardi’s patronage. In 1569 and again in 1584, Galilei published a book of lute music, the first dedicated to Wilhelm V of Bavaria, Orlando di Lasso’s patron. The second was dedicated to Jacopo Corsi, a sign that Galilei benefited from the support of two of Florence’s most important music patrons, and that by the mid 1580s, his focus was shifting away from Bardi towards Corsi’s circle. No longer a follower of Zarlino when he published his Dialogo in 1581, Galilei was carving out a theoretical niche for himself based on his studies of ancient Greek music. When Galilei began to seek answers for questions about ancient Greek music as a model for the new music, he was introduced, via correspondence, to Mei. In at least 30 letters between 1572 and 1581 to Galilei, Mei described ancient musical ideas to his Florentine colleague, advocating the idea that ancient Greek tragedies were fully sung and elaborating on the power of ancient music in general.


20 Palisca, The Florentine Camerata, 62, 59 (Mei, 16v, 18r).

None of Galilei’s letters to Mei survive, but Mei’s response of 8 May 1572 purports to answer all of Galilei’s many questions, albeit in no particular order, ranging from the effects of ancient music to translations of Ptolemy.\(^{21}\) After two brief introductory paragraphs, Mei sets up a comparison that governs the first two-thirds of the letter: that the music of the ancient Greeks was a plainchant. Quickly apparent is that Mei chose the example of plainchant to facilitate an ancient-modern polemic, setting the powerful melody-driven music of the ancients against the contemporary practice of polyphony. Both plainchant and ancient music used a single melody to declaim text, with the meaning and structure of the text governing the musical delivery. Counterpoint, on the other hand, mixed too many vocal lines, confusing any sense of narrative and cancelling out any expressive effects. Using vivid imagery to supplement his claims, Mei describes the power of melody-driven music like water dropping on a stone and eventually creating a hole from its repetitive force, or by analogy, entering the intellect and the heart. He describes counterpoint on the other hand like two people of equal strength trying to pull down a column with two ropes tugging from both sides, or mixing equal amounts of boiling and ice water, resulting in a temperate mixture unable to cool or heat, tame or inflame the passions.\(^{22}\) In order to stir the affections successfully, what was needed was a

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\(^{21}\) See Palisca’s list of reconstructed questions in Claude V. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations*, Music Theory Translation Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 51. There are three surviving versions of the letter, and the ensuing discussion is based on Palisca’s translation of a copy of the original found in Vatican Library Reg. lat 2021 in the hand of Giorgio Bartoli, secretary to Lorenzo Giacomini.

“united and plain song directed at a single end,” for “in ancient times a single air was used, and not several together—in short, a plainchant and not counterpoint.”

Repeatedly inserting plainchant references to emphasize his points, Mei pursues an anti-counterpoint polemic from a variety of angles: there are no words for soprano, contralto, tenor or bass in ancient musical discourse; the ancients never spoke of consonances or dissonances in practice, only in theory; modern music mangles the text and thus does not stir the affections.

Mei further situates his plainchant-oriented anti-counterpoint polemic as a question of nature versus artifice, from which he articulates a theory of music and the affections based on so-called natural principles. For example, he associates polyphony with unnecessary artifice as well as foolish, negligent, and proud singers. He describes the idea of ancient music understood via plainchant, on the other hand, as almost too coarse, too simple, easily learned, perhaps even mediocre. And yet, he believes that it is by virtue of this simplicity that such music could move the passions:

The songs of Olympus and Terpander, so far as pertains to singing, were without doubt, in my opinion, a plainchant accompanied by an instrument, the lyre or kithara … Although these songs in their airs did not seek out in climbing or descending more than three strings each—so simple and natural were they—nevertheless they were so beautiful melodically and of such excellence that they were never equaled or improved upon by those musicians who followed despite the many strings they put to use … Although they were made from three strings

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24 Mei, “Letter to Vincenzo Galilei,” 18r; Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, 62; A similar anti-counterpoint polemic was fostered by members of the *Accademia fiorentina* in the 1540s, when Mei was a member, but one that associated improvised solo singing with nature and liturgical polyphony with artifice, this situating liturgical music on the wrong side of the divide. It is especially significant, then, that Mei’s work locates the liturgical music of plainchant on the side of solo song as opposed to learned church practices. For a detailed examination of the *Accademia fiorentina* debate, see Robert Nosow, “The Debate on Song in the Accademia Fiorentina,” *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* 21 (2002): 175–221.
and were simple, they nevertheless excelled and outshone the varied and polychordal compositions of others. Not that they sang with three notes, that is, in three airs at the same time, or played, as we in our times, have heard done sometimes by certain great players who have ingeniously played on a viola with a bow three or four parts and airs at the same time (my emphasis).  

This force of such music is in fact possible because, according to Mei, the affections themselves are natural or innate, and require innate means to draw them forth. Once again Mei uses plainchant to help articulate this naturalistic theory of the affections, to demonstrate innate resonances between simply declaimed music, the will, and the human soul:

Perhaps someone will think of two necessary objections to what has been concluded. One is that, if the ancient music was, as has been shown, truly a plainchant, then it may unwittingly appear because of its facility to be something coarse and for this reason not worthy of much attention, inasmuch as all great men have always held it to be something that is essentially every easy to acquire and accessible to any mediocre mind … the natural passions and affections all come about without much effort, since they all arise from inclinations and beginnings that are innate and are suited to those affections in us and therefore easy to imitate and express. Consequently, to stir them up, all that is needed is a ready attitude and inclination toward them (my emphasis).  

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25 Mei, “Letter to Vincenzo Galilei,” 21v; Palisca, The Florentine Camerata, 70: “Le canzoni di Olimpo e di Terpandro per quello che ne appartiene al cantare eran come io credo senza dubbio un canto fermo sopra il suono quanto à Terpandro; conciosia che egli fusse citaredo, ò di Lira o di citara che si piglia per il medesimo: e quanto à Olimpo, conciosia che ancor che ne l’aria de lor cantarsi non ricercassero salendo e scendendo piu che tre corde ciascuna, tanto erano semplici e naturali; non dimeno erano di aria tanto bella et di tanta eccellenza che le non furon mai potute pareggiare non che avanzare da que’musicì, che seguiron poi con tutte le loro tante corde quante essi ne seppero mai mettere in uso….Anchor che le fussero di tre corde e semplici le avanzavano non dimeno e vincevano le varie e di molte corde de gli altri; et non che essi cantassero con tre corde, ciò è in tre arie à un tempo medesimo, ò le sonassero, come habbiam sentito à nostri tempi farsi qualche volta da alcuni grandi artefici, I quali hanno et ingegnosamente certo sonato sopra una medesima viola con l’arco tre ó quattro parti e arie à un tratto insieme.”

26 Ibid. “Il primo è che se la musica antica era veramente un cantar fermo ella mal volentieri può non apparire per la sua agevolezza cosa grossolana, e perciò a’haversi havere in tanto conto: l’altro è che non servendosi essa dell’uso delle consonanze, poiche tutti cantavano una medesima aria, à che fine farsi anta diligenza, e scalpore da suoi scrittori intorno à loro, e insino à capigliarsi nel volere gli uni difendere la ragione d’alcuna d’esse contro l’autorità d’alti, che non l’accettavano … Quanto al primo è da considerare che le passioni et affetti naturali sono tutti senza molta fatica, come quelli che nascono tutti da inclinazioni e principii nati con esso noi, et tutti accomodati à quelli; et per ciò agevoli ad imitarli e esprimersi, et conseguentemente à commoversi ne hanno bisogno se non di attitudine et disposizione conveniente à quello che le sono”
He further connects this notion of song to speech and to the natural and rational faculties of the soul; counterpoint, on the other hand, diminishes the virtue of the soul through its very artifice.27

**Galilei vs. Counterpoint: Plainchant, Ancient Song and Noble Virtue**

Galilei restated Mei’s comparisons of plainchant and ancient music, often almost word-for-word, in his *Dialogo* of 1581. This is not surprising, given the importance of Mei’s correspondence to the development of Galilei’s ideas.28 But although Galilei’s references to plainchant are similar, he inserts them within a more practice-oriented discourse. For example, in one of his earliest references, he uses plainchant to elucidate his example of ancient Greek music notation. After indicating possible copying errors in the manuscript, he describes the use of melisma in the ancient songs by comparing them with plainchant: “Here are four ancient songs…At times a single syllable of a line of poetry is sung to several notes, as is customary still today in ecclesiastical plainchants.”29

He then urges the reader to transcribe the songs into modern notation, a very practice-oriented idea.

In another practice-oriented passage, Galilei questions how singers could keep...

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28 Palisca has demonstrated that despite Galilei’s reliance on Mei in much of the *Dialogo*, Galilei also explored his own ideas and used Mei to augment his own concerns about the state of research into ancient music. See Palisca, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, xxiv–xxv.

29 Ibid., 238–40; Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna*, 1581, 96–97: “Eccovi appresso (per quello ci dimostra l’effigie la forma & l’habito) Quattro antiche Cantilene … che alle volte una sola sillaba del verso, vien cantata sotto diverse note; non altramente di quello, che ancor’hoggi ne’ canti fermi Ecclesiastici si costuma.” Given Galilei’s connection of chant melisma with comparable melodic motion in ancient song, it may be significant that Caccini quotes a chant melisma in his madrigal “Dolcissimo sospir.” See Chapter 5.
together without a conductor, once again using plainchant as a reference point, as well as
the very physical image of sailors rowing in unison:

We should not think that it was necessary for the coragus of that time to beat the
measure to keep the singers together as we are accustomed to doing today, first of
all because there is no authoritative evidence for it that I know of. Nor do I see the
need for it, since they did not sing more than a single air at a time no matter how
many were singing, as we hear in church when a chorus especially of friars and
monks sing the antiphons, responsories, introits, and psalmody, in short, all of the
chant called ‘plain.’ There was no need to pay so much attention to maintain the
same duration in all the voices under the same rhythm. It seems to some that we
could gain some vestige and shadow about these things from the worlds of
Plutarch at the end of the life of Demetrius concerning the aulete Xenophonantus
and from the rowing of sailors.30

This reference to a boat full of fine-tuned bodies rowing in unison sits in sharp contrast to
the next passage in which plainchant is contrasted with polyphony, seen to weaken and
blunt:31

Every song of theirs, whether sung by a soloist or by many, was a plainchant
canto fermo from which issued a single air, not otherwise than how we hear the
psalmody in the divine office of the church, particularly when it is a solemn
observance. This is because they recognized that the low sound had one property
and the high another, and the intermediate still another. They also recognized very
well that when you mix together and confound contrary qualities, you weaken and
blunt the force of one and the other. They not only sang the same words and the
same air at the same time with the same pitches but also the same meter
numero and rhythm. For a pleading supplicant paces words more slowly, with a different
quantity of sound and voice than someone who is speaking in a calm state, and an

30 Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 251; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della
moderna, 1581, 102: “non è anco da credere, che al Corago di quelli tempi fusse necessario per tenere
insieme I cantori, il battere la misura nella maniera che si costuma hoggi; prima per non cen’essere
memoria alcuna d’autorità che io sappia, ne anco vedo per che elle fusse lato necessaria. conciosia che non
si cantando piu d’un’aria sola per volta, & fussetro quelli che cantavano quanti so volessero, come noi
sentiamo in Chiesa dal Coro specialmente de Frato & Monachi, l’antifone, I responsorij, gli introiti, il
salmeggiare; & in somma tutto il canto detto Piano, non vi haveva di mestiero tanta diligenza nel
mantenere le voci di tutti nell;istessa estensione insieme unite sotto il medesimo rithmo. pare ad alcuni, che
di tal cosa sene potesse trarre un poco di vestigio & d’ombra, dalle parole che usa Plutarco nel sine della
vita di Demetrio; in proposito di Senofanto Tibicine, & del remigio de marinari: ma per esser da noi in
questo affare reputata cosa frivole & di nullo valore, non ne diremo piu altro.”

31 In another passage, he confirms this weakening force of counterpoint by describing it as a poison. See
Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 216; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della
moderna, 1581, 87: “pessimo veleno.”
excited person is far from both in every respect, as I said another time (my emphasis).\(^{32}\)

If there were any doubt about the virtues of plainchant or ancient music versus polyphony, Galilei provides a further example wherein ancient-music/plainchant is associated with honest singers and polyphony is blamed for undisciplined singing:

No one with a good knowledge of their music believes that two or more sang different airs in consonance at the same time in the manner customary today. Although in some of their choruses young and old men, women and children, and others participated who because of the difference of age, sex, and physique could not sing at the unison, they did not for this reason fail to seek with whatever resources they had in order to come as close as possible. It is likely and sensible that octaves and fifteenths [double octaves] occurred all the time between their voices, but this happened because of the natural indisposition of the subjects and not by law, which in this business had more respect for the possible, suitable, and honest. We can understand this, for in the choruses of the chapels of our churches today such a mixture of male singers looks at the same [written] object, which is a plainchant. It is true that today they take more license than is suitable, spurred on perhaps by polyphonic music, which did not happen among the ancients for reasons already given.\(^{33}\) (my emphasis)

\(^{32}\) Palisca, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, 259; Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna*, 1581, 104: “perch è ciascuna lor Canzone, ò fusse cantat da un solo, ò da molti; era un canto fermo, dal quale usciva una sola aria, non altramente di quello che noi udiamo in chiesa salmeggiano nel dirsi il Divino ufitio, & specialmente quando si celebra solenne. & questo nasceva dal conoscere molto bene come si è detto, che altra proprietà era quella del suon grave, altra quella dell’acuto, & altra quella del mediocre: conoscevano in oltre, che le qualità contrarie nel mescolarsi & confondersi insieme, s’indebolivano & in certo modo spuntavano le forze l’un all’altra. Di maniera che non solo cantavano insieme le medesime parole, & l’istessa aria nell’istesso tempo & suono circa l’acutezza & gravità ; ma con l’istessa quantità di tempo, & la medesima qualità di numer & rithmo. Imperoche con altra lentezza di parole si raccomanda il supplicante, & con altra quantità di suono & voce le profferisce, che non ragiona quello che ha l’animo quieto; & lontano da questo & quella in ciascuna cosa differentemente, le proferisce come vi ho detto altra volta, il concitato."

\(^{33}\) Palisca, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, 107; Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna*, 1967, 105: “& se bene in alcuni Cori loro interventivano alle volte giovani, vecchi, donne, fanciulli & altri; I quali non potevano per la differenza degli anni, del sesso, & della complessione cantare potere & saper loro di avvicinar figli piu che potevano: & ha del verisimile & del ragionevole, che tra le voci loturate de soggetti, & non della legge; la quale in questo affare piu rispetto haveva al possibile, che al convenevole & all’onesto; come si può comprendere ancor’ hoggi ne cori delle cappelle delle nostre Chiese, dove interviene tal mescolanza d’huomini, I quali hanno dinanzi à gli occhi il medesimo scopo, & questo è un canto fermo. vero è che al presente sono più licentiosi di quello converrebbe, invitati forse dal canto figurato; il che è; presente sono più licentiosi di quello converrebbe, in vitati forse dal canto figurato; il che è quelli non avveniva, per l’addotte ragioni.”.
Indeed, it is polyphonic music that is blamed for the freedoms taken in plainchant performance.

Like Mei, Galilei associates the virtue of this mode of singing with its simplicity and to a perceived similarity with the affections of the soul. Again using plainchant to facilitate the connection, he describes how earlier forms of plainchant were even more closely aligned with ancient modal practices and thus capable of arousing the affections. He then implies that adding rhythm to modal chant would move the affections even more greatly, thus anticipating the rhythmicized chant reforms of Guidetti a year later, in 1582:

In the simple early plainchant that observed all these [modal] conditions, a variety of melody [harmonia] and consequently of affection arose. It came principally from the small number and diversity of steps and of movements that the chant utilized. To realize the truth of this, consider every minimal part of this distinction, how much the plagal differs in nature from the authentic not only in the sound and movement of a single part … This temperament is not far from that attributed to the [ancient] Hypdorian tonos. It is not surprising that the difference in pitch level, in the movement, and the interval should generate a variety of melody [harmonia] and affection, since nature does not ordinarily produce similar effects with contrary things, nor contrary effects with means of the same quality, but rather the opposite. Add to these circumstances a suitable rhythm and appropriate ideas, and think what force and power such a song [melodia] could have. Certainly enough to be capable of moving listeners’ souls in whatever direction the skillful musician wished, as it once could (my emphasis).34

This passage is rich with detail, and suggests that Galilei imagined chant itself as capable of moving the affections, that he envisaged early chant as somehow equivalent to ancient

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34 Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 184–185; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 74: “la onde in quella prima semplicità de canti fermi, dove queste condizioni erano tutte osservate, nasceva tra essi varietà d’harmonia, & conseguentemente d’affetto; nè da altro principalmente avveniva ciò che della poca quantità di corde che essi ricercavano, & dalla diversità di esse & de movimenti: & per farvi constare tal verità, considerate ciascuna minima parte di questa tale divisione; quanto sia di natura diversa da quella prima … La quale complessione, non è lontana da quelle a che al modo Hypodorio è attribuita. ne è punto da maravigliarsi, che la diversità del suono circa l’acutezza & gravità, insieme con la differenza del moto, & dell’intervallo, partorisca varietà d’harmonia, & d’affetto; avvenga che la Natura non produce per l’ordinario I simili con cose contrarie, ne queste con mezzi della medesima qualità; ma si bene per l’opposto alla considerazione delle quali cose, quando si aggiunto la convenienza del Rithmo, & la conformità de’concetti, qual forza, & virtù crediamo che havesse dipoi quella tale melodia? Tanta certo, che ella sarebbe atta come già era di piegar gli animi degli uditori in quella parte, che al perito Musico piacesse...”
music, and that moving from these ancient practices to modern ones required little more than a few rhythmic gestures and a skillful musician.

In postulating the purpose of music, Galilei again returns to plainchant to help to articulate the divine, cultural, educational, and expressive status of music relative to the state of the human soul:

The use of music, I say, was introduced to humanity for the end that all the wise concur and state, that is, principally to express with the greatest effect their ideas and states of their souls in celebrating the praises of the gods, masterminds, and heroes, as in the ecclesiastical plainchants, through which we comprehend in part the origin of our polyphonic music, and secondarily to impress these ideas with equal force in the minds of mortals for their utility and solace (my emphasis).  

Although Palisca suggests in the footnote to the previous passage that Galilei likely had little exposure to liturgical music, Galilei here demonstrates a far-reaching respect for plainchant, using it to elucidate the meaning of music, even granting polyphony a place in the discussion given its perceived roots, now distorted, in plainchant.  

In these varied examples provided by Galilei, plainchant emerges alongside ancient music as a virtuous practice, evocative of Mei’s association of plainchant with natural and innate simplicities, capable at its height of expressing the states of the soul and praising the divine. This association is significant, especially with regard to notions

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35 Galilei’s text is here reminiscent of Proverbs 16:24, especially in his use of the word “favus” to denote the wise, and references in both to well-ordered words: “Well ordered words are as a honeycomb: sweet to the soul, and health to the bones (Douay-Rheims); “Favus mellis, composita verba: dulcedo animæ, sanitas ossium” (Clement VIII Vulgate), Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 201; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 81: “se l’uso della musica dico, fu da gli huomini introdotto per il rispetto & fine che di comun parere dicono tutti I favii ; il quale non da altro principalmente nacque che dall’ esprimere con efficacia maggiore i concetti dell’animo loro nel celebrare le lodi de Dei, de Genii, & degli heroi; come da canti fermi & piani Ecclesiastici origine di questa nostra a piu voci si può in parte comprendere; & d’imprimergli secondariamente con pari forza nelle menti de mortali per utile & comodo loro; chiara cosa sarà, che le regole de moderni Contrapuntisti osservate come leggi inviolabili, oltre à quelle ancora che per elettione & per mostrare il saper loro si frequentemente usano, saranno tutte di diretto contrarie alla perfettione delle ottime & vere harmonie & melodie.”

36 Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 184, fn. 360: “Galilei probably had a limited knowledge of liturgical music.”
of plainchant as a form of divine song, as well as the seemingly natural resemblance of music and text in speech-like melody, and the perceived naturalness of solo music produced from the voice of a single singer. These overlapping “natural” qualities could only enhance the power of the music which, for Galilei, could penetrate the soul because of the combined force, honesty, simplicity, and affective power. In a later passage, Galilei expands on this power, this time without reference to plainchant, but with a grandiose sense of the moral, magical, and transformative capacity of ancient song:

The ancient [music] preserved chastity, made the ferocious gentle, gave courage to the faint-hearted, calmed disturbed spirits, made the ingenious sharper, filled souls with divine furor, quieted discords among peoples, instilled good habits, restored to hearing the deaf, revived dying spirits, drove out the plague, made oppressed souls happy and cheerful and the wanton chaste, suppressed evil spirits, healed serpent bites, calmed the furious and drunken, relieved those burdened by heavy cares and duties, and with the example of Arion we may finally say—that it freed man from death. 37

It is no wonder, then, that Galilei view the practice of music to be essential to the formation of noble character and disdained the reluctance of many contemporary nobles and princes to participate in music-making. 38 Giovanni Bardi and Jacopo Corsi were clearly among the converted and perhaps provided Galilei with models. Corsi, for example, composed and played the lute and had studied singing and theory as well as

37 Ibid., 213; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 86: “Conservava la pudicitia; faceva mansueti i feroci; in animiva i pusillanimi; quietava gli spiriti perturbati; in acutiva gli ingegni; empieva gli animi di divino furore; racchetaua le discordie nate ti ai popoli; generava negli huomini un’habito di buon costumi; restiviva l’udito a’ sordi; ravvivava gli spiriti smarriti; scacciava la pestilenza; rendeva gli anima oppressi, lieti & giocondi; faceva casti I lussurioli; racchetaua i maligni spiriti; curava i morsi de’ serpenti; mitigava gli infuriati, & ebbri scacciava la noia preia per le gravi cure, & fatiche; & con l’esempio d’Atione possiamo ultimamente dire (lasciandone da parte molti altri simili) che ella liberava gli huomini dalla morte; oltre alle altre ammirabili sue operationi di che son pieni i libri d’autorità.”

38 Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 200; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 80–81.
keyboard in the late 1570s with eminent musicians including Luca Bati and Cristofano Malvezzi. He even played harpsichord in the 1600 performance of Euridice.\(^{39}\)

**Plainchant as the Bridge to Antiquity**

According to Galilei, the art of ancient music had been lost due to the effects of war and other strife, with few traces remaining.\(^{40}\) Zarlino had expressed a similar idea in his *Istitutioni*, one point on which Zarlino and Galilei agreed despite Galilei’s use of the *Dialogo* to implicitly critique Zarlino’s theories and earlier publication. Unlike Zarlino, however, Galilei set up plainchant as an important intermediary between ancient and modern. Galilei, for example, devotes considerable space to discussing Guido of Arezzo, lauding him as a musical expert in an ignorant age lacking virtue, and also as a musical savior, restoring a lost manner of singing that could be “acquired naturally in the beginning of the world [but] had not been maintained.”\(^{41}\) Galilei especially praises Guido’s contributions to modal theory, which, as Charles Atkinson has recently discussed, also linked modal characteristics to psalm tone formulas.\(^{42}\) Atkinson also confirms Galilei’s insight, that Guido’s sense of modal character was linked to ancient ideas,

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\(^{41}\) For Galilei’s various discussions of Guido of Arezzo, see Palisca, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, 10–11, 91–100, 367–368; Galilei, *Dialogo*, 2–3, 35–39, 146–147. For his reference to Guido’s rescue of music, see 93; Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna*, 1581, 36: ne era per questo che fra gli huomini non si fusse mantenuto quel modo di cantare che nel principio del mondo naturalmente si acquistarono”; Randall Goldberg also cites this passage, but misinterprets the tone regarding Guido. See Randall E. Goldberg, “Where Nature and Art Adjoin: Investigations Into the Zarlino-Galilei Dispute, Including an Annotated Translation of Vincenzo Galilei’s *Discorso Intorno All’opere Di Messer Gioseffo Zarlino*” (PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2011), 37, 71.

although not exclusively.\footnote{Ibid., 233.} In this spirit, Galilei compared church modes and ancient modal theories, sometimes perceiving analogies, other times demonstrating significant divergences. For example, Galilei notes that the Lydian and Mixolydian modes were separated by a tone in church use, but only by a semitone in ancient use.\footnote{Palisca, \textit{Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music}, 188; Galilei, \textit{Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna}, 1581, 77.} Galilei then lauds the early composers of plainchant, however, for limiting the number of modes to that of the ancients. Framing ecclesiastical and ancient modes in this manner thus allowed Galilei to pointedly critique both Glarean and Zarlino for allowing accretions to the modal system, moving from eight modes to twelve.\footnote{Palisca, \textit{Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music}, 191; Galilei, \textit{Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna}, 1581, 78; Heinrich Glarean, \textit{Dodecachordon} (Basel: H. Petri, 1547); translated in Heinrich Glarean, \textit{Dodecachordon}, trans. Clement Miller (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965); Gioseffo Zarlino, \textit{Le Istitutioni Harmoniche} (Venice: Pietro da Fino, 1558); translated in Gioseffo Zarlino, \textit{On the Modes: Part Four of Le Istitutioni Harmoniche}, 1558, ed. Claude V Palisca, trans. Vered Cohen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).}

By presenting plainchant as seemingly continuous with ancient song in this manner, Mei and Galilei fostered a rhetorically useful notion—that plainchant was temporally closer to ancient Greek song than the latest musical fashions. As such, plainchant provided an imagined bridge between the music of an idealized future and the musical utopia of the past. This imagined bridge had numerous possible functions and implications: it provided a conceptual model for composers seeking to create in the ancient manner. Such a bridge furthermore allowed Galieli more effectively to disparage counterpoint (and by extension, Zarlino)—something that other musical analogies could not accomplish as authoritatively. It also contributed to the character of solo song as a noble repertoire with seemingly virtuous and powerful effects.
Plainchant–Antiquity Continuum in Vatican Rome

Mei and Galilei were not alone in aligning plainchant with ancient music. The idea had strong cultural currency across sacred and secular spheres. Federico Borromeo, the Archbishop of Milan, for instance, described chant as a vestige of ancient music and used this analogy to elevate the practice of chant in the liturgy. As a Milanese Archbishop, Borromeo was the inheritor of a distinct Ambrosian chant tradition. Although the first notated Ambrosian chants are from the 11th century, two centuries later than those first notated in the Gregorian repertory, Ambrosian chant had an aura of greater antiquity by virtue of its supposed creator, St. Ambrose. Gaffurius, for example, described Ambrose as the composer of Ambrosian chant, thus creating the impression that this branch of chant predated the Gregorian repertory (St. Ambrose lived in the 4th century, two centuries earlier than the famed creator of the Gregorian repertory, Gregory the Great).

Federico Borromeo was also involved in the reform of chant during the papacy of Sixtus V, a reform movement that was itself imbedded in a language of returning to ancient practices. Little is known about Borromeo’s approach to reform. As a


49 For the document that names Borromeo in conjunction with Roman chant reform, see Molitor, *Die nachtridentinische Choralreform zu Rom: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2:15.

respected humanist, with skill in ancient languages and involved in the translation of the Sistine Vulgate published in 1590, Borromeo would have brought a humanist sensibility to the project. As a founding member of the Congregation of Rites and a devoted follower of Neri, he would equally have been concerned with the newly popular, affective devotional practices.52

Borromeo’s connection of chant with ancient music may have originated with Mei, for Borromeo corresponded with Mei and himself lived in Rome from at least 1586 to 1595.53 Borromeo also corresponded with Caccini regarding singing students. Giovanni Battista Strozzi the Younger, who hosted Academy meetings and wrote a treatise on creating intermedi, lived with Borromeo in Milan from 1595-1597, revealing just how strong Borromeo’s ties were to both Roman and Florentine intellectual circles.54

The idea that chant had ancient roots was also fostered in Rome by the chant editor Giovanni Guidetti. In prefaces to his various works, Guidetti referred to ancient music via the figures of David and Pythagoras and used an ancient-inspired notation to notate chant (see Chapter 7). He also used a speech-like declamatory style in his many edited recitational chants indicative of ancient musical ideals. The most obvious reference to his antique aspirations, however, is found in a poem that survives as a single

51 A useful starting point for investigation would be the early 17th century chant treatise Camillo Perego, La regola del canto fermo ambrosiano (Milan: Pontio e Piccaglia, 1622).


53 For a useful biography, see Jones, Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan.

54 See the introduction to Strozzi, “Prescriptions for Intermedi,” 212.
unidentified sheet in the Vatican library.\textsuperscript{55} Partly written in the voice of his first publication, the \textit{Directorium chori}, the “book” urges the reader to become a more worthy minister of the church by using this important volume. The book then boldly claims to teach the ancient manner of singing:

\begin{quote}
I myself shall teach the true rules and measures of the choir in the ancient rite, by which our Forefathers sang; We offer the ancient music: do not spurn that ancient music which has been remote, for we have caused the new to be joined with it.\textsuperscript{56}
\end{quote}

As a chant editor of considerable repute, it is likely that Guidetti’s association of ancient music and chant was known by Cardinal Borromeo, and even to Mei himself. As a very visible advocate of an ancient-modern bridge achieved through chant, comparison of Guidetti’s work with that of the early monodists within Mei’s sphere of influence will figure prominently in subsequent chapters.

Robert Kendrick suggested that Borromeo was alone in associating liturgical chant with ancient music.\textsuperscript{57} Clearly this was not the case, with Mei, Borromeo, and Guidetti in Rome each expressing a similar idea, and perhaps even in dialogue with one another as subsequent chapters will explore. The contact between Mei and Borromeo, as

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\textsuperscript{56} This poem may be by Guidetti as the handwriting is similar to that in a surviving letter to the Duke of Mantua. The 1589 edition of the \textit{Directorium chori}, unlike the 1582 edition, actually includes such a poem as an epigraph in praise of Cardinal Evangelista Pallotto, suggesting that the handwritten poem in Reg. lat. 2076 was at one point intended to be included in the 1582 publication, after the prefatory material. For the full poem, see Appendix II. “In Directorium Chori Jo. Guidetti”: “Ipse chori veras leges modulosq docebo Antiqui ritu, quo cecinere Patre. Prisca damus: ne sperne t\textsuperscript{e}; q\textsuperscript{e} prisca fuere Dissita, iuncta simul fecimus e\ë nova.” It is important to note how the chants are here described as a merging of the new with the old, similar to how Peri described his recitative style as responding to the inspiration of antiquity, but at the same time his own invention (see Chapter 7).
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well as Mei’s contact with other important religious figures like Cardinal Pio of Carpi (Cardinal Protector of the Jesuits in Rome), invites exploration into religious influences on Mei and Galilei more generally and the cross fertilization between sacred and secular humanism.

Mei, Galilei, and the Myth of Secularized Early Modernity

Positioning Mei and Galilei as conversant in religious culture runs counter to the more common scholarly view of both figures as deeply secular. A significant body of scholarship has recently situated Galilei, for example, within the frame of the scientific revolution and the rise of secular modernity, positing him as an important influence in the development of his son’s scientific method.58 Galilei was indeed an important proponent of the elevation of sense-based knowledge and the denigration of inherited authorities, as seen in comments like these from the Dialogo:

May it please the giver of all good things, I want you, setting aside every authority, to perceive in front of you the truth in its minutest detail.59

It is an impertinence to want to contradict with someone’s authority what the sense can ascertain with the greatest facility. I speak of natural and ordinary things humanly [humanemente] and not of supernatural and divine things.60


59 Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 60; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 22: “perche piacendo al Datore di tutti I beni; voglio che sensatemente (deposta da canto ciascuna autorità) vediate in fronte la verità di ciascun minimo particolare.”

60 Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 257; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 103: “è in’impertinenza il volere contradirle con l’autorità di questo & quello; delle naturali & ordinarie intend’io adesso humanamente parlare, & non delle sopranaturali & divine.”
Galilei also used experiments and sense experience to determine issues of tuning, rather than privilege numerical ratios in the tradition of Zarlino and Boethius.\(^{61}\)

Palisca described this aspect of Galilei’s thinking as a radical break with the past through the use of empirical inquiry and the elevation of experiment. He thus referred to Galilei as “an intensely secular person, disbeliever in things mystic, divine, or numerological … a believer in experiment and sense-experience as the best paths to the truth and skeptical of authority.”\(^{62}\) He lauded how Galilei “cleared the air, still laden with Pythagorean mysticism, for an empirical theory of harmony.”\(^{63}\) He furthermore placed great importance on the fact that Galilei, unlike Zarlino, was wholly secular and not a priest. Palisca similarly described Mei as “unencumbered by the bags of tricks of the number mystics or the heavy tomes of the theologians.” He also emphasized Mei’s secular status versus that of Tinctoris and Zarlino, “churchmen trained in the scholastic tradition” with a “metaphysical orientation” as opposed to Mei’s “humanized and secularized frame of thinking.”\(^{64}\)

Certainly both Mei and Galilei are emblematic of the late Renaissance shift towards empiricism, the elevation of sense-based knowledge, and reasoning from experience. But this does not mean they were not also participants in religious culture, or that religious culture ceased to be relevant within their sphere of activity, as demonstrated

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\(^{61}\) Palisca, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, xxix. Zarlino, for example, described the affinity of the voice for pure consonant ratios as due to their mutual divine origins, whereas Galilei used hearing to determine human affinity for specific kinds of consonance. Palisca, xxxii.

\(^{62}\) Ibid., xxix. See also p.xxvii and xxviii

\(^{63}\) Palisca, “Vincenzo Galilei’s Counterpoint Treatise,” 37.

\(^{64}\) Palisca, “Girolamo Mei: Mentor to the Florentine Camerata,” 20.
more explicitly in Chapter 2. Keith Hutchison, for example, has characterized the shift from the 16th to the 17th century not as a sacred-secular shift, but a shift in terms of where God sits in the universe: from God the great mind that reveals nature to humanity through revelation to God the great being who makes the world intelligible to human minds and senses.\textsuperscript{65} Within this new view, everything, even Scripture, was open to human observation and interpretation, something that Galileo Galilei encouraged in his dialogue with Catholic authorities.\textsuperscript{66} Recent work on Galileo has equally begun to question his secularized portrayal: his daughter was a cloistered nun and his correspondence with Christine of Lorraine reveals a sympathetic and knowledgeable Christianity.\textsuperscript{67}

In this light, it should not be surprising that Galilei utters statements (in the mouth of Bardi in the \textit{Dialogo}) that affirm a divine order (“The heavens do not permit or tolerate imperfections”)\textsuperscript{68} or place the senses within a larger rational and moral framework (“the senses know white from black, bitter from sweet, but they do not know why one should

\begin{footnotes}
\end{footnotes}
be desired and the other shunned”). Meī similarly situates nature and language within the purview of the divine, referring to nature as God’s minister and, perhaps significantly, God as the giver of speech. Daniel Chua points out similar contradictions within Galilei’s work, referring to two tendencies: the desacralization of music (subjected to scientific enquiry), and the enchantment of music by virtue of its human expressive power linked to a supposed divinity in nature. As Hutchison noted, this divinity in nature did not preclude God, but merely shifted God’s locus and mode of revelation.

Meī lived in close contact with Christian ritual as secretary to an influential cardinal. Galilei was likely also familiar with Catholic liturgy, more than Palisca allows. For example, Galilei chose none other than the text of the Lamentations of Jeremiah for his second experiment with monody in 1582—a text liturgically appointed for the dramatic night office of Tenebrae during the solemn observances of Holy Week leading up to Easter. Typically sung to a Lamentations tone including extensive recitation on a single pitch, the text was also sung using polyphonic settings since the turn of the 16th century as composed by Carpentras, Morales, Palestrina and Victoria, to name only a few. John Walter Hill suggests that Galilei’s setting for solo voice was performed for

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69 Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 210; Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 84: “& quantunque i sen si conoschino il biancho e’l nero, e l’amore e’l dolce; non però gli conoscano in modo che sappia no discernere l’uno essere da desiderare & l’altro da fuggire.”

70 Palisca, Girolamo Mei. Letter 3, fol. 48v (compare this with Dialogo, p. 82)

71 Chua, “Vincenzo Galilei, Modernity and the Division of Nature.”

the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, as already mentioned in Chapter 2. The Compagnia included the city’s most noble families, including both of Galilei’s patrons, Bardi and Corsi.\textsuperscript{73} The Compagnia also fostered both theatrical and musical experimentation in worship, and as such attracted the city’s most celebrated musicians, including Caccini, Peri, and Malvezzi. Unfortunately, Galilei’s setting is not extant, and musicologists often neglect to mention this setting by Galilei, preferring instead to highlight Galilei’s other non-extant monodic experiment from this same period, the lament of Count Ugolino from Dante’s Divine Comedy.\textsuperscript{74}

Galilei composed his solo song version of the Lamentations less than a year after publishing his Dialogo. He in fact described his Lamentations as his Dialogo put into practice, which may very well have meant that he used chant as a conceptual mediator between ancient and modern song:

This dialogue inspired me to try to give my ideas more meaning, and I have only now finished writing some music for the responses and lamentations … in the style of the ancient Greeks. This style … correctly uses, as is known, one singer, and not many, as is against all reason, the custom today. My music … is not without that special effect in which the prophet Jeremiah prayed and which I tried to incite in my listeners. I believe I came close to the true meaning of that ancient and learned music.\textsuperscript{75}


\textsuperscript{74} See, for example, Richard Taruskin, Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 803.

\textsuperscript{75} See Galilei, Letter to the Duke of Mantua, 2 January, 1582 [1581], in Angelo Solerti, Gli arbori del melodrama (Milan: Sandron, 1904), 38, fn. 2.
The Lamentations chant certainly would have provided a stylistically apt model with its
text-based recitation, narrow melodic range, tear-ridden text, and even a chromatic
inflection (from A to Bb)—all elements thought common to ancient Greek song.

Giovanni Bardi’s son, Pietro Bardi, later described Galilei’s Lamentations as too
antiquated— as if in walking the line between chant and solo song, Galilei failed to
inaugurate a perceptibly different solo idiom, as if the line between chant and recitational
solo song lacked clarity to begin with. Seen thus, Galilei’s first “archaic” experiment in
monody may have been intended very pointedly to “refute” the many circulating
polyphonic versions of the Lamentations text. In other words, evoking plainchant in an
expressive solo song may have been a way implicitly to critique polyphony and carve out
a distinct place for the new expressive idiom.

Galilei’s lute intabulation of the tonus peregrinus chant formula in his Fronimo of
1584 provides another such case in point. A version of “In exitu Israel” (Psalm 113),
Galilei’s setting would have been suitable for the Compagnia’s Sunday and Easter
Vespers services, given that the text and tone were proper to those liturgical occasions.
The text of Psalm 113 also had affective dimensions with its references to exile,
wandering and rejoicing, as well as the drama of a parting sea:

When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a barbarous people:
Judea made his sanctuary, Israel his dominion.
The sea saw and fled: Jordan was turned back.

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76 Pietro Bardi, Letter to Giovan Battista Doni, 16 December, 1643, in Angelo Solerti, Le Origini Del
Melodrama (Turin: Fratelli Boca, 1903), 143-47, cited in Piero Weiss, Opera: A History in Documents

77 Vincenzo Galilei, Fronimo: Dialogo di Vicentio Galilei nobile fiorentino sopra l’arte del bene intavolare et
rettamente sonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si discorde come di fiato, & in particolare nel Liuto
(Venice: Scotto, 1584), 17–23: “le quali mi sono oltre a modo grate, per cantarle al liuto, & in particolare
quello In exitu”; cited in Lundberg, Tonus Peregrinus, 93.
The mountains skipped like rams, and the hills like the lambs of the flock. What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou didst flee: and thou, O Jordan, that thou wast turned back? Ye mountains, that ye skipped like rams, and ye hills, like lambs of the flock?\textsuperscript{78}

In describing his intabulation of the tone, Galilei emphasizes his graceful and sensitive delivery of text and cites his version as a special example of how to write in the new manner.

\textbf{Hearing Recitative as Plainchant}

While Mei and Galilei associated plainchant with ancient Greek song, Severo Bonini (1582–1663) associated recitative with plainchant.\textsuperscript{79} A student of Caccini’s in the early 17th century, Bonini was also a monk, an organist, and a composer who published his \textit{Madrigali e canzonette spirituali} in 1607 and in 1613 wrote a version of Arianna’s lament inspired by Monteverdi’s. In his \textit{Discorsi e regole sopra la musica}, considered an important source on early monody and opera, Bonini in fact enumerated numerous chant types that resembled recitative, including the recitational chants sung during Holy Week:

I have observed a similarity between the sung recitative and many melodies found among the chants of the Holy Church—e.g. the recitation tones of [the Office] of the Dead, of Holy Week, of the Passion, of the \textit{Pater noster}, of the Prefaces, and of hymns. And if [these chants] were to be sung over a [continuo] or written in the measure of figural music, I believe that some resemblance to the above-mentioned “invented style” would be heard.\textsuperscript{80}


\textsuperscript{79} For a biography of Bonini, see the introduction to Bonino, \textit{Severo Bonini’s Discorsi e regole sopra la musica}; see also David Damschroder and David Russel Williams, \textit{Music Theory from Zarlino to Schenker: A Bibliography and Guide} (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1990), 33–34.

\textsuperscript{80} Bonini, “Prima parte de’ discorsi e regole sopra la musica et il contrappunto,” 102r–v; translated in Bonino, \textit{Severo Bonini’s Discorsi e regole sopra la musica}, 179: “che hò osservato che nelli Canti di Santa
Completed close to 1650, the Discorsi contains material modeled on the writing of Galilei, Caccini, and also Zarlino. Whether or not his association of chant with recitative was derived from Galilei, Bonini clearly identified specific recitational chants with the early 17th century solo idiom. Bonini’s desire to elevate Caccini as the originator of recitative suggests that he perceived a resemblance to plainchant in Caccini’s more recitational works. But unlike Galilei, Bonini elevated modern over ancient music, suggesting that by 1650, a connection between plainchant and antiquity was no longer current.

Giovanni Battista Doni also associated plainchant with operatic recitation in his Annotazioni of 1640. His three kinds of recitation are well known to scholars as are the examples that he provides for each: narrativo for long passages of narration (Dafne’s “Per quel vago boschetto” in Peri’s Euridice); espressivo for moments of heightened emotion (Monteveri’s Arianna), and speciale for prologues (“Io che d’alti sospiro,” also in Peri’s Euridice). In describing the special style, Doni not only compares it with strophic aria styles like ottave rime, but describes it as most suitable for use in churches. He in fact describes it having its “true place in the pulpit” before he mentions ottava rima at all:

The quality of this kind of melody is half way between the Narrative and the Expressive: it is more tuneful than these others and less pathetic than the last. Its principal use is in Prologues where it is more tolerable than elsewhere, although

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81 Many musicologists use Doni’s description of operatic recitative in discussing early opera, but very few have included Doni’s remarks about plainchant in their discussions. Murray Bradshaw is among the few to acknowledge Doni’s references to church practice. See Bradshaw, Lamentations and Responsories of 1599 and 1600, XXIII; Those that neglect Doni’s references to plainchant include Hill, Baroque Music, 29–30; Thomas J. Mathiesen, Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (University of Illinois Press, 2006), 119.
its true place is in the pulpit and not the theatre. It is excellently suited for the rhapsody, and similarly recitations in song of heroic poems … or in linked stanzas like ottava rima.  

By mentioning the pulpit in particular, Doni suggests the usage of priests, that is, the recitational chants like versicles, prefaces and pater nosters—similar to the list provided by Bonini.

The rest of his discussion reveals that Doni’s preference is for the expressive style, stating that it is the only type proper to music drama, and that Arianna’s lament is the most beautiful example of its kind that paves the way for further developments. 

In doing so he reveals his agenda—what he is describing is not in fact three types of recitative, but the history of recitative usage, using Peri to illustrate the out of date narrative and special forms, and advancing Monteverdi as the new shining light of opera. Whereas Mei and Galilei used the idea of plainchant to mobilize a new form of music, here Doni does the reverse, using plainchant to signal old-fashioned tendencies.

Doni’s discussion further confirms that plainchant was indeed part of the rhetoric around the new music, but a model no longer needed. To this effect, he mentions plainchant at the very beginning of his discussion of recitative types, right below the

82 Doni, *Annotazioni sopra il compendio de’ generi e de’ modi della musica*, 61: “La qualità della sua melodia è mezzana tra la Narrativa, e l’Espressiva: perché è più ariosa d’amendue; e meno patetica di questa. … L’uso principale è per I Prologi; dove veramente è più tolerabile che altrove: benché il vero suo luogo è il pulpito, e non la scena: perche ottitamente conviene alla Rapsodie, e simili Recitazioni col canto di Poemi Heroici; ò siano di versi s’una forte continuati, come l’Heroici de gl’Antichi, e’l verso sciolto de moderni; o di variate forti, come gl’Idillii; o legati in stanze; come l’ottava rima; e la canzoni destese; perciò sotto questo genere si comprendono anco per mio parere molte arie d’ottave, che si cantano per l’Italia. Per saggio di questo stile si potrebbe addurre il Prologo dell’Euridice sopra detto. Io che d’altri sospir, etc.”

83 Ibid., 61–62: “la qual sola è veramente propria, e convenevole alla scena ... Essempio ne può dare il lamento d’Arianna; hoggimai noto a tutti, ch’è la più bella composizione che si sia ancor veduta tra le Musiche sceniche, e Teatrali”.
section heading “On the Style Called Recitative.” In aiming to clarify what recitative actually is, he describes how many people think that any music for solo voice is recitative, even plainchant. Doni counters this common belief by defining recitative against plainchant:

It is commonly believed that all of these Musics (that is, those composed for solo voice) are of this style [recitative]. Truly this is not the case because, leaving aside the modulations of plainchant, which one sings with only one voice but are not part of recitative, also the more artful music and theatre music, correspond to diverse categories. Some assign two types, the Narrative (or Recounting) and the Expressive (others say Representational), but I add a third which is more narrowly called Recitative, saying that the Monodic style used today in theatres uses three kinds [narrative, special, and expressive].

The fact that he mentions plainchant at all, let alone at the beginning of his re-definition of the genre suggests a strongly perceived link between the two genres, one that Doni desires to dispute.

Evidence of hearing recitative as plainchant occurs in a oft-cited statement by Cavalieri regarding the reception of Peri’s Euridice. In a letter to one of the Grand Duke’s secretaries, Cavalieri reports that many people found Peri’s Euridice and Caccini’s Il rapimento di Cefalo tedious and chant-like:

In Rome they do not adulate. Of the many people of all ranks that I have spoken with, all have said that things of moderate size did not succeed [Euridice], and in particular, the big production did not [Il rapimento]; and that the music was

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84 Ibid., 60: “Nello stile detto Recitativo.”

85 Ibid.: “Comunemente si crede che tutte quelle Musiche siano di questo stile, le quali sono composte, per una sola voce. Mà veramente, non è così: perché lasciando stare le modulationi del canto piano, & Ecclesiastico, che si cantano à una voce sola, e tuttavia non si comprendono sotto il Recitativo; anco le Musiche più artifiziose, e fra queste le Sceniche, sono di variate sorti. Alcuni ne assegnano due, cioè, lo stile Narrativo da altri detto Raccontativo … e l’Espressivo, che altri dicono Rappresentativo. Mà io v’aggiungo per terzo quello che più ristrettamente si dice Recitativo: dicendo che lo stile Monodico, che hoggi s’usa per le scene … è di tre sorti: prima il Narrativo suddetto; il quale si chiama così per adoprarsi nelle Narrationi, e lunghi racconti de’ Messi ….”
tedious, that to them it seemed as if they were hearing the chanting of the passion. This was said in particular by the Marchese de Piano, regarding the passion.”

As with Doni, Cavalieri here reports a perceived resemblance to plainchant as a negative feature of these early experiments in opera. However, as Doni especially makes clear, the chant–ancient song–monody triangle was important to the development of the new recitational idiom. An overt connection to plainchant may have fallen out of fashion by the mid-17th century. That said, plainchant as a conceptual model for monody was clearly current at the end of the 16th.

86 Cavalieri, “Letter to Marcello Accolti,” f. 114r; For the original see Palisca, “Musical Asides in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Emilio De’ Cavalieri,” 351: “In Roma non si adula; et con quanti ho parlato di ogni grado di persona; tutti mi hanno detto; che le cose medie non sono riuscite; et in particolare la grande; et che le musiche sono state tediose; che li è parso sentire cantar la passione; et in particolare è stato detto dal Marchese de Piano; di questa passione.” Most translations of this passage do not re-emphasize the Marchese’s comments about the passion, hence my own translation which reflects Cavalieri’s extra emphasis on the passion-like chanting.

87 The perception that the musical events were like the passion lends further credence to Nils Holger Petersen’s contention that early opera was indebted to the chant-dramas, be they outright liturgical dramas or the dramatic rendering of the Passion chant by a Narrator, Christ and a Crowd (turba). Guidetti’s 1586 edition of the passion chants was in fact published in three separate volumes for Christ, the Evangelist and the Crowd, allowing all three to sing from separate locations, thus enhancing the drama. For an introduction to the passion chants, see Wagner, *Einführung in Die Gregorianischen Melodien*, 486–490; for Petersen’s discussion of the liturgical roots of opera, specifically Marco da Gagliano’s *Dafne*, see Petersen, “Intermedial Strategy and Spirituality in the Emerging Opera: Gagliano’s *Dafne* and Confraternity Devotion.”

88 Given the clear association made by Doni and Cavalieri between chant and recitative, it is surprising that more musicologists have not thought to take these comments at face value. Richard Taruskin provides an interesting insight, despite dismissing any actual resemblance: “Many of those who were privileged to hear it were unimpressed: a joke that made the rounds afterward likened music to the monotonous chanting of the Passion on Good Friday (not such a bad analogy, actually, in view of the original purpose of the chant as a sacralized public oration; but of course that was far from the minds of the jokers.” Taruskin’s association of chant, opera, and sacralized public ritual is something that I will explore in Chapters 6 and 7. Taruskin, *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*, 832.

89 Also from 1640, Francesco Cavalli’s *Gli amori d’Apollo e di Dafne* uses a chant-like idiom to evoke the staid statues of antiquity. In “Suol la turba devota” from Act V, Apollo sings to Dafne using chant-like phrases, as if to signal the lifelessness of the Apollo statue versus the flesh-and-blood God available to Dafne. As such, the chant-like character not only provides a staid model for a recitation about statues, but implicitly critiques a model of “old” recitative, no longer fashionable in this newly public art form. Thank you to Devin Burke for suggesting I look at Cavalli’s opera, even in a preliminary fashion, based on the findings of his own research into animated statuary in Italian opera. For the score, see Francesco Cavalli, *Gli Amori d’Apollo e Di Dafne* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1978).
Chapter Four

“Psalmody … Celebrated Solemnly”: Plainchant as Model for Operatic Recitation

Peri’s _Euridice_ and Caccini’s _Il rapimento_ may have sounded like plainchant to the likes of the Marchese de Piano, but was there any plainchant in either of the scores? Unfortunately, little of the music for Caccini’s _Il rapimento_ is known to survive.¹ A preliminary investigation into the surviving music of the other earliest Florentine operas—Peri’s _Dafne_ and _Euridice_, and Caccini’s _Euridice_—however, reveals surprising resonances between plainchant and the newly forming recitational styles. Further comparison with Monteverdi’s _Orfeo_, which was in many ways modeled on Peri’s _Euridice_, reveals that a chant-like style impacted Monteverdi’s compositional strategies as well.²

Given Bonini’s long list of recitative-like chant types, the possible comparisons with early operatic recitation are numerous: the lamentations and psalmody of Holy Week worship, Passion chants, prefaces, _Pater noster_, and lections for the Office of the Dead. Mei and Galilei, however, isolated plainchant psalmody as an apt reflection of ancient song, “especially when it is celebrated solemnly.”³ Following their lead and looking for psalm-tone usage in early opera provides a manageable framework for a first assessment of plainchant usage in early monody. It furthermore builds on the connection made by Bradshaw and Bettley between falsobordone harmonization of psalm tones and

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¹ What does survive was printed by Caccini in the middle of Caccini, _Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano_.

² For Monteverdi’s imitation of Peri, see Tomlinson, “Madrigal, Monody, and Monteverdi’s ‘via Naturale Alla Imitatione’.”

³ Mei, “Letter to Vincenzo Galilei,” 15r: “e spezialmente quando si celebra solenne”.
monody. While their work focused on the harmonic character of falsobordone, this chapter explores melodic similarities as guided by Mei’s and Galilei’s own comparisons.  

Mei’s and Galilei’s emphasis on psalmody may have derived in part from a sense that psalm tones were among the most ancient chants, with the psalm tones associated with David (often celebrated in the Renaissance as the Jewish Orpheus, as I will discuss in Chapter 7) and to have been handed down through hundreds of years of ancient Hebrew practice to the earliest Christians.  

4 A useful extension of this work would be to look for resonances with the tones chanted by priests and deacons (Doni’s pulpit-oriented chanting), as well as with the passion chants. Two of Giovanni Guidetti’s edited chant volumes would support this work: Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus Passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam & Ioannem*.  


psalm verse, and terminating cadence (termination) with multiple possible different endings (differentiae or diffinitiones).\textsuperscript{7}

Because Galilei defined the search for original ancient practices (including the inventors of specific modes) as one of the most difficult scholarly tasks, the church modes and psalm tones provided a concrete if imperfect link to ancient practice.\textsuperscript{8} Before Galilei, Glarean had conceived of modes in terms of psalmody, with the rise to the reciting tone being considered part of a mode’s character.\textsuperscript{9} This view was equally characteristic of earlier theorists including Guido.\textsuperscript{10} Zarlino, by contrast, had disputed an association of modes with psalmody. In counterpoint pedagogy, psalm tones as voice-leading and cadential models were concurrently becoming “old-fashioned,” to use Lundberg’s turn of phrase.\textsuperscript{11} At the same time, an association between mode and psalm tone clearly still held sway, with Zarlino defended his inclusion of a ninth mode by virtue of the numerous differentiae in psalm singing.\textsuperscript{12}

While Glarean defined plainchant modality as continuous with ancient practices, Zarlino disputed this. Galilei appears to have taken a middle ground, allowing modal psalmody to provide insight into the idea of modal practices in ancient song, albeit


\textsuperscript{8} Galilei, for example, named Thamyris of Thrace as the inventor of the Dorian and Marsyas as the creator of the Phrygian. See Galilei, Dialogo, 63; Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 152; regarding the difficulty of defining a uniform system of ancient modes, see ibid., 65/158.

\textsuperscript{9} See the introduction to Zarlino, On the Modes, xii.

\textsuperscript{10} See Lundberg, Tonus Peregrinus, 42.

\textsuperscript{11} See ibid., 55.

\textsuperscript{12} Zarlino, Le Istitutioni Harmoniche, chapter 26; Zarlino, On the Modes, 77.
imperfectly. According to Mattias Lundberg, this association between ancient mode, psalmody, and early modern melody was evident in 17th-century compositions including the toccata. Evident in the following passage, Galilei perceived a continuity between ancient and modern modes, despite their differences:

Strozzi: Do these ancient tonoi accord at all with the modern modes?
Bardi: Have no doubt about that, particularly with respect to the Latin modes described by Boethius. Rather, contrary to the opinion of some, I believe they were taken from him, as you will recognize.

Whether or not Galilei associated plainchant psalmody with ancient modal ethos—from the perceived majestic quality of the Dorian, to the lamenting orientation of the Lydian—Galilei did describe plainchant performance as capable of moving affections, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Galilei must have perceived the difficulty, however, of equating ancient modal ethos to modern modes, given both recognizable differences and disagreement among the ancients themselves regarding the affective and ethical properties of each mode. In the space of a few short paragraphs, for example, Galilei described the ancient Lydian mode as joyful, suitable for relaxed drunkards, angry, and lamenting.

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14 See Lundberg, *Tonus Peregrinus*, 44.


Nino Pirrotta also noted the importance of modal theory to the idea of the new
music, but argued that composing in a modal manner was lost in Renaissance polyphony,
with modally defined contrapuntal compositions using cadences and finals as a way of
defining mode as opposed to melodic contours.\(^{18}\) Zarlino provides an apt theoretical case
in point, in diminishing the connection between mode, melody, and psalmody. Pirrotta
postulates that without concrete examples of ancient modality, composers of the new
music used the idea of aria and the naturalness of song and speech to anchor modern
experiments within ancient ideals.\(^{19}\) As Galilei’s and Mei’s writings make clear, however,
plainchant provided a link to ancient practice and furthermore was thought to provide an
authentic modal model. As such, composers of the new music not only had the idea of
area and naturalistic speech, but they also had plainchant psalmody to provide desired
modal cues in their work. Composers like Peri could thus use plainchant psalmody in
their works to provide a musical connection to antiquity, to compose in a modal manner,
and thus evoke the power of ancient song.

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\(^{18}\) Pirrotta, “Early Opera and Aria,” 249.

\(^{19}\) Ibid., 249; On modal theory in the mid-sixteenth century, see, for example, Miller’s edition of Glarean,
_Dodecachordon_, 1965; also Vered Cohen’s translation of _Le Istitutione harmoniche_ 1558 in Zarlino, _On the
Modes_; on the use of modes in Renaissance polyphony, see Harold S. Powers, “Tonal Types and Modal
Categories in Renaissance Polyphony,” _Journal of the American Musicological Society_ 34, no. 3 (1981):
428–470; on mode ethos in the Renaissance more generally see Claude V. Palisca, “Mode Ethos in the
Renaissance,” in _Essays in Musicology: a Tribute to Alvin Johnson_, ed. Lewis Lockwood (Philadelphia:
American Institute of Musicology, 1990), 126–129; Cristle Collins Judd, “Renaissance Modal Theory:
Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives,” in _The Cambridge History of Western Music
Theory_, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 364–406; Bernhard
Embellished Psalmody, the *Tonus peregrinus*, and the New Music

As will be seen in the ensuing discussion, composers of early opera used plainchant psalmody in often obvious but sometimes obscured ways because of melodic embellishment. Given the culture of vocal ornamentation, and of psalm ornamentation in particular, this is perhaps not surprising. In Luca Conforti’s *Salmi passaggiati*, psalm tones are often buried within long *passaggi*, and often implied only by harmonic context.\(^2^0\) Galilei’s intabulated version of the *tonus peregrinus* in his *Fronimo* (1584) also often obscures the original tone.\(^2^1\)

Analysis of Galilei’s setting of the *tonus peregrinus* provides important insights into possible psalm-tone procedures in early opera. Although the *tonus peregrinus* was an extra tone that did not belong to the eight plagal and authentic modes, Galilei likely considered the *tonus* akin to the modal mixture undertaken by Sakadas of Argos, who Galilei describes as the creator of mixed *tonoi*.\(^2^2\) Often called *misto tono* (mixed mode), the tone was typically sung with Psalm 113 during Sunday and Easter Vespers and used two different reciting tenors. Glarean and Zarlino both encorporated the *tonus peregrinus* into their extended twelve-mode systems, arguing that the the *tonus* was not in fact a mixed mode, but another mode (ninth or eleventh depending on whether following Glarean’s or Zarlino’s system). Galilei disputed these twelve-mode systems. Without addressing the *tonus peregrinus* directly, he first critiqued Glarean’s and Zarlino’s

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\(^2^1\) Galilei, *Fronimo: Dialogo di Vicento Galilei nobile fiorentino sopra l’arte del bene intavolare et rettamente sonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si discorde come di fiato, & in particolare nel Liuto*, 17; for discussion of this example, see Lundberg, *Tonus Peregrinus*, 92–93.

extended modal systems, then immediately gave credit to the idea of mixed modes by discussing Sakadas use of mode mixture. He furthered elevated Sakadas use of mode mixture (typically Dorian, followed by Phrygian, then Lydian), in terms of the careful arrangement of text to suit the meaning and affect of the words. The wandering tone of the *tonus peregrinus* had similar meaningful associations with the text of Psalm 113 and its references to exile, journeying, and escape, as discussed in Chapter 3. Thus, although lacking an ancient pedigree, the *tonus peregrinus* had other ancient precedents making it a worthy model for the new music. The example of a Horation ode using the *tonus peregrinus* in Glarean’s *Dodecachordon*, provides other evidence of such association between the mixed tone and ancient song.\(^\text{23}\)

Like other psalm tones, the *tonus peregrinus* comprises two half verses, often notated in chant books using a barline (see example 4.1). The tone begins with an intonation or incipit—the characteristic A–Bb–A—followed by recitation on the tenor (A), and concludes mid-phrase with a mediating cadence (mediation or *mediatio*, from Bb through A and G to F). The second half of the verse begins immediately with another recitation tone (tenor 2, on G), although other psalms sometimes use a second intonation to introduce the second tenor. The verse concludes with a terminating cadence (termination or *terminatio*, D–F–E–D). While most psalm tones could end on a variety of different pitches, called *differentiae*, the *tonus peregrinus* typically ended on D.

Galilei’s setting includes four-part homophony, a texted bass, with lute intabulation below the texted stave. For each of six psalm verses, the tone appears predominantly in the top voice of the four-part setting, but modified significantly between verses with varying degrees of embellishment. In the first verse, Galilei omits the most obvious identifying feature of the tone, the characteristic rising and falling A-Bb-A. Instead he preserves the two different reciting tones: A for the first half of the verse, then G for the second half. The terminating cadence for the second half of the verse contains all of the essential pitches (G-D-F-E-D) but with a C-sharp interpolated between the D and F (see example 4.2, with tonus peregrinus pitches marked by an x).

Example 4.2 Galilei: “In exitu Israel,” Fronimo (1584), p. 17-18, mm. 1-10

In his setting of the second verse, Galilei begins immediately with the expected opening semitonal figure, confirming for listeners that this is in fact the tonus peregrinus. He then interpolates twelve menasures of filigree around the tenor before articulating the mediating cadence Bb-A-F-G-F. The expected recitation on G in the second half of the
verse is introduced by an atypical E-F-sharp intonation, and instead of the usual leap down of the fourth to D, the tenor moves upwards to C before descending expectedly from F to D (see example 4.3).

Example 4.3 Galilei: “In exitu Israel,” Fronimo (1584), p. 18-19, mm. 11-32

In the third verse, Galilei offers only the barest outlines of the tone. In the first half of the verse, he begins with the reciting tone one A, then ornaments it with a descending stepwise fourth before returning back to the reciting pitch and resolving atypically to G. In the second half of the verse, Galilei recites on the usual G tenor, but then moves through a variety of non-tone notes before cadencing on F-sharp. The tenor voice introduces the characteristic A-Bb-A in an atypical place, as a cadential gesture for the second half of the verse. Here, the entire tone is in fact truncated to its most essential gestures: opening A-Bb-A, terminating F-E-D (see example 4.4).
In these three verses, Galilei demonstrates the extent to which a psalm tone could be embellished, manipulated, and truncated, all within a recognizable frame. These kinds of gestures recur in examples from the early operas. Galilei’s “In exitu Israel” thus provides a baseline for comparing psalm-like gestures in other contexts, allowing for more confident identification of passages that embed psalm tones within standard ornamental and seemingly improvisatory means.

**Early Operas in Context: Dafne, the Euridices, and Orfeo**

The earliest known operas set mythological narratives using a mixture of recitation, madrigal-like choruses, instrumental ritornelli, and canzonettas. Each were staged in small rather than in grand theatrical settings, although the case of Caccini’s *Il rapimento* suggests that large venues were also possible. The performers included celebrated musicians from Italy’s prestigious courts, including Florence, Rome, and Mantua.

Peri’s *Dafne* was composed in the mid-1590s as an experiment in fully sung drama undertaken by librettist Ottavio Rinuccini, patron and amateur musician Jacopo
Corsi, and Peri. No score was ever printed, and what music survives has been assembled from various manuscripts by matching the text of the libretto (printed in 1600 and 1604) to those of various songs. The story concerned the nymph Dafne who, upon refusing Apollo’s love, was transformed into a laurel tree, with the laurel becoming a symbol of poetic inspiration. Although little music survives, we know that Dafne was a well-received work through its performance history. While it was first performed in 1598 before Giovanni de’ Medici and other noblemen, it was restaged at least four more times within six years: in 1599 in both Corsi’s palace and the Pitti palace, the latter including Cardinals del Monte and Montalto in the audience; in 1600 again at the Corsi palace, a few months before the staging of Euridice; and four years later for the Duke of Palma. Both Peri and Corsi contributed music, and it is clear that Rinuccini and Peri were pleased with their work, describing it as a successful experiment in a new style in their prefaces to Euridice.

The history of Euridice is more well known by virtue of its status as the first surviving opera, with both a printed libretto and score. A wedding gift from Corsi to the Medici family, the opera was performed in the apartment of Antonio de’ Medici for a small audience (including few women) a few days before the signature event, the

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27 Rinuccini published a separate libretto: Ottavio Rinuccini, L’Euridice d’Ottavio Rinuccini (Florence: Giunti, 1600).
performance of Caccini’s *Il rapimento di Cefalo*. The story recast the myth of Orpheus and Euridice as a tale with a happy ending, ostensibly in honor of the wedding festivities. The cast was comprised of some of Italy’s leading musicians: Peri sang the role of Orfeo, Melchior Palantrotti, a celebrated bass from the Sistine Chapel also in the service of Cardinal Montalto, sang Plutone. The famous Francesco Rasi from Mantua performed the role of Aminta. All three also sang in Caccini’s larger production, staged three nights later in the much larger Uffizi theatre.

The role of Euridice as well as the Chorus of Nymphs were performed by Caccini’s students, which resulted in conflict between Caccini and Peri over the music: Caccini refused to let his singers perform from Peri’s score and so wrote his own music for them. As a result, the first performance was a hybrid event, not accurately represented by Peri’s score, although the majority of the music was by Peri (Palisca gives the ratio of 6:1 in favor of Peri). Caccini’s *Euridice*, published a few months before Peri’s, included his music that had been performed for the wedding festivities on October 6, 1600, as well as much music that was newly composed for publication.

Like Peri’s *Euridice*, Monteverdi’s *Orfeo* was for a small, exclusive audience, in this case, members of the *Accademia degl’Invaghiti*. A reprise of the event a few days later included a few invited women. The narrative for the first performance concludes with Orfeo losing Euridice, renouncing women, and being threatened by the Bacchantes who then sing a final chorus in praise of Bacchus. The version printed in 1609 softened

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28 For a detailed discussion of the first performance and preparations, see Palisca, “The First Performance of Euridice.”

29 Ibid., 451.
the narrative, concluding with Apollo raising Orfeo to heaven, counseling him on the life of virtue.

**The Messengers and Narrative Recitative**

Doni defined his first type of recitative as *narrativo* and included in this category the messenger scenes of early operas, in particular “Per quì vago boschetto” from Peri’s *Euridice*. Close examination of this speech, in which Dafne delivers the heartbreaking news that Euridice has died, reveals phrases directly modeled on plainchant psalmody. This includes phrases that not only evoke psalm tone melody, but that use psalm tones to structure and hence clarify the semantics of long phrases of text.

An example preceding Dafne’s long recitation also uses psalm tone formula as a way of giving shape to dialogue. When Dafne appears before Arcetro and Orfeo, she can barely speak and is repeatedly prompted by Arcetro and Orfeo to unburden her heart. Using the first half of psalm tone 6, Arcetro expresses surprise: he just saw her full of joy and cannot believe this sudden despondency (see example 4.5). A few measures later, Orfeo urges her to confess her troubles. Like Arcetro, he does so using psalm tone 6, but this time untransposed, which makes the use of the tone even more obvious. Both Arcetro and Orfeo recite on the first pitch of the intonation and insert a descending major third immediately after reaching the actual recitation tone. Compared with the many variations on the *tonus peregrinus* used in Galilei’s “In exitu Israel,” these modifications are the sparsest of embellishments. In both cases, the shape of the psalm tone 6 is clear.
Example 4.5 Peri, Dialogue Preceding the Messenger Scene, *Euridice* (1600)

a. Psalm Tone 6 (first half)

![Psalm Tone 6 (first half)](image)


![“Al fonte degli allor”](image)


![“In cosi lieto”](image)

As Dafne gathers her courage, she too answers using a psalm tone, and in fact uses both halves of psalm tone 8 (see example 4.6). Although she omits the intonation—as did Galilei in the first verse of his *tonus peregrinus* setting—she follows the outline of the tone exactly, neatly inserting occasional ornamental gestures into the structure of the tone. After reciting extensively on the first tenor, she uses the tone’s mediating cadence, embellishing its ending with a rising major third. After briefly ornamenting the second tenor with recurring step-wise descending thirds, she moves to a terminating cadence, following the intervals of psalm tone 8 exactly. Compared with Galilei’s twelve-measure ornamentation of the *tonus peregrinus* tenor (“In exitu,” verse two), Dafne’s embellishment of the second tenor modestly matches the scale of her seven-measure
phrase. In a characteristic psalm tone manoeuvre, she resolves upwards instead of downwards for the final, as if choosing one of the many possible differentiae for the tone. Appearing prominently at the beginning of one of the opera’s most important recitations, this use of a complete psalm tone boldly heralds plainchant recitation as a recitational model for narrative recitative.

Example 4.6 Peri: “Per quel vago boschetto,” Euridice (1600), mm. 1-13

a. Psalm Tone 6

b. Psalm Tone 4

In a subsequent phrase, “Con le compagne sue,” Dafne again uses a psalm tone. She begins reciting on the untransposed tenor of psalm tone 4, using the easily recognized G-F-G figure that characterizes the beginning of both halves of the psalm verse (example 4.6b and c). The entire phrase (mm. 10-13) mimics the second half of psalm tone 4 almost exactly: after the already mentioned recitation on G, dip down to F then back up to G, Dafne inserts an ornamental upwards leap of a perfect fifth, then returns to the typical terminating cadence, using a passing note to fill in the third between B and G. By ending on G rather than E, Dafne again chooses one of the possible differentiae for the tone. The rising fifth recalls a similar leap in Galilei’s “In exitu,” m. 22. There, he leaps from the reciting tone up a sixth before beginning the mediating cadence.

Another psalm tone quickly follows, with “Chi violetta, o rosa” and “Toglia dal prato” forming an interesting pair. At the beginning of the phrase, Dafne plays with the intonation of psalm tone 6: she rises a major third, then returns back to the first note in a circular gesture also common in Galilei’s “In exitu.” “Toglia dal prato” then articulates the tenor of the tone (D, transposed up a fourth from A) but quickly departs by leaping down a fifth and then rising back up—an ornamental gesture also used in Galilei’s “In exitu” (see m. 15 in verse two). The easily recognized mediating cadence (also common to the tonus peregrinus) is then heard in its entirely. Viewed as a whole, this is the most ornamented of the tones yet heard. At the same time, the tone is clearly framed by obvious opening and closing figures, similar to Galilei’s method of inserting maximum variety between obvious melodic pillars. The semitone inflection within the mediating cadence at “acute spine” (sharp thorns), is especially prominent because of the text. This
is the first of many chromatic notes within Dafne’s speech, and it here foreshadows the snake bite that will take Euridice’s life. To that effect, this same mediating cadence and semitonal inflection recurs at “Che celato giacea,” when Dafne announces the appearance of the deadly snake. Seen thus, the melodic contours of the psalm tone contribute to the affective import of the text. Repetition of common psalm tone figures furthermore creates textual resonances with narrative significance.

**Example 4.7** Peri, “Per quel vago boschetto,” *Euridice* (1600), mm. 14-27

a. Psalm Tone 6, first half

![Psalm Tone 6, first half](image)


![Example 4.7](image)

The use of psalm tones decreases, however, as chromaticism increases, beginning at “Quand’ahi ria sorte acerba,” (m. 38, example 4.8). As Dafne describes the snake bite, Euridice’s pain, and the panic of her friends, the phrases increasingly resolve downwards by semitone, a form rarely found in the psalm tones other than an option for psalm tone 4.
The phrases are also truncated, expressing panic in short textual bursts.

**Example 4.8** Peri, “Per quel vago boschetto,” *Euridice* (1600), mm. 32-42

When Dafne begins to describe Euridice’s final sighs, the longer recitational passages return, this time evoking the lamentations tone for the now lament-like text (see example 4.9). After a long recitation on a single pitch, the melody rises a semitone, like in the lamentations tone (aptly at “sospir”). Although the rising semitone is also a feature of the *tonus peregrinus* and the mediating cadence of psalm tone 6, the dip-and-rise resolution of Dafne’s phrase is particular to the lamentations tone mediating cadence. Peri increases the tension already present in the lamentations tone by ending the mediating cadence a tone below the expected tenor, thus providing only provisional resolution. Peri uses this same recitational formula two more times, as if for emphasis: at m. 33 with a semitone highlighting “sospinse” (“flew forth”) and then at “bei sembianti” (“beautiful countenance”) at m. 51. This final version uses the untransposed lamentations tone (tenor on A, Bb inflection), but ends inconclusively according to the previously established pattern. For an audience used to liturgical recitation, this passage may indeed have been perceived like the chanting of the Passion, as recounted by Cavalieri.
Example 4.9 Peri, “Per quel vago boschetto,” *Euridice* (1600), mm. 57-63, 87-91

a. Lamentations Tone

b. Peri, “Per quel vago boschetto,” *Euridice* (1600), p. 15, mm. 57-63, 87-91

Compared with these numerous instances of psalm-tone usage, Caccini’s version of the same text has a few psalm-like passages. It is instead characterized by a more tuneful, widely ranging melody that often leaps between full octaves and uses longer phrases and triadic harmonies. An apt example illustrating difference of approach between Peri and Caccini can be seen in “Per quel vago boschetto” when Dafne describes Euridice’s eyes turning heavenward. Peri uses a form of tone painting here, setting the phrase as an arpeggiated triad with the highest note landing appropriately on “cielo.”
Although this kind of triadic harmony is rare in Peri, it is also psalm-like, given that psalm tone 5 begins with just such a gesture. Caccini also uses tone painting here, beginning like Peri by outlining a triad. Caccini continues, however, to articulate the full chord, jumping from the fifth to the octave on “cielo.” In doing so, Caccini “outshines” Peri with his more bold musical gesture. He also steps outside of the modally based psalm system present in Peri’s setting of the work.

Monteverdi, on the other hand, begins his setting of the comparable messenger scene in Orfeo more like Peri, by evoking plainchant recitation. Like the opening phrase of “Per quel vago boschetto,” Monteverdi begins “In un fiorito prato” with extended recitation on a single pitch. The descending minor 3rd inflexion mid-phrase suggests the flex tone inserted in psalm formulas to break the monotony of longer psalm verses. Here Monteverdi uses it to similar effect, to relieve the long recitation on F.

Later in the piece at “Per farne una ghirlanda a le sue chiome,” Monteverdi uses chant again. This text occurs parallel to that of Peri’s “togliea dal prato” at which point Peri uses the mediation formula of psalm tone 6. As if in response to Peri’s setting, Monteverdi uses the same gesture and the same pitches as the actual tone no less. Monteverdi alters the tone, however, as if to upstage Peri, by adding a chromatic inflexion—an f-sharp at “chiome.” Peri’s chromatic inflexion aptly foreshadowed Euridice’s fateful snake bit, and later accompanied the news of the snake bite itself. By inserting an f-sharp into the same modal figure, Monteverdi upstages Peri, adding another level of chromatic inflexion to intensify the affect. Whereas Caccini upstaged Peri with an unbounded lyricism, Monteverdi did so using Peri’s own chant-like language, thus maintaining the chant-like aura of antiquity, but with greater subtlety.
Allegorical and Mythological Voices in Early Opera Prologues

Each of the early operas begin with prologues that take place outside of the action. In Peri’s *Dafne*, the prologue is sung by Ovid; in *Euridice* it is Tragedy, and Monteverdi’s *Orfeo*, it is Music herself who introduces the opera. In addition to introducing the narrative and acknowledging the assembled guests, the three prologue figures also describe the power of music: Ovid declares himself an immortal and learned poet-musician whose singing to the lyre made him a storyteller of great renown. Tragedy declares that because of the illustrious wedding being celebrated, she will temper her powerful accents in order to instill sweet affections. Music describes her ability to both calm and inflame hearts and instill a longing for heavenly harmonies.\(^30\)

Prologues sung by allegorical or mythological figures was part of a long-standing dramatic tradition. Pirrotta notes that these newer prologues took on a majestic aura, however, by introducing the mythological and allegorical underpinnings of the drama, preparing audience for “god-like singing,” and thus mediating the idea of sung drama as somehow extraordinary, mythical, and magical.\(^31\) As Porter demonstrated in his article on the surviving music for *Dafne*, these prologues musically resembled standard poetic recitational formulas.\(^32\) In 1640, Doni had also associated this type of “special” recitative with recitational formulas, ottava rima in particular. Pirrotta’s work on Poliziano’s *Orfeo* (L’Opéra avant l’Opéra) suggests that such recitational formulas had a noble aura suited

\(^{30}\) For the texts of these prologues, see Ridler, *The Operas of Monteverdi*, 35; O’Grady, *The Last Troubadours*, 9.


\(^{32}\) On the resemblance of the prologues in *Dafne* and *Euridice* to strophic song forms, see Porter, “Peri and Corsi’s ‘Dafne’,” 176–177. Porter demonstrates that these formulas are visible not only in similar bass lines but in similar melodies as well. This is in keeping with Doni’s similar conclusions that early operatic prologues demonstrate a uniform, formulaic style.
to powerful expression. It is no wonder, then that in Poliziano’s proto-opera, *Orfeo* sang using a form of ottava rima, the *strambotto*.³³

The resemblance of operatic prologues ca. 1600 to ottava rima does not preclude a further similarity, however, to plainchant psalmody. As already discussed in Chapter 3, Doni not only associated the music of prologues with ottava rima but with “pulpit”-oriented music—that is, priestly recitational chants. How significant, then, that the role of Orfeo, singer of *strambotti* (an ottava rima type) in Poliziano’s proto-opera, was a priest, Baccio Ugolini.³⁴ Familiarity with recitational chant must certainly have facilitated the use of poetic recitational formula and vice versa, with cross-fertilization between the idioms appearing in approaches to embellishment in particular. In the case of early operatic prologues, the evocation of chant-like formulas and strophic verse forms like ottava rima would have a complementary impact: signaling both the mythic and noble underpinnings of the new genre.

While the use of strophic verse forms in such prologues has been studied, the examination of the prologues for evidence of plainchant psalmody is new, hence the singular focus of the following analyses. While some of the tones are easily visible in the various prologues and follow the full structure of the tone, others psalm tones are merely suggested, as in Galilei’s “In exitu.” This is not only consistent with the culture of psalm tone ornamentation, but prologues as a genre in which performers were expected to ornament and improvise.³⁵ As the following examples also demonstrate, composers

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³⁴ Ibid., 24.

would emulate each others prologues, ornamenting and altering the basic structures, thus providing insight into the malleability of the phrases.

The second phrase of the prologue to Peri’s *Dafne* articulates the structural pitches psalm tone 2. After reciting on the first note of the intonation, then melody leaps directly to the reciting tone. The phrase ends just like the termination formula with one modification: instead of descending a semitone from the reciting pitch, the *Dafne* phrase descends a whole tone before continuing the terminating cadence.

**Example 4.10** Peri, *Dafne* Prologue Phrase 2: “Godens’ a l’ombra”

a. Psalm Tone 2

b. Peri *Dafne*: “Godens’ a l’ombra”

The following phrase is similarly structured around the defining pitches of a psalm tone. Beginning “I graditi del ciel,” the phrase outlines the intonation of psalm tone 7, omitting the arguably redundant initial pitch. The phrase then jumps to the terminating cadence, articulating the stepwise descent of a minor triad. Galilei similarly evokes only the intonation and termination of the *tonus peregrinus* in his “In exitu,” especially in the

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tenor voice at mm. 39-42. The following phrase uses the melodic material of the terminating cadence, but transposed down a tone.

**Example 4.11** Peri, *Dafne* Prologue Phrase 3, “I graditi del ciel”

a. Psalm Tone 7

![Musical notation for Psalm Tone 7]

b. Peri *Dafne*: “I graditi del ciel”

![Musical notation for Peri’s “I graditi del ciel”]

Caccini’s prologue also shows signs of psalmody. In the second phrase, “spars’or di doglia,” Caccini uses the untranscribed pitches of psalm tone 4, beginning immediately on the tenor and then articulating its surrounding pitches. This appears to be a transposition of Peri’s phrase, which reveals Caccini’s more subtle rhythms as well as a harmonic underpinning more suited to the character of tone 4.

a. Psalm Tone 4 (first half)

b. Caccini *Euridice*: “Spars’or di doglia”

c. Peri *Euridice*: “Spars’or di doglia”

A similar play occurs between versions of the fourth phrase in both Caccini and Peri. Peri’s phrase evokes the first half of an untransposed psalm tone 6. The falling line of the mediating cadence, from Bb back down to F, is clearly outlined in Peri’s phrase, but with embellishing escape and neighbour tones, including a C outside the modal range, an A between the G and F in m. 18, and a G before the final F. Peri’s ornamented line becomes more obvious when compared with Caccini’s version of the same phrase. Using the same melodic contour but transposed up a tone, Caccini interpolates fewer extra pitches, charting a more linear course between the two outside pitches.
Monteverdi’s prologue phrases show hints of psalmody, but freely treated in ways that evoke Galilei’s most playful manipulations. At “Incliti eroi sangue,” for example, Monteverdi uses the same pitches as an untransposed psalm tone 3 and within the same overall range of G to D. Like the tone which uses C as its tenor, Monteverdi establishes C as an important pitch from which he begins and then returns, with the intervening notes acting like ornamental diversions. The same passage could be viewed alternately as an ornamented tone 3 intonation formula: G-A-C. The F between the G and A is so quick as to be barely noticeable, and the C preceding the G merely establishes the modal center of the line. While by no means an obvious psalm tone usage, the overall melodic contour, range, and pitches suggests playing with psalm tone material. Monteverdi’s repetition of
the same melodic material for a subsequent verse reveals the initial C of “Incliti eroi” to be arguably tangential, with the A-C, G-A-C movement toying with the intervals of the tone 3 intonation even further.

**Example 4.14** Monteverdi, *Orfeo* Prologue Phrase 2, “Incliti eroi”

a. Psalm Tone 3

b. Monteverdi *Orfeo*: “Incliti eroi sangue”

c. Monteverdi *Orfeo*: “So far tranquillo”

The following phrase more clearly mimics the intonation of a psalm tone. Like “I graditi del ciel” from the prologue to Peri’s Dafne, Monteverdi uses the intonation of psalm tone 7 minus the first note. Whereas Peri jumped from the intonation to the termination, Monteverdi continues to follow the contour of the first half of the verse. After touching on the reciting tenor, he interpolating a major third, then rises to the high point of psalm tone 7 via a minor third figure, thus creating a short melodic sequence.

a. Psalm Tone 7

![Psalm Tone 7](image)

b. Monteverdi *Orfeo*: “Di cui narra la fama”

![Monteverdi Orfeo: “Di cui narra la fama”](image)

As the above examples demonstrate, psalm tone formulas were used by composers in early operatic prologues. This confirms Doni’s statement that the music for these early prologues was akin to pulpit oratory and, by implication, chant-like recitation. Caccini clearly modeled much of his prologue material on Peri’s version, with his variations sometimes providing insight into the psalm-like structure of phrase. Of all the composers, Monteverdi seems to have taken the greatest liberty with tone-like formulas, sometimes suggesting only their most elemental structures. In each case, psalm-like modal contours participated in the special recitational idiom of prologues as defined by Doni. Ornamented psalm tones thus emerged from the mouths of the archetypal ideas and mythological figures who sang these prologues. This contributed a sacral character to the prologue idiom, parallel and complementary to the noble aura present in the other important influence on prologue declamation, poetic recitation formulas.
Chapter Five

Vocal and Spiritual Grace:
Guidetti’s Chants and Caccini’s Songs

A common ethos of vocal grace, a similar approach to affective declamation, and a mutual dilemma regarding ornamentation: Guidetti’s chant reforms and Caccini’s solo songs meet in this unexpected territory. While the previous chapter illustrated chant quotation, fragmentation, and ornamentation in early opera, this chapter explores more oblique resonances between chant and monody but within the specific frame of two particular practitioners. By comparing prefatory remarks, editing strategies, and the musical treatment of affective words, this chapter teases out the similar choices made by a chant editor and a composer in late 16th century Italy. Doing so reveals how the ideal of speech-song crossed between sacred and secular within the work of Guidetti and Caccini—two significant figures in the history of early modern chant reform and monody respectively.

Establishing a Context: The Career of Guidetti

When compared with the high-profile musicians discussed thus far, Giovanni Guidetti stands out as an anomaly. As far as we know, he composed no music and held no music directorships. But to his credit, he published six books of edited chant in the last decade of his life: the 1582 Directorium chori, containing incipits and some full chants for the daily offices; the 1586 Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis, containing the sung drama of Christ’s crucifixion in three volumes; a 1587 Cantus ecclesiasticus officii maioris hebdomadae, containing full chants for Maundy Thursday through to the Easter vigil; the
1588 *Praefationes*, containing the priests’ chants for the celebration of the mass; and a second and third *Directorium chori* in 1589 and 1591, suggesting that his first edition had been a success. Within 75 years of his death, ten more editions of his various works were published by a variety of printing houses in Rome and Munich.\(^1\) Copies circulated widely. George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611-1633, kept a copy of Guidetti’s *Directorium chori* 1604 in the Lambeth Palace library.\(^2\) David Irving notes a copy of the *Directorium chori* in China according to a 17th-century index of such books.\(^3\) In other words, Guidetti was a successful chant editor whose works, the *Directorium* in particular, were in demand.

As described briefly in Chapter 1, Guidetti moved within influential Vatican circles during the pontificates of both Gregory XIII and Sixtus V. Born in Bologna in 1530, Guidetti’s early church training was at Bologna’s St. Peter’s Cathedral. In his early 40’s, he moved to Rome, likely at the invitation of Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-1585), who was also Bolognese and fond of conferring favors on his compatriots.\(^4\) Guidetti become a papal chaplain on November 27, 1575, replacing the recently deceased Francesco Tosti.\(^5\) Although his specific duties are not known, he was described as a “familiarem et continuum commensalem” of the popes in the papal privilege to

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\(^1\) The *Directorium chori* was reissued seven times in the 17th century: in 1604, 1615, 1618, 1624, 1629, 1642 and 1665, as well as twice more, in the 18th and then 19th centuries. *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis* was published again in 1637 during the pontificate of Urban VIII. *Cantus ecclesiasticus officii* was reprinted twice, in 1619 and 1627.


Directorium chori 1582, the only one of Guidetti’s publications to appear during Gregory’s rule. Numerous clerics would have held a papal chaplaincy along with Guidetti at this time, each with varying honors and roles, including the uncommon privilege of assisting the Pope at Mass in the Sistine chapel, reciting the offices and rosary with the pope, and functioning as papal confidante. A close relationship with Gregory XIII would certainly have entailed regular contact with the culturally and liturgically influential College of Cardinals as well as exposure to Gregory XIII’s dramatic revitalization of Rome as spiritual capital of Christendom, described by Stephen Ostrow as nothing less than “astonishing.” During the rule of Sixtus V (1585 to 1590), Guidetti became a beneficed cleric of the Vatican, responsible for saying a prescribed set of Masses at the Vatican in return for a lifetime pension. He continued to be active in the curia, publishing the majority of his books during Sixtus V’s tenure, at the rate of one per year, beginning with Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis 1586 and ending, a year before his death, with Directorium chori 1591 (a reprint of the 1582 original). A musician, Guidetti may also have been a singer in the Cappella Giulia in 1575 and a student of Palestrina.

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9 Baini is the earliest to identify Guidetti as Palestrina’s student—his seventh and last according to Baini: Baini, Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Palestrina; although Baini’s work is generally treated with caution given his consistent failure to provide supporting documentation for his claims, he is still referenced as an authority. See Lewis Lockwood and David E. (Author) Crawford, “Guidetti, Giovanni,” in New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vol. 10 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 520.
By 1589, Guidetti’s *Directorium chori* had been compared with the work of Paris de’ Grassis, the important early 16th-century Master of Ceremonies, confirming Guidetti’s prominence in liturgical circles. He certainly cultivated influential connections throughout his career, dedicating his 1587 book of chants for Holy Week to Sixtus V and his 1589 reprint of the *Directorium chori* to Cardinal Pallotta, who was responsible at various points in his career for the renovation of St. Peter’s as well as managing the Vatican coffers. A close associate of Sixtus V, Pallotta was a patron of other important figures—including the writer Torquato Tasso, as well as mannerist artist Simone de Magistris. Guidetti likely sought public respect for his work by aligning it with the “upstanding” character of Pallotta and Pallotta’s proximity to Sixtus V.

The breadth of Guidetti’s ambitions can be gleaned through his cultivation of relationships with patrons outside of Rome. In 1586, Guidetti dedicated his *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis* 1586 to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria. The Duke was considered one of the most religiously militant Catholic leaders, and the Pope’s hope for reclaiming

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10 Volumes 20-25 of Ludwig Pastor’s thirty-nine-volume *History of the Popes: From the Close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other original sources*, ed. Francis Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1891-1961), is a useful source of information about Cardinal Pallotta, as is the exhibition catalogue edited by Vittorio Sgarbi: *Simone de Magistris: Un pittore visionario tra Lotto e El Greco* (Venice: Marsilio, 2004). Unfortunately, these sources provide only minimal detail about Pallotta’s associations, patronage, and connections. Regarding his public character, see also the dedication to Pallotta by Teodoro Angelucci in his *De natura et curacione malignae febris: libri IV* (Venice: Robertum Meiettum, 1593) in which he lauds Pallotta’s “religious discipline, and godly deeds,” and his generosity to the poor: “atque amore antea prosequebar memoria sepe repetens tum sanctissimos illos, amabilissimo, et vere angelicos mores, qui me adolescentem Romae paucos dies morantem in tui admirationem vehementer traxerant; tum quid quid deinde de Datarium iustissime perfuncto de insigni religione, et pietates, de magna temporum extructione; de uberrima in pauperes munificentia, et liberalitate, de summ a in omnes elementa, de gratissimi animi in eos, a quibus beneficium accepseras, significatione, et de incredibili in rebus omnibus prudentia constans sana apud omnes nationes per celebravit.”

Catholic ground in an increasingly Lutheran territory.\textsuperscript{12} He was also the patron of leading Renaissance composer, Orlando di Lasso. By sending his work to such a prominent leader, Guidetti not only courted one of the most powerful patrons in Catholic Europe, but contributed to the Catholic cause in a “threatened” land. Guidetti even visited the court of Wilhelm V in 1587, after Wilhelm’s appeal for more chant books from Rome.

Guidetti sent his work to another significant patron of sacred music in the 16th century, Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua. Whether Guidetti knew of Guglielmo’s interest in chant reform from Palestrina or another source, his correspondence with Guglielmo shows an ambition to spread his work beyond the borders of Rome, contribute to liturgical and musical reform within Italy, and garner the interest of a powerful and influential musical patron.

Although we may never know the full extent of the relationship between Guidetti and his patrons or contemporary musicians like Palestrina, it is clear that Guidetti was engaged with the politico-religious life of Rome and beyond, and well-regarded in his day as a significant reformer of the Church’s plainchant tradition. While Baini would have us view Guidetti through the lens of his “teacher,” Palestrina, the above findings invite scholars to evaluate Guidetti’s work on its own terms and within a broad cultural context.

Guidetti’s work in Rome likely also brought him into contact with Ferdinando de’ Medici. A Cardinal from 1563 to 1587, Ferdinando was immersed in the musico-liturgical life of the Vatican during Guidetti’s own tenure there. Given Ferdinando’s

significant responsibilities during Gregory XIII’s rule, it is certain that Guidetti and Ferdinando would have crossed paths. A cardinal-protector of Spain, Ferdinando was also one of three cardinals appointed to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith by Gregory XIII, during the same years of Guidetti’s chaplaincy to Gregory XIII. Along with Cardinals Caraffa and Santorio, Ferdinando de’ Medici worked to establish seminaries abroad, print catechisms and other teaching materials of the Catholic faith in multiple languages for use on foreign missions. Guidetti’s interest in propagating the faith through the revision of chant and the detailed codification of liturgy in books like his *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587 is consistent with the mandate of the commission, if not directly a result of it. As a chaplain to Gregory XIII, Guidetti would have assisted the pope at mass; Michel de Montaigne notes that Ferdinando also assisted Gregory XIII at Mass, in particular, the 1580 Christmas Mass at which Cardinals Caraffa, Farnese and

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**Footnotes:**

13 In 1555 the number of cardinals was fixed at 40, but by Sixtus V’s tenure, the official number increased to 70. The actual number of cardinals serving as bishops, priests, and deacons within the Vatican and taking care of administrative matters and questions of faith would have been close to these two figures. See Johannes Baptist Sägmüller, “Cardinal,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908). Accessed 12 Mar., 2012 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03333b.htm>.

14 Cardinal Santorio (also called Santori or Cardinal Santaseverina) wrote a 1586 handbook for priests that became the foundation of the revised *Rituale Romanum* of 1614. Cornelis Cort—whose works were published in Guidetti’s *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587—dedicated his *ultima cena* to Cardinal Santori. See J.C.J. Bierens de Haan, *L’oeuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort. Graveur Hollandais 1533-1578 ...*, La Haye 1948, p. 89, n. 76, p. 45 no. 20.

15 See Umberto Benigni, “Sacred Congregation of Propaganda,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911). Accessed 12 Mar., 2012 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12456a.htm>. A sign of the importance of this office is the modern appellation “red pope” to the Cardinal who leads the *Propaganda Fide*, which oversees the spread of Catholicism world-wide. He was also the protector of the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria and the King of Ethiopia, hence with a wide international interest. Ferdinando was in charge of the press, later known as the Medici Press, which published translations of Latin works into Arabic and other Eastern languages with the goal of religious conversion. In his new role as Grand Duke of Tuscay, Ferdinando continue to uphold the idea of Catholic mission and crusade by issuing orders to his military to attack Turkish sites and thereby weaken the Ottoman empire. He also commissioned art works for and sent generous donations to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Closer to home, he negotiated absolution for Henry IV (future husband of his niece), after Henry’s reconversion to Catholicism in 1594. Suzanne Butters, “Contrasting Priorities: Ferdinando I de’ Medici, Cardinal and Grand Duke,” *The Possessions of a Cardinal* (University Park: Pensylvania State Press, 2010), 188-194.
Gonzaga also participated.16

Guidetti and Ferdinando also had similar musical contacts within the Vatican, in particular, with Palestrina. Ferdinando was the cardinal-protector of the Confraternity of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini from 1573 to 1588, succeeded by Sixtus V’s nephew Cardinal Montalto in 1588.17 The confraternity was one of the largest in Rome, and employed a who’s who of Roman musicians for its annual Holy Week observances, including Palestrina and Marenzio in the 1570s and 80s. Of the 95 scudi earned by Palestrina for Holy Week services at SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in March and April of 1578, Ferdinando seems to have paid about a quarter of the fee.18 As cardinal-protector of the Confraternity beginning in 1573, he may have been involved in the selection of Palestrina for Holy Week services in 1576 and 1578—hardly a surprising choice given Palestrina’s prominence at the Vatican as master of the Cappella Giulia from 1571 until his death in 1594, and by 1575 regarded as the “very first musician in the world.”19

Guidetti and Palestrina also operated in the same circles. As we know from the preface to Guidetti’s Directorium chori 1582, Palestrina reviewed and edited Guidetti’s

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16 Michel de’ Montaigne, “Italy: Rome” in The Complete Works, ed. Donald Frame, (New York; Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 1144. Montaigne does not provide first names, but these were likely Antonio Caraffa (1538-1591), the nephew of Pope Paul IV, Scipione Gonzaga (1542-1593), who functioned as a headhunter for Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga in Mantua, and Alessandra Farnese (1520-1589), responsible for the building of the Jesuit Gesù Church.


first publication. Baini suspected that Guidetti fulfilled the abandoned chant reform project assigned to Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo by Gregory XIII in 1577. After the critique of the 1577 commission by the influential Spanish ambassador the project was dropped. It was perceived both as a threat to the chant heritage and as a significant financial burden on Spain if it had to replace all of its chant books. According to Baini, Guidetti “completed” the project at arms length, without official Vatican endorsement but under the purview of Gregory XIII and Palestrina. Although unsubstantiated by Baini, it is a fascinating possibility, given that Gregory had invited Palestrina and Zoilo to work with other musicians to accomplish the project if needed or desired. Guidetti also dedicated his *Directorium chori* 1582 to Gregory XIII, who accepted the dedication in a letter featured on the first page of the book. Given these overlapping spheres, Guidetti and Ferdinando would have had many opportunities to cross paths in Vatican Rome.

Given their many mutual colleagues, it seems significant that an edition of Guidetti’s *Praefationes*, published the year after Ferdinando’s move from Rome to

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20 For this and the ensuing discussion, see Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opera di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* vol. 2 (Rome: Società tipografica, 1828), 115-16.

21 Baini would also have us believe that Guidetti and Palestrina were co-collaborators on chant reform during the last two decades of both their lives. In his 1828 *Memorie-storico critiche*, Baini describes how Guidetti completed the majority of research for Gregory XIII’s commissioned chant reform, and how Guidetti’s subsequent books were all reviewed by Palestrina and may reflect his own thinking about chant reform. While it certainly bolsters Guidetti’s reputation to be so closely aligned with one of the most significant composers of the late Renaissance, extant documents reveal little about their relationship.


23 *Directorium chori* 1582 contains Office chants, with very few of them being full length chants. Hence *Directorium chori* 1582, completed five years after the initial commission, could hardly have been a full realization of the Palestrina-Zoilo project. According to the brief, Palestrina and Zoilo were to refashion all chant: “purging, correcting, and reforming these Antiphoners, Graduals, and Psalters, together with such other chants as are used in our churches according to the rite of the Holy Roman Church, whether at Canonical Hours or at Mass or at other divine services.” All the same, *Directorium chori* 1582 was a substantial refashioning of how chant for the Office was presented—chronologically according to the liturgical year—with shortening and realignment of melismas, rhythmicization, as well as Guidetti’s unusual “antique” notation.
Florence, was bound and imprinted Ferdinando I’s seal, suggesting that it formed part of his library and perhaps also was used in liturgical ceremonial at the Medici court. At the beginning of his rule, Ferdinando had indeed instituted Roman liturgical ritual at his court, hardly surprising given his immersion in Roman liturgy for nearly 25 years. This move towards Roman ceremonial was one of many signs that Ferdinando was modeling his court on Roman models. In this context, it is significant that Guidetti’s Praefationes contained detailed rubrics for celebrating the mass according to the Roman rite. It would thus have been an invaluable means for teaching the Roman rite for use in musicoliturgical celebrations at the court chapels of S. Felicità or S. Niccola (Pisa), or during daily celebrations of the mass, often held within the privacy of the court palace. As a former Cardinal Deacon responsible for the churches of S. Eustachio as well as S. Maria in Via Lata (1587), Ferdinando would have been regularly exposed to such chants in Roman worship.

As a Grand Duke, Ferdinando’s role shifted from a celebrant of liturgy to an observer, but hardly a passive one with regard to Roman practices and politics. Importing

24 Giovanni Guidetti, Praefationes in cantu firmo: juxta ritum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae (Rome: Alessandra Gardano, 1588), Newberry Library VAULT Case folio M2153.2.G84 P7 1588. To date, I have been able to identify only two copies of Praefationes with specific musical establishments: one copy from Ferdinando’s court (now in the Newberry Library Collection), and the other in the Vatican. As a ruler, Ferdinando would be expected to uphold the reforms of the Church and to support its missionary activity. As a former Cardinal, he would be well-versed in visible signs of church reform, like new liturgical books. See Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson, eds., The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art, 1450-1700 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 187.


26 See Marco Gozzi, ed., Le fonti liturgiche a stampa della Biblioteca musicale L. Feininger (Trent: Provincia autonoma di Trento, 1994) for discussion of slim books for the canon of the mass, similar to Guidetti’s Prefaces, which would have been held for visiting bishops celebrating mass. According to Gozzi, the slim volumes of the mass canon were also ideal for private devotion.

27 The surviving copy of Praefationes in the Newberry library is indeed worn, suggesting use.
Roman liturgy into his court was emblematic of the many Roman connections he kept to advance the status of Tuscany and the Medici within Italy and relative to Rome—from buying votes at papal conclaves to frequently entertaining Roman cardinals at his court. Hale has noted that while Ferdinando’s connections with Rome clearly bolstered Tuscany’s status and power, they came at the price of Vatican authority on religious matters.²⁸

The chants in Praefationes use a fluid, rhythmically varied declamation of text, with rhythm being used to draw out significant expression. Guidetti’s speech-like approach is evident in comparison with the definitive post-Tridentine Roman Missal of 1570 (see example 5.1). Compared with the Missal, Guidetti’s chant differs in three significant ways. Guidetti expands the range of rhythmic values, enlarging the Missal’s palette of long and breve with two extra values—the semibreve and dotted value (almost without fail, Guidetti replaces breves in the Missal with semibreves). In other words, he exaggerates the brevity of the short syllables, creating greater rhythmic contrast within each phrase. Guidetti also increases syllable stress through the use of melisma. At “sursum corda,” “habemus,” and “dignum,” Guidetti uses a three-note melisma to elongate the long syllables of the text, rather than use the less defined long-long rhythms of the Missal. Finally, Guidetti introduces a completely new rhythmic style at an important structural moment of the chant—when the alternation between priest and choir

²⁸ Hale, Florence and the Medici, 165. Marica Tacconi notes that Cosimo I asked Archbishop Antonio Altoviti to return from Rome to Florence in 1565 to reform the Florentine liturgy according to Tridentine decrees. Altoviti began this process in November 1568, the same year that the post-Tridentine breviary was published. According to Tacconi, however, older local usages continued into the middle of the 17th century, and the influence of Rome was more in the realm of devotional approach rather than use of Roman books. That said, an inventory from Santa Maria del Fiore from 1645 lists a variety of printed Roman books including a 1570 Roman Breviary, 1600 Ceremoniale, 1595 Pontificale, and 1566 Canon of the Mass. See Marica Tacconi, “Liturgy and Chant at the Cathedral of Florence: A Survey of the Pre-Tridentine Sources (Tenth –Sixteenth Centuries)” (PhD Diss., Yale University, 1999), 17-21. See also the Appendix in Tacconi, “Liturgy and Chant at the Cathedral of Florence,” 338-369.
ends. At “vere dignum et justum,” Guidetti’s version accentuates “dignum” the and “justum” with pointed semibreve rhythms. The Missal, by contrasts, becomes rhythmically monotonous here, using a lengthy succession of longs. In other words, 1570 version uses a uniform rhythm suggesting a mechanical approach when compared with Guidetti’s fluid and potentially expressive declamation.

Guidetti’s version seems in fact to begin a liturgical trend, with numerous examples of the same chant from the 17th century closely matching Guidetti’s version, including versions in the Roman Canon Missae 1680 (see example 5.1c).29 Near contemporaries of Guidetti’s book and the Missal, including an example from Rome 1587, use an approach midway between the two extremes (see example 5.1d).30 The fact that so many 17th century chant books agree with Guidetti’s setting suggests indeed that Guidetti’s editing at the beginning of a widespread shift towards increasing precision in the notation of speech-like liturgical recitation. That Guidetti’s speech-like chants might have been sung within the musically experimental circles of the Medici court provides a concrete touchstone for considering his chant editing alongside the music of Caccini, so favoured by the Medici.

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29 Canon missae et praefationes (Rome: Iacobi de Vecchiis, 1679), 77; Canon missae ad usum Episcoporum ac Praelatorum (Rome: Nicolai Angeli Tinassij, 1680); near identical versions can also be found in 17th century Bavarian versions, including in Missale romanum (Munich: Iaecklini, 1661), 249.

30 See Missale fratrum carmelitarum (Rome: Tornierij, 1587), 210; Passionarium (Toledo: Ioannes de Plaça, 1567); Officium hebdomadae sanctae (Salamantica: Mathiae Gastij, 1582), 195.
Example 5.1 Roman Mass Prefaces: “Per omnia secula”

a. Praefationes, Rome 1588, p. 1

b. Missale romanum, Rome 1570

c. Canon missae, Rome 1680, p. 65

d. Missale fratrum, Rome 1587, p. 210
Caccini, the Ancients, and the Noble Manner of Singing

Caccini’s career seems to have begun in Rome in 1564, only a year after Ferdinando’s appointment to the cardinalate, two years after Mei’s entrance into the service of Cardinal Ricci, and about ten years before Guidetti’s arrival there from Bologna.\(^{31}\) He sang in the Cappella Giulia as a boy soprano, and moved to Florence about a year later as the lucky singer chosen by the Roman ambassador of Cosimo I de’ Medici to perform in the wedding festivities for Francesco de’ Medici’s marriage to Joanna of Austria in December 1565. By the 1570s, he had become active in the noble court of Giovanni de’ Bardi, providing occasional music and joining discussions about ancient music with Galilei, Piero Strozzi, and possibly others.\(^ {32}\) As such he would have been privy to the kinds of conversation recorded in Galilei’s *Dialogo*, written in fact as a conversational exchange between Bardi (Galilei’s and Caccini’s mutual patron) and the noble Strozzi. In the introduction to *Le nuove musiche*, Caccini in fact praised these very discussions as the source of his true education in music:

> At the time when the admirable Camerata of the most illustrious Signor Giovanni Bardi, Count of Vernio, was flourishing in Florence, with not only many of the nobility but also the foremost musicians, intellectuals, poets, and philosophers of the city in attendance, I too was present; and I can truly say that I gained more from their learned discussions than from my more than thirty years of counterpoint For these most knowledgeable gentlemen kept encouraging me, and with the most lucid reasoning convinced me, not to esteem that sort of music which, preventing any clear understanding of the words, shatters both their form and content,' now lengthening and now shortening syllables to accommodate the counterpoint (a laceration of the poetry!), but rather to conform to that manner so lauded by Plato and other philosophers.\(^ {33}\)

\(^{31}\) Carter notes Caccini’s first payment for service as a singer was October 15, 1564. See Carter, “Giulio Caccini (1551–1618).”


\(^{33}\) Hitchcock, *Le nuove musiche*, 44; Caccini, *Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano*, “Ai lettori:’ Io veramente ne i tempi che fioriva in Firenze la virtuosissima Camerata dell’ Illustissimo Signor Giovanni Bardi de’ Conti de Vernio, ove concorreva non solo gran parte della nobiltà, ma ancora i primi...
Bardi’s letter to Caccini from ca. 1578 testifies as well to an exchange of ideas about ancient and modern music, and Caccini’s active participation in what Caccini paints to be a vibrant community of thinkers, poets, and musicians.

Caccini was also active in the Medici court, receiving a salary by 1579, though dismissed from service in 1593 possibly because of personality conflicts. By 1600, however, he had regained Medici favor, receiving top billing over Peri for his *Il rapimento*. He had close relationships with other patrons as well: he was Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini’s favorite musician for a period of several months, and he benefited from the generosity of Corsi on numerous occasions. His earliest solo songs (identified by him as “Perfidissimo volto,” “Vedrò il mio sol,” and Dovrò dunque morire”) seemed to have been performed for such patrons in intimate environments. In addition to his two operas, he also published two books of solos songs, and provided music for *intermedi* in 1589 and 1608. He was described by Bardi’s son as “a rare singer and a man of taste” who “sweetened” the new style of singing.

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37 For his identification of the songs and description of the performance of Nero Neri’s home, see Hitchcock, *Le nuove musiche*, 45.

**Gratia/Grazia and Noble Nonchalance**

Most musicologists identify a lyricism in Caccini’s works that differentiates his style from that of Peri. Caccini, however, described his compositional achievements in terms of speech-song, flexible declamation, and sprezzatura—a term popularized in the early 16th century by Castiglione in his *Il Cortegiano*. Castiglione described *sprezzatura* both as a kind of seemingly effortless nonchalance and as a noble manner of comportment suggesting a haughty self-mastery. As an ideal, *sprezzatura* applied both to physical comportment, to speech, and of course, to song. Caccini associated it with his compositional ideal, that is, his own ability (conceived presumably with concealed difficulty) to evoke speech in song. He furthermore suggested *sprezzatura* as a melodic ideal, a kind of melody that unfolded naturally and somewhat indifferently over a bass line. And finally, he evoked *sprezzatura* as a performance ideal, inviting the singer to transcend the rhythms on the page in order to achieve nonchalance that could “move the affect of the soul.”

It occurred to me to introduce a kind of music by which anyone could almost speak in music, using (as I have said elsewhere) a certain noble *sprezzatura* in the melody, passing sometimes over some discords while sustaining the pitch of the bass note.

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40 Hitchcock, *Le nuove musiche*, 49.

41 Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, 608; Caccini, *Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano*, “Ai lettori”: “mi vene pensiero introduire una sorte di musica, per cui altri potesse quasi che in armonia favellare, usando in essa (come alire volte ho detto) una certa nobile sprezzatura di canto, trapassando talora per alcune false; tenendo però la corda del basso ferma.”
That noble manner (as I call it) which, not submitting to strict time but often halving the value of the notes according to the ideas of the text, gives rise to that kind of singing with so-called ‘negligence.’

Although *sprezzatura* has been associated with the idea of self-performance and concealment, it formed part of Castiglione’s Neoplatonic vision whereby self-mastery concealed hidden and noble wisdoms. While these wisdoms might be acquired through much effort, they would manifest with grace in an ennobled soul. In fact, the concealed effort was only possible because of a level of self-mastery through which the self, or courtier, discovered and revealed his essential nature, a more pure form of self that both revealed and participated in the divinity of the universe. Drawing on the Neoplatonic underpinnings of *sprezzatura*, Nino Pirrotta connected Caccini’s idea of vocal nonchalance with not only vocal mastery, but a confidence in the inherent naturalness of song, and hence its power to move human affections.

Castiglione used the idea of *gratia* to clarify the meaning of his *sprezzatura* and in doing participated in a widespread interest among 16th and 17th century writers in the idea of grace. In his *Iconologia*, for example, Cesare Ripa described grace as a smiling, young girl wearing a pearl necklace, the pearls themselves a sign of nature’s hidden gifts.

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42 Hitchcock, *Le nuove musiche*, 55; Caccini, *Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano*, “Ai lettori”: “avvenga che nobile maniera sia così appellata da me quella, che va usata, senza sottoporsi à misura ordinata, facendo molte volte il valor delle note lamentà meno secondo i concetti delle parole, onde ne nasce quel canto poi in sprezzatura, che si è detto; la dove poiche sono tanti gli effetti da usarsi per l’eccellenza a di essa arte.”


and grace.\textsuperscript{46} Supplementing his description of grace with a more specific description of divine grace, Ripa further associated grazia with the Holy Spirit feeding the soul and the heart and through which worldly things would be transcended.\textsuperscript{47} Ancient writers, not surprisingly, provided inspiration especially regarding oratorical grace.\textsuperscript{48} Castiglione describes unnamed ancient orators, Cicero, and Virgil, among many others, in articulating his ideas about studied negligence.

It is significant then that both Caccini and Guidetti also used the term\textit{ gratia} in describing their musical notation. In four publications between 1582 and 1588, Guidetti used the term\textit{ gratia} three times and always within his guidelines on how to perform his rhythms and notation.\textsuperscript{49} Twice Guidetti suggested that\textit{ gratia} belonged to the realm of experience and taste, difficult to teach. In his\textit{ Directorium chori} 1582, for example, Guidetti juxtaposes\textit{ decore} (beauty or dignity) with\textit{ gratia} in describing how to articulate dotted rhythms:

Finally, when a brevis will be found, and a semibrevis joined together under the same semicircle, in this way then the syllable lying under will be pronounced with a certain smooth impulse of the breath, just as if it were written for a double vowel, as doominus instead of dominus, but with dignity and grace which cannot be taught here.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{46} Originally published without images in 1593, Ripa’s iconologia was reprinted numerous times in the 17th century. For the image associated with\textit{ gratia} see Cesare Ripa Cesare Ripa,\textit{ Iconologia di Cesare Ripa Perugino, nella quale si descrivono diverse imagini di virtù, vizii, affetti, passioni umane, arti, discipline} (Siena: gli heredi di Maggeo Florcini, 1613), 302.

\textsuperscript{47} Cesare Ripa,\textit{ Iconologia, overo, Descrittione dell’imagini universalì cavate dall’antichita et da altri luoghi, da Cesare Ripa, opera non meno utile che necessaria à poeti, pittori et scultori per rappresentare le virtù, vizii, affetti et passioni humane} (Rome: Gigliotti, 1593), 123.

\textsuperscript{48} Monk, “A Grace Beyond the Reach of Art,” 132–136.

\textsuperscript{49} The term\textit{ gratia} is used twice in the\textit{ Praefationes} 1588 as well: “& certe hoc ipsum in ijs, qui sibi mutuo pares gratias referre possunt verificari debet,” and “cui ego responderem, me modo non contendere pares ijs gratias restituere velle, sed pro meis viribus animum meum illi Ecclesiae patefacere.”

\textsuperscript{50}\textit{ Directorium chori} 1582, “Denique quando reperientur Brevis, & Semibrevis simul coniunctem sub eodem semicirculo, hoc modo [gives example] tunc syllaba subjaciens leni quodam spiritus impulsu
In his subsequent *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis* 1586, he again describes a similar practice, but this time illustrating how to perform two or three longs under a semicircle:

Concerning the Beat (impulse): When these two long notes joined at the same time under this same semicircular measure are found, then the syllable lying under will be pronounced with a certain soft impulse of the breath, just as if it were written for a double vowel. As for example *Do-ominus*, instead of *Dominus*, and the same may be said concerning these notes which occur only at the end of the passions … but nevertheless with this directive, that the syllable which falls under these in this way be lengthened, as if it were written for a triple vowel. But with dignity, and grace which cannot be taught here.\(^{51}\)

In *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587, *gratia* appeared in a new context, to explain why Guidetti had included musical notation for a lesson by Augustine to be read during the second nocturne of Holy Thursday. Unusual in a chant book, this notated lesson was provided, according to Guidetti, for the sake of ease and grace, implying the oratorical value of a notated version.\(^ {52}\)

Caccini also used the term *grazia* to describe his notation and how to perform his solo songs to their best effect and affect. Within the sphere of vocal grace, he included the use of quick notes used for short syllables of text (comprising a quarter to a half of the tactus), comparable to how Guidetti described grace-filled dotted rhythms (and the use of

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\(^ {51}\) *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis* 1586: “De Impulsu: Quand reperientur hae duę notę longae simul coniunctae sub eodem semicirculo hoc modo [gives example] tunc Syllaba subiacens, *leni quodem spiritus impulsu pronunciabitur, perinde ac si duplici vocali scriberetur. Ut Do-ominus, pro Dominus, et idem dictum sit de his notis, quae tantum in fine passionum occurrent, scilicet he [Illustration]sed tamen hac lege, ut syllaba quae sub eas cadit ita [gives example] proferatur, ac si triplici vocali scriberetur. Sed cum decore, et gratia, quae hic doceri non potest.” It interesting to note that this description (and the corresponding notation) disappears in the later edition (1637).

\(^ {52}\) *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587: “De ordine in universum servitor in hoc opera: Notandum quarto a nobis unam lectionem, quem est prima secundi Nocturni Ferie V. cantui firmo expositam esse, ut in aliis cantandis exemplum ab hac peti positis: Responsoria quoque nos omnibus lectinoibus, & lamentationibus in cantu firmo commoditatis gratia addidisse.”
a half tempus). For Caccini, affect, rhythm, and ornamentation were thus all considered within the realm of grazia, part of the “grace” required to communicate the affect of a text:

In both madrigals and airs I have always sought to imitate the ideas behind the words, trying to find those notes of greater or lesser affect (depending on the feeling of the texts) and of a particular grace.  

I have sometimes used, mainly on short syllables, a few eighth notes for as long as a quarter of the tactus of a half tactus at the most. These are permissible since they pass by quickly and are not passaggi but merely an additional bit of grace.

Now if the major source of grace in singing so as to be able to move the affect of the soul be true understanding as to where one should employ affects [ornaments].

Beyond notational references, Caccini also uses the term twice in the dedication of Le Nuove Musiche to Lorenzo Salviati, expressing an “ever-growing wish and hope to immerse myself in your virtue and in the beneficence of your grace, which ever hopefully shall reflect divine grace. I duly bow to you.” In this context, grazia clearly referred not to musical delivery, but spiritual grace—a gift not earned or learned but imparted, the key to Christian salvation. In translating Caccini’s preface, H. Wiley Hitchcock noted that the effortlessness of vocal grazia and divinely-given grazia were often paired in Renaissance

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53 Hitchcock, Le nuove musiche, 46; Caccini, Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano, “Ai lettori”: “I quali così ne madrigali come nelle arie ho sempre procurata l’imitazione de i concetti delle parole, ricercando quelle corde più e meno affetuose, secondo i sentimenti di esse, e particolarmente havessero grazia”.

54 Hitchcock, Le nuove musiche, 46; Caccini, Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano, “Ai lettori”: “io habbia usato talora alcune poche crome fino al valor d’un quarto di battuta ò una mezza a il più sopra sillabe brevi per lo più, le quali perche passano tosto e non sono passaggi ma un certo accrescimento di grazia.”

55 Hitchcock, Le nuove musiche, 49; Caccini, Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano, “Ai lettori”: “Se questa è quella maggior parte della grazia nel cantare atta à poter muovere l’affetto dell’animò, i quei concetti di vero ove più si conviene usare tali affetti”.

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usage. Castiglione certainly demonstrated this in his Book of the Courtier by connecting the idea of physical grace (gestures and actions) with spiritual grace:

You have repeated several times this evening that the Courtier must accompany his actions, his gestures, his habits, in short, his every movement with grace … by the very meaning of the word, it can be said that he who has grace finds grace. But since you have said that this is often a gift of nature and the heavens, and that, even if it is not quite perfect, it can be much increased by care and industry, those men who are born fortunate and as rich in such treasure as some we know have little need, it seems to me, of any teacher in this, because such benign favor from heaven lifts them, almost in spite of themselves, higher than they themselves had desired, and makes them not only pleasing but admirable to everyone. Therefore I do not discuss this, it not being in our power to acquire ourselves.56

Describing medieval usage, Nils Holger Petersen notes a similar confluence of aesthetic and religious categories in a related term, “suavis”—used not only to refer to aspects of vocal delivery, but the ability of music to communicate divine wisdom.57 Plato, lauded by Caccini in his preface, also described grace as the result of appropriate use of rhythm and harmony creating a graceful, even noble balance in the soul:

Rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting grace, and making the soul of him who is rightly educated graceful, or of him who is ill-educated ungraceful: and also because he who has received this true education of the inner being will most shrewdly perceive omissions or faults in art and nature, and with a true taste, while he praises and rejoices over and receives into his soul the good, and becomes noble

56 Charles Singleton, The Book of the Courtier (Garden City: Doubleday, 1959), 41; Baldassare Castiglione, Il Cortegiano (Venice: Aldo Romano & Andrea d’Asola, 1528), 19v–20r: “Si po dir che chi ha gratia, quello è grato: ma perché voi diceste questo spesse volte esser don della natura, & de’ cieli: & anchor, quando non è così perfetto, potersi con studio & fatica far molto maggiore, quegli che nascono così aventurosi, e tanto ricchi di tal Thesoro, come alcuni che ne veggiamo, à me perché in ciò habbiano poco bisogno d’altro maestro, perche quel benigno favor del cielo quasi al suo dispetto i guida piu alto che essi non desiderano, & fagli non solamente grati, ma admirabile à tutto il mondo. Però di questo non ragiono, non essando in poter nostro per noi medesimi l’acquistarlo.”

and good.\textsuperscript{58}

In other words, the graceful rhythms as articulated by the precise notations of Caccini and Guidetti had the power to tune the soul.

A comparable idea, the ethical impulse of spiritual grace, was equally embraced by the the post-Tridentine church. Whereas Protestants emphasized Scripture alone, self-study using vernacular Bibles or Biblical paraphrases, and the intelligibility of liturgy, Catholics emphasized the mystical sacraments mediated by priests as vehicles of spiritual grace, as well as the disposition of the soul through private prayer.\textsuperscript{59} These more concealed and mysterious forms of spiritual labour were in keeping with Castiglione’s notion of masked effortlessness, with spiritual ennoblement achieved not through study, but in newly emerging practices of prayer and self-examination like Loyola’s Spiritual Exercises.\textsuperscript{60} In his Spiritual Diary, Loyola repeatedly referred to grace (“gracia”) as that which is received from heaven, which assists the return to one’s natural state (of grace), and beautifies the soul. Although not identical to Castiglione’s usage, both associated grace with nature, divine origins, and a waiting for grace to transform the self into one’s truer form.

It is perhaps easier to imagine this dual nature of grace being articulated in Guidetti’s post-Tridentine chant books, than in Caccini’s book of love songs and laments. And yet towards the end of his preface, Caccini situated his ideals within the context of heavenly harmonies:


\textsuperscript{59} Andrew Dell’Antonio, \textit{Listening as Spiritual Practice}, 20.

\textsuperscript{60} Karl A. E. Enenkel and Walter Melion, \textit{Meditatio – Refashioning the Self: Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture} (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
“A thing of great beauty and delight by nature, [the art of music] becomes something to be admired and gains the love of others wholly when those who possess it, exercising it often both through teaching and delighting others with it, reveal it as a sample, a veritable image of those ceaseless heavenly harmonies from which come all good things on earth, arousing the minds of its listeners to the contemplation of the infinite delights afforded in heaven.”

Here Caccini evokes the idea of a musically-tuned universe, with music providing a window into the experience of divine harmony. At the same time, he identifies the power of heavenly harmony to bestow grace (“from which come all good things on earth”) and to raise the mind to divine contemplation. Viewing Caccini’s songs and Guidetti’s chants as parallel practices within a common discourse helps to bring Caccini’s evocation of divine harmonies into greater focus, revealing the participation of his song-making within the enlarged frame of physical and spiritual grace in the late Renaissance.

**Ornamentation, Melisma, and Virtue**

This impetus towards grazia was partly reflected in Caccini’s desire to control the ornamentation of his pieces, and provide a more noble model of embellishment than the tearing (“laceramento”) of his works by singers employing elaborate passaggi. Bardi also expressed concern regarding such performance practice, but within the context of liturgical singing and providing the example of a celebrated bass. Bardi notably describes

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61 In the original, there is a distinct break after this remarkable statement. In Hitchcock’s edition, he moves immediately into Caccini’s discussion of technical matters, thus obscuring the finality of Caccini’s previous statement. Hitchcock, *Le nuove musiche*, 56; Caccini, *Le nuove musiche di Giulio Caccini detto Romano*, “Ai lettori”: “La quale bellissima essendo, e dilettando naturalmente, allora si fa ammirabile, e si guadagna interamente l’altro amore, quando doloro, che la posseggono, e con lo ‘nsegnare, e col dilettare altrui esercitandola spesso, la scuooprono e appalesano per un esempio, a una sembianza vera di quelle inarrestabile armonie celesti, dalle quali derivano tanti beni sopra la terra, svegliandone gli intelletti uditori alla contemplazione de i diletì infinitì in Cielo somministrati.”

the poor liturgical singing, like Caccini’s “tearing,” as a breaking and smashing
text (“rompeva,” “fracassava”) of the text:

I become nauseated when I recall some singers I have heard, whether solo or accompanied by others improvising on a choirbook, not caring if any of their words were understood. I remember when I was in Rome in the year 1567, hearing of the reputation of a famous bass who was praised beyond measure. I went to hear him one day in the company of certain accomplished foreigners … he so spoiled nature with art that he broke the lines, indeed shattered them to pieces, making long syllables short and short ones long, putting runs on the short and stopping on the long, that listening to him was to witness a massacre of the unfortunate poetry. The wretched fellow, entreated by adulation, the more he saw eyebrows arching, the greater was his foolishness to satisfy the ignorant public. Therefore, according to my good judgment, if you will recall the extraordinary satisfaction that the Florentine populace gained from the solemnities of the last All Saints’ Day, when the words of your music were well understood, you will pay great attention to their clearly being heard … we do not acknowledge the gift of speech God gave us except to spoil it.  

Chant editors like Guidetti were similarly concerned with controlling excessive floridity in plainchant. In a 1555 treatise, Pietro Cinciarino criticizes singers for adding passagi in chant performance, describing the effect as ugly (“brutto”). In the 17th century, singers were elaborately ornamenting the ends of chants, a practice described by the theorist

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63 Bardi, “Discorso mandato a Giulio Caccini detto romano sopra la musica antica, e’l cantar bene”; transcribed and translated in Bardi, “The ‘Discourse Addressed to Giulio Caccini, Called the Roman, on Ancient Music and Good Singing’ by Giovanni Bardi,” 122–125: “E mi stomaco quando mi sovviene d’aluni che hò uditi o, soli, o, accompagnati al libro cantare, non curanti che alcuna della loro parole compresa sia, et mi ricordo essendo in Roma l’anno 1567 udendo la fama d’un Basso che oltra misura era lodato un giorno andai à udirlo essendo in compagnia con certi virtuosi forestieri, il quale ci empi di maraviglia, di maraviglia dico, perché non fù mai uomo che havesse in questo fatto più dote di costui dalla natura: avvenga che ricercava assai voci tutte sonore, e dolci così nell’alto, come nel basso, e per lo mezo, ma haveva poi, tornando al nostro proposito, tanto guasta la natura con l’arte, che rompeva I versi, anzi gli fracassava, facendo della lunga breve, e della breve lunga, correndo in su quella, e fermandosi in su questa, che altro non era l’udire costui, che uno scempio ella misera poesia, e l’infelice sollecitato dall’adulatione quanto più vedeva inarcar le ciglia, tanto più andava crescenso le sue scempiezer per sodisfare al poco intendente volgo. Onde se voi farete à mio senno rammemorandovi della straordinaria soddisfatione c’hebbe il popolo Fiorentino nella solennità d’ognisanti passato perché ben intese la parole delle vostre musiche … Ma noi sconoscend del sono havvuto da Dio, onde ci ha dato la favella altro che di guastarla.”

64 Cinciarino, Introductorio abbreviato di Musica piana, o vero Canto Fermo, molto facile et utile, la qual ti insegnara di officitare, psalmigiare in parole, e di cantare, parlare de toni, semitonii, e di voce, 17r; cited in Torelli, “La prassi del canto piano e del canto fratto nel Duomo di Firenze,” 116.
Matteo Coferati as comparable to a Baroque cadenza.\textsuperscript{65} In an approach to curtail such excess with notation, the melismas of florid chant melodies were being routinely cut and realigned, as Theodore Karp has demonstrated in his \textit{Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper} and other articles.\textsuperscript{66} Their editing strategies have been typically described in terms of Tridentine interests in intelligibility. Bardi and Caccini similarly describe the importance of understanding the text. But Caccini and Bardi also denigrated the vocal opulence as if a kind of lack of self-control not suitable to the noble art of \textit{sprezzatura} defined by \textit{grazia}. In the case of Catholic chant, there seemed to be a similar anxiety over religious decorum, intensified by tensions with Protestant factions critical of the perceived excesses of the Catholic Church. Like Caccini’s \textit{grazia}, this was set within an oft-expressed theme: getting back to the origins of chant with excessive melismas being viewed, like that of Bardi’s unseemly singer, as undisciplined, “singerly” accretions.

Karp’s analysis of the \textit{Alleluia Veni Domine} in fourteen sources from 1580 to 1696 demonstrates just such an excision of excess by illustrating how a 36 note melisma on the word “plebis” in a 1580 Liechtenstein Gradual (itself based on a 1525 Gradual) was slashed to a single note in a French Gradual of 1616, to five notes in the Medici Gradual of 1614, seven in the Giunta Gradual of 1596, and a whopping eight notes in the 1591 Gardano Gradual edited by Andrea Gabrieli and Orazio Vecchi.\textsuperscript{67}

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\textsuperscript{65} Matteo Coferati, \textit{Il Cantore Addottrinato, ovvero Regole del Canto Corale, ove con breve, e facil metodo s’insegna la pratica de’ precetti pi necessari del Canto Fermo} (Florence: Vincenzio Vangelisti, 1682), 204 (ch. 22); cited in Torelli, “La prassi del canto piano e del canto fratto nel Duomo di Firenze,” 111.
\textsuperscript{66} Karp, \textit{An Introduction to the Post-tridentine Mass Proper}, 1–10; for his example of \textit{Alleluia Veni Domine}, see Karp, “Chants for the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper,” 2005.
\textsuperscript{67} Graduale Sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie : Integrum & Completum : Tam De Tempore Quam De Sanctis : Iuxta Ritum Missalis Novi Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini Restituti Et Pij Quinti Pontifici Maximi Iussu Editi (Venice: Liechtenstein, 1580); \textit{Graduale Romanum, iuxta ritum Missalis novi, ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restituti} (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1591); \textit{Graduale Romanum: De Tempore Et Sanctis Ad Ritum Missalis, Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Consilii Tridentini Restituti Et Pii Quinti}
The idea of ornamenting chant may not have been completely lost, however, just taken a new form. Guidetti, for example, advises singers to use of a soft impulse of breath on notes united under a slur (see example 5.2).

**Example 5.2** Guidetti notational markings: “Soft impulse of the breath”


b. *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis* 1586, *Passio secundum Ioannem*, Evangelist, p. 46

This “impulse” may simply have indicated a rearticulation of the vowel, evoking the double *puncti* of older chant notations. Within the current fashion for speech-like singing, however, it is possible to imagine singers taking liberties with Guidetti’s notation, in fact using his long notes as places for a subtle form of ornamentation, perhaps a liturgical modification of Caccini’s *esclamazione*. Guidetti’s use of such notation on words like “ clamabant” (cried) suggest a vocal intensification for the purposes of affective display,
although the same notation was also used to articulate the ends of phrases (example 4.2b, above).

**Grace in Suffering: Evoking Affections with Authentic affetti**

If in fact rhythm and melody could dispose the soul to virtue, then meticulous attention to textual rhythm would be an important compositional vehicle for the musical and ethical power of grazia. Comparing variant manuscript versions of Caccini’s songs with his 1602 Le Nuove Musiche, and comparing different versions of Guidetti’s chants, reveals that Caccini and Guidetti used a common approach to textual rhythm as a way of capturing grazia. The challenge of comparing their works lies in finding a bridge between fundamental differences between the two repertoires: liturgical versus secular texts, Latin versus Italian. Given the prevalence of lamenting texts in Caccini’s repertoire and the penitential character of many of Guidetti’s chants, that bridge can be found in their respective treatment of the words dolor (Latin, Italian) and dolore (Italian).

Numerous variant versions of Caccini’s songs survive in various manuscripts, indicating the popularity of his songs and also providing insight into how they were being performed in environments outside of his control—something he complains about in the preface to Le Nuove Musiche and tries to remedy by finally publishing an authoritative version of his songs.\(^68\) Comparing his 1602 published versions with those in other manuscripts provides further insight into his compositional priorities and strategies,

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68 Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique MS 704, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Magliabecchiano 66, Class XIX Modena, Biblioteca Estense MS Mus F. 1526 and 1527, and Tenbury, St. Michael’s College MS 1018.
clearly made in opposition to perceived abuses of his work. Stephen Willier describes this process as Caccini’s “struggle to reduce sprezzatura di canto to a more precise notation [resulting in] more dramatic text projection and greater intelligibility through more correct and passionate declamation of the words.”

The song *Sfogava con le stelle* survives in four manuscript volumes as well as Caccini’s print. The text begins with a narrator, then switches to the voice of a lover pleading to the stars that they intervene and reveal to her his love and render her more compassionate. Using the first person gives an affective intensity to the poem, which includes the expected expressive words, including pain, love and ardor. Compared with the other manuscript versions, Caccini’s setting maximizes rhythmic variety but also accentuates these significant words using long note values. For example, at “de l’idol mio ch’adoro” Caccini’s print uses five different note values compared with only two in the comparable section of the Biblioteca Estense manuscript (see example 5.3a). Caccini

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69 A number of scholars have already undertaken such comparisons, and the ensuing discussion is indebted to their work. See Nigel Fortune, “Italian Secular Song from 1600 to 1635: The Origins and Development of Accompanied Monody” (PhD Diss., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1953); N. C. Maze, “The Printed and Manuscript Sources of the Solo Songs of Giulio Caccini” (PhD Diss., U of Illinois, 1956); William V. Porter, “The Origins of the Baroque Solo Song: A Study of Italian Manuscripts and Prints from 1590-1610” (PhD Diss., Yale University, 1962); Stephen Willier, “Rhythmic Variants in Early Manuscript Versions of Caccini’s Monodies,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36, no. 3 (1983): 481–497; Bass, “Would Caccini Approve?”.


72 This analysis is indebted to Willier, “Rhythmic Variants in Early Manuscript Versions of Caccini’s Monodies,” 484–485.
also uses notably long notes for the accented syllable of “adoro,” thus accentuating his confession of love (see example 4.3b).

Example 5.3 Caccini, *Sfogava con le stelle*: “de l’idol mio ch’adoro”

a. Biblioteca Estense MS Mus F. 1526

b. *Le nuove musiche* 1602

At “sotto notturno” Caccini again favors subtle rhythmic variety and lengthens dramatic words (see example 5.4). Whereas the relatively unimportant “sotto” (“beneath”) is accentuated in the Tenbury manuscript, Caccini minimizes it in his print. If word length reveals textual import, the Tenbury manuscript indeed ranks the unimportant “under” higher than “pain.” Caccini, by contrast, lengthens the accented syllable of “dolore,” creating space for the aptly named *affetti.* He furthermore uses a quick upbeat to set up the word as opposed to the less incisive quarter note in the Brussels manuscript. The result is a strongly articulated word for a powerful emotion. Caccini’s version thus

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73 See the following discussion of *Dolcissimo sospiro.*
exemplifies vocal *grazia* through rhythmic means. Gary Tomlinson has aptly described this kind of rhythmic preoccupation as the use of motion to create emotion.  

Example 5.4 Caccini, *Sfogave con le stelle*, “Sotto notturno”

a. Tenbury, St. Michael's College MS 1018

b. Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique MS 704

c. *Le nuove musiche* 1602

Only two more of the twelve madrigals in *Le nuove musiche* use the words “dolor” or “dolore,” but in each case, they too include a lengthened second syllable. In *Dolcissimo sospir* Caccini ornaments the second syllable of “dolore” (m. 13), thus providing inspiration for the interpretation of the same word in other contexts. “Dolor” or “dolore” appear three times in *Amor io parto*, with the first instance at m. 17 including a

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chromatically inflected turn on the upbeat, from Bb to A and then up to C, followed by a whole note. The final example at m. 31 is slightly reduced in length, set to a tied quarter and half note.

This “grave” rhythm for a sorrowful word occurs in other solo contexts as well. In his embellished psalms, the Salmi passaggiati of 1601-1603, Luca Conforti sets the word “doloris” as quarter note-wholed-tied double whole.\(^{75}\) This is the only appearance of the word in the entire set of embellished psalms. The preceding word “Panem” is by contrast set as a string of running eighth notes in the soprano version and as two single eighths in the tenor version. In other words, “doloris” was treated with “grave” rhythms in both soprano and tenor versions despite significant difference of approach to the preceding word. In his setting of “Quivi sospiri” setting the sighs and groans of Dante’s inferno, Luzzasch Luzzaschi also treats “dolor” in a similar manner.

At the risk of being an irrelevant case study of minutia, these treatments suggest that certain words like “dolore” held gravity for composers of this period. Ripa’s Iconologia supports such a conclusion. Using an image depicting a man with shackled hands and feet and surrounded by a snake, Ripa describes “dolor” as a shackling of the body by the intellect. Refering to sacred scripture, Saints Jerome and Cipriano he furthermore emphasizes “dolor” as a form of pain that affects both interior and exterior, giving spiritual status to the experience.\(^{76}\) In this context it is perhaps significant that a similar treatment of “dolor” occurs in Guidetti’s works and this is especially visible by

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\(^{75}\) See mm. 41-44, p. 37 and mm. 45-48, p. 117 of the soprano and tenor versions as edited by Bradshaw Bradshaw, Salmi passaggiati.

\(^{76}\) Ripa, Iconologia, overo, Descrittione dell’imaginii universali cavate dall’antichita et da altri luoghi, da Cesare Ripa, opera non meno utile che necessaria à poeti, pittori et scultori per rappresentare le virtù, vitii, affetti et passioni humane, 63–64.
examining his rendering of the same chant in different publications: the Lamentations of Jeremiah (Holy Thursday, third lesson) in his *Directorium chori* 1582 and his *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587. A 1586 Roman commentary on the lamentations by Francesco Panigarola described this verse as the most affective of the entire lamentations and the most likely to make the heart long for conversion: “It is not possible to read this verse and not run with the soul to Christ.”

Guidetti’s 1587 version seems to respond to just this affective character, especially when compared with the rhythmicized version that he produced five years previously in 1582. For example, at “si est dolor sicut dolor meus” (if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow), Guidetti takes what had been a simple succession of breves in 1582 and alters it by lengthening the first syllable of the first “dolor,” and both syllables of the second “dolor” (see example 5.5). He uses the same process later in the same chant at “in die ire furoris sui” (“in the day of his fierce anger”), essentially drawing the words of anger out of the text. He also creates dramatic emphasis by inserting pauses after the commands: “Attend … and see … if there be any sorrow … like unto my sorrow.”

**Example 5.5** Holy Thursday *Tenebrae*, Third Lesson: “O vos omnes”

a. Guidetti, *Directorium chori* 1582, p. 185  
b. Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587, p. 11

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Through rhythmic emphasis, the resulting chant draws attention to significant words—much as in the Caccini example—that would otherwise be obscured by even rhythm. A later use of the word “dolor” for Holy Saturday Lauds (Psalm 42 “Iudica me deus”, p. 108) uses a similar long value and an incisive upbeat, like that found in the articulation of “dolore” in *Sfogave con le stelle*.

An even more striking similarity between Guidetti’s and Caccini’s treatment of the word, however, occurs in Responsory 6 for Holy Saturday, using the same lamentations text but with the more florid responsorial style. The first iteration of “dolor” includes a short ornamental gesture on the first syllable. The second instance uses a much longer melisma, which appropriately lengthens the duration of the long syllable. Both settings recall Caccini’s similar use of melisma to emphasize the accented syllables of speech.

Even closer examination reveals that Guidetti’s and Caccini’s long ornamentation/melisma are nearly identical, using the same pitches with only a few variations. Guidetti’s begins with a leap of a descending perfect fifth, but after that traces a stepwise ascent from G to C. Caccini begins his ornament with a descending tone, from A to G, then follows the exact same path to C. Both Guidetti and Caccini then outline a descending minor third, with Guidetti filling in the steps and Caccini jumping down to A. Guidetti concludes with another turn, whereas Caccini articulates only the B in Guidetti’s

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78 The first syllable of the Latin “dolor” is long, whereas it is the middle syllable of the Italian “dolore” that is accented. As such, Guidetti and Caccini accentuate different syllables as appropriate to the language in which each is working. On Caccini’s imitation of the Latin quantity (long and short) in his treatement of Italian, see Pierpaolo Polzonetti, “The Quantitative Style in Seventeenth-Century Italian Opera,” in *Pensieri per un maestro: Studi in onore di Pierluigi Petrobelli*, ed. Roger Parker and Stefano La Via (Torino: EDT, 2002), 95–114.
next melisma and then Guidetti’s final G. Caccini’s final resolution to A suspends a sense of closure (see examples 5.6a and b).

This correlation of pitches on such an isolated word is a curiosity that invites numerous questions and suggests any number of possibilities. Did Caccini base his ornament on a chant exemplar? Or is the correlation of notes at this micro-level between a random chant and single solo song merely a coincidence? Because the chant is from the service of Tenebrae, for which we know Caccini provided music, it is plausible that he knew the chant, either from devotions of the Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello or the liturgical obligations of the Medici Court.

Example 5.6 “Dolor” as Chant Melisma and affetto


b. Caccini, “Dolcissimo sospir,” Le nuove musiche (1601), m. 11  


d. Florence Antiphoner, Duomo, G, n. 22, 122v

While it might be tempting to identify Guidetti’s version of the chant as a possible source, his version is in fact a rather standard rending of the text, closely matching both
an early 16th century Roman and Florentine version.\textsuperscript{79} One difference between Guidetti’s treatment of “dolor” and that of the Florentine chant is the termination of the melisma: Guidetti ends the “dolor” melisma on G as opposed to A in the Florentine source. Caccini’s “dolore” also ends on A after first dipping down to G (not present in the Florentine source). The other substantial difference between Guidetti’s version and Florentine G, n. 22 (aside from the use of a rhythmic semibreve for the final syllable of “sicut”), is the shifting of the melisma from the short syllable “dolor” to the first long syllable in accordance with principles of Latin prosody. Ironically, Caccini’s version seems closer to the unaltered prosody of the Florentine version because of his careful rendering of the Italian accentuation of the word (do-ló-re), similar to the incorrect musical stress used in the Florentine chant (do-lór). It may be the case that through Caccini’s exposure to the Tenebrae liturgy, this chant-like rendering of this “dolor” found its way into his vocal idiom. Given this surprising correlation between chant melisma and vocal ornament on the word “dolor,” it is perhaps significant that an early 17th century commentary on the Lamentations links “dolor” with “gratia.” Pain, as understood by the Professor of the Collegio Romano, reveals the desire for love and and thus is a gift of grace. The author situates this comparison within a discussion of Aristotle’s Ethics, drawing on ancient authorities to reinforce his associations.\textsuperscript{80} Lorenzo Giacomini of the \textit{Accademia degli alterati} described the passions in a similar manner:


But who would describe love, hate, desire, hope, joy as mere perturbations? Are not love of country, of a friend, hate for vice, desire for wisdom, hope for happiness, and joy in its possession true virtues or movements that are most useful to virtue? Let us not call them perturbations but affections and spiritual movements (to use Dante’s word) and operations of the soul which, after it has known an object, wants it and clasps it to itself, or does not want it and abhors it.  

According to this description, passions are movements of the spirit that pass through the body and in their purgation, draw the soul towards virtue. Ripa’s description of “dolor” suggests similar possibilities in its description of both interior and exterior pain. Ripa’s further suggestion that such pain demands prayer from the Paternoster (“libera nos a malo”) lends further weight to Caccini’s use of a chant melisma for such a significant word.

Although it would be foolish to draw many conclusions from such a tiny concordance, it would be remiss not to urge further examination into the possibility that Caccini, inspired by his colleagues writings on ancient music, used the surface gestures of the chant repertory to inject an aura of antiquity into his works. Interpreting vocal affetti as chant melisma furthermore suggests a correlation of chant with the affections, with seemingly ancient melismas having the force to draw forth the power of a multivalent word like “dolor.” Whereas Peri seemed used the structure of full psalm tones to create workable phrases in both the Prologue and Messenger scenes of Euridice,

amor tum mutuus, tum erga omnes homines. Nam mensura & ulna doloris est amor. Quantus amor tans dolor: & vice versa, quantus dolor, tants amor.”

81 Claude V. Palisca, “Moving the Affections Through Music: Pre-Cartesian Psycho-Physiological Theories,” in From Number to Sound, ed. Paolo Gozza (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 301; I have slightly altered the beginning of Palisca’s translation for clarity; Giacomini, Orationi e Discorsi Di Lorenzo Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini, 43: “chi dir à perturbatione l’amore, l’odio, il desio, la speranza, l’allegrezza; se l’amore de la patria o del amico, l’odio del vizio, il desiderio de la sapienza, la speranza de la felicità, l’allegrezza del possedimento di essa son vere virtù o movimenti giovevolissimi a la virtù? non gli dicemo dunque perturbationi; ma affetti, e spirituali movimenti (per usare la parola di Dante) & operazioni del anima, in quanto dopo haver conosciuto l’oggetto, lo vuole, e si piega ad esso, o non vuole, e l’aborrisce.”
Caccini may have aligned his lyrical and more ornamented style with the surface filigree of plainchant.
Chapter Six

Lamentation Strategies:
Ancient Affects and Early Modern Devotion

“You are deaf to my moaning and lamentation.  
O death, O sin, O hell, behold …  
Let my sad heart, full of suffering, live.”

The common musical and cultural language that informed the reformation of monody and chant respectively took shape in yet another form, that of lament. In early operas, laments featured prominently within the drama, with Orfeo’s laments (both upon learning of Euridice’s death and in lamenting his lost love at the gates of Hell), furnishing a prime example. Monteverdi’s Lamento d’Arianna was in fact so celebrated for its affective impact that it quickly circulated independently of the opera, and Monteverdi reimagined it twice, first as a five-voice madrigal, and then as a sacred contrafactum, Pianto della Madonna. Monteverdi’s Pianto provides a window into a comparable emphasis on lament and affective expression in Catholic music and devotion. In the late 16th century, this took a very visible form in musical settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, with the first known solo-voiced setting by Galilei ca. 1581 followed by two versions by Emilio de’ Cavalieri ca. 1599. Guidetti also seems to have participated in

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1 Pianto della madonna in Claudio Monteverdi, Selva Morale e Spirituale (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1641), 56: “Heu surdus es ad fletus atque querelas o mors o culpa o inferne … Placer vivat mestum cor meum pleno dolore.”

2 There is no surviving score for the opera Arianna, but the chamber version was published in Il maggio fiorito arie, sonetti, e madrigali, à 1. 2. 3. (Orvieto: Fei e Ruuli, 1623); the lament of the Madonna appeared in Monteverdi, Selva Morale e Spirituale; For a facsimile version of the 1623 print, see Gary Tomlinson, Italian secular song: 1606-1636 (New York: Garland, 1986), vii, 1–21; for modern editions, see Claudio Monteverdi, Tutte le opere di Claudio Monteverdi, Universal Edition (Wien: Universal Edition, 1926), xi, 161–167; xv, 757–742.

this fervor for affective religious lament by issuing two Holy Week publications within two years and editing the Lamentations chant twice within a five-year period.

The laments and lamentations of Guidetti, Cavalieri, and Monteverdi provide apt focal points for exploring the fashion for virtuous singing and the role of affective religious devotion in early modern Italy. They also reveal how chromatically inflected chants—like the lamentations chant and the tonus peregrinus—could provide affective inspiration for composers. Guidetti’s editing of chant as if an expressive solo song shows how the line between chant and solo song could be blurred within the frame of affective lament and affective devotion.

Ancient Lamentation and the Physiology of the Affections

The importance of Lamentation texts to the development of monody has been noted by Bradshaw (focusing on Cavalieri’s Lamentations and Responsories) and Theodor Käser (focusing on later French settings). The lament itself seems to have been an emblem of the “new” within a variety of spheres, seen as culturally innovative. Within the writings of Bardi, Galilei, and Mei, for example, lament is repeatedly identified as a significant affect warranting musical treatment in the new manner. Bardi, in his 1578

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Discourse to Caccini, for example, focused on two affective categories, lament and magnificence:

For those great philosophers, connoisseurs of nature, understood that in the low voice resides the slow and drowsy; in the intermediate, calm, majesty, magnificence; and in the high, rapid blows to the ear, lamenting. \(^5\)

When someone wishes to set to music a madrigal, canzone, or other poem, he should first recall and consider whether the idea is magnificent or lamenting. If it is magnificent, you will take the Dorian tonos … as we have said elsewhere, grand and magnificent matters are spoken of in a pleasant and medium voice. But if the idea is lamenting, you will choose the Mixolydian tonos. \(^6\)

Mei similarly focused on lament, and declared that musical laments, like other monodies, should not aim to soothe the ear, but to express text with speech rhythms within a limited melodic range. Lament was thus described as an important affective category, with magnificence and calm being the only other categories to receive equal attention. \(^7\)

This emphasis on lament was related to the widespread interest in affect in the last 16th century, seen to intersect with ethics. \(^8\) In his *Dialogo*, for example, Galilei often referred to affect, virtue, and ethics. He described composers of polyphony as being disdainful of virtuous and ethical music and describes how music could change moral character, referring the power of “ill-tuned chords” to turn the listener from virile to


\(^6\) Ibid., 115: “quando altri vol metter in musica madrigale, o, canzone, o, altra poesia primieramente ben ricordarsi e considerare se ’l concetto magnifico o, lamentevole sia, se magnifico il tuono dorio prenderete che … perche come habbiamo detto altrove le cose grandi e magnifiche in voce grata et mezana si parlano. Ma se ’l concetto sarà lamentevole il tuono mixolydio prenderete che …."

\(^7\) See, for example, Mei’s 1572 letter to Galilei, trans. Palisca, in *The Florentine Camerata*.

\(^8\) See Jamie Gay Weaver, “‘Del vario stile in cui piango e ragiono’: A study of compositional ethics in Florence and northern Italy during the early seventeenth century” (PhD Diss., University of Oregon, 2006).
lascivious. He juxtaposed virtue with pleasure, spectacle, and servitude to the appetites, concluding that affective music had a disciplining effect on the soul. In keeping with the affective import of music, he advocated the idea that song need to express the state of the soul in order to move the affections of others. This could only be accomplished by imitating speech and expression in song, thereby externalizing the internal harmonies (or dis-harmonies) of the soul and drawing them out of others.

With this and other references to internal and external movements of the soul, Galilei’s theorizing about affections participated in a physiological understanding of affection then current in Florence and also advocated by Mei. In his 1584 discourse on the purgation of emotion through tragedy already mentioned in previous chapters, Lorenzo Giacomini, for example, cited Mei as an expert in the matter who shared his views. His theories included discussion of airy spirits that governed the functioning of body and soul, and which could be moved by the vibrations of air produced by music and thus move the soul into various states of affection. In one passage he describes the sorrowful constriction of the heart which the lungs try to relieve, resulting in moaning

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9 Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 83; Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 207.

10 Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 83; Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 206.

11 Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 81; Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 201.

12 For a review of Florentine interest in the affections, see Weinberg, A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance, Chapter Three; For recent musicological studies of early modern physiology and affections see Cusick, Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court; Gordon, Monteverdi’s Unruly Women; Palisca, “Moving the Affections Through Music: Pre-Cartesian Psycho-Physiological Theories”; earlier studies to explore the idea of the affections ca. 1600 include Hanning, Of Poetry and Music’s Power: Humanism and the Creation of Opera; and Tomlinson, Music in Renaissance Magic: Towards a Historiography of Others.

13 See “Sopra la purgazione de la tragedia” in Giacomini, Orationi e Discorsi Di Lorenzo Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini.
and sighing (unless of course the intellect intervenes, he says). As already suggested in Chapter 5, Caccini’s aptly named *affetti*, in particular the *esclamazione*, seem to participate in this understanding of vocal expression and the purgation of affections. He described the *esclamazione*, for example, as the primary means of moving the affections, indicating the special force of a sudden descrescendo after attacking a note followed by a little extra breath, resulting in a vocal sound reminiscent of a pained human sigh.

Giacomini cited Aristotle as a primary source of his ideas, essentially advocating artistically-engendered catharsis, through which the soul could be brought back into balance through the purgation of emotion. Within this understanding of affect and ethics, moving the affections meant not only creating an emotional state in the listener (that is “move” the listener to feel emotion), but it also to move affections *through* the listener, clearing the spirit of affective noise. Bardi seemed to share Giacomini’s views and interest in Aristotle, noting that

“In songs and rhythm are images of anger, of gentleness, of strength, of temperance, and of every other moral virtue, and of all things that are contrary to these … in melodies are the mutations of moral virtue … in melodies are the mutation of moral character [costumi] because we do not remain in the same mood [modo] as we listen to each of these.”

Bardi’s use of the word “modo” is here significant, evoking a connection between mood and the modes, as he then goes on to describe how different modes draw out different moods: despondency with the Mixolydian, contentment with the Dorian, and abandon

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14 Bardi, “The ‘Discourse Addressed to Giulio Caccini, Called the Roman, on Ancient Music and Good Singing’ by Giovanni Bardi,” 109 (I have modified one word of Palisca’s translation, translating “virtù” as virtue and not quality, as Palisca does). “Al qual proposito dice Aristotele nel fine della Polit[ica] che ne canti e ne’ ritmi sono l’effigie dell’ira, della mansuetudine, della forza, o della temperanza; e d’ogni altra virtù morale, et di tutte le cose, che à queste contrarie sono; allegando poco di sotto la ragione disse così. Nelle melodie sono le mutazioni de costumi perche non si sta in un medesimo modo ad udir ciascuna d’esse…”
Lamentation and Affect in Counter-Reformation Rome

In Counter-Reformation Rome, similar ideas were explored within the frame of devotion, with affect being institutionalized at the highest levels. Pope Gregory XIII was known to weep in public, uncommon among previous popes, but beloved by the people. Beginning his reign only a few years later in 1592, Clement VIII elevated weeping into a near daily public event. At the sight of Christ on the cross, the Eucharist, and during the daily mass more generally, Clement VIII would weep abundantly and loudly. At his elevation to the papacy, for example, he fell to the floor and began to wail; in a public procession for Corpus Christi he cried so fervently that others in the procession had to dry his face continually with towels. Philip Neri had popularized the idea of emotional response as an indication of reform and as followers of Neri, both popes likely modeled this in public. Ignatius of Loyola also understood tears as a sign of both spiritual grace and personal transformation, recording on a near daily basis his experience of tears during prayer. Page after page in his diary documents floods of tears through which he felt he received God’s restorative grace. It is no wonder, then, that


17 See “Spiritual Diary,” in Loyola, Ignatius of Loyola, 238–270.
sorrow was an important part of the *Spiritual Exercises*, in which he wrote repeatedly about a new orientation of the individual to God, the soul, and salvation:

In the *Spiritual Exercises*, sins and their malice are understood more intimately, than in the time when one was not so giving himself to interior things. Gaining now more knowledge of and *sorrow* for them, he will have greater profit and merit than he had before.  

18 (my emphasis)

Christian laments proliferated, usually on Christ’s Passion, although Monteverdi’s *Pianto della Madonna* participated in a tradition of Virgin laments. Angelo Grillo—one of Monteverdi’s favorite poets  

19—wrote many such laments and is described as bringing a new level of immediacy and theatricality to devotion as well as ushering in a new aesthetic of the sacred.  

20 Various commentaries on the lamentations were also published.  

21 And devotion to the passion itself became emblematic of a lamenting turn in late 16th-century devotion.  

22 In Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises*, for example, the entire third week of his four-week regime was devoted to imaginative meditation on the Passion, with particular emphasis on an emotional response to the imagined sounds and sights of Christ’s last days. The drama entailed in such imaginative contemplation was heightened by beginning the meditation at midnight—in solitude and darkness, guided by the

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18 Published first in Spanish, Latin editions circulated widely, beginning with Ignatius of Loyola, *Exercitia Spiritualia* (Rome: Blandum, 1548), (unpaged); Loyola, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 33: “Secunda, cum in talibus Exercitiis spiritualibus cognoscantur magis intime peccata et eorum malitia, quam tempore quo homo non ita vacabat rebus internis, obtinendo nunc majorem notitiam et dolorem de illis, habebitur major utilitas et [majus] meritum, quam ante habitum esset.”

19 See, for example, “E questa vita un lampo” in Monteverdi, *Selva Morale e Spirituale*.


22 Although always regarded by the church as a center point of the church year, by the sixteenth century Holy Week and the Passion of Christ became powerful touchstones for a new kind of devotion centered on interiority and feeling.
Consider the road from Bethany to Jerusalem, whether broad, whether narrow, whether level, etc; likewise the place of the Supper, whether large whether small, whether of one kind or whether of another … it will be here grief, feeling and confusion because for my sins the Lord is going to the Passion. … and here to commence with much vehemence and to force myself to grieve, be sad and weep … to consider how He suffers all this for my sins… and what I ought to do and suffer for Him.23

Loyola even offered the option of devoting more time to such meditation on the Passion. Within similar Catholic discourses, this kind of affective engagement with scripture and narrative had the cultivation of virtue at its core, virtue being seen as a kind of “right thinking” made possible by engaging in the “right kinds” of pious prayer and devotions.24

**Galilei’s Lamentations: Between Academy and Confraternity**

Although John Walter Hill and others have situated developments in monody within the practices of devotional confraternities and other religious communities, this kind of historical work has typically neglected to explore how specific early monodies could function as forms of devotional expressions. In the case of Galilei, musicologists often neglect to mention his setting of the Lamentations of Jeremiah at all, preferring instead to highlight Galilei’s other non-extant monodic experiment from this same period, the lament of Count Ugolino from Dante’s Divine Comedy. If we see Galilei’s non extant composition as a liturgical composition for performance during the Tenebrae services of

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23 Loyola, *Exercititia Spiritualia*; translated in Loyola, *Ignatius of Loyola, 89–91 [191–197]: “Secundum, compositio, videndo locum. Hic erit considerare viam a Bethaniz in Hierusalem, an lata, an angusta, an plana etc.; similiter locum Coenae an amplus, an exiguus, an formae hujus vel illius…. Erit hic [petere] dolorem. Afflictionem et confusionem, eo quod ob mea peccata Dominus eat ad Passionem… et hic incipere magno nisu et conari excitare me ad dolendum, tristandum et plangendum; et eodem modo laborando conando per etera puncta, quae sequuntur … considerare, quomodo haec omnia patitur pro peccatis meis etc.; et quid deboe ego facere et pati pro illo.”

the *Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello*, as Hill suggests, then his Lamentations bridge the world of the intellectual academy and the devotional world of Catholic Confraternal life, with their mutual interest in sorrow and tears as vessels for personal transformation.

Both Academy and Confraternity would have appreciated the text’s an ancient pedigree: a lament on the historical destruction of Jerusalem. Ostensibly written five centuries before the Christian era, the Lamentations provided Galilei with a two thousand years old text with which to create a viable musical composition in the new style. Liturgically appointed for the night office of Tenebrae during the solemn Holy Week, the text was also recited in an appealing theatrical context: a darkened church sanctuary lit by numerous candles extinguished one by one until worshippers were left in utter darkness.

In a letter to Guglielmo of Mantua, Galilei described his lamentations as creating “that affect of lamenting in which the prophet Jeremiah prayed and which I tried to incite in my listeners.”

Galilei’s interest in Jeremiah’s anguished prayer may have been little more than a theoretian’s abstract study of emotional expression. It is equally likely, however, that he tried in his Lamentations to create a powerful devotional work using one of the most affective liturgical texts available. Galilei’s desire to move the affections of his listeners in the manner of Jeremiah’s outpouring of grief indeed recalls Ignatius of Loyola’s longing for tears in prayer and his perception of tears as a divine gift that could restore the soul to grace.

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Guidetti and Cavalieri: Roman Devotion

Cavalieri and Galilei worked in close proximity to one another in Florence, and various musicologists have suggested the Cavalieri’s Lamentations were in some way a response to Galilei’s. Given Cavalieri’s roots in Rome, might Cavalieri and Guidetti have known one another as well? The overlap between Guidetti’s and Ferdinando’s circles discussed in Chapter 4 would have provided numerous possibilities. Cavalieri was well ensconced in Ferdinando’s circle of influence by 1584, when he travelled with Ferdinando to the wedding of Leonora de’ Medici and Vincenzo Gonzaga. An involved statesman and an oft-consulted advisor on art, architecture and antiquities, Cavalieri would have equally worked with Gregory XIII during Guidetti’s Vatican tenure.

Among his many political positions in Rome, Cavalieri was one of three conservatores camere urbis in 1577, with status just below that of the senator, as a mediator between the Roman populace and the pope on all city matters. Between 1573 and 1587 he was three times the councillor of the district of S. Eustachio which comprised the churches of S. Luigi dei Francesi, S. Eustachio, S. Agostino, S. Andrea della Valle, and the University of Rome. And in the early 1580s, he held a seat on the city council four times. He acted as advisor to Gregory XIII (1572-1585) at least twice—once in 1572 when he advised the pope on the new altar for St. Peter’s and the new Capella Gregoriana at St. Peter’s, and then again in 1576 regarding a sculpture of Gregory XIII for the senator’s palace.

26 Bradshaw, Lamentations and Responsories of 1599 and 1600, xxviii; Kirkendale, The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici, 284.

27 Warren Kirkendale, Emilio de’ Cavalieri “Gentilhuomo Romano,” 65.

28 For more detail regarding Cavalieri’s political activities, see Warren Kirkendale, Emilio de’ Cavalieri, Gentilhuomo Romano, 20-24
While Guidetti worked within the orbit of the Vatican, Cavalieri’s primary artistic circles in Rome seem to have been the Archconfraternity of S. Marcello and later, the Oratorians. In addition to SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini and the Gonfalone, S. Marcello was one of the most prominent devotional communities in Rome, frequented by numerous Cardinals, and whose liturgies sometimes also intersected with those of the Vatican. Before his move to Florence by 1588, Cavalieri’s primary musical obligation was as the administrator of Holy Week music for the Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso of S. Marcello in 1577 (with Orazio Caccini, brother of Giulio), as well as 1578-1584, and again in 1597.\(^\text{29}\) This involved co-ordinating the music and arranging for payment and possibly also composing.\(^\text{30}\) Among these Holy Week events was a Maundy Thursday procession to the altar of repose in the Cappella Paolina at the Vatican—a tradition in fact begun by the Oratorio of S. Marcello during the 1522 plague outbreak and later adopted by the other confraternities as well.\(^\text{31}\) Music would have included polyphony and falsobordone sung by up to two choirs per confraternity, the hymn *pange lingua*, other Passiontide chant, and likely psalm motets and litanies.\(^\text{32}\) Other musical events co-ordinated by Cavalieri likely included Lenten Friday devotions with sermon, penitential psalms, Compline, the Marian antiphon *Ave regina caelorum*, psalm motets, and litanies. And finally, there were

\(^{29}\) Previous musicians in charge of organizing music for San Marcello in Holy Week include Palestrina in 1552. See O’Regan “Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-Place” *Early Music* 22:4, 551-572.

\(^{30}\) Bradshaw, *Lamentations and Responsories*, XXIX and Alaleona, 104

\(^{31}\) O’Regan, “Palestrina, a Musician,” 570, ft 28.

\(^{32}\) O’Regan, “Palestrina, a Musician,” 558
the confraternity’s Tenebrae services held on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday evenings of Holy Week.33

Published in 1587, Guidetti’s Cantus ecclesiasticus, including chant for Tenebrae and the Saturday Vigil, would have been a useful volume for such religious observances. Guidetti’s Cantus ecclesiasticus 1587 furthermore included falsobordone chant—a favorite of the confraternities for Holy Week devotion—including one rendition by Palestrina, a composer often in charge of co-ordinating Holy Week confraternal music.34 Records show that Holy Thursday, a “showpiece” event for all of the city’s large confraternities, typically used falsobordone by Palestrina and Marenzio as well as other members of the Cappella Giulia.35 Because there are no surviving records of Holy Week devotions at the Cappella Giulia on Good Friday, it is likely that the Good Friday devotions of the confraternities were the focal points for worship, like the Maundy Thursday processions were for the gathered confraternities and Vatican communities.36 In these contexts, the careers of Guidetti and Cavalieri would have had ample opportunity to intersect.

Cavalieri may equally have become aware of chant reform initiatives more generally via his long-time confidant and friend, Cardinal del Monte. A sign of their close

33 O’Regan, “Palestrina, a Musician” 560. This description is based on O’Regan’s description of music at Santissima Trinità, which he suspects is standard for many of the city’s oratories.


relationship, del Monte was the executor of Cavalieri’s will, named as such in 1599.\footnote{See Kirkendale, Emilio de’ Cavalieri, “Gentilhuomo Romano,” 82, 112.} An ally of Ferdinando’s Roman court, del Monte became a Cardinal in 1588. In the wake of the failed 1577 chant reform project, del Monte became part of a team of Cardinals overseeing the revision of the official liturgical books, a committee that appointed Marenzio and Giovanelli to reform the Roman Pontifical.

**Tears, Lamentation, and Signs of Reform**

Guidetti’s interest in lamentations is visible in his publication history. Two of his six publications were devoted to Holy Week chant: *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis* 1586 and *Cantus ecclesiasticus officii maioris hebdomadae* (1587). This latter book included newly revised versions of the Lamentations chant. His first book, the *Directorium chori* 1582, also contained full-length chants for four of the Lamentations, despite the use of mere *incipits* for nearly all other chants in the book.

In the preface to his 1587 book, Guidetti singled out the Lamentations three times, describing them as the motivation for the publication:

I considered that I might produce an *Officium Maioris Hebdomadae* … especially because your Holiness wished the lamentations, which I had restored to the musical manner and use of our times, to be sung in the Pontifical Chapel.\footnote{Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587: “faciendum mihi esse duxi, ut etiam officium maioris hebdomadae, aliaque multa, quae per totidem eiusdem hebdomadae dies Romana Ecclesia exercere solet emitterem: praefertim cum Sactitatis Vestra lamentationes, quas ego ad musicam rationem, usumque nostrorum temporum restitueram, in Pontificio Sacello (ut mihi Cantores retulereunt) voluerit decantari.”}

We have rendered the lamentations into a better form … we have accommodated the notes with words especially in these lamentations.\footnote{Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587: “lamentationibus, quas pro nostra ingenij imbecillitate in meliorem formam red egimus: notasque verbis praecipue in his lamentationibus ita accomodasse.”}
This was not empty rhetoric. Guidetti was indeed interested in reconsidering the relationship of notes and words in his 1587 versions of the Lamentations. Rather than simply copy the lamentations chants that he had previously edited in the *Directorium* 1582, Guidetti revised the chants extensively for the newer *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587.

Why so much attention to the Lamentations? Guidetti’s first reference to the Lamentations suggests that Sixtus V wanted them chanted, not sung polyphonically as had been done since Pope Leo X’s pontificate in the early 16th century. 40 Beginning his pontificate in 1585, Sixtus V almost immediately reduced the size of the papal chapel, forbade papal chapel singers from joining the city’s newest confraternity for musicians, and thus came under critique from composer Jean de Macque in October, 1587: “music [presumably polyphony] has been virtually banned from Rome … when I was there it was already in decline.” 41 It also seems that Sixtus V wanted Guidetti’s version of the Lamentations sung in particular. In a detailed two-page letter, Sixtus V granted a ten-year privilege to *Cantus ecclesiasticus*, an early example of copyright for a musical publication. 42 Sixtus V indicated that the copyright was not only for Guidetti’s protection,

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40 According to Paris de Grassis, master of ceremonies under Leo X, polyphony was banned in worship from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday. Leo X, however, introduced polyphony to the Triduum as early as 1514, when he requested *falsobordone* performance of the *Miserere* at the end of Tenebrae. Leo X also commissioned Carpentras to compose polyphonic music for the Lamentations. See Richard Sherr, “Ceremonies for Holy Week, Papal Commissions, and Madness in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome,” in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Rome and Other Courts* (Ashgate, 1999).


42 Christopher Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-century Venice and Rome* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 46. Witcombe states that the first recorded papal privilege for a printed book was 1509. He notes only two papal privileges for music: 1593, for a new method of printing plainchant and 1602 for a reprint of Guidetti’s *Directorium Chori*. *Cantus ecclesiasticus* receives no mention in Witcombe’s book, although he acknowledges that much work is yet to be done on the origins of the Roman *privilegio* (see pp. 321 and 324).
but “at the same time for public advantage and usefulness in the first fruits of your
labour.” According to art historian Christopher Witcombe, such privileges helped the
Church control public taste and enforce religious orthodoxy, with content undergoing an
extensive review process before being granted a privilege. Contravention of Guidetti’s
privilege was to result in excommunication—one of many possible punishments for
copyright infringement in the Counter-Reformation, with the most common punishment
being a fine.

Like Guidetti with his two versions of the Lamentations chant, Cavalieri
composed two different versions of the Lamentations. The first was for the Medici court
in 1599. It seems that it was received poorly in performance during Holy Week at the
court chapel of S. Nicola in Pisa, as Cavalieri reported to a friend and colleague.
Characterized by long solo sections juxtaposed with choral entries, the music also
contained many angular melodies, an example of enharmonic tuning, and extensive
chromaticism. The other version, likely for the Oratorian community of Rome in 1600,
used much more chant-like recitation on single pitches, shorter solo, choral and small
ensemble passages in continual alternation, less text repetition, and hence what Bradshaw

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43 Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus*: “Nos tuae indemnitat, ac simul publicae commoditati, et utilitati in
praemisis oportune consulere, Teque spetialibus favoribus et gratijs prosequi volentes, tuisque in hac parte
supplicationibus inclinati omnibus, et singulis Christifidelibus praesertim Librorum Impressoribus, ac
Bibliopolis quouis nomine nuncupatis tam in Alma Urbe nostra et illius districtu, ac nostro toto statu
Ecclesiastico nobis, et Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae midiate, vel immediate subiecto, in Italia, vel extra sub
excommunicationis maioris latae sententiae, a qua nullus praeterquam a nobis, ac Romano Pontifice pro
tempore existente absolui possit.”

44 Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance*, 12.

45 Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance*, 50.

termed a more Baroque approach when compared to the Luzzaschi-like late-Renaissance idiom of the earlier version.47

Copied and preserved in manuscript by a member of Neri’s Oratory, Cavalieri’s Lamentations have received little attention from musicologists as compared with Cavalieri’s published Rappresentatione di anima e di corpo, which itself has been generally dismissed among scholars of the Florentine school as interesting only in terms of the rivalry exhibited between Peri, Caccini, and Cavalieri in its preface.48 Cavalieri’s compositions provide invaluable insight, however, into the use of new music in a devotional context, in particular, that of Neri’s Oratory, which intentionally fostered new musical forms as a way of making religion sensory and familiar. The ideals of the Oratory were indeed in many ways opposed to the noble, intellectual values purported in the prefaces of Peri and Caccini’s works. Whereas Euridice was performed for a small audience of invited nobles with little visual spectacle, for example, Cavalieri’s Rappresentatione and Lamentations from 1600 were intended for the open-door policy of the Oratory, one of the most famous sites in Rome, an atmosphere of inter-personal familiarity and spontaneity of worship.49

Reports that Cavalieri’s music moved its audience to tears are also important to this narrative, given the ancient and affective goals of the new music. As reported by another Oratory composer, Giovanni Animuccia (ca. 1520-1571), music for the Oratory

47 Ibid., xvi–xxviii.
49 Ibid., 3.1.
needed to tread a balance between refinement and simplicity, so to appeal to the broad-base of congregants:

And in all this selection our aim has been not only to choose laudi composed with artifice and polish to satisfy men of acute and refined judgment, but also to include many simple, plain ones for the common use of the people … not to hamper the understanding of the words … [to help] penetrate more sweetly the heart of the listener.  

To this effect, one audience member of Cavalieri’s Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo attested to an intense emotional experience upon hearing the performance:

One day I, Giovan Vittorio Rossi, was at the house of Cavaliere Giulio Cesare Bottifango, a gentleman and, besides his goodness of a rare quality, an excellent secretary, a finely discriminating poet and musician. Entering into a discussion of music that moves the emotions, he told me strongly that he had never heard anything more emotional or moving than the Rappresentazione dell’Anima set to music by the late Emilio del Cavaliere and performed in the Holy Year of 1600 in the Oratory of the Assunta, in the house of the most reverend fathers of the Oratory of the Chiesa Nuova. He was present the day that it was performed three times and never got tired of it. In particular he told me that, when he heard the section sung by Tempo [Time], he felt himself overcome by great fear and trembling. At the speech of Corpo [Body], performed by the same [boy] who played Tempo, when he doubted what he should do, namely to follow God or follow World, and then resolved to follow God, tears in great abundance fell from his eyes. He felt stirring in his heart great repentance and pain for his sins. Nor did this happen only at the moment, but every time he sang it, since every time he wanted to take communion, in order to arouse devotion in himself, he sang that section and burst out in a river of tears. He highly praised the speech of Anima [Soul]. Besides being performed divinely by that little boy, musically it was of incomparable artifice, that expressed the feelings of pain and sweetness with certain false sixths moving to a seventh, that ravished the heart. In a word, he concluded that in that genre it was not possible to do anything more beautiful or more perfect, and he added, so that you yourself can see that what I say is true, he led me to the harpsichord and sang some pieces from that Rappresentazione, and in particular the part of the Corpo which moved him so much, and I liked it so

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much that I begged him to give me a copy, which he very courteously did, copying it out for me in his own hand, and I learned it by heart and would often go to his house to hear it sung by him.\textsuperscript{51}

The powerful effect on this listener was facilitated no doubt by the crossing of boundaries between theatre (a staged morality play) and devotion, with the music becoming an affective backdrop for future devotional experience.

\textbf{Lamentation Strategies: Guidetti and Cavalieri}

It is possible to imagine a similar response to Cavalieri’s Lamentation settings, but more difficult to imagine Guidetti’s versions of the Lamentations chant formula inducing such an intense response, no matter how well declaimed. By comparing Guidetti’s and Cavalieri’s settings of the Lamentations text, I want to explore just this territory, however, as a way situating Guidetti’s chant editing within the pervasive fashion for lament and lamentation in late 16th century Italy.\textsuperscript{52} Given Cavalieri’s

\textsuperscript{51} Cited in Morelli, “Il Tempio Armonico: Musica nell’Oratorio Dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705),” 179: “Ritrovandosi io Giovan Vittorio Rossi un giorno in casa del sig. Cav. Giulio Cesare Bottifango, gentil’huomo, oltre la bontà, di rare qualità, secretario eccellente, poeta e musico intendentissimo, et entrati in ragionamento della musica che move gli affetti, mi disse risolutamente che non haveva sentita cosa più affettuosa, né che lo movessi della rappresentazione dell’Anima messa in musica dalla buona memoria del sig. Emilio del Cavaliere, e rappresentata l’anno santo 1600 nell’oratorio dell’Assunta, nella casa dei molto reverendi padri del’oratorio alla Chiesa Nuova, e che egli vi si trovò presente quel giorno, che si rappresentò tre volte senza potersi mai satiare, e mi disse in particolare che sentendo la parte del Tempo, si sentì entrare adosso un timore e spavento grande, et alla parte del Corpo, rappresentata dal medesimo che faceva il Tempo, quando stato alquanto in dubbio, che cosa doveva fare o seguire Dio e ‘l Mondo, si risolveva di seguire Iddio, che gli uscirono da gl’occhi in grandissima abbondanza le lacrime e sentì destarsi nel coré un pentimento grande e dolore dei suoi peccati, né questo fu per allora solamente, ma di poi sempre che la cantava, talché ogni oltá che si voleva comunicare, per ecitare in sé la divotione, cantava quella parte, e prorompeva in un fiume di pianto. Lodava ancora in estremo la parte del’Anima, che oltre esser stata rappresentata divinamente da quell putto, diceva nella musica esser un artifitio inestimabile, che esprimeva gli affetti di dolore e di dolcezza con certe seste false, che tiravano alla settimà, che rapivano l’anima; in soma concludeva in quell genere non potersi fare cosa più bella, né più perfetta, e soggiunse, acciò vediate voi stesso esser vero quanto vi dico, mi condusse al cembalo e cant’ alcuni pezzi di quella rappresentazione et in particolare quell loco del Corpo, che lo moveva tanto, e mi piacque in maniera ch’io lo pregai a farnene parte, il che molto cortesemente face, e me lo copiò di sua mano, et io lo imparai alla mente, et andavo spesso a casa sua per sentirlo cantare da lui.”

\textsuperscript{52} Bradshaw also looked for resemblances between Guidetti’s and Cavalieri’s work, and found that Guidetti and Cavalieri both set the same passages of the lamentations text. Guidetti has often been cited as the beginning of the standardization of lamentations texts for Holy Week worship, but Bradshaw demonstrates
oversight of musical productions at the Medici court from 1587 to 1600, and the
description of affective priorities in his prefaces, it is reasonable to assume that he had
affective goals in mind in composing his Lamentations. Comparing his compositional
choices with Guidetti’s chant editing provides a useful way of exploring Guidetti’s
relationship to the prevalent fashion for affect—a little explored territory for chant
studies. The fact that both worked with the same text also offers an invaluable
opportunity to explore chant and monody on the same playing field, as opposed to
examining shared cultural contexts and vocabularies, as in Chapter 4.

Comparing their work requires a few disclaimers, however. Cavalieri’s first and
second versions of the Lamentations set different passages as solo and ensemble pieces.
As well, Guidetti edited all of the lamentations in the 1587 Cantus ecclesiasticus, but less
than half of the lamentations in his 1582 Directorium. This result is a small sample of
available for comparative analysis. For instance, there is only one passage in all four
versions: “In tenebrosis” from the Third Lesson of Good Friday Tenebrae.53

Rhythm, Declamation, and Affect

Rhythm was commonly evoked in the writings of Mei, Galilei and Bardi as a tool
of affect. In a passage from Bardi’s letter to Caccini discussed earlier, rhythm was
described as capable of altering moral character by virtue of its ability to evoke specific

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53 Reference to measures applies only to Cavalieri but is intended to give a sense of exert length. Although
Guidetti uses what appear to be bar lines in his chant, these indicate breath marks, not measures.
affects. In a passage from the *Timaeus*, which would have been well-known to Bardi, Plato describes rhythm as an important way of “tuning” the soul:

> “Attunement, having motions akin to the circuits in our soul, has been given by the Muses to the intelligent user of the arts not for mindless pleasure, as it is fashionable to assume, but as an aid to bringing our soul-circuit, when it has got out of tune, into order and harmony with itself. And rhythm likewise, in view of the unmeasured and graceless condition that comes about in most of us, was bestowed by them for the same purpose.”

Plato prefaces this description of attunement by mentioning speech as an important vehicle through which the unturned soul could bring itself into concord with the divine tuning of the universe, returning the soul to its proper “measure” or rhythm. Rhythm in chant or monody thus had not simply persuasive import but arguably spiritual and ethical effects. Mei, Galilei, and Bardi specified not only the importance of speech rhythms for drawing out these effects, but the use of quick rhythms for agitated, anxious text, and slow ones for the heavier affects of melancholy or grief. As the supervisor of artistic productions at the Medici court, Cavalieri worked closely with Bardi on numerous accounts, especially during the year-long preparations for the wedding festivities of Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine in 1589. Bardi provided artistic direction for the *intermedi* staged between acts of the play *La pellegrina*, and crafted the mythological program concerning the power of music under Cavalieri’s oversight. Notably, Rhythm and Harmony dressed as Dionysus and Apollo respectively descended from the clouds in one of the final scenes, an idea derived from Plato. Cavalieri provided music for the final dance number, a piece that gained infamy in Italy as the Aria di Fiorenza.

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Given his close working relationship with Bardi, Cavalieri would have been privy to the rhetoric surrounding rhythm and emotion fostered by Bardi among his colleagues. As his 1599 and 1600 Lamentations demonstrate, he paid close attention to rhythm in his setting of text, seen especially in “Plorans ploravit” from the First Lesson of Holy Thursday Tenebrae. One of the few instances in which Cavalieri duplicated the melodic material of 1599 for his later version, his 1600 setting reveals subtle changes to the rhythm, arguably to enhance the affective intensity. While both versions move chromatically from D to A in the first phrase, Cavalieri’s 1600 Lamentations substitute sixteenth notes for the half and quarter notes used on short syllables in the earlier version (Example 6.1). The later version also rarely repeats note values in succession, whereas the earlier version often uses extended strings of the same note value.

Example 6.1 Holy Thursday Tenebrae, First Lesson, “Plorans ploravit”

a. Cavalieri, Lamentations and Responsories, 1599

b. Cavalieri, Lamentations and Responsories, 1600

Whereas the slower values of the 1599 version evoke the weightiness of the text, the latter version creates urgency.
Given Cavalieri’s attention to the expressive potential of rhythm, it is significant that Guidetti’s and Cavalieri’s rhythms often agree, especially in their later versions. In a brief example from the opening of the lamentations, Guidetti and Cavalieri set short syllables with the same short note values, with comparable although not identical long values in between (Example 6.2 a and b).

**Example 6.2** Holy Thursday *Tenebrae*, First Lesson, “Incipit lamentatio”

a. Cavalieri Lamentations and Responsories, 1600, f. 5r

![Example 6.2a](image)

b. *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587, p. 5

![Example 6.2b](image)


d. Cappella Sistina 2 (Rome, 1535)

![Example 6.2c](image)

![Example 6.2d](image)

e. *Passionarium* (Toledo, 1582)

![Example 6.2e](image)

Many other Lamentation chants from this same period use a more even recitation style, with an extreme example being that in a 1566 *Cantorinus* published in Venice. A version

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from a 1535 Roman Antiphoner also uses an equal-note recitation, but with breves instead of longs.\textsuperscript{55} A 1582 Passionarium from Spain includes the closest version to Guidetti’s, using two note values, longs and breves (Example 6.2 c, d, and e). Only in Guidetti and Cavalieri, however, is a pause indicated after lamentatio (Guidetti with a line, Cavalieri with a fermata). The editor of the Cantorinus, for example, indicates a pause only after the complete phrase.

A similar correlation can be seen in “Omnis populus eius” from the second lesson of Holy Thursday (example 6.3). Guidetti’s Cantus ecclesiasticus 1582 uses an even-note declamation with a single semibreve. By contrast, Cantus ecclesiasticus 1587 and Cavalieri’s 1600 setting use a reiterated short value for the two short syllables of “populus,” dotted rhythm for “eius,” and similar long-short proportions for “omnis” and “gemens.” Comparable attention to prosody is visible again in the final syllable, “omnis.”

**Example 6.3** Holy Thursday Tenebrae, Second Lesson, “Omnis populus”

a. Cavalieri 1600, Lamentations and Responsories, f. 13v

\[\text{Example image a}\]

b. Guidetti, Directorium 1582, p. 184
c. Guidetti, Cantus ecclesiasticus 1587, p. 9

\[\text{Example image b}\]

\[\text{Example image c}\]

\textsuperscript{55} 1535, Cappella Sistina 2, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
Re-Modeling the Lamentation Tone

Just as Peri, Caccini, and Monteverdi quoted psalm tones in their early operas, Cavalieri quotes the Lamentations tone in his monodic setting, drawing attention to “ancient” precedents for his solo-voiced lamentations and revealing a contemporaneity with his Florentine colleagues. Sometimes, like Caccini, he evokes the melismatic filigree of chant. In other instances, however, he quotes directly and obviously from the Lamentations tone. Like Peri, Caccini, and Monteverdi in the opera examples discussed in Chapter 2, Cavalieri sometimes veils the chants. For “In tenebrosis,” the third lesson of Good Friday, Cavalieri’s 1600 version uses the same range of pitches, but in a different arrangement from the chant (Example 5.4). After reciting on A, just as in the chant, he outlines a similar range, from F-sharp to B with a single dip to E mid-phrase (F to B-flat in the chant). The 1599 version, by contrast, uses a more angular melody. The repetition of a descending diminished fifth certainly evokes textual anguish, but while being intentionally affective, it is also more affected than the simpler chant-like sprezzatura of Cavalieri’s later version. That said, the flourish on the antepenultimate note of the early version evokes the cadential turn at the end of the lamentation tone.

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Bradshaw also identifies Cavalieri’s use of the lamentations tone throughout his 1600 Lamentations, although he does not situate it within the larger rhetoric of chant, antiquity, and early opera as established in this and previous chapters. That said, his identification of various chant-like passages confirms and thus bolsters these findings. See Bradshaw, “Cavalieri and Early Monody,” 249.
Example 6.4 Good Friday *Tenebrae*, Third Lesson, “In tenebrosis”

a. Cavalieri, Lamentations and Responsories, 1599

\[\text{In tenebris in tenebris colo cavit}\]

b. Cavalieri, Lamentations and Responsories, 1600

\[\text{In tenebro sis in tenebro sis collo cavit}\]

c. *Directorium chori* 1582, p. 184  
d. *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587, p. 9

In the 1600 version of “Manum suam,” Cavalieri quotes directly from the chant, perhaps the most obvious statement of chant in the whole work (example 6.5). Cavalieri
mimics the lamentation reciting tone, setting it on E, whereas Guidetti recites on A.⁵⁷

Cavalieri also incorporates the cadence used by Guidetti at “desiderabilia” (A-Bb-A-G-A) but circles instead around E (E-F-E-D-E). To increase expressive effect, Cavalieri moves this expressive semitonal gesture to the word “hostis” (“enemy”). Guidetti, by contrast, uses the cadential figure merely for cadential closure. At “misit hostis,” Cavalieri creates an inventive drive to the already melodically highlighted “hostis” by introducing a syncopation at “suam.” Although Guidetti’s 1587 treatment is less inventive than Cavalieri’s 1600, the version in the Directorium is even less so, once again using multiple repeated breves. All three sources, agree, however, on the dotted rhythms at “omnia” and “desiderabilia,” revealing degrees of expressivity within a shared idiom.

Example 6.5 Holy Thursday Tenebrae, Third Lesson, “Manum suam”

a. Cavalieri, Lamentations and Responsories 1600

![Image](image1)

b. Guidetti Directorium chori 1582

c. Guidetti Cantus ecclesiasticus 1587

⁵⁷ Bradshaw mentions the use of a chant tone for this text. While he does not analyze Cavalieri’s treatment of the chant, he uses the example to substantiate his argument that this version was composed for Rome. See Lamentations and Responsories, XXXIX.
Guidetti’s and Cavalieri’s Merging Idioms

At “Recordata est,” Guidetti’s and Cavalieri’s idioms seem to merge, melodically and rhythmically (example 6.6). Cavalieri’s 1600 Lamentations begin on a reiterated G and the second phrase, in a falsobordone style, uses a reiterated A in the soprano—the same note used in the actual chant. In the second phrase Guidetti and Cavalieri use remarkably similar rhythms in their later versions, with reiterated short values on “prevaricationis” and “desiderabilium” in both. That said, there are also notable differences of approach that reflect the difference between a composer promulgating a new style, and an editor updating a traditional repertoire. While Guidetti’s version of the first phrase is prosodically accurate, Cavalieri takes artistic license. This can be seen in particular at “Jerusalem,” where Cavalieri lengthens the initial short syllable (bad prosody) but in doing so, creates a wonderful syncopation that makes the word Jerusalem leap out of the phrase with great rhythmic subtlety and art. In other words, Cavalieri brings a level of artistry and freedom to his work indicative of his role as composer, as opposed to Guidetti’s as editor of centuries-old chant melodies. That said, even in this phrase, Guidetti and Cavalieri use similar dotted rhythms for the final syllable of “recordata” (“recall”), the penultimate syllable of “Jerusalem,” and the middle syllable of “afflictionis” (“affliction”), all significant words of the text which anchor the verse as a whole.
Example 6.6 Holy Thursday *Tenebrae*, Second Lesson, “Recordata est”

a. Cavalieri, Lamentations and Responsories 1600, f. 10v

Moving the Affections with Chant?

Resonances between Cavalieri’s approach to the Lamentations and Guidetti’s versions suggests the affective potential of Guidetti’s editing especially via rhythm. As already mentioned, Mei, Galilei, and Bardi specified not only the importance of speech
rhythms for drawing out affective effects, but the use of quick rhythms for agitated, anxious text, and slow ones for the heavier affects of melancholy or grief. Using incisive and vigorous rhythms in “Recordata est” that predate Cavalieri’s version by thirteen years, Guidetti communicates the affective urgency of the text, in keeping with the fashionable theories about affect and rhythm (“Jerusalem hath remembered the days of her affliction and the transgression of all her desirable things”). Peri too put these same rhythmic principles to work in “Per quel vago boschetto”—the same affective recitational passage modeled heavily on plainchant psalmody in which Dafne announces the death of Euridice (see Chapter 3). For the initial passages of Daphne’s speech, Peri rarely uses more than two eighth notes in a row. At the moment of Euridice’s snake bite, however, Peri signifies urgency and shock by using three eighth notes in succession. At the moment of Euridice’s death, Peri slows the rhythmic pacing again. These changes create a noticeable rhythmic arch in the piece, with anxious intensity and rhythmic drive at the core. It would be false to say that Guidetti manipulates rhythmic acceleration in such a sophisticated manner. On the other hand, he often uses multiple semibreves in succession for phrases of intense grief in his Cantus ecclesiasticus 1587. And he was clearly aware of the expressive power of his Holy Week texts and the affective potential of his chants. In the dedication of his passion chants to Wilhelm V of Bavaria he declared that “nothing is more suitable to that most sacred time, nothing can be heard which flows into souls with the inspiration of greater piety, than this chant.”

58 Guidetti, Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis 1586: “Quo cantu nihil ad sacratissimum tempus illud accomodatius, nihil quod maiori pietatis instinctu in animos influat exaudiri potest.”
Lament, the Lamentations Tone, and Early Opera Reprised

Bradshaw suggested that Cavaleri’s new style was a response to Peri’s *Euridice,* and while this may be true, the modeling was in a way done through an intermediary, that of chant. Despite this common denominator, both approached the chant idiom differently. Cavaleri’s highly sectionalized approach to the Lamentations text, alternating soloists and chorus in quick succession, provided few opportunities for extended development of recitation, as found in Peri’s “Per quel vago boschetto.” Peri’s longer, narrative recitations used a larger rhetorical palette, truncating and manipulating formulas for narrative ends. Even in the extended recitational passages also evoking the lamentations chants, Peri used underlying harmonic color convey narrative meaning, for example, by letting the semitonal inflection of the lamentations chant grate against a static bass unlike Cavaleri more likely would change harmonies in rhythm with the melody.

This comparison of their treatment of the lamentations tone says little new about the difference between Cavaleri’s and Peri’s styles, just within a new frame. That said, their distinct uses of plainchant reveals the distinct priorities of their performance venues. In the case of Cavaleri’s Lamentations, sung liturgically at the Chiesa Nuova, Cavaleri’s nearly direct evocation of plainchant resituated chant within the expressive arts of the Oratorian order, the leading Counter-Reformation devotional community which sought to popularize the Catholic faith with increasingly affective and more approachable devotional practices. ⁵⁹ Peri’s *Euridice,* by contrast was a new musical form, for an elite audience, with high-flung pretentions to be inventing a new style of speech-like song in the service of ancient tragedy. If we see Peri’s recitational process as marrying chant with

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a host of other devices for expressive and dramatic ends, his music can equally be seen to
cross between sacred oratory and modern theatrical idiom. This “brand” of
entertainment would have been consistent with what Butters has called “the public
impression of sacrality attached to the Medici principate.” In the case of both Peri and
Cavalieri, however, chant was a useful and powerful tool in the service of new music and
in fostering a new theatrical and devotional aesthetics respectively.

**Arianna’s Lament and the Wandering Tone**

If any piece demonstrates the height of this new aesthetics in both its theatrical
and devotional aspects, it is Monteverdi’s *Lamento d’Arianna* of 1608, reworked nearly
30 years later as a Latin lament of the Madonna. Ready to die on discovering that her
lover, Theseus, has abandoned her, she sings a lament that, unlike the laments of Orpheus
in 1600 and 1607, uses various repeating refrains. These refrains voice her relentless
despair, with her thoughts turning over and over to her lost lover and her desire to die—
feelings that gradually dissipate and transform in the course of her singing as if the
singing itself is an affective purgation.

The only surviving music from the 1608 opera of the same name, Arianna’s
lament has received extensive critical commentary, with most scholars mentioning the
innovative mixture of recitational and arioso styles and how the lament defined the key

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elements of the genre into the 17th century. The rising and lingering semitone figure at
the beginning of Arianna’s lament and its following phrase function as an emblem of
Arianna’s despair, set to the words “Lasciatemi morire” (Let me die). Using
chromaticism, expressive leaps, and a contained memorable phrase structure, Monteverdi
captures an astonishing sense of anguish within very few measures, allowing him to
evoke this same affect at will throughout the piece with the mere suggesting of a rising
semitone followed eventually by a stepwise descending minor third.

Given the intensity of expression within the phrase, it might come as surprise that
the structure and pitches of the phrase closely match that of an untransposed tonus
peregrinus (see example 6.7). The most obvious connection to the tone is found in
Arianna’s opening notes, the immediate rise from A to Bb. The tonus peregrinus also
rises immediately from A to Bb, an unusual and hence memorable intonation among the
various psalm tones. The striking “Lasciatemi” phrase also concludes exactly like the
tonus peregrinus, with D-F-E-D, the first D being in the upper octave.

Between these two obvious pillars of the tonus peregrinus, Monteverdi outlines
the characteristic descending fourth of the tone’s mediating cadence by leaping from Bb
directly to F. Between this and the tone’s termination, Monteverdi slips down a semitone
to E, then reiterates and expands on the semitone movement of the opening gesture, rising
from B through C and C-sharp to rejoin the tone at D.

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62 See, for example, Carter, “Lamenting Ariadne?”; Cusick, “‘There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to
Shed a Tear’”; Gordon, Monteverdi’s Unruly Women; MacNeil, “Weeping at the Water’s Edge”; William
Porter and Fenlon, “Lamenti Recitativi Da Camera,” in Con Che Soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song,
Example 5.7 Arianna’s lament and the *tonus peregrinus*

a. *Tonus peregrinus*

b. Monteverdi, Arianna’s Lament, first phrase

A similar procedure is used by Galilei in his “In exitu” lute intabulation of the same tone (see Chapter 4). In the second verse of the tone, Galilei outlines the opening A-Bb-A-G, then interpolates eleven measures of embellishment before articulating the mediating cadence Bb-A-G-F. In the third verse, he introduces the tone with a mere A-G, omitting the striking semitone gesture completely and ending the phrase with an uncharacteristic descent from A to F-sharp, comparable to Monteverdi’s uncharacteristic F-E mediation. In an even more obvious parallel with Monteverdi’s “Lasciatemi,” Galilei at mm. 39-42 uses only the intonation and termination of the tone (A-Bb-A, F-E-D). Like Monteverdi’s framing of the “Lasciatemi” phrase with A-Bb-F, D-F-E-D, Galilei here encapsulates the pillars of the tone in a concentrated sound-bite. Monteverdi’s use of the tone thus partakes in standard gestures of psalm-tone manipulation. Monteverdi’s own manipulation of psalm tones in the *Orfeo* prologue (see Chapter 4) reveals similar strategies used by him only a year earlier than that in his *Arianna* lament. Seen thus, Monteverdi’s use of the *tonus peregrinus* provides a formal structure against which Arianna’s lament stretches.

Monteverdi’s choice of the tone may furthermore have drawn on the tone’s
association with notions of loss, exile, and transformative journey by virtue of its association with Psalm 113 (see chapter 3 and 4). Psalm 113 would have been familiar to audiences as that sung weekly to the *tonus peregrinus* during the Sunday Vespers service, a “showpiece” liturgy for which composers including Monteverdi wrote many works. Describing the departure of the Jews from Egypt, the parting of the Red Sea and the river Jordan, and the entry of the Jews into Judea, the psalm begins with wandering and loss, and ends with all of nature celebrating the arrival of the Jews in the promised land. From Arianna’s lament to the end of the narrative, Arianna’s story treads similar ground: from initial all-consuming despair at Theseus’ departure, to the arrival of Bacchus followed by celebration, and his promises of marriage and of immortality.

Monteverdi later uses another psalm tone for an equally obvious narrative moment (see example 6.8). As Arianna’s ire rises, she issues a piercing cry close to the top of the song’s range on repeated Ds:

> Are these the crowns with which you adorn my head? Are these the scepters, Are these the jewels and the gold: are you leaving me abandoned to the beasts which tear me apart and devour me?63

This charged recitation takes the form of psalm tone 8. Using the characteristic rising fourth from the intonation, Monteverdi then recites extensively on the tone’s tenor. Jumping immediately to the second half of the tone, Monteverdi inflects the tenor using the tone’s striking lower semitone, using it powerfully to evoke Arianna’s rage.

Drawing on inherent similarities between psalm tone 7 and 8 as authentic and plagal versions of the Mixolydian mode, Monteverdi concludes this passage with a descending gesture implicit in the terminations of both tone 7 and 8. Matched the exact

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63 Son queste le corone de m’adorni il crine? Questi gli scettri sono, Queste le gemme e gli ori: Lasciarmi in abbandono A fera che mi strazi e mi divori”
pitches of an untransposed tone 7 termination, Monteverdi moves from D to E, then stepwise down to A for the beginning of the ensuing phrase.

**Example 6.8 Monteverdi, Arianna, “Son queste le corone”**

a. Psalm tone 8

![Example 6.8 a. Psalm tone 8](image1)

b. Psalm tone 7

![Example 6.8 b. Psalm tone 7](image2)

c. Monteveri Arianna, “Son queste le corone”

![Example 6.8 c. Monteveri Arianna, “Son queste le corone”](image3)

Whereas Peri achieved intensity in “Per quel vago boschetto” by truncating psalm tones and then abandoning them until the certainty of Euridice’s death was established, Monteverdi here demonstrates a virtuosic ability to exploit the affective potential of various tones. Using the initial rising semitone of the tonus peregrinus to set up the most memorable phrase of his lament, he then manipulates the descending semitone inflection of Tone 8, and the closing gesture of Tone 7 to communicate steely rage. It may be no
coincidence that various theorists, ancient and modern, had associated the Mixolydian
tonos, used here for Arianna’s rage, with high, shrieking laments.⁶⁴

Monteverdi’s later setting of the Arianna lament as a plaint of the Madonna
recalls the intensity of devotional expression hinted at in late Renaissance writings,
including the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises with its vivid mental imaginings of Christ’s
physical suffering as if it were one’s own. There is an expressive gulf, however, between
the devotional lament of Guidetti’s chants, Cavalieri’s Lamentations, and the Madonna’s
Pianto, despite use of the same kinds of chant materials as tools of affective song. These
three different modalities of chant-like lament reveal the adaptability of the psalm-based
model to different contexts and needs, be they liturgical worship, popular pieties, or
visceral renderings of theatrical expression.

⁶⁴ Galilei also associates it with tragedy. See Galilei, Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna, 1581, 64; Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 154.
Chapter Seven

David with his Lyre, Orpheus with his Lute: Imitation of Divine and Human Speech in Chant, Solo Song, and Opera

Why was the ideal of speech-song upheld in both church and court environments in late 16th century Rome and Florence? The preceding chapters have explored this question from various perspectives by examining ancient models of speech-song, the culture of nobility and the ideal of grace, as well as devotional imperatives of intelligibility, persuasion, and movement of the affections. In doing so, these chapters have demonstrated concrete relationships between chant and monody and the way in which speech-like singing intersected with the cultivation of virtue through the medium of the singing voice.

Looking more pointedly at recurring references to “speech” itself as a model for singing, however, reveals that the fervor for speech-like singing at the turn of the 17th century participated in a significant cultural shift in Renaissance notions of language—away from the perceived magical incantatory power of language and towards an interest in human expressivity. This shift has been well documented by historians of early opera and solo song, but much less so in histories of chant reform.¹ Comparing evidence of this shift in prefaces by Peri, Rinuccini, Caccini, as well as Guidetti demonstrates yet another significant parallel between monody and plainchant in early modern Italy, one that was often expressed as a tension between the desire to both imitate and supercede antiquity.

Comparison of this shift from ancient to modern and from divine to human speech in both repertoires also helps to emphasize the extent to which plainchant practice was in

flux in early modern Italy, something that Mei would have been aware of in Rome, as would have Peri as an active church musician throughout his career, and Ferdinando I as a former cardinal. As such, this shift in plainchant practice has bearing on how composers and theorists used and referred to plainchant in their works. Barring the discovery of lost manifestos, it may never be possible to discern with certainty the intent of Peri, Caccini, or Monteverdi in quoting plainchant in their early operas. Evoking plainchant might have signified an orientation to a notion of divine, magical speech. But the increasing theatricality of Guidetti’s chant in particular suggests that composers like Monteverdi may also have inserted plainchant references into their early operas perceiving the expressive, rhetorical potential of chant declamation. Foregrounding how plainchant participated in the rhetoric of ancient versus modern, magical versus expressive in early modern Italy, sheds light on how composers may have approached plainchant: more as a vehicle of ancient sacral magic, or a vehicle for expressive declamation.

Language, Humanism, and the Imitation of Antiquity

As already explored in Chapter 3, the imitation of antiquity and its musical ideals in particular, was a defining feature of Renaissance musical humanism in Florence. The roots of this humanist endeavor began, as has been explored and documented in numerous studies, with pedagogues called *umanisti* in 15th-century Italy, who popularized the study of classical literature and the idea of returning to the sources (“ad

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fontes”) of language and knowledge. In the 15th century, studia humanitatis became a standard mode of education in universities, comprising study of languages and ancient literature as well as moral philosophy and rhetoric derived from classical sources. Studies and translations of Plato, Aristotle, Quintilian, and Cicero, to name only the most well-known today, proliferated, making full texts of these ancient teachings newly available. This coincided with a renewed interest in ancient languages, from Greek to Syriac and Aramaic to Hebrew, resulting, for example, in the production of polyglot Bibles beginning in 1515, with ancient translations placed side by side for ease of comparative analysis and interpretation. Knowledge of these languages made it possible for Renaissance scholars to scrutinize not only the content of sources, but the use of language as well, with literary elegance being especially dissected, imitated, and prized.

An important moment in this revival of ancient Greek writing occurred at the Florentine Medici court in 1438, when the Council of Florence provided the opportunity for Byzantine delegates, including the secular philosopher Gemistus Pletho, to reintroduce to the West many ancient writings, including Plato. Commissioned by

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Cosimo de’ Medici to translate such works in 1462, Ficino became a leading force in what would be called a Platonic Academy, indicative of a trend towards philosophical inquiry rooted in antiquity. In addition to translating the complete works of Plato from Greek into Latin, Ficino, as well as others in his circle, became interested in natural magic and in re-discovering the power of ancient ritual.

The widespread interest in ancient sources often, in fact, fostered a desire to imitate and connect to the ancient world through such means. As early as the 14th century Petrarch, for example, wrote letters to Cicero and Livy, not only imitating their style within the letters, but imagining a relationship with them, thus forging what Kenneth Gouwens has called “personal connectedness with individuals of the past.” Other forms of imitation reveal this even more pointedly, for example the actual wearing of laurel wreaths by the Members of the Roman Academy of Leto for their academy meetings. This form of life-like imitation extended equally to the re-creation of ancient pageants, role-playing, and name-taking.

**Christian Humanism**

Perhaps because of such emphases on pagan antiquity, it was once common to view humanism and its interest in antiquity as operating wholly within the secular sphere. And yet as more recent scholarship has demonstrated, humanist teaching, philology, and source-seeking was undertaken by Christian scholars within a Christian culture, often

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with a view to reforming Christian worship and theology. Only rarely did humanist scholars or those who inspired them reject Christian teaching in favor of pagan faith and ritual. The Greek scholar Pletho, who helped Cosimo de’ Medici found the Platonic Academy in Florence, was one such figure. Although Pletho influenced important Neoplatonic scholars of the late 15th century including Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and, less directly, Johannes Reuchlin, these scholars remained Christian, with Ficino even being ordained to the priesthood in 1473, and Reuchlin penning a tract on the art of sermonizing.

A sign of this larger Christian humanist framework can be seen in the humanist approach to Christian scriptures. Petrarch, for example, is said to have “re-discovered” Scripture by first rediscovering the elegant and rhetorical writing of the Church Fathers like Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome, who had themselves been influenced by the ancient Greek heritage of Biblical interpretation. To approach Scripture as an ancient text, however, necessitated knowledge of Biblical languages whereby Scriptural texts could be parsed just like other Greek and Latin sources. Hebrew was thus added to Greek and Latin in most universities by the early 16th century, not to mention smatterings of

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11 See Evans, “The Ars Praedicandi of Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522).”

Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic to facilitate translation of Scriptural translations like the Peschitta in Syriac from the 2nd century A.D.\textsuperscript{13}

Among these ancient Scriptural languages, Hebrew was the one most commonly taught. Beginning in the 15th century, the study of Hebrew proliferated due to the scholarship of numerous scholars including Johannes Reuchlin. Reuchlin’s book on Hebrew grammar influenced Erasmus and Luther, to name only two, and he is credited with having popularized the study of ancient Hebrew in the 16th century.\textsuperscript{14} Reuchlin’s influence also extended to Italy. Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1518) in Rome, for example, corresponded with Reuchlin, with both sharing an interest in not only Hebrew language but Jewish Kaballah.\textsuperscript{15}

**Imitating Ancient Song in Florence**

Antiquity continued to provide inspiration in Florentine intellectual circles of the late 16th century, with Mei’s mentor Piero Vettori creating editions of texts by Aristotle, Aeschylus, and Euripides, and his colleague Lorenzo Giacomini writings commentaries on similar ancient works. Giacomini, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, was also instrumental in cultivating an interest in Florence in reviving ancient Greek tragedy, thought to have been fully sung. The imitation of ancient tragedy in early opera hardly needs rehashing, but quickly revisiting the known musical models for ancient song provides an important counterpoint for considering parallel developments in plainchant.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 108.

\textsuperscript{14} Zika, “Reuchlin and Erasmus”; “Erasmus, the Intellectuals, and the Reuchlin Affair,” in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 39–54.

Aside from one scant transcription of ancient Greek music, (figure 1), there were no actual models for Florentine composers interested in imitating ancient song. This has led many musicologists to tout the actual modern underpinnings of the new music rather than imagined ancient ones. This one surviving example was useful, however, if for no other purpose than making completely clear that the text of Greek song was primary. Containing no familiar form of musical notation, only symbols over notes, the surviving brief passages visually confirmed the dominance of text so touted by theorists from Mei to Galilei.

Such notation could be deciphered by ancient Alypius tables, provided by Galilei a few pages before the songs themselves.16 According to these tables, given to Galilei by Mei, symbols over the text indicated intervals specific to one of eight modes.17 Lines and dots over notes further reflected rhythmic values, although it is unclear whether or not Galilei and Mei had seen such rhythmic notation.18 Monteverdi confessed that although he had seen Galilei’s published example and interpretive tables, he had not bothered to transcribe it, despite his own interest in the power of ancient Greek song.19

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17 For Galilei’s description of these tables, see Galilei, Dialogo, p. 91, in Palisca, Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music, 229–231.

18 For a more thorough account of ancient Greek notation, including the use of lines and dots over notes to indicate long and short rhythmic values within the context of a song from Euripides, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, “Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music,” Music Theory Spectrum 7 (1985): 170–173; on ancient Greek music and notation more generally, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, Apollo’s Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); John G. Landels, Music in Ancient Greece and Rome (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Peri and Caccini both promoted the ancient pedigree of their songs by describing the influence of ancient Greeks and Romans in their prefaces. As discussed in previous chapters, Peri named the ancient Greeks and Romans as an important model for his new style of singing, and Caccini had named Plato. Cavalieri’s preface to the *Rappresentatione di anima e di corpo*, written by Alessandro Guidotti, also referred to ancient practices as models for moving the affections. For example, the first sentence in the dedication to Cardinal Aldobrandini describes the work being “in a style similar to
that which it is said the ancient Greeks and Romans were wont to move the spectators to
diverse affections in their scenes and in their theatres,” and then declares that the work
“imitated perfectly their custom … happily reviving that ancient custom: as was seen on
diverse occasions.”

Guidetti and the Power of Ancient Notation

Compared with such overt references to imitation of the ancients, Guidetti’s imitation of the ancients and their song was much more veiled. Although he referred to intelligibility with his prefaces, he did not wax eloquent about ancient speech patterns as advocated by Plato and specific techniques of drawing them out. He did, however, invoke the power of ancient song. It seems that he was also interested in antique notations, for the unusual notation that he used in his Directorium chori, mentioned previously, was derived from Hebrew cantillation symbols in circulation among Renaissance humanists, in particular, that notated in Reuchlin’s De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae. Although other sources of Hebrew cantillation circulated in the Renaissance, Reuchlin’s was unusual in that he used four note values and a system of fermata-like symbols over notes to indicate rhythmic values (see figure 2).

20 Cavalieri, Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo; translated in Weiss, Opera: A History in Documents, 20–21; Original transcribed in Solerti, Le origini del melodrama, 1–3: “fatte a somiglianza di quello stile, col quale si dice che gli antichi Greci a Romani nelle scene e teatri loro soleano a diversi affetti muovere gli spettatore ... con la sua industria et valore ravvivare quell’antica usanza così felicemente.”

21 Johannes Reuchlin, De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae (Haguenau: Anshelm, 1518); Guidetti’s use of Reuchlin’s notation was first noticed by Hyun-Ah Kim in her important work on the humanist chant reforms of John Merbecke in England. See Kim, Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England, 160–166.
Reuchlin’s notation itself was itself not ancient, but rather one used (invented?) by the scholar Johannes Boeschenstein for his transcriptions by ear of the oral tradition of Hebrew Bible cantillation, which he made available to Reuchlin. Although Reuchlin acknowledged Boeschenstein as his source, he also mentioned the scholar Flavius Mithridates, a Roman scholar known to Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo in Rome and at one point in the service of Cosimo I’s court in Florence. Quoting Mithridates, Reuchlin linked Hebrew cantillation with ancient Greek declamation. Describing, specifics accents, as well as the evocation of the passions, Reuchlin thus essentially identified Hebrew cantillation on a continuum with ancient Greek song. The notation, while not identical to the ancient Greek form published by Galilei in 1581, also used a similar principle of signs over notes to indicate note lengths and to facilitate expressive declamation using three kinds of musico-textual accentuation: syllable emphasis (grammatical), semantic divisions of the text (rhetorical), and melodic formulas to
accentuate phrasing and meaning.

Although Guidetti never identifies Ruechlin specifically as his source, Reuchlin was hardly obscure in the late 16th century. Gioseffo Zarlino in fact copied extensively from Reuchlin’s *De orthographia* in his *Sopplimenti Musicali* without acknowledging his source.  

Although *Sopplimenti Musicali* was published in 1588—five years after Guidetti first used the notation—Reuchlin’s books were famous in Europe and easily accessible in Rome thanks to a long-standing interest in Hebrew culture among members of the Vatican curia.  

Another leading Hebraicist of the period, Levita (Elijah Bahur ben Asher ha-Levi Ashkenazi), lived in Rome from roughly 1514-1527 with Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo. Egidio himself was a celebrated humanist within the Roman curia, through whom the study of Hebrew culture gained particular prominence within Vatican and patrician circles.  

While Guidetti may not have identified the source of his notation, he did emphasize the importance of antiquity to his reforms, suggesting that his chants reflected a more ancient and hence authentic religious expression. In his *Directorium chori* of 1582, for example, he evoked the authority of the Christian Fathers who first ordained that there be singing in churches. As well, he described the role of ancient sources in his editing process: “in collecting together, isolating, increasing, and eliminating various musical

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notes I shall have used the ancient as well as more recent Antiphonaria and Psalters of our Vatican Basilica.”

In a 1604 edition of the Directorium released after Guidetti’s death—without the notational symbols—the editor noted that even the ancients sometimes used modern-looking notation, suggesting that Guidetti’s notation from 1582 was understood by his contemporaries as a sign of antiquity.

As already mentioned in Chapter 3, an unidentified poem about the Directorium chori in the Vatican library connected the Directorium chants with antiquity yet more clearly, referring to the book as a model of ancient practice made accessible for modern use.

The Reuchlin-derived notation further asserted this ancient pedigree, for in placing the notational symbols over his Christian chants, Guidetti quite literally refashioned Catholic chant notation in an ancient guise. Using this visual marker thus created an imagined bridge between Christian chant and ancient Hebrew cantillation as well as Greek music, thereby situating Catholic chant within an esteemed ancient tradition.

This was certainly in keeping with other Catholic means of re-establishing its authority against Protestantism: parish churches looked for early Christian ruins in their “basements,” and Rome was remade in the image of the eternal city and center of the Christian Republic. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Guidetti described one such project in the

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28 Guidetti, Directorium Chori 1582, unnumbered page from the preface: “Ac licet in Musicis notis collocandis, coniungendis, separandis, augendis, expungendis cum vetustis Vaticanae nostrae Basilicae, tun recentioribus Antiphonarijs, ac Psalterijs.”

29 Guidetti, Directorium Chori 1604, unnumbered page from the preface: “tum quia illis usi sunt artis Musicae veteres, et doctissimi Magistri, tum etiam, quia in antiquis et recentioribus libris hae solum reperientur, et ipsem Directorij Auctor in officio Maioris hebdomadae, ac in aliis a se editis libris, illus usus est.”

30 Linking Christianity to ancient Hebrew roots was among Renaissance writers and theologians and coincided with the desire to restore Christianity to a more authentic form Christianity. See, for example, Friedman, The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia.
introduction to his *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587—Sixtus V’s re-location of an ancient
Egyptian obelisk to the middle of St. Peter’s Square:

Your Holiness [Sixtus V] who, as he surpasses others in counsel and prudence, so he yields to no one in the exercise of divine worship, which he openly displays in regulating those who visit the churches. And who does not know that his prudence and authority is visible in the exorcism of the Obelisk of Caesar; which, brought for the pagans from Egypt to Rome and consecrated to their use, is now in the possession of Christians, transported into the Vatican forum so that the standard banner of Christ, from which hangs our whole welfare, may endure.31

Although the obelisk and the notation were by no means equivalent signs, both contributed to a popular Catholic rhetoric, one that viewed Christianity as the perfector of antiquity.

**Magical Song in the late Renaissance**

Various scholars have noted that the Florentine evocations of ancient song emerged mid-point in a moment of transition in Western culture (1550-1650), a moment of gradual shifting and reorienting between Renaissance and Enlightenment modes of knowing.32 The Renaissance mode, as defined by Foucault, perceived the world as a system of deeply embedded resemblances, whereby the music of the spheres was a macrocosm of the harmony inherent in the human body, as well as in the tuning of human music.

31 Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus officii maioris hebdomadae* (Rome: Tornieri, 1587), unnumbered page from the preface: “His ego commotus, librum hunc sub sanctitatis vestrae, nomine emisi, quae ut consilio, & prudentia alijs antecedit, sic in divini cultus exercitacione nemini concedit, quod in hominibus constituendis, qui Ecclesias visitarent aperte ostendit : & hoc ipsum in Caeseris Obelisci exorcizatione elucere quis ignorant? Qui cum infidelium memoria ex Egypto Romam delatus esset, Hisq; paganorum olim usui dicitus, Christianorum nunc memoria in forum Vaticanum deductus est, ut Crucis vexillum a quo tota nostra salus pependit, sustineat.”

Although certainly a generalization that has come under critique as a totalizing statement, most scholars agree that, by-and-large, the Renaissance world-view, and certainly the Catholic world-view, was that of a world systematically ordered by a divine metaphysics, whereby the parts cohere by virtue of a divine mind at work in the cosmos.33 Within this metaphysics, language was held to have magical properties, as was music. Put simply, language was understood to have participated in the divine ordering of the universe, with God using speech to bring about creation: from “and God said, let there be light,” to “in the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God.” Music participated in the heavenly harmony of well-ordered planetary motion by virtue of the vibration of sound which could resonate with the vibration of planetary bodies in space. Joining the two could create powerful effects.

One of the most oft-cited exemplars of “magical singing”—by musicologists but also Renaissance writers, was Marsilio Ficino. Performed in semi-ritualistic forums Ficino’s Orphic singing was revered by his colleagues not only for its magical power, but in preparing the mind for intellectual insight.34 Cosimo de’ Medici, Ficino’s patron, was known to praise Ficino as a healer of souls by virtue of his singing.35 In his advice on composing such songs, Ficino stressed the importance of the words and their power, strengthened through their alignment with specific images and planetary forces. Ficino’s ideas were of course deeply indebted to Plato and the Neoplatonists. If any members of

34 Voss, “Marsilio Ficino, the Second Orpheus,” 163.
35 Ibid., 169.
the Camerata or the Accademia degli alterati read Plato in Latin, they likely were reading from Ficino’s own translations.

While this might seem all very far from Peri’s *L’Euridice* or Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche*, Ficino was still part of the discourse around music in the late Renaissance. For example, L’Ottuso Accademico, an anonymous/disguised defender of Monteverdi’s, named Ficino in his debate with Artusi over the power of text-driven music. Drawing on Ficino’s ideas of song, Ottuso defended Monteverdi’s elevation of music as the servant of text, and of the power of music to evoke the passion. Texts of solo songs also revealed magical ideas. Caccini’s “Sfogave con le stelle” discussed in Chapter 4, is essentially a man conversing with the stars and entreating heavenly intervention through song. To this effect, Tomlinson argues that the speech-like qualities of solo songs and early opera participated in this understanding of the universe whereby tone and word united could effect magical powers on the soul, the state, and the cosmos.

According to this reading, the speech-like songs of Peri and Caccini are magical songs, songs that derive their power from the coherence of word and tone through carefully crafted speech-like rhythms. Rhythm, as discussed in Chapter 3, was indeed seen as having a powerful force on the soul, with Plato, for example, describing rhythm’s ability to balance the soul. Caccini referred to rhythmic *grazia* as an important aspect of his art, one that attuned listeners to heavenly harmonies. Music that joined word with its

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37 See, for example, Tomlinson, “Il canto magico dell’Euridice.”
“inherent” rhythm was thus thought capable of restoring harmony to the soul, state and cosmos.\(^{38}\)

**Catholic Magic?**

Ficino and magical thinking also tread into Catholic territory. Agostino Agazzari, who composed the early Roman opera *Eumelio* (1606) for the Jesuits, as well as a treatise on basso continuo, referred to Ficino’s magical singing as late as 1638, but in the context of church music in his *La musica ecclesiastica*.\(^{39}\) Insisting on the importance of the text in music, Agazzari described a theory, attributed to Ficino, that the music of the spheres is reflected in musical harmonies, which then give power to musical oration. Although not a detailed elaboration of Ficino’s theories, the use of Ficino’s name signalled nearly two centuries of Italian thought on the power of song by virtue of the metaphysical dimensions of music: the very tuning of the universe evident in the tuning of instruments and the voice.

Although magical thinking was often persecuted by Catholic popes and reformers, many Protestant reformers perceived a magical incantantory orientation in Catholicism itself.\(^{40}\) Criticism was often directed at the magical overtones of sacramental practice.

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\(^{38}\) Ibid.

\(^{39}\) Agazzari, *La Musica ecclesiastica di Agostino Agazzari*; transcribed and translated in Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra 1 basso*, 41.

\(^{40}\) John Calvin and Martin Luther both denounced the practice of priestly consecration of the Eucharist and Calvin referred to such priestly iterations as spell-like incantations. Numerous English pamphlets against witchcraft and popery also described priests as conjurers as a way of critiquing what was perceived to be empty ceremonial. See, for example, Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London: William Brome, 1584); on the association of Catholicism with magic more generally, see Ryan Stark, *Rhetoric, Science and Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 127–130; Francis Young, *English Catholics and the Supernatural 1553-1829* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013) chapter 4; on reformation attitudes to the Catholic Mass and consecration of the Eucharist, see Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
Calvin, for example, described the practice of Catholic priests saying words over bread and wine in order to transform them into Christ’s body and blood as “some magic incantation.”  

Earlier in the century, scholars like Reuchlin had indeed helped to develop the magical overtones of Catholic theology by drawing connections between Catholic sacraments and theology and Jewish Kaballah.  

Might Guidetti have derived a magical aesthetics as much as a notation from Reuchlin? Reuchlin, too, had as his goal the reformation of Catholic practices, albeit nearly 80 years earlier than Guidetti. His *De accentibus et orthographia* (1518) was a fitting successor to his *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506), in which he popularized the study of Hebrew among Christians. Reuchlin also wrote two treatises on the power of the word and Kaballah as a way of reforming and reinvigorating Catholicism: *De arte cabbalistica* (1517) and his much earlier *De verbo mirifico* (1494). While the majority of *De accentibus* concerned specific word-accents as well as rhetorical and musical patterns, Reuchlin ended his book with references to the standard classical figures seen to represent music’s power, Orpheus and Pythagoras:  

> There is no doubt that these roots not only sprout into the shoots but also grow forth into the tall alders, woods and groves in which, as Orpheus towards Ismarus and Rhodope in Thrace, so we to the Hercynian and Bacanian forests in Suevia teach our music in the Pythagorean method, to echo the divine songs of the Hebrews whose harmony we here subjoin.

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42 See, for example, Celenza, “The Search for Ancient Wisdom in Early Modern Europe”; Dan, “The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and Its Historical Significance.”

43 Johannes Reuchlin, *De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae* (Hagenau: Thomas Anshelm, 1518), 83: “Non dubium quin hae radices non modo in surculos pullulent, uerum etiam in proceras excrescit alnos sylvas &luxos, in quibus ut Orpheus ad Ismarum & Rhodopen in Thracia, sic nos ad iugum Hercynium atque; Bacenas in Suevia, Pythagoreo more citharam nostra docemus divina Hebraeorum carmina resonare, quorum symphoniam subiungimus.”
As this passage makes clear, Reuchlin not only evoked Orpheus and Pythagoras, but considered it continuous with Hebrew song.

Orpheus, who figures prominently in early opera, was of course the mythic poet-musician whose music held power over animate and inanimate nature. Pythagoras, who lived in the late 6th century BC, was known for postulating a relationship between musical consonances and the workings of both soul and universe. According to his followers, he, like Orpheus, was able to harness the power of music for magical purposes. His followers also cultivated Orphic poetry, believing, for example, that such songs could assist a soul in passing from life into the afterlife. They also certainly integrated music into their daily rituals, for waking and preparing for sleep, with special melodies and dances used to assuage anger and all the other passions. Singing to the lyre was common, its sounds seen to be consonant with the Pythagorean goal of soothing, not arousing, passion. Many legends were fostered by his followers, including one in which Pythagoras descended and rose from the underworld. In his 3rd-century C.E. Life of Pythagoras, Porphyry recounts some of these legends as well as Pythagoras’ use of music to soothe and heal:

He soothed the passions of the soul and body by rhythms, songs and incantations. These he adapted and applied to his friends. He himself could hear the harmony of the Universe, and understood the universal music of the spheres, and of the stars which move in concert with them, and which we cannot hear because of the limitations of our weak nature.


45 West, “Music Therapy in Antiquity,” 60.

He himself held morning conferences at his residence, composing his soul with the music of the lute, and singing certain old paeans of Thales. He also sang verses of Homer and Hesiod, which seemed to soothe the mind. He danced certain dances which he conceived conferred on the body agility and health.

His friends he loved exceedingly … if they were afflicted in mind, he solaced them, some by incantations and magic charms, others by music. He had prepared songs for the diseases of the body, by the singing of which he cured the sick. He had also some that caused oblivion of sorrow, mitigation of anger and destruction of lust.

Reuchlin’s reference to Pythagoras in particular is no surprise given that Reuchlin had championed Pythagoras in his earlier De arte cabbalistica. In that 1517 book, he positioned Pythagoras as complementary to Kabbalah, and posited both as important windows into ancient wisdom through which deeper truths could be restored to a struggling Christianity.47

The nature of these deeper truths, according to Reuchlin, concerned divine words and the rituals that could draw forth their power. In both De arte cabbalistica and De verbo mirifico, Reuchlin explicated in various ways the idea of divine word as the linking medium between man and God. On the one hand Scripture was God’s unknowable mind made knowable through words, as well as God’s instrument for making a covenant with man.48 The divine word was also Christ, the word made flesh, the ultimate miracle-making word. Reuchlin further described this linking of human and divine in terms of breath: God as breath itself (spiritus), the word as breathing (spiratio), and man as the instrument of the breath (spirans). Drawing on theories of language very typical of

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Renaissance thought, Reuchlin argued for the power of words to affect the material world because of a coherence between words and things and ritual as the form through which this coherence and power could emerge. For Reuchlin, this divinity of language lay not only in the words, but syllables and punctuation as well: “Individual words, individual mysteries, syllables, diacritics and punctuation marks are full of secret meaning.”

We may never know conclusively whether or not Guidetti knew Reuchlin’s work beyond the notation that he derived from it. Guidetti certainly never mentioned Kaballah in his prefaces. But Kaballah was of interest to his slightly older musical contemporary, Zarlino, and was also addressed with some sympathy by Cardinal Francesco Borromeo who, like Mei and Galilei, had posited chant as a vestige of ancient Greek song. Like Reuchlin, however, Guidetti also referred to Pythagoras: at the beginning of his 1591 *Directorium Chori*, Guidetti named Pythagoras in order to invoke the mystical power of music:

> Who can deny that musical art is useful to the Church of God … because it assuages the disorders of the soul and raises them up with a certain marvelous force and bears them to the sky, which is rightly proven by the example of Pythagoras, whom they say had restored angry souls to tranquility through the harmony of music.

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52 Federico Borromeo, *De Cabbalisticis Inventis* (Milan, 1627).

53 Guidetti, *Directorium Chori* 1591, unnumbered page from the preface: “idque si ita est, quis aesis negare artem musicam utilem esse Ecclesiae Dei, cuius cum variae, & multae sint laudes, haec solet medium afferri, quod animorum sedat illa perturbationes, ac mera quidam vi erigit, atque ad caelum tollit, quod recte exemplo Pitagorae comprobatur, quem dicunt iratos animos musicae harmonia placidos reddidisse”
Voiced here in terms of Pythagoras, Guidetti’s interest in the power of song was more commonly suggested through the figure of David. In his 1586 *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis*, for example, Guidetti referred to “the good fortune of the King in the endeavor of sacred harmonies.”

David was, of course, yet another ancient figure and one sometimes called the Hebrew Orpheus, given his “cure” of Saul through music. Guidetti was among many in the Renaissance to evoke David as a figure of musical healing but also as a sign of sympathy between cosmos and soul enhanced through music. Zarlino, for example, associated David with both Orpheus and Pythagoras as powerful musical healers:

> Linus and Orpheus, both sons of gods, were held in great esteem because with sweet song they not only sweetened human souls, so to speak, but those of beasts and birds as well, and, what is more marvelous still, they moved the rocks from their usual places and rivers from their courses … the ancient Pythagoreans learned that musical sounds could soften ferocious animals … similarly, Damon the Pythagorean led with music several youths given to wine and pleasure back to a temperate and honest life … Do we not read in the Bible that the prophet David quieted the evil spirit of Saul with the sound of his harp? Because of this, I believe, this royal prophet ordered that songs and harmonies be used in the temple of God; he knew that they were able to lift the spirits and return people to the contemplation of celestial things.

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54 Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis* 1586, unnumbered page from the preface: “Deum vero optimum Maximum precor, ut celsitudini Vestrę quae Davidem Regem sacrorum concentuum studio aemulatur annos Davidis felicitatemquae ad incytae Germanicę nationis Christianique totius orbis gloriām largiatur.”

55 Zarlino, *Le Istituzioni Harmoniche*, I: 6–7; Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, 297–298: “gli antichi Lino, & Orfeo, amendue figliuoli delli Dei: perciocche col loro soave canto (come si dice) non solamente addolcivano gli animi humani: ma le fiere, & gli ucelli ancora; & quello, che è più maraviglioso da dire, moveano le pietre da i propii luoghi, & ai fiumi ritenevano il corso … Ducere quo vellet; Da i quali per aventura imparorno li Pithagorici, che con musici suoni intenerivano gli animi feroci … Ma senza più testimonii profane, non havemo noi nelle Sacre lettere, che il profeta David racchetava lo spirito maligno di Saul col suono della sua Cetera? Et per questo credo io, che esso regio Profeta ordinasse, che nel Tempio d’Iddio si usassero li canto & gli harmonici suoni, conoscendo che erano atti a rallegrare gli spiriti, & a ridur gli huomini alla contemplation delle cose celesti.”
This relationship of David to Orpheus was even more compactly phrased by the humanist translator and poet, Guy Lefevre de la Boderie (1541–1598), who contributed to the polyglot Bible published by Plantin and was highly regarded by Pope Clement VIII:

“By the aid of the lyre David leads flocks to the mountains and Orpheus draws beasts after him.”

Agazzari, in the same treatise in which he mentioned Ficino, also described David in conjunction with Pythagoras and described David not only writing the Psalms but singing them, suggesting David as the author of Christian music via Hebrew tradition.

In his preface of 1591, Guidetti similarly placed David at the source of Judaic ritual and introduced the idea of Christianity as heir to that ritual:

The prophet David often urged us: All nations (said he) clap your hands, shout to God in a voice of exultation, and elsewhere, Sing a new song to the Lord. And this is especially fitting that the Christian people have been established as heirs of that blessed and holy city of Jerusalem: for if these mortals, who, besieged by the deepest darkness of superstitions and buried near to their own gods, or rather demons, were building at the greatest expense, with magnificent, elaborate grandeur, shrines and temples, where they might praise and venerate them with sacred statues and ceremonies, why do we not fashion churches to the true God, in which we might adore him (as is right) and honor him with the most solemn ceremonies; our ancestors make known to us that many emperors and Princes of history have done this.

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57 Agazzari, Del sonare sopra ’l basso, 41, 43.

58 Guidetti, Directorium Chori 1591, unnumbered page from the preface: “ad quod saepe nos David propheta invitat: Omnes gentes (inquit ille) plaudite manibus, iubilate Deo in voce exultationis. & alibi: Cantate Dominum canticum novum. Atque hoc maxime decet Christianum populum beatae illius, ac sanctae civitatis Hierusalem institutum haeredem: nam si mortales hi, qui superstitionum altissimis tenebris obsessi, ac prope Sepulti Dijis suis, seu daemonibus potius, maximo sumptu, ac magnificentia incredibili operosa, & delubra templam aedificabant, ubi eosdem laudarent, & status sacris, caeremonisque venerarentur, cur & nos Deo vero templa non condamus, in quibus eum (et par est) adoremus, & gravissimus caeremonijs honoramus, quod maiores nostri fecisse imperatores, & Principes quamplures nobis testantur historiae non longe abest a memoria”
In drawing such association, Guidetti posited David as the inventor of an ancient and powerful musico-liturgical tradition.

In elucidating this power of music and the importance of ancient-inspired ritual, Guidetti referred repeatedly to the need for a sublime tone in the enunciation of sacred words. He even described his Hebrew-styled notation as the means by which this sublime tone could be achieved, implying that the antiquity of the notation made the chant more sublime:

I added certain patterns by means of which anyone soever might be able to learn the chant (called firm) in his own way and to understand the changes: because indeed no one ought to be ignorant so that they bring forth sacred words (which must be enunciated in a sublime and in a certain tone) immoderately and with discrepancies.\(^59\)

The sacred words must be enunciated by them in a sublime tone, and brought forth in a certain manner, according to the ancient rite of the church.\(^60\)

If the words which he must sing in a sublime tone, and with some certain moderation of the voice, are pronounced immoderately and discordantly, he preserves neither the earlier usage nor beauty of the Church, nor does he attract the Christian people to the hearing of the sacred offices, and to the celebration of sacred prayers with these distorted and perverse rites. Indeed, our faith cannot be permitted to be in want of the help of ceremonies of this kind, and requires at least the human ornaments of wisdom … if perhaps it were happening that when Christian men are praying they were not genuflecting, they were not striking their breast and were not observing other practices of this sort, assuredly the reverence and piety of God Highest and Greatest would in a measure be scorned and despised.\(^61\)

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\(^59\) Guidetti, *Directorium Chori* 1591, unnumbered page from the preface: “atque ut facilior libri usus redderetur, regulas quasdam addidi, quibus quisquam posset suo more cantum (quem firmum vocant) addiscere, & mutationes percipere: quod quidem nullus ignorare debet, ne sacra verba, quae sublimi & certo tono sunt enuncianda, immoderate, ac discrepant proferantur.”

\(^60\) Guidetti, *Directorium Chori* 1582, unnumbered page from the preface: “quam ut eis sacra verba sublimi tono enuncianda, & ad certos modos iuxta veterem Ecclesiae ritum proferenda sint.”

\(^61\) Guidetti, *Directorium Chori* 1589, unnumbered page from the preface: “nam si verba, que sublimi tono, atque certa quadam vocis moderatione ei cantanda sunt, immoderate, ac discrepant enunciet, is nec veterem Ecclesiae usum, nec decorem servat, neque populum Christianum ad sacra officia audienda, sacrasque preces celebrandas hiscem praeposteris, perversisque ritibus invitat. Verum, licet fides nostra
In keeping with his emphasis on a sublime tone, Guidetti described liturgical ritual at
length in his various books, creating a carefully defined ritualistic frame within which
sacred enunciation would occur. This was certainly not typical of chant books of the
period, which enumerated chants, but not the ritual context. The power of music and the
tuning of the human to the divine through music, while commonly held Renaissance
ideas, also were not commonly expressed in books of Catholic chant. A more typical
chant-book preface from the late 16th century would refer to barbarisms and misaligned
notes, not cosmic harmonies and sublime enunciation.⁶²

If a scriptural text was thought to carry power within its syllables, punctuation
marks, and words, then the enunciation of Scripture was an important way to draw forth
its efficacious power. To this effect, Guidetti presented his chants as a kind of divine
speech that would participate in the ordering of the universe through the tuning of souls.
Guidetti as chant editor thus seems to have intentionally positioned his reformed chants
within an ideological framework, designed, ultimately, to reinvigorate Catholicism
through ancient-inspired practices that re-sanctified the universe and the individual within
it.

**Opera and Theatrical Song**

If the magical impulse of speech-song could traverse church and court, what
about the more character-driven representational tendencies of speech-song at the turn of

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⁶² The preface to another notable book of reformed chants edited by Andrea Gabrieli, Orazio Vecchi and
Ludovico Balbi mentions only errors, barbarisms, absurdities and problems of orthography. See *Graduale
Romanum* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1591).
the 17th century? Termed “Representational” by Foucault, the new “enlightenment” mode posited the world as a system of observable objects whose significance lay not in a unified metaphysics of resemblances, but as human creations and observations, contingent on the values and practices of cultures. When Vincenzo Galilei, for example, argued that there was no perfect tuning but only different tunings practiced by different people in different situations, he challenged the established notion of a “tuned cosmos.”

Language within this newer mode of knowing was celebrated not for its divine magical properties, but for its use in human expression and communication, recognized to be subject to change through time. This very notion of language was in fact indebted to humanist scholars who probed ancient texts in original languages, including the Bible, noticing how languages adapted to cultural priorities as well as human error. And if language could change, how could it be divine?

Seen within the context of speech-like song, this new sense of language was more akin to the donning of a costume or character-appropriate gesture than magical invocation. In other words, rather than facilitate the metaphysical tuning of human and divine, language could depict observable objects as well as communicate human experiences and emotions. Moving someone to tears was thus seen not as a metaphysical gift, but through the recognition and representation of a common experience of humanity on stage.

Wilbourne’s observations about the *commedia dell’arte* influence on early opera and solo


song thus resonate with this latter notion of language as theatre, as character. Expressive solo songs, like those of Orpheus at the gates of hell, would thus be experienced by listeners/viewers not simply as a magical invocation through the power of song, but as a human expression of despair. To this effect it is significant that in Monteverdi’s *Orfeo*, song does not in fact open the gates of hell, as it should if it were truly metaphysical. Rather, it is an expressive lament through which Orfeo reveals his humanity, despite being half divine.

Epistemologies do not change overnight, and Berger is quick to agree with Tomlinson that these understandings of language co-existed in 1600 and well into the 17th century.\(^{66}\) Being aware of both *epistemes* allows musicologists to perceive their traces in monodies ca. 1600. It also allows us to perceive the way in which speech-like song became a marker of cultural change between the Renaissance and the Baroque. Mauro Calcagno identifies these kinds of blurry relationships as emblematic of a fundamental haziness in the new music between ancient ideals and self-expression, the song and the singer, as well as composer and performer, through which the idea of selfhood and expression is itself explored.\(^{67}\)

To this effect, it is useful to read Peri’s preface to *L’Euridice* closely for signs of this shift. For while Peri mentions the ancients when describing his form of speech-song, he first refers to his own reason as his best asset and refers quite proudly to his “new manner of song,” “our music” and “the song of our own day.” When he does mention the

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\(^{66}\) Berger, “Contemplating Music Archaeology,” 412.

ancients, he does so by highlighting his agency in choosing an ancient model for the problem of providing music for dramatic poetry:

And so, seeing that it was a question of dramatic poetry, and that therefore it was necessary by means of song to imitate speech (and there is no doubt that no one ever spoke singing), I judged that the ancient Greeks and Romans (whose tragedies in the opinion of many, were sung throughout upon the stage) used a harmony which, transcending that of ordinary speech, was yet somewhat below the melody of song and took an intermediate form... And so, abandoning all other manners of singing heard until then, I gave myself over wholly to searching for the imitation which these poems require; and I considered that the type of voice which the ancients assigned to singing, which they called diastematic (held back, as it were, and suspended), might be partly hurried, taking the middle course between song’s suspended, slow movement and the prompt and rapid pace of speech (my emphasis).  

68 Weiss, Opera: A History in Documents, 15; Solerti, Le origini del melodrama, 46–47: “Onde veduto, che si trattava di poesia Dramatica, e che però si doveva imitar col canto chi parla (e senza dubbio non si parlò mai cantando) stimai, che gli antichi Greci, e Romani (i quali secondo l’opinione di molti cantavano su le Scene le Tragedie intere) usassero un’armonia, che avanzando quella del parlare ordinario, scendesse tanto dalla melodia del cantare, che pigliasse forma di cosa mezzana.”

69 Weiss, Opera: A History in Documents, 15; Solerti, Le origini del melodrama, 47: “Conobbi, parimente, nel nostro parlare alcune voci intonarsi in guise che vi si può fondare armonia, e nel corso della favella passarsi per alter molte che non si intuonano, finchè si ritorni ad altra capace di movimento di nuova

Peri’s use of the word “imitation” here clearly refers to imitation of the ancients—if not their music, little of which had survived, then their theories about music as transmitted by Mei and Galilei as well as Corsi and Rinuccini. But he soon after uses imitation with another referent in mind—not the ancients, but speech itself, with the aim of imitating the mechanics of speech:

I recognized as well, that in our speech, certain words are intoned in such a manner that they allow harmony to be founded on them, passing, in the course of speech, through many others that are not intoned, returning eventually to another [word] capable of a new consonant movement. And having a regard to those modes and those accents that serve us in lamenting, rejoicing, and similar moments, I set the bass moving at the same pace as those accents, now faster, now slower, according to the affections, and held it through dissonances and consonances until, running through various notes, the voice of the speaker arrived at ordinary speech, opening the way to a new consort ... lest the use of dissonances lessen or cover the advantage we derive from the need to intone every note: which the ancient music perhaps had less need to do (my emphasis).
He further differentiates his speech-song from that of the ancients, partly by evoking their authority (“I would not dare affirm that this was the song used in the Greek and Roman fables”), but also by asserting the particular needs of the Italian language. In other words, he asserts his own ingenuity in solving the speech-song problem by having created “the only one [song] our music can afford us in adapting itself to our language.”

Rinuccini’s approach to antiquity is slightly different from Peri’s and helps to draw out the character of Peri’s thought. Like Peri, he lauds the innovations of his and Peri’s work, referring to Peri’s unique artistry. He then describes his own libretto as so perfect an imitation of ancient ideals that it could in fact supercede ancient tragedy: contemporary poets seeking models need only to look to Rinuccini’s example “without needing to envy that of antiquity.” This recalls Peri’s own self-promotion. Unlike Peri, however, Rinuccini situates himself within a specific ancient lineage: Greek poets, Homer, and Sophocles, evoking a concrete sense of connection to the past. Rinuccini also refers to Orpheus’s prayers and laments, drawing attention to the metaphysical dimensions of the narrative. And he describes the effects of the first performance of Dafne in terms of enchantment. Most telling, he defends his departure from ancient models by appealing to ancient precedent, remarking:

Some perhaps may think me excessively bold to have altered the ending of the fable of Orpheus; but I thought it more seemly to do so on so festive an occasion, having as my justification the example of Greek poets in other fables; indeed, our own Dante dared [do you mean “dared”?] to affirm that Ulysses was drowned with his ship, even though Homer and the other poets contradict him in their version of the tale. Thus also have I followed the authority of Sophocles in his
Ajax by changing the place of the action, since it was impossible otherwise to represent the prayers and laments of Orpheus.\footnote{Rinuccini, *L’Euridice d’Ottavio Rinuccini*; Solerti, *Le origini del melodrama*, 40–41: “Potrà parere ad alcuno che troppo ardire sia stato il mio, in alterare il fine della favola di Orfeo; ma così mi è parso convenevole, in tempo di tanta allegrezza, avendo per mia giustificazione esempio di poeti greci in alter favole; e il nostro Dante ardi affermare essersi sommerso Ulisse nella sua navigazione, tutto che Omero e gli altri poeti avessero contato il contrario. Così parimente ho seguita l’autorità di sofocle nell’Aiace, in fare rivolgere le scena, non potendomi rappresentare altrimenti le preghiere e i lamenti di Orfeo.”}

In other words, Rinuccini’s rhetoric evokes innovation in terms of continuity with the past. He further situates his work within the metaphysical dimensions of tragedy: enchantment, prayers, and laments. Peri, by contrast, mentions no prayers nor enchantment, only reason. And rather than invoke a musical lineage by dropping names (Orpheus or Pythagoras, for example), he establishes a clear methodology for speech-like song based on his own observation of vocal expression.

**Guidetti and Theatrical Speech**

A shift towards vocal naturalism and even theatricality is also evident in the work of Guidetti. In 1586, Guidetti abandoned Reuchlin’s notation for a more typical long, breve, and semibreve, and he began to re-edit chants from the *Directorium Chori*, inserting more dramatic pauses and more active rhythms into his already rhythmicized chants. This notational shift reflected a new interest in the expressive, visible especially in his *Cantus ecclesiasticus* of 1587. Whereas the most obvious signs of reform in his *Directorium chori* were the “ancient” notational symbols, here the visual signs are three “fashionable” full-page images by Cornelis Cort, one of the foremost engravers of the late 16th century, and perhaps the single-most copied engraver after Rembrandt in the entire history of print-making.\footnote{See Gert Jan van der Sman, “Dutch and Flemish Printmakers in Rome, 1565-1600,” *Print Quarterly* 22:3 (Sept 2005), 251.} And whereas the notational signs of the *Directorium*
chori seemed to signify the magical properties of ancient sacred language, here the visual images suggest human relationships and sensation (see figure 3). Unlike the elongated tables of other 16th-century Last Supper images (like those by Raphael or da Vinci), Cort’s Last Supper, for example, has the disciples crowded into a semicircle around Christ, leaving an opening in front as if the viewer had a place at the table. In the Resurrection image, a sense of movement and energy prevails—including Christ’s triumphant rising from the tomb and the soldiers’ surprise depicted through a blinding hand gesture, lunging legs, and hunched torsos.

**Figure 3.** Two of three Prints by Cornelis Cort in Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus* (1587)

a. Last Supper, p. 1  
b. Resurrection, p. 88

This level of visual expressivity was in keeping with the Jesuit affiliation of his Guidetti’s *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587, which included three Jesuit insignias—on front
and back covers and on an image of the Last Supper. As has been well established in scholarship, the Jesuits were leaders in the institution of theatrical liturgies to help attract and retain congregants.\textsuperscript{72} This is evident even in the early years of the Collegium Germanicum, which staged some of the earliest music dramas, including \textit{Eumelio} in 1607. The Collegium Germanicum was in fact renowned well into the 17th century for its music, with composers ranging from Victoria to Carissimi being employed there as \textit{maestri di cappella}.

Although the Jesuit musical reputation was built primarily on music drama and liturgical spectacle, Jesuits also cultivated liturgical chant. As described by the 17th-century commentator Wilhelm Fusban, the College’s rector, Michel Lauretano, advocated the use of chant as well as figured music for moving the soul, increasing devotion, and retaining worshippers. According to Fusban, Lauretano singled out chant as an important way to “please the listeners,” stave off boredom in worship, enable understanding of the sacred texts, and encourage continued attendance:

Still, lest it should ever happen that our church, celebrated for a period of so many months, be abandoned because of the customs, or the boredom, of only seeing the sacred ceremonies, and that the services be carelessly reformed by the students in a church without spectators, [Lauretano] added the attractions of both Gregorian chant and figured singing, by which he might, at the same time, please the listeners; so that, inasmuch as they had begun, it would never bore them to continue coming (my emphasis).\textsuperscript{73}


\textsuperscript{73} Wilhelm Fusban cited in Culley, \textit{The Jesuits and Music} 1, 76, 287: “Verum ne quando contingeret aedem nostrum tot mensium intervallo celebratam, assuetudine, vel taedio videndi solum caeremonias sacras, desolari, ritusque ab Aluminus in templo spectato ribus vacuo, negligenter agi, alteras addidit illecebras, cantus Utriusqüe Gregoriani, et figurati, quibus aures partier demulceret accedentium, ut nuncquam quà coeperant, pigeret ititare… Ac nec iste canendi modus ea suavitate conditus est, ut sperari posset, saeculares hominess, aut Ecclesiaticos haud devotissimos processu tempris, ea qua coeperant frequencia retinendos esse. quapropter modulos, et instrumenta musica, quorum in Ecclesia receptus mos erat, Lauretanus adhibenda iudicavit.”

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Lauretano’s biographer echoed this association of music, devotion, and attendance, noting that Lauretano recommended Gregorian [chant] principally, however, since [it is] most frequently used in the Church .... [It is] also considered outstanding for this special reason, that, when it is sung seriously, slowly and tastefully, it weakens the sense of the words very little, but rather impresses perfectly upon the ears and souls [of the listeners] the meaning of the underlying text, and thus moves to piety of soul those who understand and [are] devoutly attentive, and increases remarkably the devotion that is felt.\textsuperscript{74}

Although the College’s later musical fame was for measured music in the most up-to-date styles, chant was thus highly regarded in the effort to capture and retain souls, and move them to pious devotion.\textsuperscript{75}

The importance of the visual in Jesuit devotion is also well known and the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises have been described as a kind of meditation through imagined images, whereby meditation depends upon a visual image to focus the mind. According to Loyola:

When the contemplation or meditation is about something visible, such as when we contemplate Christ our Lord, the composition will consist in seeing with the imagination the physical location of the object contemplated such as the temple or mountain where Jesus was … according to the subject of the contemplation.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{74} Schrick ff 42-44v, cited in Culley, \textit{The Jesuits and Music}, 77, 276: Gregorianum verò utpote in Ecclesia usitatissimum, praecipuè commendabat ... Hoc etiam peculiari nomine eximus, quod quando graviter, tractim, et concinnè canitur, sensum verborum minimè obtundat. Sed potius auribus atque animis, substrati textus significationem perfectè ingerat, atque ita intelligentibus, devoteque attentis, ad pietatem animae accendat, conceptamque devotionem mirificè augeat.”

\textsuperscript{75} In these early years, figured music was described as necessary to attract “worldly men” or half-hearted clerics. In Fusban’s words: “[Gregorian chant] is not tempered with such sweetness that it could be hoped that worldly men, or not too devout ecclesiastics, might, after some time, be kept [coming to the church] with that frequency with which they had begun.” Cited in Culley, \textit{The Jesuits and Music}, 77.

\textsuperscript{76} Loyola, \textit{Ignatius of Loyola}, [47]; Loyola, \textit{Exercitia Spiritualia}, unpaged: “Hic notandum est, quod in contemplatione vel meditacione vel mediatione de re visibili, ut est contemplari Christum Dominum nostrum, qui visibilis est, compsitio erit videre visu imaginationis locum corporeum, ubi reperitur ea res, quam volo contemplari. Dico locum corporeum, ut v.g. templum vel montem, ubi reperitur Jesus Christus vel Domina nostra, juxta id, quod contemplari volo.”
In the preface to his own Jesuit meditations, Francis Borgia, General of the Jesuits from 1565-1572, makes this Ignatian vision concrete, arguing for the power of visible images in bringing a sensory immediacy to meditation:

In order to achieve greater facility in meditation, one places before oneself an image showing the gospel story; and thus, before commencing the meditation, one will gaze upon the image and take special care in observing that which it has to show... because the function of the image is, as it were, to give taste and flavour to the food one has to eat, in such as way that one is not satisfied until one has eaten it; and also in such a way that understanding will reflect upon the work on that which it has to meditate, at considerable cost and effort to itself.  

Guidetti’s musical editing process reveals a complementary approach to text, giving it the sensual qualities of “taste and flavour” that increase desire (“one is not satisfied until one has eaten it”). Guidetti’s technique include elongating dramatic text, inserting dramatic pauses, and using quick rhythms to denote textual agitation, all approaches that have also been discussed in previous chapters. Regarding pauses, Guidetti uses a commanding silence in the concluding refrain of the Lamentations: “Hierusalem, Hierusalem, convertere ad dominum deum tuum” (see example 6.1) The first pauses are between the reiterated statements of Hierusalem, predictably coinciding with the commas. Another pause occurs unexpectedly after the command “convertere” (“convert”) giving weight, arguably, to the most important word of the entire text. An earlier version of the chant from a Venetian Cantorinus has none of these pauses.

Guidetti’s use of the pause also allows the singer to become like a character in the narrative, a character who issues a sung command to the listeners: “Convert!” A comparable moment occurs in the Spiritual Exercises when the practitioner is ordered to

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77 Cited in Korrick, “Ut pitura musica,” 301.
“force myself to grieve, be sad, and weep” in response to an imagined image, as if physically present.  

Example 7.1 Guidetti breath marks

a. Cantorinus, 1501, 73v b. Guidetti, Cantus ecclesiasticus 1587, p. 7

Using a visual analogy drawn from images in both the Cantorinus and Guidetti’s Cantus ecclesiasticus, Guidetti’s pauses transform the flat two-dimensional character of the Cantorinus Crucifixion image into a more embodied portrait in which the purpose is not only didactic, but conveys human relationships and emotion: the figure of Mary Magdalene draws our focus up to Christ through her gaze and her grasping at the foot of the cross. The other two figures model an emotional response for the viewer, with a hidden and bowed head in the case of Mary and hand to heart in the case of John.

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78 Loyola, Ignatius of Loyola, [195]; Loyola, Exercitia Spiritualia: “et hic incipere magno nisu et conari excitare me ad dolendum, tristandum et plangendum.”

79 The original image by Giulio Clovio upon which Cort made the engraving shows three other figures gathered around, creating a busier, less focused image. For a reproduction, see Michael Bury, The Print in Italy, 1550-1620 (London: British Museum, 2001), 225.
Similar theatrical commands occur in Guidetti’s setting of the *Exultet*. These are especially obvious when compared with corresponding passages in the 1570 Missal in which post-Tridentine reforms were first officialized (see example 6.1a). At “Gaudeat,” Guidetti both creates a short melisma on the long first syllable (taking the two notes from the second syllable) and then sets apart the expressive and commanding “Rejoice!” with an immediate pause (Example 6.1b). The resulting exclamation stands out from the text, due as well to the now sweeping musical gesture. The effect is striking, despite the simplicity of the changes. Guidetti inserts a comparable pause after the similarly joyful

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80 These kinds of pauses are also found in versicles but rarely in antiphons and responsories. This points to a notable difference in how different kinds of chant were regarded by Guidetti and his chant reforming predecessors. While lamentations, passions, lessons, and other declaimed text were thought of as text-driven chants, more melismatic chants were categorized as music driven, and hence less sensitive to prosody. The fact that Guidetti sets the very same text from the first lamentation of Maundy Thursday, “O vos omnes … sicut dolor meus,” as an antiphon for a psalm at Holy Saturday lauds, with only two pauses—
“Laetetur,” but without the melisma given that the strong syllable of “Laetetur” is on the second syllable. Another example from a carmelite missal, also from 1587, shows a similar delivery of text, but with fewer semibreves in the passage over all and no pause (example 6.1c). An example of the same text from a 1643 Roman missal uses the same note values as Guidetti throughout, but again, without the pause. Much later versions of the chant, like one from Lyon in 1692 and another from Venice in 1733, (see examples 6.1e, f) show a mix of approaches, between that of Guidetti and that of the Carmelite Missal, revealing the persistence of this rhythmicized approach into the 18th century.

The fact that Guidetti’s approach to chant had such longevity, suggests that his rhythmic theatricality participated in a trend that began in the late 16th century but persisted long after—just like the newly formulated recitative. The demise of Guidetti’s unusual Hebrew notation after 1591 suggests that the ancient aura of chant no longer needed bolstering thanks to other discourses positing chant as ancient song, like those of Mei and Galilei discussed in Chapter 3. This notational shift also, however, allowed Guidetti’s chants to leave behind more magical notions of chant, and embrace chant’s rhetorical and even theatrical potential.

after “o vos omnes” and “qui transitis per viam”—reveals that Guidetti also edited his chants differently, depending on the genre and style of a given chant. An exception to this general rule can be found in the Maundy Thursday seventh respond (“Eram quasi agnus”), where Guidetti inserts three pauses in close successions at the text “Venite”—pause—“mittamus lignum”—pause—“in panem ciius.” See Guidetti, Cantus ecclesiasticus officii maioirs hebdomade (Rome: Gardano, 1587), 25.
Example 7.2 The *Exultet* in Early Modern Chant Books

a. *Missale Romanum* 1570, f. 199r

b. Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus* 1587, p. 255


e. *Missale romanum*, Lyon: Valfray, 1692, p. 181

It is in this sense that Guidetti’s chant notation and editing exemplifies the shift, emblematic of the late Renaissance, from language perceived as divine speech to language as a vehicle of human expression. A well-established hermeneutic in the history of early opera and monody, this shift is seen here to be equally relevant to the history of early modern plainchant. These various modalities of his chant editing provide crucial insight into the parallel worlds of plainchant and monody in the late Renaissance. This shifting orientation of chant practice also sheds new light onto what it might have meant for Peri, Caccini, Cavalieri, and Monteverdi to evoke plainchant in solo song and opera.
Conclusion

Speech-like singing belonged neither to the church nor to the court, but was rather a musical ideal that informed music-making across sacred and secular boundaries throughout the 16th century. The ancient ideal of speech-song was mediated by Mei and Galilei to nobles and musicians of late 16th-century Florence using the analogy of plainchant, elevating both as seemingly innate and virtuous forms of human expression. Certainly, plainchant was second nature to many of the composers of early solo song and opera, given their active participation in churches and confraternities as singers, organists, and maestri. With such experience to their credit, composers like Peri, Caccini, Cavalieri, and Monteverdi could weave psalm tones and even chant-like melismas into their compositions seamlessly, such that their evocation of plainchant has to date gone largely unacknowledged in musicological scholarship.

The findings presented in the preceding chapters raise important questions regarding the significance of plainchant quotation in early monody as well as the intent and impact of such usage. Further research into the use of plainchant—by specific composers and in specific works—will reveal the extent to which chant-like phrases were simply “in the air,” or were used more intentionally to gesture musically towards ancient Greece and Rome. The latter seems likely given the strength of Mei’s and Galilei’s rhetoric, the ubiquity of Guidetti’s ancient-inspired chants, and the circulation of each in Florentine circles. Close study of scores will provide the evidence while also asking wide-ranging questions. For example: what psalm tones does Peri favor in his Euridice, are there significant textual relationships governing their use, and who sings them? How often does Caccini quote chant melismas in his work, are they associated with certain
words, certain kinds of songs, or with specific places in the phrase? What role does the
*tonus peregrinus* play in early opera and solo song and why? What other plainchant
formulas appear in solo-voiced works at the turn of the 17th century: passion tones?
lection tones? solemn or ferial tones? Does chant appear in any of the myriad of laments
composed after the success of Monteverdi’s *Lamento d’Arianna*? How does chant
recitation figure within the monodies of Cardinal Montalto’s court in Rome? Is chant
often used alongside textual references to antiquity in a seemingly pointed manner, as in
“Suol la turba devota” from Cavalli’s 1640 *Gli amori d’Apollo e di Dafne*, mentioned in
Chapter 3?

A methodology that addresses the role of ornamentation in composing and
singing at the turn of the 17th century will also be essential in furthering this research. As
Chapters 3 and 5 demonstrate, psalm tones in early opera and solo song are often
ornamented and not always easy to identify. While this might be seen to undermine a
chant-monody relationship, the importance of ornamentation in vocal performance
suggests otherwise. In Luca Conforti’s well-known *Salmi passaggiati*, ornamentation
often obscures the original psalm tone entirely. Galilei’s intabulated version of the *tonus
peregrinus* in his *Fronimo* also obscures the original tone. Combining the study of chant
and monody, vocal ornamentation in general, and psalm tone ornamentation in particular
will provide essential tools for identifying embellished psalm tone usage in early opera
and solo song.

It is evident that musicologists need to think differently about early opera and solo
song as well as the role of chant in the early modern period. “Speaking in tones” was an
ideal, inspired by the fashion for antiquity, which belonged neither to court nor church
but rather invigorated both. Previously obscured, the musical triangle of chant, ancient song, and new music contributed to the fashioning of political-spiritual identities, dialogues about musical reform, and the composition of early monodies and opera.

Recognizing the importance of this musical triangle in early modern Italy provides new tools for the analysis of early opera and solo song, and opens new dialogues on sacred and secular intersection in early modern Italy. Recognizing this triangle also facilitates new readings of early modern chant, Counter-Reformation devotion, and modernity, and invites further research into early modern chant—especially as practiced in the major centers of opera composition and as known by the composers of opera and solo song. For example, what relationship is there between the chant reforms of Marenzio and Dragoni in the 1595 Roman Pontifical and the monodies of Cardinal Montalto’s court; or between Guglielmo Gonzaga’s chant reforms for S. Barbara in Mantua and Monteverdi’s early Mantuan career; or between Andrea Gabrieli’s chant reforms for the Gardano Gradual of 1591 and his music for the Sophoclean tragedy Oedipus tyrannus (1585)? By substantially augmenting scholarship on Guidetti and contextualizing chant and monody within the Rome-Florence corridor, this dissertation sets the tone for further inquiry into the connections between chant, ancient song, and the new music in early modern Italy.
Appendix

Giovanni Guidetti: Prefaces, Dedications, and Archival Documents

Translations from the Latin are by Catherine Gunderson unless otherwise indicated.

1. *Directorium chori* (Rome: Granjon, 1582)
   a. Privilege from Gregory XIII
   b. Dedication to the most Reverend Chapter of the Vatican Basilica
   c. Directions for Use (exerpts)

2. *Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis* (Rome: Gardano, 1586)
   a. Dedication to Wilhelm V, Duke of Bavaria
   b. Directions for Use

3. *Cantus ecclesiasticus officii maioris hebdomadae* (Rome: Gardano, 1587)
   a. Dedication to Sixtus V
   b. Privilege from Sixtus V
   c. De ordine in universum servato in hoc opere

4. *Praefationes* (Rome: Gardano, 1588)
   a. Privilege and Notes for Use
   b. Dedication to the Vatican Basilica

5. *Directorium chori* (Rome: Coattino, 1589)
   a. Dedication to Cardinal Pallotto and Epigram

   a. Dedication to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese

7. *Directorium chori* (Rome: Stephanum Paulinum, 1604)
   a. Dedication to Odoardo Farnese
      by Ioanne Francisco Massano of S. Lorenzo in Damaso
   b. Directions for use

8. Biblioteca Vaticana Reg. lat. 2076
1. Directorium chori 1582
a. Privilege from Gregory XIII

Gregorius Papa XIII.
Dilecto filio Ioanni Guidetto Clerici Bononiensi perpetuo Beneficiato, Clerico nuncupato in Basilica
Principis Apostolorum de Urbe, Familiari nostro.

Dilecte fili salutè, & Apostolicâ benedictionē. Cum sicut nobis exponi fecisti tu labore, ingenio, & industria
tuis quodam opus inscriptum, seu intitulatum Directorium Chori composueris, et ex diversis in unum
recollegeris secundum usum, & stilum huius nostrae Basilicae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe, in quo adsunt
principia Antiphonarum, Toni, Finales, Principia Psalmorum, Hymnorum, Versiculorum Matutinorum,
Absolutionū, & Benedictionū ad Matutinū, Toni Lectionū, Prophetae, Epistolae, Evāgeliiorum, Orationum, Benedicamur, Itē Missa est & Gloria, & aliorum ibi descriptorum, & annotatorū, in cantu firmo,
tuō ad publicam, & cūmen omnium utilitatem, & commoditatem, dictum opus imprimi facere, & in
lucem edere cupias, & intendas, sed verearis, ne stat in postea alii idem, aut simil simus etiam imprimi
curent in grave tui ipsius damnum, & praeposuerimus, ac propēr ea pro parte tua humiliter supplicatum
fuerit, quatenus tibi in praemissis opportūne provide re de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos neminē
prorsus industriae fructu vigilītārurum, suārī commodis fraudandum esse iudicantes, ac idcirco tuae
imdemnītī opportūne consulture, nec non te familiarē & cūtīnū cūmensalē nostrum specialibus favoribus, &
gratīs prosequi volentes, teq, à quibusuis excommunicationis, suspensions, & interdicti, alijsq.,
eclesiasticis sententīs, censūris, & paenis à iure, vela ab homine quavis occasione, vel causa latis, si quibus
quomodolībit inmodūs existīs ad effectum praesentium duntaxat consequendum harum serie absolverentes,
& absolutum fore censentes, huīsumodi supplicationibus inclinati, ex certa nostra scientia tibi pro te,
tuisque haeredibus, & successoribus, ac causam à te, vel eis pro tempore habentibus, & habiturī
quibuscumque in perpetuums, ut dictum opus Directorium Chori, tam in Alma urbe, quam etiam in civitate
Bonon, nostris, ac alius ubilībit in Italia, & extra Italīi in quibuscum, mundi partibus impere, & typis
excudere, seu imprimi, & excudī facere libere, & licite, ac cuiusuis licentia de super minime requisita
possī, & valeas, tuisqè praedictī etiam possīnt, & valeant Apostolica auctoritatem, tenore praesentium
concedimus, & indulgēmus, ac plenam licentiam, liberamque facultatem impartimur, nec non omnibus, &
singulis Christi fidelibus, praeipitām librum impressorum, ac Bibliopolis quovis nomine nuncupatis, tam
in dicta Alma Urbe nostra, & illius districtu, ac toto nostro statu Ecclesiasticō nobis, & Sanctae Romanae
Ecclesiāe mediate, vel immediate, in Italia, vel extra Italianiophilams constitutus sub excommunicationis
majōris lātea sententiae, à qua nullus praeterquam à nobis, vel Romanō Pontificē pro tempore existente
absolui possīt, ac mille Ducatorum aurī de Camera, pro una Camerae Apostolicae, & pro altera tibi, ac pro
reliqua tertii illōrum partibus accusatorī, nec non amissionis typorum, librorum, & operum tibi
irremissibiliter applicandōrē respectīvē poenis toties ipso facto, etiam sine declaratione cūuisquā iudicis
incurrenē, quoties contrauet in modō, aut eis praedictēs commodibus excommunicationis, suspensions, & interdicti,
ne per Decā Annos à primēva operis huīsumodi impressione computandos opus praefatum in toto, vel in
parte etiam ad instantiam, cūuisuis alterius personē cuiuscumque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis,
nobilitātis, praeminentiae, & condicionis fuerīt quovis quoques colore, vel ingenio imprimere, & typis
excudere seu imprimi, & typis excudī facere libere, & autum quovis titulo concedere, seu exemplum inde sumere per se, vel alium, etiam quōs aduent, vel praesumānt, nisi ad hoc tuos, vel
causam, à te pro tempore habentis, seu habentī expressus accesserĭ consensus, de quo per cedulam tua,
vēl illius, & illōrum manu propria subscriptī constare debeat, Decernentes ex nunc, irritum, & inane
quidquid fecus super hiis à quovis qualitatem auctoritatem scient, vel ignoranter contigerīt attētāri. Et
nihilominus universīs, & singuli vigilātīs Fratrum Patriarchis, Archiepiscopīs, & Episcopīs, ac
dilectīs filīs eorum Vicariīs, & officialibus, ac aliiis in dignitāte Ecclesiasticā constitutis etiam quacumqū,
dignitatis fūgentibus harum serie praecipī pendamus, ut quoties pro parte tua fuerīt requisītī, seu alter
eius opus fuerit requītī tibi in praemissīs efficacīs desensionīs praesidio adstantī, eaq. observāri mandant,
& faciant, ac contra inobedīentia, & rebelles per prædictas, & aliae eis bene visas sentētās, censūras, &
poenas, etiam illas sepīus aggrevando, appellātione remota, procédant, & exequantur, inuocatī etiam si
opus fuerit, auxilio brachij secularī. No obstantīb. Apostoliciis, ac in universalibus, provincialibus, &
synodalibus concilīs, editīs, & edendis generalibus, vel specialibus constitutionibus, & ordinationibus, nec
non locorum, ac etiam dicta almae urbis nostrae, & illius impressionis, seu stampae Populi Romani

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Pope Gregory XIII
to our dear son Iohannis Guidetti permanent beneficed Cleric of Bologna,
named Cleric in the Basilica of the Prince of Apostles of the City

Greetings and Apostolic blessing, dear son. When, as soon as you caused to be explained
to us a certain work marked by your labor, genius and industry, be it that you have
composed and have gathered from diverse sources into one work according to the use and
style of this our Basilica of the Prince of Apostles of Rome, a work titled Directorium
Chori, in which are present the principles of Antiphons, Tones, Finals, Principles of
Psalms, Hymns, Verses, the Morning Office, Absolutions and Benedictions to the
Morning Office, Lection tones for the readings of the Prophets, the Epistles, the Gospels,
Prayers, benedictions, the Ite Missa est and the Gloria and of other descriptors and
annotators there, in plainchant; and you, for the public and common use and convenience
of all, would desire and intend to prepare the said work to be printed and published, but
you would be fearful lest immediately afterwards some people might endeavor that the
same or a similar work also be printed, to the grave detriment and disadvantage of your
own work; and for this reason we have humbly besought on your behalf to what
extent it might be deemed proper for us, out of our apostolic favor, to make provision for you in
an appropriate manner in the premises, resolving that certainly no one ought to be
cheated of the profits in the fruit of his industry and vigilance; and for that reason,
wishing to be suitably mindful of your security and also to honor you with special favors
and rewards as one of our servants and a perpetual member of our household; and
absolving you and resolving in the course of these matters that you shall be absolved
from any whatever sentences of excommunication, suspension and interdict, and from
other ecclesiastical sentences, censures and penalties, whether ab iure or ab homine,
brought on whatever pretext or for whatever reason, if you appear to have been caught
up by anyone howsoever, insofar as pursuing the execution of these present matters is
concerned; and inclined to enter treaties of this kind, we concede and grant and also bestow

nuncupatae, etiam iuramento confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis alias firmitate roboratis statutis, et
consuetudinibus privilegiis quos., induitis, & literis Apostolicis, etiá illis illorumq. superioribus., & personis,
ac impressoribus, & Bibliopolis, dictoq. Populo Romano, ac quibusuis alijs in genere, vel in specie sub
quibuscuq. tenoribus, & formis, ac cum quibusius etiam derogatoriarù derogatorijs, alijsq. efficacioribus, &
insolitis clausulis, irritantibusq, & alijs decretis etiam per modum contractus, etiam iurati, etiam motu
proprio, & ec certa scientia, ac de Apostolica potestatis plenitudine, & etiá Consistorialiter, etiam per nos,
& quoscumq. Romanos Pontifices praecedentos nostros, ac Sedé, & etiam Camerì Apostolicas, dictaeq.
sedis legatos, etiá de lateere, ac alias quomodolibet, & iteratis vicibus concessis, confirmatis,
approbatis, & innovatis; Quibus omnibus etiam si pro illorù sufficienti derogatione alias de illis eorumq.
totis tenoribus specialis, specifica, individuà, & expressa, non autem per clausulas generale idem
importantes mentio, seu quaevit alia expressio habèa, aut certa exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, illis,
alias in suo robore permansuris hac vice dumtaxat specialiter, & expressè derogamus, & suffici
derogatum, esse, & fore, ac cènferi etiam decernimus, caeterisq. con 
trarijs quibuscumq. Volumus autem, &
eadé Apostolica auctoritate, similiter decernimus quod præsentiu
mnostrarum literarum tramsumptis, vel
exemplis, etiá impressis, manu alicuius Notarij publici subscriptis, & sigillo cuiusuis person
i in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutae munitis, seu in dicto opere etiá simpliciter impressis, plena, & eadem prorsus fide
ubiq. tam in iudic
i, quam extra adhibuerit, quae originalibus literis adhibereTai, si exhibitae forent, vel
oste
nsae. Dat. Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub anulo Piscatoris, Die xij Nouembris, MDLxxxi.
Pontificatus nostri Anno Decimo.
Cae. Glorierius.
full license and unrestricted power from our certain knowledge, in keeping with the tenor of present circumstances, to you on your behalf and to your heirs and successors, for whomsoever entertains or will entertain a lawsuit from you or temporarily them, in perpetuity, so that you may be able and have the power to print the said work, the Directorium Chori, not only in the Mother city but also in the city of Bologna, in whatever of our other cities anywhere in Italy and outside of Italy, in whatever parts of the world, and to prepare it in typeface, to bring about either that it be imprinted and prepared freely and lawfully and with the most liberal license of any higher authority whatsoever; and further, we restrain and prohibit with greater restriction every and each of the faithful of Christ, especially the said printers of books and booksellers, of whatever name, situated not only in our aforementioned Mother city, and within its district, and in our entire Ecclesiastic state subjected to us and to the Holy Roman Church, mediate or immediate, in Italy or outside Italy, under the penalties respectively of excommunication major latae sententiae, from which no one can be absolved except by us or by the Roman Pontiff existing pro tem, and of one thousand ducats of gold de Camera, proportionately one part to the Apostolic Treasury and an equal part to you and remaining third part of these (ducats) to the complainant, and in addition by the penalties of loss of printing typefaces, books and works manifestly connected to you, as often ipso facto, even without acquiring the declaration of any judge, whatsoever, as our authority and inclination will have been contravened in the premises; so that through reckoning ten years from the first impression of a work of this kind they not dare nor presume to publish or be imprinted in typeface nor cause to be published or imprinted in typeface, in whatever color or quality selected, the aforementioned work in whole or in part, at the insistence of any other person of whatever dignity, status, grade, order, nobility, preeminence and condition he may be, or to permit anyone, even for loan, gift or request or for any other reason whatsoever, to advertise it, hold or have it venally, sell the impression or the published edition, or thence to take up a copy for oneself, another or others, unless for this reason only, your express consent has temporarily approved the reason of the one having or those having it; concerning your consent, this ought to exist through a document subscribed by your own hand or by the hand of either your heir or heirs. If it should happen that anyone decide by any authority whatever, knowingly or unknowingly to attempt anything inconsistent with these matters, it shall be null and void. And furthermore, we enjoin in advancing succession every and each venerable Brother Patriarch, Archbishop, and Bishop, and their dear sons, vicars and officials and others constituted in ecclesiastical rank, even those who are administrators of whatsoever rank, as often as they have been requested on your behalf or another has requested of them to stand in defense of your privileges in the aforementioned matters and to command and cause these to be observed, to proceed and prosecute against those disobeying and resisting, through the use of the aforementioned and other sentences, censures and punishments which seem proper to them, and more frequently with weightier penalties, setting aside the right of appeal; also if necessary by invocation of the secular branch; notwithstanding Apostolic matters set forth and to be published in universal, and provincial and synodal councils, or general or special constitutions or ordinances, likewise of localities and of our said mother city and of that impress, or established stamp, of the Roman People, though strengthened by oath, by Apostolic confirmation, or by whatever other binding force; and customs, privileges, also indults and Apostolic letters,
also by those persons mentioned above, namely printers and booksellers and the said Roman People and by whatever others in general or special, under whatever tenors or forms and also with any whatever repeal clauses of repeals, and any other nullifying mandatory and unusual clauses, and other decrees in the manner of a contract, also of an oath, on our own initiative, and in certain knowledge and fullness of Apostolic power and also in a consistory, also through us and whatever Roman Pontiffs who are our predecessors, and the Apostolic Seat and Cameras and legates of the aforementioned Seat, also concerning a third party, and in any way contrary, even many and repeated changes which have been conceded, confirmed, approved and renewed; for all of which, even if for the sufficient repeal of those things, at other times concerning them, their entire tenors, special, specific, individual and mention expressed not moreover through general passages likewise important, or any other expression be considered or a certain form sought to preserve this, and remain elsewhere in its full force, likewise we specially and expressly repeal and to this extent determine that it has been and will be sufficiently repealed and be assessed, all other things whatsoever, to the contrary notwithstanding. We wish moreover, and similarly decree by this same Apostolic authority, that when either copies or imprints of our present letter have been transferred, subscribed by the hand of some Notary Public, and endorsed by the seal of some person constituted in ecclesiastical rank, or if simply imprinted in the said work, complete and entirely the same trust be applied everywhere, not only in court but also outside it, which would be applied to the original letter, if it were exhibited or shown.

Dated at Rome at St. Marks under the ring of the fisherman, on the 13th day of November 1581, in the tenth year of our Pontificate.

Caesar Glorierius

b. Directorium, chori 1582: Dedication

REVERENDISSIMO ATQUE ADMODUM ILLUSTRI CAPITULO BASILICAЕ
Divi Petri Principis Apostolorum de Urbe, Ioannes Guidettus, eiusdem Basilicae Clericus Beneficiatus S.P.D.

Inter multa praeclara, ac luadabilia christianae religionis instituta, non minimâ sanè locum obtinet Divini officij celebratio, quo statis diei, ac noctis horis, in eis Ecclesiis quae clero, aut numero Religiosorum sunt insignitae, publicae Deo Optimo Max. preces, & laudes decantatur. In primis enim haec consuetudo, â debitó erga supremam illam Maiestatem pietatis officio orta est, ut eum à quo de nihilo creati sumus, tamquam dominum, & benefactorum nostrum perpetuo recognoscamus, ac sine intermissione laudemus. Deinde cum quotidians S. Mater Ecclesia, donec in terris militant, necessitatiis urgetur, sicut pro se quisque privatim orare consuevit, ita conveniens erat solenne illam, ac publicum precandigenus instituere, quo sponsum suum in coelo regnantem ad opem sibi ferandâ diu noctuq; invitatet. Nec verò aliud est, quod magis christianum populum allicia ad sacra templä frequentanda, quam q. pias preces dulcissimos hymnos, & Davidicos Psalmos audiendo, totumque divini officij pulcherrimum ordinem spectâdo mirum in modum capitur, & delectatur. Hunc ob sinem Patres nostri Chorum in Ecclesiis esse voluerunt, locum Deo laudando dedicatum: Hinc variis eum adexistentiis ministeriorum ordinibus complere conati sunt: Hinc ad augendam religiosis Maiestatem gravissimae caerimoniae adinuente: Hinc denique institutum, ut religiosae preces, non inepto, & confuso clamore, sed modulatis vocibus, & summa cum Musicorum concentuum suavitate reciterentur. Quare nuncquam satis laudari poterit Gregorij XIII. Pont. Opt. Max. pietas atque religio, qui cum promovendi Divini cultus studio Ecclesias omnes pulcherrimis apparatibus exornet, nova ac magnifica tēpla, & delubra aedificet, Clero universo, & religiosorum ordinibus beneficientissimum se
To the Most Reverend and Illustrious Chapter of the Basilica of St. Peter Prince of Apostles, from the City, Ioannis Guidetti, Beneficed Cleric of this same Basilica
Sends Many Greetings

Among the many famous and praiseworthy institutions of the Christian religion, the celebration of the divine office doubtless maintains not the least place; by means of which celebration public prayers and praises are sung to God, Highest and Greatest, at the appointed hours of day and night in those churches which are distinguished by clergy or a number of religious persons. For this custom arose particularly from an obligation of
piety owed to that Supreme Majesty, so that we may recognize him by whom we were created out of nothing, as our Lord and Benefactor forever, and that we may praise him unceasingly. Thereupon since Holy Mother Church is burdened by daily necessities, while she wages war in the world, just as each person privately has been accustomed to pray for her, so it was appropriate that she solemnly establish a public type of praying by means of which she might summon her own covenant which would prevail in heaven for the purpose of bringing strength to herself by day and by night. Neither is it otherwise that what attracts a Christian people to frequent the sacred churches more than by hearing pious prayers, the sweetest hymns and the Psalms of David, and by seeing the entire most beautiful order of the divine office; in a marvelous manner is the Christian people captivated and delighted. Because of this our Fathers wished that there be a Choir in the churches, a place dedicated to the praising of God. On this account they attempted to fill it with various orders of assisting ministers: on this account they devised a way to increase the majesty of a religion of the most venerable sanctity; on this account they finally established that religious prayers might be recited not ineptly and with confused clamor but with modulated voices, and the highest sweetness of musical harmony. Wherefore the piety and reverence of Gregory XIII Highest and Greatest Pontiff will never be praised enough, who, when he furnished all the churches with the most beautiful apparatus by the endeavor of advancing Divine veneration, built new and magnificent churches and shrines and offered himself as the most beneficent patron and parent to the entire clergy and orders of the religious; he undertook also this design among the rest, that he increased the number of musicians of our Basilica. For the most Holy Pontiff understood that this harmonized especially the grandeur of this place and was fitted to the purpose of the Prophet. Sing to the Lord, he [the Prophet] said, in confession, serve the Lord in gladness, shout for joy to God in a voice of exultation. So that these things may be so, certainly the greater is the utility of the divine office, the more the Church and the Supreme Pontiffs take pains always to adorn and enrich it, by so much is it fitting that the ministers of the churches more diligently take care that all the functions of the Choir be exercised correctly and praiseworthily. And as I shall omit the remaining matters, and provide for the ministers in the Choir for that which is the grace of my intention in our Sacrosanct Vatican Basilica and in all the rest either Cathedrals or collegiate churches, that nothing comes more frequently in use than that the sacred words must be enunciated by them in a sublime tone, and brought forth towards the established ways in like manner to the ancient rite of the church. For neither does the priest invoking the beginnings of the sacred Hours, Deum in adiutorium, begin otherwise than with some certain and suitable moderation of the voice, nor does the Chapter recite the Orations in the middle nor at the end unless with chant; then if it is proper to say the Invitatory, to commence the Antiphons, to sing the Psalms, to modulate the verses, to intone the hymns, to recite the Readings, or the prophesies, finally to celebrate solemnly the most august sacrifice of the Mass, who will be able to perform these and similar things suitably, who does not use the customary and familiar measures, inflexions and terminations from the Church also with some grace and dignity? Because those who are either ignorant or disdainful expose the sacred mysteries to the public derision of the common people by sending forth badly and discordantly what they ought in the first place to bring forth joyful and according to a pattern; thereupon they call out the just anger of the Divine will in themselves, in whose work they thus conduct themselves thoughtlessly so that it must be feared lest they should
dread the sense of that malediction concerning which it has been written: the accursed man who does the work of God negligently. These things I, considering the matter myself, thought would be quite agreeable and useful to our Vatican clergy, and to all the cathedrals and collegiate churches, if all things of this sort which are accustomed to be expressed towards musical consideration by those who are devoted to the choir, I should restore, collected here from elsewhere, into one work, and I shall arrange, near to the sequence of the divine office and Breviarium as much as can be prepared. For, also what new Canons or Beneficed clerks or Clerics are created, immediately those things which pertain to their office, they will be able to learn and engage in, and by means of which it will seem to call the elevated mind in consideration of many and serious occupations, those also aided by this benefit will not be wanting in their duty. Who moreover in place of time, which is the custom, will be engaged either in the chorus of the Hebdomadarius or in the office of cantor, and rejoice exceedingly in public and, having before their eyes all the measures to which they have the power to inflect and accommodate their voice without error, and with the delight of those assisting (or standing near). Deservedly this book therefore will be called Directorium Chori, either because it illustrates to ministers of the choir the way of regulating and moderating the voice, or because it is devoted to the use of the Hebdomadarius especially, and of those supervising the cantors, to whom belongs the arrangement of the entire office of the choir. And it is permitted in collecting, joining, separating, increasing, expunging the musical notes I shall have used not only ancient but also the more recent Antiphonaria and Psalters of our Vatican Basilica, not at all nevertheless did I wish to trust in those or in my own judgment, but I handed over the entire work for inspection and correction to a man, unquestionably the prince of the art of Music, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, master of our chapter; because he, not burdened to profit himself in place of unborn humanity, has led me to this opinion, that I believe that this book can be considered the most correct and most complete of this sort. Moreover, this my work indeed is not one of genius, nevertheless it is the result of many vigils; to whom would I chiefly have dedicated it than to the chapter of this church, of which I have now long since been consecrated a minister and in whose grace and benefit this very work has especially been wrought. As therefore the rest of the city and the churches of the world will take whatever utility and delight from this our work, they may restore acceptance to the one Vatican, I offer this trifling little gift to you most Reverend Canons of the Vatican Basilica, and to you Venerable Beneficed clerks and Beneficed clerics of this same Basilica, persuading myself out of certainty if you will have accepted this with a happy and benign countenance, to the rest also whose hands it will reach, it will be pleasing and very agreeable. Farewell. Dated at Rome three days before the Nones of November (3rd November) in the year of salvation 1581.

1b.

1c. Directorium Chori 1582: Directions for Use (exerpts)

AD LAUDES
Hebdomodarius dicet clara voce, Deus in adiutoriū deinde si est Dominica aut dies solemnis, cantor porrigit ei primam Antiphonam, alioquām Hebdomadarius per se intonat. Intonata, & si sit officium duplex, absoluta Antiphona à Musicis, cantores quandoque bini, quandoq. singuli, intonant Psalmū iuxta regulū traditā in Matutino. Dicto primo Psalmo cū sua Antiphona, cantor prosequitur dare reliquas Antiphonas


For Lauds

The Hebdomadarius speaks in a clear voice, *Deus in adiutorium*, thereupon if it is either Sunday or a solemn day, the cantor offers to him the first Antiphon, otherwise the Hebdomadarius chants by himself. When the Antiphon has been chanted, and if it should be the double office, completed by the musicians, the cantors sometimes two by two, sometimes singly, chant the Psalm in like manner to the traditional method in the Matins.

When the first Psalm has been recited (sung), to this the Cantor follows with his own Antiphon to give the remaining Antiphons to the Canons, or to other ministers assisting, the order preserved as above. And this is so for feast days as much as ferias. After whatever Antiphon he wishes, the cantor or cantors continue to chant the Psalms, as mentioned above. When the Psalms have been completed the Hebdomadarius addresses the chapter, then if it is Sunday or a solemn day, the cantor sings to it the beginning of the hymn, which he himself repeats. If indeed it is not Sunday, nor a solemn day, the chorus of musicians chants. When the Hymn has been chanted, the Verses are recited, if it is Sunday or a solemn day, by two or more cantors. On the remaining times this same rule is preserved, which was given above for the verses of Matins. After the Verses the Antiphon to the Benediction, if it is Sunday or a solemn day, is given to the Hebdomadarius by the cantor, otherwise the Hebdomadarius chants it himself. Thereupon the cantors or cantor, intones the Benediction as above. When the Benediction has been recited, and the Antiphon repeated, the Hebdomadarius speaks in a high (or low) voice...
Dominus vobiscum and Oremus, (the Lord be with you and Let us pray) then the Prayer. If after the Antiphon of the Benediction prayers must be said, the Hebdomadarius recites [them] and the chorus of musicians and chaplains responds, which is also observed during the Hours. If there will commemoration verses they are recited on Sunday or solemn days by two cantors, nor ever by more, even if by reason of greater solemnity four or more cantors together had recited the verses after the Hymns, who, having been prepared, are procured. In the remaining times the verses are recited by two Musicians at a time or by one. according to the directive recounted above. Thereupon the Hebdomadarius recites the other prayers, after the Dominus vobiscum. Finally the Benediction to the Lord is recited if it is Sunday or a solemn day, by two or more cantors, otherwise the same order is preserved which is in the verses.

At the Hours

… Moreover, so that the chant of all of the above mentioned may be rightly observed, the differences should be recognized, which the musical notes have, which, designated in diverse ways, are found throughout the whole Directorium. Moreover the notes are of this sort: [all notes] This note [breve] is called Brevis, the syllable placed under which is produced thus, so that in singing one tempus is employed. This [semibreve] is called semibrevis and the syllable which falls under it must be run through more quickly, so that half of one tempus is expended. This other [depicts breve under semicircle] which is brevis under a semicircle, must be produced a little more slowly in the same proportion as a one and one half tempus is taken up in chant. This [breve under fermata] which likewise is brevis and has a dot within the semicircle must be more protracted, so that there becomes a delay of two tempora. Finally, when a brevis will be found, and a semibrevis [breve and semibreve under a semicircle] joined together under the same semicircle, in this way, then the syllable lying under will be pronounced with a certain smooth impulse of the breath, just as if it were written for a double vowel, as doominus instead of dominus, but with dignity and grace which cannot be taught here.

2a. Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis 1586: Dedication to Wilhelm V

*Translated by Catherine Gunderson
with assistance from Robert Sider, Professor Emeritus, University of Saskatchewan.

Cum passionis Dominicae Cantum ad 4 Evangelistarum historiam accomodatum, quo per totidem maioris hebdomade dies Romana Ecclesie uti consuevit; ex manuscriptis exemplaribus depromptum, ac summa cura emendatum in lucem edere statuissem, in Celsitudinis vestrae nomine emittere visum est. Quo id consilio fecerim, non est quod multis edisseram, cum notum sit princibus viris id donari maxime cõvenire, quod ab illis omnibus rebus expetendis anteferri intelligatur. Religione autem nihil antiquis esse Celsitudinis Vestre, quis ignorant? Quod et catholica fides palam testatur in suis terris florentissima, nec obscure indicat id studium quod ab ipsa adhibetur, ut ibidem templa quam maxime ijs omnibus quae ad divini cultus ornamentum pertinent illustrentur. Quo in genera illam quoque cognitionem suscipere dicitur, ut qui sacrorum ritus Romae in primis celebres, ac probati habentur eos istuc transferri curet, diligenterque per omnes suae ditionis Ecclesiis observari. Et certe est aliquis inter Ecclesiasticas Ceremonias sacris quoque concitibus locus; quorum cum quidâ vagi ac liberi sint, ac prout Musicae artis magistris visum fuerit mutari possint, sunt tamen non nulli quos ad certos numeros stabilemque cantum quem idcirco firmum apellant Romanus usus adstrinxit. Quo cantu nihil ad sacratissimum tempus illum accomodatus, nihil quod maiori pietatis instinctu in animos influat exaudiri potest. Eum ego ex manu exaratis Pontificij
facelli vaticane que Basilicae libris rescriptum, ac ad Musicam, rationem usumque nostrorum temporum diligentius restitutum nunc primum in lucem edo. Quem igitur pauci etae ecclesiae habuerunt, is nunc universae Christianae Reipublice tempus celsitudinis vestre clarissimo nomini suo addictissimis munusculum benigna fronte accipere dignetur, non tam rem ipsam, quam animum metiendo. Deum vero optimum Maximum precor, ut celsitudini Vestræ quae Davidem Regem sacrorum concentuum studio aemulatur annos Davidis felicitatemque ad incytae Germanicæ nationis Christianique totius orbis gloriam largiatur.

Serenissimae Celsitudinis Vestræ
Humillimus Servus
Ioannes Guidettus

When I had decided to publish a chant of the Lord’s passion, drawn from manuscript copies, adapted to the narrative of the four gospels, and emended with the greatest care, a chant which the Roman church is accustomed to use throughout just so many days of Holy Week, it seemed proper to publish it in the name of your Highness. There is no reason why I should set forth with what design I have done this, since it is known that this is fitting to be given especially to princely men, who understand that it is to be preferred to all things desirable. Moreover who does not know that your highness considers nothing in religion to be antiquated. Because also the catholic faith, flourishing most in its own lands, demonstrates openly, nor obscurely indicates, that likewise the churches, most especially in all those which pertain to the ornament of divine veneration, may illuminate this endeavor which is employed by the catholic faith itself. For this reason it is maintained that the project also undertake to take care that any of those of the sacred practices of the Roman rite which are considered particularly solemn and good, be transferred thither into the nations and diligently observed throughout all the churches of its dominion. And certainly there is some place among ecclesiastical ceremonies also for sacred harmonies, although certain of these are unsteady and unrestrained and furthermore it will have seemed to the masters of the art of Music that they can be changed; there are nevertheless some which the Roman usage has restricted, namely those towards certain rhythms and a steady chant, which for that reason they call firm. Of this sort is the chant by which the narrative of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ is sung for four days of holy week, with three persons responding to it in sequence. Nothing is more suitable to that most sacred time, nothing can be heard which flows into souls with the inspiration of greater piety, than this chant. I now for the first time bring into the light by my hand this rescript from books of the pontifical chapel of the Vatican Basilica, restored more carefully to the music, the method and use of our times. This, which thus far few churches have held, may now be deemed worthy of your highness to accept with beneficent countenance as a small gift for the most dedicated temples of the whole Christian republic in its own most renowned name, not so much by judging the thing itself as its spirit. Truly I pray to God highest and mightiest, that He may dispense to your highness to the glory of the illustrious German nation and of the entire Christian world, the glory which rivals King David and the good fortune of David for years in the endeavor of sacred harmonies.

Johannis Guidetti
Most humble servant of your most Serene Highness
2b. Cantus ecclesiasticus passionis 1586: Directions for Use

De Notis
Quoniam nullis quantum ad notas attinet, hic canendi modus fortasse novus videbitur scendum quod hæc nota [depicts semibreve] hanc vim habet, ut syllabam brevem esse indicet, ac in pronuciacione celerius excurrendam.

De Impulsu
Quand reperientur hæ duæ notæ longae simul coniunctæ sub eodem semicirculo hoc modo [depicts two Longs under slur] tunc Syllaba subiacens, *leni quodem spiritus impulsu pronunciabitur, perinde ac si duplici vocali scriberetur. Ut Do-ominus, pro Dominus, et idem dictum sit de his notis, quae tantum in fine passionum occurrent, scilicet hæc nota [depicts semibreve] hanc vim habet, ut syllabam brevem esse indicet, ac in pronuciacione celerius excurrendam.

De Lineis
Plurimas lineas his in libris ductas invenies huius generis [depicts two lines on staff] Hæ significat ut quoties in eas quis inciderit ibi spiritum possit resumere. Nec ideo exigua mora sensum interrupisse existimabitur.

De Respon(s)ione Turbarum et Christi
Quia hoc opus in tres libros dividitur, scire unaquaeq pars debet quando ei respondum sit, quoties igitur in libro Evangelistarum hoc nota Sol [depicts a Long on third line] clausulae terminabitur, tunc respondebit Turba, quand hac altera nota mi, [depicts a Long on second line] respondebit qui Christi personam gerit.

Concerning the notes
Since no one will be familiar with this perhaps new method of singing, in so far as the notes are concerned, then this note u has this force: namely it indicates that the syllable is short and when pronounced should be ended more quickly.

Concerning the Beat (impulse)
When these two long notes joined at the same time under this same semicircular measure [two Longs under a slur] are found, then the syllable lying under will be pronounced with a certain soft impulse of the breath, just as if it were written for a double vowel. As for example Do-ominus, instead of Dominus, and the same may be said concerning these notes which occur only at the end of the passions, namely these -- but nevertheless with this directive, that the syllable which falls under these in this way be lengthened, as if it were written for a triple vowel. But with dignity, and grace which cannot be taught here.

Concerning the semicircle
Whenever this semicircle will be found placed under notes in this way [Breve with slur below], (which will be found in at least two books, that is in the book in which the words of Christ are contained, and in that portion of the Turbae in which accordingly the syllable has been placed underneath) it must thus be drawn out, as if it were coming
Concerning lines
You will find many lines produced in these books of this sort [two lines]. These signify that as often as anyone should come upon these, he can resume breathing. Neither in this case will a short pause be considered to have interrupted the sense.

Concerning the Response of the Turbae and of Christ
Because this work is divided into three books, each section must know when it should respond; whenever therefore in the book of gospels this note, Sol [Long on third line] is fixed in the closing, then the Turba will respond, whenever whoever plays the character of Christ responds with this other note mi [depicts Long on second line].

3a. *Cantus ecclesiasticus officii maioris hebdomadæ 1587: Dedication to Sixtus V*

SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO SIXTO QUINTO PONT. OPT. MAX.

Cum superioribus annis Directorium Chori, & Passionis Dominicae Historiam ad cantum Ecclesiasticum accommodatam in lucem edidisse: faciendī mihi esse duxi, ut etiam officiū maioris hebdomadæ, aliaque multa, quae per todidē eiusdem hebdomadæ dies Romana Ecclesia exercere solet emitterem: praefertim cum Sanctitas Vestrae lamentationes, quas ego ad musicam rationem, usumque nostrorum temporum restitueram, in Pontificio Sacello (ut mihi Cantores retulerunt) voluerit decantari: cunque hoc opus maximam choro ministrantium utilitatem affere posse intelleixerim, cum verba clare, ac dilucide explicit: & certe ex hoc non minimum capere fructum possimus, cum his diebus sancta mater Ecclesia Christi Servatoris nostri passionem celebret, coneturque singulares cultu diem, quo redempti sanguine sumus in fidelii mentes revocare, cuius memoria commoti, tum ad sacra templo frequentandum alliciuntur, tum ad pia opera exercenda saepissime se conferunt: Sante aliuscunque in Ecclesiis esse statuerunt, ut divinae preces non inepto & confuso clamore, sed compositis vocibus magna cum audientiũ iucunditate & pietate recitarentur. His ego commotus, librum hunc sub sanctitatis vestrae nomine emisi, quae ut consilio, & prudentia aliis antecedit, sic in divini cultus exercitatione nemini concedit, quod in hominibus constituendis, quie Ecclesias visitarent aperte ostendit: & hoc ipsum in Caesaris Obelisci exorcizatione elucere quis ignorant? qui cum infidelium memoria ex Egypto Romam delatus esset, Hisq; paganorum olim usui dicatus, Christianorum nunc memoria in Vaticanum duxit, ut Crucis vexillum a quò tota nostra salus pendit, sustineat: Sed ut ad id quod propositi me est veniā, Librum hunc Sanctitati Vestrae potissimum dedico, eam humiliter orans: ut illum nullius ingenii, multarum tamen Vigiliarum laeta fronte accepire dignetur, ego vero interim Deum omnipotentem precabor, ut illam ad totius Ecclesiæ suae sanctæ gloriam, fēlicem, & incolarem servet. Datum Romae xj. Kalend. Novemb. MD. LXXXVII

Sanctitatis Vestrae
Humiillimus Servus
Ioannes Guidettus.

To our most Holy Lord Sixtus the Fifth, Pontifex Optimus Maximus

When, in past years, I had brought forth into the light a *Directorium Chori* and a *Passion of the Lord* adapted to ecclesiastical chant: I considered that I should do this so that I might also produce an *Officium Maioris Hebdomadæ*, and many other offices which the
Roman Church is accustomed to employ through just as many days of this same *holy week*. Especially since Your Holiness wished the lamentations, which I had restored to the musical consideration and use of our times, to be sung in the Pontifical Chapel (as the Choristers reported to me): and when I understood that this work could bring very great benefit to the *chorus*, since it would explain the words clearly and lucidly: and certainly we are particularly able to take profit from this, since in these days Holy Mother Church would celebrate the passion of Christ Our Saviour and would attempt to recall to a unified worship, into the minds of the faithful, the day, by means of which we have been redeemed in blood; then, moved by the memory of this, they are drawn to frequent the holy temples in future; then, they gather themselves together very often to the exercise of pious works: for this reason our ancestors established that this day was in the rite and these ceremonies existed in the churches so that divine prayers might be recited not by means of inept and confused noise but by voices united with the great joy and piety of those listening. I, moved by these matters, produced this book under the name of Your Holiness who, as he surpasses others in counsel and prudence, so he yields to no one in the exercise of divine worship, which he openly displays in regulating mankind which visit the churches; and who does not know that this itself shows in the blessing of the Obelisk of Caesa;r which, when according to the historical record of the infidel, it had been brought for them from Egypt to Rome, formerly consecrated to the use of pagans, now in the record of Christians, has been transported into the Vatican forum so that the standard banner of Christ, from which hangs our whole welfare, may endure. But if we should go on further, it will be easy for your Holiness to see that the beginnings must be attributed to the building and the spreading of churches and in the observing of their ceremonies and the fact that He had expelled exiles who, when coming to Rome, were disturbing the foreigners, and many other matters, which, if I wished to introduce in this place, I fear that my letter would far exceed my book. The histories of our times will guard in perpetuity the memory of these things. But as an indulgence for that which is my intention, I dedicate this most important Book to your Holiness, humbly beseeching that He will deem it worthy of pleasure, to receive a work of trifling genius, yet worthy of many nights’ reading; I meanwhile shall pray to Almighty God to preserve Him for the glory, felicity and safety of all his Holy Church.

Given at Rome 11 days before the Kalends of November (22nd October) 1587.

The humble servant of Your Holiness, Ioannes Guidettus

3b. *Cantus ecclesiasticus officium maioris hebdomadae 1587: Privilege from Sixtus V*

SIXTUS PAPA QUINTUS
Dilecto Filio Guidetto Presbytero Bononensi, in Basilica Sancti Petri Urbe perpetuo Beneficiato Clerico nuncupato

Dilecte Fili salutem, & Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum sicut accepinus, tu quodam novũũ opus in cantu FIrmo videlicet Officium Hebdomadæ Sanctæ compilaveris, illuqu; ad Communẽ omniũ utilitatem imprimere, seu imprimi facere cupias & intendas, seu verearis ne postmodũ aliqua, seu aliqua ad tuũ imitationẽ dictum opus etiam imprimi curent in grave tui damnum, & præiudicium. Nos tuae indemnitati, ac simul publicæ commoditati, & utilitati in praemissis oportune consulere, Teque specialibus favoribus, & gratijs prosequi volentes, tuisque in hac parte supplicionibus inclinati omnibus, & singulis
Christifidelibus praeertim Librorum Impessoribus, ac Bibliopolis quovis nomine nuncupatis tâ in Alma Urbe nostra et illius districtu, ac nostro toto statu Ecclesiastico nobis, & Sancta Romana Ecclesiae mediate, vel immediate subiecto, in Italia, vel extra sub excommunicationis mairois latae sententiae, â qua nullus praeterquam à nobis, ac Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente absolvit possit, ac quiegentorum ducatorum auri de Camera, pro una videlicet Camerae Apostolicae, & pro alia Tibi, tuisque haeredibus, vel successoribus, ac ius vel causam à te, vel eis pro tempore habentibus pro alia accusatori & pro reliqua quartis illorum partibus libidus exequenti, nec non ammissionis typerum librourum, & operum tibi, & tuis praecliti irremissibiliiter applicandorum poenis toties ipso facto etiam absque declaracione cuiuscunque judicis inrendendis quoties contraventum fuerit districtius inhibemus, & interdicimus, ne per Decem Annos à prima dicti operis impressione computandos dictum opus, tam conjunctim, quam divisim in toto vel parte, simul, vel successive, & tam principaliter, vel eodem seu quocunque ali modo etiam mutato, etiam ad instantiam cuiusuis personae cuique dignitates, status, gradus, ordinis, nobilitatis, praeminentia, & conditionis fuerit quoquis quasitio colore, vel ingenio imprimere, & typis excudere, seu imprimi, & excud facere, etiam alibi, vel ab alij impressum, aut in lucem editum vendere, aut venale, seu alius quomodolibet proponere, tenere, vel habere, aut cuiquiam etiam mutuo dono precario, vel alio quovis titulo concedere, seu exempla inde sumere per se, vel alium, seu alios audeant, vel prae summant, nisi ad hoc tuus, vel successorum praedictorum expressus accesserit assensus de quo per tuum vel eorum caedulam manu propria suscriptam constare debeat ex niliominus universis & singulis venerabilibus Fratribus nostris Patriarchis, et Archiepiscopis, ac Episcopis, et dilectis filijs eorum Vicarijs, et Officialibus, necnon quibusuis alii locorum ordinarijs, et reliquis in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutis, et Patriarchis, et Archiepiscopis, et Episcopis, et dilectis filijs eorum Vicarijs, et Officialibus, necnon quibusuis praesertim Librorum impressorum, & Bibliopolis quovis nomine nuncupatis, & subsequitantibus, necnon quibusuis alius locorum ordinarijs, et reliquis in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutis, et quacunque dignitate Ecclesiastica fungentibus, harum serie praecipiendo mandamus, ut quoquehjs propte parte, vel tuorum praedictorum fuerint requisiti vel aliquis eorum fuerit requisitus, et tuis praedictis impreaemissis efficacjies defensionis præsidio assistant, caque observari mandent, & faciant, ac contra inobedientes, & rebellis per praedictas, & alius eis benevisas sententia, eorum, & poenas etiam illas saepius aggravando appellatione remota procedant, et exequantur, invocato etiam si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii saecularis. Non obstantibus Apostolicis ac universalisibus, vel generalibus, provincialibusque, et Synodalibus Concilijjs editis, et condens specialibus, vel generalibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus, neconon etiam quibusuis, etiam iuramento confirmatione Apostolica, vel qua vis firmitate alia roboratis statutis, et consuetudinibus Privilegijs quoque, indultis, et litteris Apostolicijs, etiam Populo Romano, ac quibusuis alius superioribus, et personis in genere vel in specie sub quibuscumque tenoribus & formis, ac cum quibusuis clausulis, & decretis, etiam derogatoriarum derogatorius, ac etiam cum & sub quibusuis poenis & censuris, etiam pecuniairijs, et excommunicationis in contrarium quomodoliberit, etiam pluries, & iteratis vicibus concessis, approbatis, & innovatis, in posterumque concedendis. Quibus omnibus, etiam si de illis eorumque totis tenoribus specialibus, especifica, & expressa mentio habenda foret, illis alas in suo robere permansuris, hac vice dumtaxat specialier, & expresse derogamus ac sufficienter derogatum esse, ac fore, & censeri decernimus caeterisque contrarijs quibuscumque. Caeterum volumus, ut praesentium transumptis vel exemplis, etiam in ipsop operis impresso manu alicuius Notarij publici subscriptis & Sigillo personae indignitate Ecclesiastica constitutae munitis plena & eadem prosus fides ubique etiam in iudicio adhibetur, quae ipsis originalibus adhibetur si exhibeantur, vel ostensae. datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo piscatoris, die XVII. Septembris. MDLXXXV. Pontificatus nostri Anno primo.

Ioannes Baptista Canobius.

To our esteemed son Ioannis Guidettus Priest of Bologna, appointed benefited cleric in the Basilica of St. Peter of the eternal City

Greetings and apostolic benediction to our esteemed son. Since, in as much as we have received and you have compiled a certain new work of plainchant, namely the *Offices of Holy Week*; whether you desire and intend to publish it or cause it to be published for the common use of all, or fear that afterwards someone, or some people may take care that the said work not be printed to your standard resulting in serious damage and prejudice of you. We, wishing to deliberate appropriately for your protection and at the same time for public advantage and usefulness in these first fruits of publication and to honor you with
particular favours and courtesies, and inclined by all your entreaties on this account, we preclude quite strictly, for individual Christians especially publishers of books and Booksellers identified by whatever name, in our so great and bountiful city and in its jurisdiction, in our whole ecclesiastical society indirectly or directly subject to us and to the Holy Roman Church, in Italy or beyond, under penalties to be incurred, as often as it will have been contravened ipso facto even without declaration of whatever judge, of major excommunication latae sententiae, from which no person can be absolved save by us and the Roman Pontiff existing pro tem, and under penalty of fifty ducats of gold from the Treasury, for one, namely for the Apostolic Treasury and for another, for you, and your heirs or successors, a judicial decision or lawsuit by you, or by those having pro tem, for one, for the plaintiff and for the rest, for the prosecuting judge four parts of those?, in addition a penalty of failure of affixing inexcusably of the types of the books and of works for you and your aforementioned, and we forbid that through ten years, calculated from the first printing of the said work, the said work, both all together and separately, in whole or in part, at once or successively, and thus principally either in the same or in whatever other way and even altered, also of whatever person of whatever station, status, grade, order, nobility, preeminence and condition he may have been, to imprint towards a conformity by whatever color or nature desired, and to prepare in styles, or to cause to be imprinted and prepared, or otherwise imprinted elsewhere or by others or to sell brought forth into the light, either venally, or otherwise in whatever way, to place, to hold or to have either for anyone by mutual precarious gift, or to give by whatever other pretence whatever, or thence to lay hold of copies through him or another, or dare or presume to lay hold of copies, unless you or your aforementioned successors express approval for this, concerning which it ought to be established through your or their authorization subscribed by your own hand, no less for all or individual venerable brothers, our patriarchs, and archbishops, and bishops and the esteemed of these, vicars and officials, and also for any whatever other ordinary persons of rank, and the rest constituted in Ecclesiastical rank and engaged in whatever ecclesiastical rank, we enjoin in progressing order (from highest to lowest rank) of these that to the best of their ability, as often as they will have been required of your aforementioned relations or any of them will have been required, they may assist you and your aforementioned efficacious first-printings with the aid of protection, and they may order and bring about that these matters be observed, and proceed against those who do not obey them, rebels against the aforementioned ranks and other well-regarded ideas for them, judgments, and also those penalties they too often issue and prosecute by burdening with a distant appeal, also if the uninvited aid of the secular branch will have been needful. Not for opposing Apostolics, either universal or general, and provincial, and for publishing special or general Synodal Councils, or for general dispositions or arrangements, likewise also for whatever you please, also by oath by Apostolic confirmation or by whatever other strength in confirmed statutes, both in customs, privileges, also indulgences and letters Apostolic, also for the Roman People and whatever other superior persons in kind or appearance and under whatever tenors and forms and with whatever conclusions and decrees also in derogations of derogations and also with and under whatever penalties and censures, also monies and on the other hand, of excommunication in whatever way it pleases, also frequently for repeated remunerations granted, approved and renewed and to be granted in future. For all of which matters also if special, specific or expressed mention should be
rendered concerning those entire contents of these printings, for those which will continue in their vigor at other times, as far as this matter is concerned in turn, we specifically and expressly restrict and determine that it has been sufficiently directed and will be directed and resolved for the remaining disparate whatsoever. For the rest we wish, in transcriptions and copies of the present works and in this work itself, imprinted by the hand of some notary public with subscripts and secured by the mark of the person constituted in ecclesiastical rank, that there be employed wheresoever also in consideration, full and precisely the same fidelity, which was used in the originals themselves if they are to be exhibited or shown. Given at Rome at Saint Mark’s under the ring of the fisherman on the 17th of September 1585 in the first year of our pontificate.

Ioannis Baptista Canobius

3c. Cantus ecclesiasticus 1587: De ordine in universum servato in hoc opere

DE ORDINE IN UNIVERSUM SERVATO IN HOC OPERE.

Notandum primo nos in hoc libro magis spectasse commoditatē, quàm ordinem; & idcirco annotationes quasdam, & rubricas in eo apposūmis, quae maxime ceremonijs in Matutinis, laudibusque maioris Hebdomodae servandis, inserviunt, praeterea singulis Antiphonis, singulos Psalmos integros cum suo Tono occurrenti collocatos invenies, sine tamen Gloria Patri (quemadmodum servatur his diebus) ut Cantores, quibus contigerit hos Psalmos intonare, facilius, & melius suum munus obire possint.

Notandum secundo, si penultima dictio extreimi versus cuiuscumque Psalmi terminabitur in la, ultima concludetur in sol, si in fa, in mi, & sic deinceps, quod observandum est in omnibus Psalmis, tam matutini, quàm laudum verbi gratia, in Psalmo Salvum me fac, qui est primus Matutini Ferie V. penultima dictio est habitabunt ea sic concludetur. [notation for Habitabunt in ea].

Notandum tertio nos versiculos cuique nocturno etiam dedisse, una cum lamentationibus, quas pro nostra ingenij imbecillitate in meliorem formam redegimus: notasque verbis praecipue in his lamentationibus ita accommodasse, ut verba quene sunt corripienda corripiantur, quaevè producenda producantur, & ideo reperies hanc notam [semibreve] in hoc opere, quae hanc vim habet, ut syllabam brevem esse indicet, ac in pronunciatione celerius excurendã.

Notandum quarto à nobis unam lectionem, què est prima secundi Nocturni Feriæ V. cantui firmo expositam esse, ut in alijs cantandis exemplum ab hac peti possit: Responsoria quoque nos omnibus lectionibus,, & lamentationibus in cantu firmissimo gratia addidisse.

Notandum quinto multa nos in hoc libro inservisse, quæ ad Matutinos, & Laudes Hebdomadæ sancte non pertinent (ut annotavimus etiam in rubrica orationum Seriae Sextae ad Missam) ut Orationes praedictas, Benedictionem Cerei, Benedictionem Fontis, & Prophetias. Eadem de causa quam reddimus in notatione tertia; & quia haec omnia ita in Missali emendata non habentur.

Notandum sexto quando reperiētur hæ duae notae longae simul coniunctæe sub eodem semicirculo hoc modo [two longs under slur] tunc syllaba subiacens leni quodam spiritus impulsu pronunciabitur (unde impulsus nomē invenit, perinde ac si dupliei vocali seri beretur, ut doominus, pro dominus. qui in sine Lectionum, & Prophetiarum est.

Notandum septimo plurimas lineas in hoc libro esse ductas huius generis [three barlines] hae significat, ut quoties in eas quis inciderit ibi spiritû possit ressumere, nec ob id sensum interrupisse putabitur.

Notandum octavo quâdo ultima dictio allicuius versus in hoc opere erit vox monosyllaba, tunc ipsa concludetur, & terminabitur, ut in sequenti cantu [Orta est].

Notandum nono cum occurrerit interrogatiū, quod frequenter & passim in lectionibus, atque Prophetiis reperietur, servabitur modus in câtando [Ubi contristatus?] Aduertendum tamen est, horum multa que hoc
loco docúimus, nos in Directorio Chori, & libri Passionû, quos emissimus praemonuisse, & ideo à nobis de his in praesenti non exacteactum esse.

CONCERNING THE OFFICE PRESERVED AS A WHOLE IN THIS WORK

It must be noted in the first place that in this book we have considered in due measure more than the office; and for that reason we have added certain annotations, and directions in it, which observe, especially in preserving the Matins’ and lauds’ ceremonies of Holy Week, separate complete Psalms collected with their own Tone occurring with separate Antiphons besides; yet, without the Gloria Patri (as it is preserved in these days) so that the Cantors, to whom it has befallen to intone these Psalms, are more easily and better able to perform their function.

It should be noted in the second place, if the penultimate word of the last verse of whatsoever Psalm is terminated in la, the ultimate will conclude in sol, if in fa, in mi and thus following thereafter, which must be observed in all Psalms, not only of matins but also of lauds, for the sake of the word, in the psalm Salvum me fac (Make me Safe) which is the first of Matins of Feast Day V, the penultimate word is habitabunt, thus it will be concluded in ea [notes].

It should be noted in the third place that we have also given verses to each nocturne, together with lamentations, which because of our feebleness of talent, we render into a better form: and that we have thus accommodated the notes with words especially in these lamentations so that the words which must be corrected may be corrected, or which must be produced may be produced and for that reason you will find that this note [semibreve] in this work, which has this force, since it will indicate that the syllable is brief and must be passed over more quickly in pronunciation.

It should be noted in the fourth place that one reading by us, which is the first of the second Nocturne of Feast Day V, has been set forth in plainchant so that in chanting others, an example can be sought from this. It should be noted also that we have added responses to all readings and lamentations in the true chant for the sake of convenience.

It should be noted in the fifth place that we have inserted many things in this book which do not pertain to the matins and lauds of Holy Week (as we have also annotated in the directions to the Mass of the prayers of the Sixth Feast Day), for example the aforementioned Prayers, the Blessing of the Wax, the Blessing of the Font, and the Prophesies. For this same reason which we rendered in the third notation; and because these things are not contained corrected thus in the Missal.

It should be noted in the sixth place when these three long notes will be discovered at the same time joined under the same semicircle in this manner [three longs] then the syllable le lying under so that it will not be pronounced by a certain soft impulse of breathing (thence the impulse finds its name), just as if it were written for a double sound, as doominus instead of dominus which is at the end only of the Readings and Prophesies.
It should be noted in the seventh place that many lines in this book have been brought forward of this sort [barline]; these signify that as often as anyone comes upon these, there he is able to recover his breathing, neither will the sense (feeling) be thought to have been interrupted because of it.

It should be noted in the eighth place, when the last word of any verse in this work will be a monosyllabic sound, then it will be concluded and terminated as in the following chant.

It should be noted in the ninth place, when it has occurred, because it will appear frequently and in passing in the Readings and Prophesies, this method will be preserved in chanting, nevertheless it must be observed that many of these, which we teach in this place, have forewarned us in the Directorium chori and in the books of the Passions, which we have published, and for that reason it has not precisely been done in the present by us, concerning these matters.

4a. Praefationes 1588 Privilege and Notes for Use

Extat Privilegium Sanctissimi D.N. Sixti Papae V. ne quis per Decennium Has Praefationes audeat, imprimere, aut vendere, sub pena excommunicationis maioris latae sententiae, & Ducatorum Quingentorum, ut apparet in Privilegio, sub Die Decima septima Septembris. MDLXXXV.

Brevis annotatio
Advertendum circa usum praesentis operis, nos magis in his Praefationibus inspexisse certam quandam notarum dispositionem; quam propriam earum rationem: quia admodum difficile esset, si sic rem subtiliter perpenderemus, verba notis ita accommodare; ut eo modo cantentur, quo vere cantanda essent, idcirco scopus huius operis est certa quaedam notarum dispositio, ut superius indicavimus, quoniam in Praefationibus iam impressis, passim hic error occurrit, ut ea nota, quae debet in linea insistere, in spatio sit, & è converso: atque ex hoc non minimum inconvenientis nascitur, cum notae (ut par est) certa voce nequeant decantari; & verba ijs subjecta non bene pronunciari, V.G. [verbi gratia] si una nota quae in linea existit non ita adequate in ea existat, ut videatur, neque in spazio esse, neque in linea, iam heret animus quamodo decantanda sit, & sic nota, & verbum ei suppositum non poterunt bene cantari. De notis fuse hoc loco non tractamus, quia iam nota est apud Musicos earum quantitas, sed dicimus tantum hanc notam (depicts Semibreve) nos in hoc opere frequenter apposuisse, cuius vi verba ei subjecta corripiuntur, & ideo celeriter est percurrenda, praeterea multas lineas invenies, quae inserviant, ut spiritus resumatur, neq; ut sensus interrumpatur, sicut docuimus in Directorio, & libris Passionum.

The Privilege of His most holy Pope Sixtus V stands forth so that no one may dare for ten years to imprint or to sell these Praefationes under penalty of greater excommunication latae sententiae and five hundred Ducats, as appears in the Privilege under the seventeenth day of September 1585.

A Brief Annotation
To direct the use of the present work, we have examined to a greater extent in these Praefationes the certain fixed arrangement of notes; how particular is the reckoning of these; that it would be very difficult, if we were to examine the matter so minutely, to adapt the words thus to the notes; so that they may be sung in that manner in which they should have truly been sung, therefore the scope of this work is a certain fixed ordering
of notes as we have indicated above, since in the Praefationes now printed, this error occurs in every direction: that the note which ought to stand on the line is in the space, and the reverse: and from this, not least, difficulty arises when the notes (as is proper) cannot be sung in a fixed voice and the words lying under these cannot be pronounced well, for example, if one note which appears on the line does not appear correspondingly thus on it as it should be seen, neither in the space nor on the line, the mind now has difficulty how it should be sung and thus the note and the word set under it, cannot be sung well. We do not discuss notes extensively in this place because at present a quantity of these is known among Musicians, but we say only that we have put this note frequently in this work; this is its force: the words placed under it are shortened and on that account must be quickly passed over; further you will also find in the books of the Passions, many lines which are attached, so that the breath, and the Direction, may be resumed.

4b. Praefationes 1588: Dedication to the Vatican Basilica

Reverendissimo atq. Admodum illustri Capitulo Basilicae divi Petri Principis Apostolorum De urbe Ioannes Guidettus eiusdem Vaticanae Basilicae Clericus beneficiatus. S.P.D.

Grati animi leges postulant, vel potius efflagitant, ut hominum de nobis optime meritorum memoriam summa cum benevolentia teneamus: & certe hoc ipsum in ijs, qui sibi mutuo pares gratias referre possunt verificari debet, non autem in his, qui non modo pares, verum ne impares referre possunt: sed huiusmodi homines, licet voluntati suae hac in re perfecte satisfacere nequeant; illud tamen prestare debent, ut beneficia, quae in eos grati homines contulerunt, non ab eorum memoria euolasse videantur: sed quisquam querere à me posset; quomodo ego, qui inter tot viros Capituli Vaticanae Basilicë minimus sum, tantam personam sustinere velim, cum tot beneficia ab ijs accepta nunc reddere videar: cui ego responderem, me modo non contendere pares ijs gratias restituere velle, sed pro meis viribus animum meum illi Ecclesiae patefacere; cuius ego iam pridem sum minister consecratus.

Verum ut has questiones modo deponam, idque, quod ego in praesenti voleo aperiam; Praefationes, quas ad certam rationem instar nostrorum temporum ritus, nunc primum in luem edo, ob multos errores, qui passim in notis hæræ Praefationum occurrunt, earumque malam dispositionem, ex quo fit, ut verba, quae illis subiciuntur, difficile sit ita proferre, ut etiam cuique homini latinae linguae, & musicæ artis perito multum negotij facessat in his decantandis, praeterea maximus in eisdem error insitus est, nam notae quæ in lineis debent insistere in spatio sunt, queù in spatio lineis: his ego causis adductus Praefationes sub hoc Reverendiss. atq; Illustri Capitulo emisi, quo id consilio fecerim, non est quod pluribus id verbis, nunc ostendam, cum notum sit illos ceteris aliarum Ecclesiarum Canonicis dignitate excellere, & in divini cultus exercitatione facile ijs antecedere. Vos ergo precor, ut hunc meum laborem qualiscunq; ille sit Icto animo accipere dignemini, ego interim Deum rogabo, ut eas felices, & incolumes servet. Dat. Romae Kal. Ian.

MDLXXXVIII (1588)

Ioannis Guidetti, Beneficed Cleric of this same Vatican Basilica, sends many greetings to the most Reverend and quite illustrious chapter of the Basilica of St. Peter Prince of Apostles of the City

*Grateful minds require, or rather earnestly demand, precepts, namely, that we hold with the highest good-will the memory of men especially deserving of us: certainly this idea itself ought to be verified in those who are able to return reciprocally equal thanks to them; not verified however in others who are not only not able to give back equal but not even unequal thanks; but men of this sort, even if they are not able to satisfy completely
their own will in this matter, ought nevertheless to show this, that the benefits which
grateful men have conferred on them do not seem to have escaped their memory; but
anyone might be able to ask me how I, who am the least among so many men of the
Chapter of the Vatican Basilica, could wish to support so esteemed a person, when I seem
now to return so many benefits which I received from them; to whom I would answer that
I wish not only to strive earnestly to extend equal gratitude to them, but with all my might
to lay open my soul to that Church whose minister I was consecrated long since. Indeed
so that I may set forth these questions only and that which I wish I may uncover in the
present writing, publish for the first time the Praefationes, which I have restored toward a
fixed reason, in the likeness of the usage of our own times, because of the many errors
which occur everywhere in the notes of former Praefationes and the appalling disposition
of these, from which it happens that the words which are placed under these notes may be
difficult to produce in such a way that it has created even for some man skilled in the
Latin language and the musical profession much difficulty in singing them; in addition,
greatest error found in these same notes is clearly the notes which ought to lie on the
lines are in the space or the ones which ought to lie in the space are on the lines: for these
reasons I, under persuasion, have published the Praefationes under this most Reverend
and Illustrious Chapter; with which advice I shall accomplish it; there is
no need for me to illustrate this with many words since it may be noted that the canons of the Basilica
excel the remaining canons of other churches in dignity and surpass them easily in the
practice of divine veneration. Therefore I pray that you may deem
worthy to accept this
my labor whatever it may be with a favorable inclination, meanwhile I shall beseech God
to preserve these endeavors fortunate and unharmed. Dated at Rome on the First of
January 1588.

*alternatively: The precepts of a grateful mind require, or rather earnestly demand . . .

5a. Directorium Chori 1589: Dedication to Cardinal Pallotto

ILLUSTRISS. ATQ. REVER. D.D. EVANGELISTAE PALLOTTO S.R.E. CARDINALI
AMPLISS. Ac Sacro Sancta Vaticana Basilica Archipresbytero dignissimo.
Ioannes Guidettus eiusdem Vaticanae Basilicae Clericus Beneficiatus.
S.P.D.

Mirabitur fortasse quisquam Cardinalis amplissime; Directorium chori, quod superioribus annis
sub Illustris, atque Reverendissimi Capituli Principis Apostolorum nomine edideram; me nunc
mutato consilio Illustssimae D.V. Potissimum dedicare: etenim quisquam magis mirari quoque
poterit, quod ego, ut pote, qui hoc opus instar Sacrosancta Vaticanae Basilicae ujus divini
recitandi Officij conscripseram; illud modo ad publicam ceterarum Ecclesiarum, tum
Cathedralium, tum Collegiatarum utilitatem accommodaverim, quippe cum omnem meam hac de
re scientiam, quam rudem atque exiguum esse ingenue fateror, huic ipsi Ecclesia acceptum
refferam, sed illud farsitan tot beneficiorù vincu la solvet: quod ea summa, ac singularia studia,
quae me illi debere non ignoro (licet benficiariorum magnitudini non respondeant) reddisse videor,
nam, & huius operis cantum, ad eius mensuram, ordinemque, quo in dies istius Ecclesiae ministri
uti consueuerunt, emiseram, & in eo psalmos, quorum plurima verba a communi aliarum
Ecclesiarum methodo longe discedunt; secundum Vaticani psalterij ritum collocaveram:
Quapropter mirum cuique videri non debet, quod ego persoluto officio librù hunc omnium
CONSALUI DURANTIS
ILLUSTRISSIMUM
Ioannes Guidettus.
Humillimus Servus,
Illustrissima D.V.
dico officia, sed mer
fec obsecro, ut meum hoc opus quod multo labore compsui, la
satisfaceret, id enim principi viro convenire
Reverendissimis Canonicis persolv
propugnatorem eligere, qui huius Capituli
patronum assumpserim, tamen conducere arbitratus sum, magi
tueri possit: quapropter licet Rev
Eruditissimo viro consecrare, qui me, & directorium Chori ab huiusmodi hom
possit: sed quoniam his
omnia, ut in lucem correcta,
quam plurima necessaria addidi, qua
& in cuius gratiam, & commodum is pra
est, nostra descendat oratio; librum hunc quem antea Vaticana
ę
esperni, atquec
ō
temni. Sed ut h
alia huius generis non obseruar
tamquam per
ę
cexercenda, sanctaque t
intelligunt, omni cura, ac diligentia
diuino officio fructus elicitur; eo diligentiu
animis imprimat illa caeremonijs tamquam salibus aspergit. Et certe quo maior, atque uberior ex
omni
reicit, non spernit, n
requirat, ea tamen h
iusmodi ca
ę
prusus; nec decorem servat, neque populu
moderatione ei can
ū
sube
vocem dirigere, atque inflectere queant, quod quidem n
maxime possit: qui hac commoditate adiuti, magnop
Canonicorum, vel Beneficiatorum, vel Clericorum
summopere conduce re putavi, ut quemadmodum ijs, qui in Vaticana basilica, nuper in
Canonicerorum, vel Beneficiatorum, vel Clericorum Beneficiatorum numerum ascribuntur,
plurimum emolumenti, atque utilitatis est, ita novis reliquarum Ecclesiarum ministris prodesse
maxime possit: qui hac commoditate adiuti, magnopere letabuntur, cum vel hebdomadarij, vel
cantoris officio funguntur, habebunt enim ante oculos rationem mensuramque, ad quam optime
vocem dirigere, atque inflectere queant, quod quidem nullus unquam, cui tale, ac tantum onus
subeñum est ignorare debet, nam si verba, que sublimi vi, atqueo
mulo stipa
ta est, suoque splendore elucet:
EPIGRAMMA.
LLOTTUM LIBER ALLOQUITUR
CARD. PA
ILLUSTRISSIMUM CARD. PALLOTTUM LIBER ALLOQUITUR
CONSLALUI DURANTIS EPIGRAMMA.
Ut solet pugnam robusto pectore miles
Tendere, sub celebri Principe factus eques:
Hinc quoniam facili se pulvere credidit hostis
Victorem, tanto si ferat arma Duce:
Sic me nulla prement magno sub nomine tela,
Sic etiam facili pulvere victor ero:
Et minimum quod credis opus sat grande videbis,
Dum tua Dux prima nomina fronte geram,
Nil igitur timeam quando te Principe lucem
Cerno, & me munit ferrea quando manus.

For the use of all churches not only Cathedrals but also Colleges,
formerly restored and published now in a second edition
The Works of Johannis Guidetti from the city of Bologna, beneficed cleric
of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles

Ioannis Guidetti, Beneficed Cleric of this same Vatican Basilica
to the most Illustrious and Reverend
the most honorable Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church Evangelista Pallotta

Perhaps any cardinal most generously will marvel that the Directorium Chori, which I
had published in previous years in the name of the Illustrious and most Reverend Chapter
of the Prince of Apostles; dedicates me now as Principal to the altered purpose of the
most Illustrious Vatican Lord. For truly anyone also will be able to wonder more that I,
who had written this work after the fashion of the practice of reciting the divine office of
the sacred Vatican Basilica, shall have lately adapted it to the public utility of the
remaining churches, not only cathedrals but also colleges; to be sure, when I render all
my knowledge in this area (which I frankly confess is clumsy and trifling) acceptable to
this very church, yet it will perhaps release the fetters from so very many benefits,
because I seem to have restored those most important and singular endeavors which I am
not ignorant that I owe to him, (let them not answer that an abundance of benefits is
permitted), for I had published the chant of this work to his measure and order, which
ministers of the church were accustomed to use, and in it I had collected, following the
rite of the Vatican Psalter, the psalms, many words of which have long deviated from the
common method of other churches; for which reason it ought not to seem amazing to
anyone, because I have set forth this book with the office formulated for the benefit of all,
because I have rendered it into a better and easier form, because I have dedicated it to
mankind to whom these sacred ceremonies are so dear, that in fact he places his
enthusiasm in this subject before all things; but when I had seen that this book would be
useful for many ministers of the churches and when I had understood that they were able
to take from it very great benefit I thought that it exceedingly useful to publish it so that,
in whatever manner it is of the most benefit and useful to those who are appointed in the
Vatican Basilica, formerly in the number of Canons, or Beneficed clerks, or Clerics, in
this manner it could especially be of benefit to the new ministers of the remaining
churches, who, when aided by this convenience, will greatly rejoice, when they perform
the office of either the hebdomarius or chant; for they will have before their eyes the
counting and measure to which they may best be able to direct and inflect the voice; for indeed, no one who must approach a work of such kind and greatness ever ought to be ignorant; for if the words which he must sing in a sublime tone, and with some certain moderation of the voice, are pronounced immoderately and discordantly, he preserves neither the earlier usage nor ornament of the Church, nor does he attract the Christian people to the hearing of the sacred offices, and to the celebration of sacred prayers with these distorted and perverse rites. Indeed, our faith cannot be permitted to be in want of the help of ceremonies of this kind, and requires at least the human ornaments of wisdom; nevertheless our faith does not reject these things, does not spurn them, does not repel them, since it has been fortified by its own strength, and filled by all good things, and shines with its own splendor; but if any faith strives to teach and to inflict on them its own practice, so that it may place these more pleasantly, more smoothly, and more easily impress them in their souls, it splatters them with ceremonies as if with salt. And certainly where greater and more abundant fruit is elicited from the divine office, there the ministers of the churches ought to embrace more diligently those areas which they understand pertain to the chorus, with every attention and industry; neither in truth is there anything else which used to contribute to engaging in pious works or frequenting holy churches more than a certain suitable use of ceremonies; for who does not know that the spirit, when oppressed by cares, is not alone raised up by these rituals, but just as through stages of joy from contemplation of the divine office, I shall say even more, because if perhaps it were happening that when Christian men are praying they were not genuflecting, they were not striking their breast and were not observing other practices of this sort, assuredly the reverence and piety of God Highest and Greatest would in a measure be spurned and rejected. But so that this entire disputation may be omitted at this time and our discourse yield to that which is relevant here; this book, which I dedicated formerly to the chapter of our Vatican Basilica and into whose favor and advantage it has chiefly been elaborated, I have now published in a second edition for it; I have added as many necessary things as possible, which are customarily found in confusion and disorder in other books; all of which things, so that they might be published corrected and emended, beyond all doubt I have spared no effort and no wakefulness. But since for these who write, sometimes it happens that whence they ought to collect the fruits of their works, thence they may very often attract dishonor and a note of baseness, in truth not for a defect of the book, but in the opinion of a multitude of those men who unify themselves so they can express an opinion on any matter whatsoever, so that they may condemn books all the more; I have decided for myself to dedicate this book to a most illustrious and learned man, of the sort who can defend and guard me and the Directorium Chori from men of this kind. For which reason although I chose the most Reverend Chapter of the Vatican Basilica as my patron formerly, nevertheless I have decided to assemble a more singular defense and to choose a champion, to come forth as leader and principal of this Chapter; so that their Illustrious Archpriest might give abundant satisfaction to that office which the most Reverend Canons ought to have discharged, for I have judged that this is proper for a distinguished man; wherefore I beseech and beg the most Illustrious Lord of the Vatican that this my work, which I composed with much effort, be worthy of acceptance with joyful spirit; which if it will be, it will also rouse me to greater things (if my strength will still respond to my will) and I do not say that I owe to him the greatest of obligations but I shall know that I owe to him those which are merited.
Dated at Rome 10 days before the Kalends of June (23rd of May) 1589

To the most Illustrious Lord of the Vatican.

Your most Humble Servant
Iohannis Guidetti

THIS BOOK ADDRESSES THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS CARDINAL PALLOTTA
AN EPIGRAM OF ENDURING SALUTATION

As the soldier is accustomed to march into battle with stalwart heart,
Made a knight under a celebrated prince;
Seeing that he believed that he was vanquisher of the enemy with simple effort
If he should bear arms under so great a leader;
Thus no spears touch me under his great name
Thus will I also be the victor with simple effort
And you will see that what work you believe to be the least is grand enough
While I as your Leader shall bear the first titles on my cover
Nothing therefore would I fear when I see the light, with you as Prince
And when your iron hand defends me.

6. Directorium chori 1591: Dedication to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese
Quamvis (Principe Illustrissime) tuorum in me, tuique patrui meritorum parum fortasse gratus, ac memor extiterim, cum Directorium Chori sub Amplissimo tuo nomine emittere ausus sim, quod nec beneficiorum acceptorum magnitudini respondere, nec ingenii praestantiae congruere necque tuae praestantii eloquentiae convenire non ignoravi: tamen illud mihi persuasit, tenuem hunc exilis ingenii mei laborem tibi gratum, ac iucundum futurum, quod certo scirem, te de rebus, quae ad Dei opt. Max. cultum, pietatemque pertinenter vehementer esse sollicitum, teque de his fatis amplam habere scientiam, quae duuo me ad susceptam provinciam non mediocrum impulerunt: atque haec ab eo esse expetenda seseo, qui sibi ducem, et patronum decrevit assumere, cuius beneficio scripta, quae sub eius defensione, ac tutela in lucem prodeunt, & pluris extimentur, & acrius ab impugnatoribus defendantur: & sane non tam defensorem, quam amatorem huius nostrae disciplinae mihi eligendum proposui, cum enim nihil ea amabilius, nihil dulcius reperiri quodammodo possit, verendum mon est, ne cuius hominis vitio sit illa illo unquam tempore defutura, nam quis non dilegit, aut cui gratis non sit concentus ille musicus, qui non canentibus solum, sedet audientibus quoque suavis est, cum duo, tres, vel plures in eundem locum coeuntes, vel vocibus, vel fistulis, vel fidibus, vel alio quopiam instrumenti genere concinunt, cum praeservim quae, canuntur honesta sunt: idque si ita est, quis asit negare artem musicam utilem esse Ecclesiae Dei, cuius cum variae, & multae sint laudes, haec solet medium afferri, quod animorum sedat illa perturbationes, ac mira quidam vi erigit, atque ad caelum tollit, quod recte exemplo Pitagorae comprobatur, quem dicunt iratos animos musicae harmonia placidos reddidisse, Neque vero praecipuus huius nostrae disciplinae usus in hoc tantummodo positis est, cum & ad Deum laudandum optime accommodatus esse videatur, nam quemadmodum quisque fidelis privatim illum laudare consuevit ita congruum, & conveniens erat, ut communis quidam, ac publicus precondi modus institueretur, quo bonorum omnium largitorem ac beneficem nostrum quotidie recognoscerezemus, summisq laudibus celebrarere mus, ad quod saepe nos David propheta invitat: Omnes gentes (inquit ille) plaudite manibus, iubilate Deo in voce exultationis. & alibi: Cantate Dominum canticum novum. Atque hoc maxime decret Christianum populum beatae illius, ac sanctae civitatis Hierusalem institutum haeredem: nam si mortales hi, qui superstitionum altissimis tenebris obsessi, ac prope Sefulti Dijs suis, seu daemonibus potius, maximo sumpto, ac magnificentia incredibili operosa, & delubra templam aedificabant, ubi eodem laudarent, & statuis sacris, caeremonisque venerarentur, cur & nos Deo vero templam non condamus, in quibus eum (et par est) adoremus, &
gravissimis caeremonijs honoremus, quod maiores nostri fecisse imperators & Principes quamplures nobis testantur historiae non longe abest a memoria, & nostris oculis templum illud sanctissimo nomini IESU dicitum, ab Amplissimo Cardinale Alexander Farnesio magno sumpto Romae constructum, & ornamentis praetiosissimis ornatum: intelligebat enim sapiens vir, quanto studio, quanta diligentia deberemus ea complecti, quae ad divinum cultum spectare anima divertimus. Sed ut unde digressa est nostra revertatur oratio; quoniam ci maioribus nostris, ad uberiorem pietatis, ac religionis dignitatem institutum esse constat; collegiatarum, sive chatedralium ecclesiarum ministros, qui choro inserviunt, debere antiphonas, invitatoria, capitula, vel alia huius generis sublimi quaedam voce, et certo tono enunciare, quod quidem munus diligenter obeundum est, ne iustum in nos maledictionis illius sententiam provocemus, de qua dicitur, Maledictus homo qui facit opus Dei: negligenter, faciendum mihi esse duxi, ut haec omnia ad musicam rationem accommodata hinc unde colligerem, & collecta in unum opus instar Romani Breviarij ritus redigerem, ut recte ac laudabiliter chori munera exerceri possent: qua propter cum superioribus annis, illa ad eum mensuram, & cantum accommodare studiissem, quo in dies Vaticanae Basilicae ministri ut consueuerunt, cunque psalmos secundum eiusdem Ecclesiae psalterij ritum in hoc libro collocassem, congruum etque rationi consentaneum visum est mihi, illum illi Ecclesiae Capitulo dedicare, in cuius gratiam & commodum praecipue elaboratus erat: sed cum ego laborem hunc meum, qualiscumque ille est, caeterum ecclesiarem ministris futurum fuisset utilem arbitratus essem, si ea omnia adeamem methodum reduxissem, quam ipsi quoque servare solent, decreui rem esequi, ut pro viribus meis iis etiam satisfacerem, atque ut facilior libri usus redderetur, regulas quasdam addidi, quibus quisquam posset suo more cansecrare, & mutationes percipere: quod quidem nullus ignorare deberet, ne sacra verba, quae sublimi & certo tono sunt enuncianda, immoderate, ac discrepant proferantur. Verum ut finem dicendi faciam, cum dubius & anceps iam duissem, cui nunc novos hos ingenii mei diuturni tamen laboris fructus commendarem: statui mihi principem virum eligendum esse, qui eos laeta fronte dignaretur accipere, cumq. neminem aptiorem invenire potuisset Edoardo Cardinale Farnesio, cuius studium ac voluntas propagandae, & amplificandae religionis me in eam opinionem adduxit, ut credam mihi hoc opus non ingratum futurum, quam occasionem nunc mihi fuisset oblatum vehementer gaudeo: neque enim libri usu non ingratur futurum, quam occasionali nunc mihi fuisset oblatum vehementer gaudeo: neque enim libri usu non ingratur futurum, quam occasionali nunc mihi fuisset oblatum vehementer gaudeo: neque enim libri usu non ingratur futurum, quam occasionali nunc mihi fuisset oblatum vehementer gaudeo: neque enim libri usu non ingratur futurum, quam occasionali nunc mihi fuisset oblatum vehementer gaudeo: neque enim libri usu non ingratur futurum, quam occasionali nunc mihi fuisset oblatum vehementer gaudeo: neque enim libri usu non ingratur futurum, quam occasionali nunc mihi fuisset oblatum vehementer gaudeo:
praises are varied and many, he is accustomed that these are produced as indifferent, because it assuages the disorders of the spirits and raises them up with a certain marvelous force and bears them to the sky, which is rightly proven by the example of Pythagoras, whom they say had restored violent spirits to tranquility through the harmony of music. Neither truly has the principal use of this our discipline been placed in this merely, since it also seems to have been adapted best to the praising of God, for just as any of the faithful is accustomed to praise him privately, so it was fitting and harmonious, that indeed the common and public method of praying was instituted by means of which we would recognize daily our patron and benefactor of all good things, and celebrate him with the highest praises, to which the prophet David often urged us: *All nations (said he) clap your hands, shout to God in a voice of exultation,* and elsewhere, *Sing a new song to the Lord.* And this is especially fitting that the Christian people have been established as heirs of that blessed and holy city of Jerusalem: for if these mortals, who, besieged by the deepest darkness of superstitions and buried near to their own gods, or rather demons, were building at abundant expense, with incredible elaborate grandeur, shrines and temples, where they might praise and venerate them with sacred statues and ceremonies, why do we not fashion churches to the true God, in which we might adore him as is right and honor him with the most solemn ceremonies; our ancestors make known to us that many emperors and Princes of history have done this and not long absent from memory and from our eyes is that church consecrated to the most holy name of Jesus, constructed at Rome at great expense and adorned with most precious ornaments by the most Magnificent Cardinal Alexander Farnese: for the wise man used to understand with what great zeal, with what great diligence, we ought to embrace these churches which we stop to look at with the soul for the purpose of divine worship. But, that our discourse may return whence it has digressed: since it is certain that a more productive merit of piety and religion has been instituted; that ministers of collegiate or cathedral churches, who are devoted to the chorus, ought to enunciate antiphones, invitations, chapters or others of this sort in a certain sublime voice, of a certain tone, because indeed the service should be diligently performed so that we may not call forth a righteous feeling of malediction in ourselves, concerning which feeling is the accursed man described who negligently fashions the work of God; I consider that I ought to do this so that I may collect all these things adapted to musical reason, and when they have been collected into one work I might restore the value of the rite of the Roman Breviary so that choruses might be able to practice the services rightly and worthily; wherefore when in former years I had studied to adapt those matters to that measure and song so that the ministers of the Vatican Basilica were accustomed to use them every day and when I had collected into this book the psalms according to the rite of this same Church, it seemed to me the harmony and accord of reason to dedicate that book to that Chapter of the Church, for whose beauty and convenience it had especially been worked out: but when I had decided that this my labor, of whatever kind it is, would have been useful for the ministers of the other churches, if I had restored all of these for the purpose of undertaking a method, as they themselves are accustomed also to preserve, I decided to carry out the business so that I might satisfy them with all my might, and so that I might render the use of the book easier, I added certain patterns by means of which anyone soever might be able to learn the chant which they call firm in his own way and to understand the changes: because indeed no one ought to be ignorant so that they bring forth sacred words which must be
enunciated in a sublime and in a certain tone immoderately and differently. That I might truly make an end of speaking, since I had been now for a long time doubtful and wavering, I would commend to anyone these new fruits of the labor of my enduring nature. I decided that I should choose as prince a man who was worthy to accept them with joyful countenance, and when I had not been able to find anyone more fitting than Edward Cardinal Farnese, whose zeal and wish to propagate and increase religion led me to that opinion, to believe that this my work would not be displeasing to him, how I fervently rejoice not that the opportunity now had been presented to me: for neither was I able to select a more liberal prince nor a more loving patron. Accept therefore, Most Magnificent Cardinal this token of my feeling and regard towards you, even if it is trifling and may be meager, if you would examine the magnitude of your favors to me and the feebleness of my talent and judge it great enough.

7. *Directorium chori* 1604: Dedication to Odoardo Farnese by Ioanne Francisco Massano of S. Lorenzo in Damaso

To the most Illustrious Prince etc.

I need not have long sought a patron of my works, whatever they may be: Prince and Most Esteemed Cardinal Odoardo. For when not only my inclination, but also the example of all my connections and especially of my uncle, and the training of my family compelled me to your patronage, and from that time until now has shaped me from
boyhood; I do not have anyone whom I shall look to except you, and your connections,
either in domestic leadership or my own free will. I must observe this quite earnestly so
that whatever decisions of a most devoted spirit I impart to you are of this sort: that if for
example they have any kind of splendor and dignity, not because of the earnestness of the
offering, but because of their own quality, that perhaps I not seem thus to have bound
myself within the limits of my own insignificance but may afterwards have in mind the
exalted rank of your Greatness. Therefore when authority had fittingly been restored to
the Roman Breviary of the most careful Pastor Clement VIII, there was as it were, a
certain appendix of his, which they call a Directorium, for the benefit of the holy Bishops,
and for directing the use of the Chorus, in which, as you well know, the beginnings of
those sacred verses, which are sung in the divine offices, have been disposed in their own
places, and are designated by written notes of Music; so that whoever precedes the rest
with his voice, thence is able to hold the voice itself out of the skill he has regulated;
which is certainly beneficial to the Christian Republic, and which he undertakes chiefly
to propagate the adoration of God, and to attract the faithful to hear the divine praises; if
Ecclesiastical prayers will be recited not with tasteless and confused clamor, but with
ordered voices, with the highest delight of the listeners, and with piety. Since I have
undertaken this work at the urging of many, I seem to have undertaken a matter not
unworthy of your name; not because in that endeavor the magnitude of the present work
demands the title of your most illustrious name, but because the very excellence and
sanctity of this endeavor in which I have labored seems to require only an excellent man
with his own will in the college of holy men and Princes. For if that Gregory the Great
because of the glory of his deeds, greatest because of his Pontificate, undertook the
function of arranging, composing and ornamenting the Antiphonal, and if he has
considered it most worthy of this most holy man and Pontifex Maximus (for he was the
first composer of the Roman Antiphonal which fact did not escape you) why shall I
myself not judge that this new sample of this same renewed work has been owed to
Odoardo Farnese, as one whom it is clear to all, stands apart from the greatest honor by
one step; in fact he in no way stands apart from the best and most perfect life. Receive
therefore, at this very time, dedicated to you as the greatest, so also the best Prince, of
whatever quality is this beginning of my Works, which on that account is rough and
dispirited; although this may be by reason of the insignificance of the author and the
feebleness of his mind, yet it is certainly of the highest level in its worth and most
glorious in its dignity. And you will remember to display among the remaining divine
evidences of nature, also a simple spirit, even to a gift of poor incense. Farewell.

7b. Directorium Chori 1604: Directions for Use

Haec altera [depicts Long] quae longa est, paulo tardius proferenda est, adeo ut in cantu tempus unum et
dimidium insumatur.

Atque hoc est discrimen, quod habent notae Musicae, quas in nova hac Directorij, impressione apposimus,
expedire enim arbitradi sumus totum hunc cantum tribus his tantummodo notis comprehendere, tum quia
illis usi sunt artis Musicae veteres, et doctissimi Magistri, tum etiam, quia in antiquis et recentoribus libris
hae solum reperientur, et ipsam Directorij Auctor in officio Maioris hebdomadae, ac in alijs a se editis
libris, illis usus est. [followed by venite, psalms, index]
This other [depicts Long] which is long, should be brought out a little more slowly, in the same proportion as one and a half counts is employed in the chant.

And this is the distinction which the musical notes, which we have placed in this new edition of the Directorium, have; for we have decided that it is advantageous to recount this whole chant in these three notes only, sometimes because the ancients of the art of Music, and the most learned teachers, even at that time, sometimes used them, sometimes also because in ancient and more recent books, only these will appear and the author himself of the Directorium has used them in the Office of Holy Week and in other books published by himself.

8. Biblioteca Vaticana Reg. lat. 2076
In Directorium Chori Jo. Guidetti
Hoc vaticani directorium chori
Et profuturum caeteris item choris
Cur sic vocetur, scire si lector cupis.
Narrare paucis versibus possum tibi.
Templi ministris sacra cum faciunt Deo
Canenda multa more mandantur Patre.
Recens togatis et tyronibus chori
Hora illa, inusitata, cignitu aspera.
Hoc opere diriguntur, ut facillimē
Canenda discant, atq, iucunde canant
Ad congruentes voce directa modos.

Idem liber ad Lectorum
Seu vaticanus, seu te(ne)mons caelius aris
Consecrat, albentes seu colis exquilias.
Sive alia superis operaris candidus aede
Urbis, sacra Deo seu procul urbe facis.
Me lege qui templi dignus cupis eē Minister,
Me tenere assidua sit tibi cura manus.
Ipse chori veras leges modulosq docebo
Antiqui ritu, quo cecinere Patre.
Prisca damus: ne sperne tī; q~ prisca fuere
Dissita, iuncta simul fecimus eē nova.

Respecting the Directorium chori of Johannis Guidetti:
This Directorium chori of the Vatican
will likewise benefit other choirs.
If you desire to know, reader, why it should be called thus
I am able to tell you in a few lines.
When they compose sacred music for God
the Father commands that much of it be sung
by the ministers of the church according to tradition.
Recently those Hours, which are uncommon and uneven in measure,
are arranged in this work for the citizens and squires of the choir
so that they may be learned most easily by singing
and may be sung pleasantly in a simple voice
approaching appropriate modes.

This same book now addresses the reader:
Whether the vatican or the caelian mount dedicates you to its altars
or the white esquiline hills.
Whether unblemished, you are engaged in higher things by another church of the city
or create sacred music for God far from the city,
Choose me, you who desire to be a worthy minister of the church,
to hold myself in readiness that you may have constant care.
I myself shall teach the true rules and measures of the choir
in the ancient rite, by which our Forefathers sang;
We offer the ancient music: do not spurn that ancient
music which has been remote, for we have caused the new to be joined with it.
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