The Madrigal as Literary Criticism:
Veronese Settings of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*

by

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Abstract

This thesis describes the importance of the amateur academy as a centre for the consumption of both literary and musical works in cinquecento Italy. By occupying a middle space between the public and private spheres, the cultural environment of the academy lends itself particularly well to the practice of analytical "readings" of texts through music. In their musical *lezioni* of selections from Ariosto's chivalric epic *Orlando furioso*, Jachet de Berchem, Vincenzo Ruffo, and Jan Nasco show themselves to be concerned with many of the same issues as contemporary literary critics (the explication of imagery and metaphor), but at the same time they also create complex emotional and psychological readings of the subjectivities of the poem's central characters in a manner that lay outside the scope of the writings of Ariosto's contemporary commentators. The association of all three composers and their music with the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona thus suggests that composers indeed had an important rôle to play in academic discussions of literary æsthetics, and that the madrigal can be seen as a form of literary criticism that preserves some aspects of academic discourse that have otherwise been lost. My analysis, in turn, represents a new way to interpret madrigals and draw meaning from them in the context of this discourse.

Cette thèse décrit l'importance des académies amateures en tant que lieu de consommation d'œuvres musicales et littéraires dans l'Italie du cinquecento. En se positionnant entre les sphères publiques et privées, l'environnement culturel des académies fut très propice à la « lecture » analytique de textes par la musique. Lors de *lezioni* musicales d'extraits de l'épopée chevaleresque *Orlando furioso* d'Arioste, Jachet de Berchem, Vincenzo Ruffo et Jan Nasco se montrèrent sensibles aux mêmes problèmes que les critiques littéraires contemporains (l'interprétation d'images et de métaphores), mais en même temps, ils ont également créé des interprétations émotionnelles et psychologiques complexes des subjectivités des personnages principaux d'une manière qui va au-delà de celle des critiques contemporains sur les écrits d'Arioste. L'association de ces trois compositeurs et leur musique avec l'*Accademia Filarmonica di Verona* suggère donc que les compositeurs eurent un rôle important à jouer lors de discussions académiques sur l'esthétique littéraire, et que le madrigal peut être vu comme une forme de critique littéraire préservant certains aspects du discours académique, autrement perdu. Mon analyse représente donc une nouvelle façon d'interpréter les madrigaux et interprète leur signification via le contexte de ce discours.

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Introduction

Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516/1532) was without a doubt the most important literary achievement of the *primo cinquecento*, both in literary and musical circles: Maria Antonella Balsano's comprehensive catalogue of settings of *Orlando* demonstrates that stanzas from the poem were set approximately 730 times by over 150 composers over the course of the sixteenth century.[1] This body of repertoire thus provides the musicologist with an ideal starting point for the examination of madrigalian text-music relationships.

Thus far most studies of *Orlando* settings have focused on musical style, whether with respect to individual composers or to larger stylistic movements, including research on cyclic settings of *Orlando*'s laments[2] and the text's importance in the development of the *madrigale arioso*.[3] Only rarely have they focused on the interaction between the music and the poetry on a literary and aesthetic level. The goal of this thesis, as the title suggests, is to show that the madrigal was an important outlet for literary discourse and criticism in the sixteenth century. The bond between the genre and the poetry that inspired it has always been recognised by scholars, especially since early modern composers and musical theoreticians were often keen to highlight the importance of the relationship between the words and the notes they took on: as Marc'Antonio Mazzone da Miglionico wrote in the introduction to his first book of madrigals (1569):

> The notes are the body of the music, while the text is the soul and, just as the soul, being nobler than the body, must be followed and imitated by it, so the notes must follow the text and imitate it, and the composer must pay due attention to it, expressing its sense with sad, gay, or austere music, as the text demands...[4]

1 Balsano, "L'Ariosto in musica."
2 Norman, "Cyclic Laments."
3 Haar, "The Madrigale Arioso," and"Arie per cantar stanze."
4 Cited by Einstein in the original Italian in *The Italian Madrigal*, vol. 1, 233. Translation from Weiss and Taruskin, *Music in the Western World,* 143.

The question remains as to how exactly musicians, amateur and professional alike, conceived of this bodily incarnation of the poetic spirit. Most often scholars have taken Miglionico's phrase to refer to word-painting, perhaps the defining feature of the genre (it is with good reason that we call instances of it "madrigalisms"), and that composers of the *seconda prattica* were seeking new and more expressive ways of bringing out the meanings of the text's *words*. While this was certainly one goal of cinquecento composers, I would argue that they often sought to take their service of the text to a higher level of discourse: beyond the simple reflection of a word's qualities (a harsh dissonance on "aspro," a descending leap on "sospiro"), they also conceived of polyphonic settings as a possible venue for elucidation and criticism of the text as poetry. Indeed, it would be highly unusual for composers, who themselves participated in the vibrant literary culture of the age, to approach texts at such a local level without an eye to the sort of issues that came up in their frequent discussions of literature and poetic æsthetics.

The scholars and academicians of cinquecento Italy did, after all, spend a lot of time talking about literature. Literary discourse provided one of the primary means of social interaction for the members of the amateur academies and informal salons that popped up in the early sixteenth century like so many spring bulbs in the proverbial garden of knowledge. Discussions of literature, both classical and contemporary, formed the backbone of Italian Renaissance culture, and the ability to participate in those discussions and thereby gain access to that culture and the social status that came with it was the primary goal of the humanist education. It is lamentable, then, that the exact nature and content of these discussions are, by their very nature, inaccessible to the modern scholar.

While we cannot be precisely sure what these early modern scholars *said* about literature in these formal and informal contexts (with at least one notable and possibly unreliable exception I shall discuss later on), we can at least make a reasonable guess as to their general approach based on what

they *wrote* about these works. Such a reconstruction inevitably assumes that early modern people viewed spoken and written discourse as approximate media, equally suited to the same sorts of topics and discussions. Castiglione shows this relationship to be a bit more nuanced:

> Hence, in speech, which vanishes as soon as it is uttered, some things are permissible; but not so in writing, because writing preserves the words and submits them to the judgment of the reader, giving him time to consider them at length […] Therefore it is surely true that what is proper in writing is also proper in speaking; and that manner of speaking is most beautiful which resembles beautiful writing.
>
> Castiglione, *Il libro del cortigiano*, I, xxix.[5]

In this passage Castiglione is referring most obviously to style and rhetoric: a certain level of polish was *de rigeur* in written texts, because they were permanent documents. By contrast, some degree of imperfection was tolerated in spoken, extemporaneous discourse simply because the speaker was not afforded the author's opportunity to revise. This level of tolerance varied considerably depending on the speech's venue: while one might be allowed a faulty argument or two at a dinner party (especially after a good bit of wine), nothing but rhetorical perfection (in Latin, no less), was expected of a *disputatione* at the University.

A second level of meaning can also be drawn from this passage, and it is the one that more closely concerns my own project. Beyond concerns of style and rhetoric, certain topics, modes of analysis, and reactions to a piece of literature may well have been considered appropriate for conversation, but not necessarily fit to print. Beyond the attention to poetic form, the attention to details of language, and the explanation of imagery and metaphor that we find in the literary treatises, spoken discourse may also have included expressions of the analyst's subjectivity mapped onto the text, or at least the analyst's understanding of the emotional and psychological weight that the poet sought to bring to the text. Such personal reactions are absent from the

5 Trans. Singleton, *The Book of the Courtier*, 36.

critical literature, but this certainly does not imply that an early modern reader—or listener—did not appreciate a poet's work for reasons beyond his mastery of the Tuscan vernacular, his attention to details of poetic form, and his clever allusions to the works of other authors, both ancient and modern. Rather, it shows only that these sorts of reactions were not considered particularly appropriate or interesting to an audience that extended beyond one's private circle, or possibly even beyond one's person.

Though such discourse may not survive in written text, music provides one possible venue in which these sorts of subjective reactions may have been recorded, as song lay quite helpfully outside the speech-text dichotomy outlined by Castiglione. In her book *Modal Subjectivities: Self-fashioning in the Italian Madrigal*, Susan McClary has taken a similar tack to the one I have just outlined. By taking the madrigal as an expression of the composer's subjectivity, she demonstrates how the musical language of the sixteenth century could have been used to communicate the composer's interiority to an exterior world, a form of individual expression that is not commonly associated with music of the period.

My own interest lies less with the subjective interiority of the composer *per se* than it does with the composer's ability to project such expressions onto the poet's work. In a narrative epic such as *Orlando furioso*, the critical interest for a composer may well have lain in the subjective states of the fictional characters, whom the audience could be made to understand on an emotional and psychological level through the force of musical rhetoric. A comparison could easily be made to the Baroque doctrine of the affections, but with the significant difference that the intended audience for these madrigals would most often have been the performers themselves. The composer, then, seeks to engage his public with the text on a more direct, performative level than in later music.

This is not to say that the more familiar aspects of cinquecento literary criticism cannot be found in these pieces. Indeed, the explanations of imagery

and metaphor so prevalent in the treatises find their parallel in the word-painting that has long defined the genre. So too do the composers react to concerns of poetic form and sound with musical gestures intended to buttress —or even foil—the poet's carefully crafted verse. Musical settings, then, can provide us with a more complete picture of the way people thought about literature in the sixteenth century than we can gain simply by reading what they have to tell us directly.

To this end I will examine the musical works of Vincenzo Ruffo (1508-1587), Jan Nasco (1510-1561), and Jachet de Berchem (1505-1567), three followers of Adrian Willært that were active in Verona from c.1545-1555. These three composers make for an ideal case study for a number of reasons. Jachet de Berchem's *Capriccio* (Venice: Gardano, 1561) is the largest surviving collection of settings of *Orlando furioso*, providing a large body of repertoire (91 pieces) to which madrigals by his contemporaries can be compared. In addition, the similar ages, musical backgrounds and identical cultural ambitus of the three composers will facilitate the comparison of their readings of the text, since differences of time period and geography will not have to be accounted for.

Perhaps most significantly, all three composers can be tied to the first Italian society for amateur musicians, the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona (founded 1543). This provides us with an unusually clear picture of the public for which these madrigals, and by extension the composers' readings of *Orlando*, were intended. Thus, these three composers can provide insight not only into Renaissance literary thought, but also into the intellectual life of the Italian academy, a topic which has often proved elusive to scholars simply due to the ephemeral nature of their activities.

While the information we have on the activities of the academies is far from complete, we nonetheless have a fair picture of the origins of the amateur academy as an institution and of its function within cinquecento society that will prove invaluable in better understanding the significance of

the musical settings to be discussed in this thesis. By first understanding the nature of academy and the rôle that both music and literature played in its activities, the specific meanings and functions that I will attribute to Berchem's, Ruffo's, and Nasco's musical works will be more vivid and meaningful to the modern reader.

Chapter I: The Italian *Accademia*

The numerous academies of cinquecento Italy were undoubtedly among the most important centres for intellectual development in their cultural milieu, yet at the same time they continue to be among the most elusive cultural "institutions" of the period.[6] Certainly the documentary evidence of their operations and activities does not approach that of the Church, the courts, or the universities, but this is with good reason: the *accademia* represented a form of association among individuals that was fundamentally different from those cultural institutions inherited from the Middle Ages.

Due to the complexity of the academic movement, it is best to begin with a short discussion of the intellectual and socio-cultural context that resulted in the founding of the first Italian academy, the Accademia Platonica, in 1462/3. I will then follow this with a brief outline of the different sorts of academies that arose in Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century, ranging from highly structured groups modelled on the Accademia Platonica to the informal Venetian salons of the 1530s and '40s that arose among the Florentine expatriate community. This background should help to contextualise the birth of the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona in 1543, whose literary and musical activities shall be the focus of the last part of the chapter.

The Roots of the Academic Movement and the First Academy

The traditional story of the Accademia Platonica's founding begins with the Councils of Ferrara and Florence, which were held from 1438-45.[7] The councils

6 Writing in 1976, Richard S. Samuels lamented the fact that Michele Maylender's *Storia delle accademie d'Italia* remained the definitive work on the topic, despite its perceived historiographical flaws. While it is true that Maylender's work relies almost entirely on printed sources and would benefit immensely from examination of manuscript correspondence, it is nonetheless a very thorough study of the Italian academies, and a (literally) massive achievement in the field. See Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi," 599.

7 I here present the version of the story constructed by Arnaldo della Torre from period sources in

were ostensibly an attempt to heal the rift between the Eastern and Western Churches that had existed for nearly four centuries, but in reality, they were more an attempt by Pope Eugenius IV to force the submission of the Eastern Church to papal authority in return for military aid against the steadily encroaching Turks than they were a serious attempt at a multilateral reconciliation between East and West.[8]

The Byzantine delegation's rôle in the rebirth of Hellenistic scholarship is often overstated. Nonetheless, the interaction between East and West in Florence clearly provided fuel for a fire that had been smouldering for some time. While Plato's works and ideas had been known to Western scholars in Latin translation, it took the influence of such intellectuals from the Byzantine delegation as George Gemistos Plethon for Plato's works to be considered a serious counterpoint to the Aristotelian thought that had been dominant since the Middle Ages.

It is at this point that the reader must permit a bit of an historiographical flight of fancy. The following story, based on a letter Ficino wrote to Cosimo de' Medici in 1562 and the introduction to his translation of Plotinus (1592) is now considered very dubious.[9] It is nonetheless extremely important for the influence it had on subsequent generations, including the founders of the cinquecento academies discussed in this thesis. Consider it then a sort of academic creation myth—whether or not the Accademia Platonica really came about in the manner I describe (and it probably did not) is not nearly as important as the fact that

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his *Storia dell'accademia platonica*, 426-562 and by Maylender, vol. 4, 294-315.

8 The political nature of the proposed union is underlined by the fact that Emperor John VIII Palæologus represented the Eastern Church in the negotiations in lieu of any ecclesiastical authority. The decretum signed in 1439 was condemned by the leading figures of both Greek and Russian Orthodoxy, who believed Constantinople's salvation lay in faith, rather than in heretical submission to the authority of the Pope. Even those figures who signed the accord seem to have later recanted their positions. See Ševčenko, "Intellectual Reprcussions," 295. Ironically it would take another five centuries for the conflict to be (partially) resolved by the Catholic-Orthodox declaration of Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I in 1965.

9 Hankins, "Cosimo de' Medici," 144-45.

everyone *thought* it had—and from the very dawn of the academic movement this creation myth exerted considerable influence on those who sought to emulate the academy it purported itself to describe.

As the story goes, Plethon was so admired by Cosimo de' Medici and his circle for his lectures on Plato and the Alexandrian mystics in the early 1440s that he became known in Florence as the "second Plato." Though Plethon left the city soon after the council's termination in 1445, these lectures nonetheless may have planted the seed in Cosimo's mind that would eventually come to fruition with the establishment of the Accademia Platonica some twenty years later when another Byzantine, John Argyropoulos, took up a position teaching Greek literature in Florence.[10] Argyropoulos' appointment is traditionally believed to have reawakened Cosimo de' Medici's enthusiasm for Plato, having until that point lain dormant since Plethon's departure years earlier.[11] When Cosimo approached Argyropoulos with the idea of establishing a modern version of Plato's Academy in Florence, Argyropoulos suggested his student Marsilio Ficino to lead the project.

While this creation myth seems to have originated from a misreading of Ficino's bizarre literary affectations,[12] there are at least some grains of truth to the story. Ficino and his circle certainly enjoyed Cosimo's patronage, and continued to enjoy Medici patronage under Lorenzo, who had himself studied with Argyropoulos as a boy. It was certainly thanks to the Medici's support that Ficino was able to become the leading Platonist in Italy. He would later leave his mark

10 The degree of Cosimo's appreciation of Platonism and his role in the foundation of the Accademia Platonica has been contested by James Hankins, who believes Cosimo's rôle to have been limited to that of preserving one of Plethon's manuscripts. See Hankins, "Cosimo de' Medici,"147-49.

11 Numerous wars and political disturbances had rocked Florence in the intervening years, but even after the treaty of Lodi in 1454 assured peace, the reign of the zealously ascetic archbishop St. Antoninus from 1446-59 made for an inopportune environment for innovation. By the time of Argyropoulos' arrival, the time was again ripe for Cosimo to support scholarly interests. See Maylender, *Storie delle accademie*, vol. 4, 300-301.

12 Hankins, "Cosimo de' Medici," 155.

on classical scholarship with his landmark Latin translations of Plato (1484).

The Platonic academy was conceived as a very different cultural institution from the university. As Arnaldo della Torre wrote in his comprehensive study of the Accademia Platonica, the academy is best defined "in the broadest sense as a collection of learned men who come together to meet —whether or not these meetings are regular, fixed occurrences—to discuss erudite subjects: each one contributing to the common instruction his own personal ideology."[13] The participants in an academic setting, rather than being given an interpretation of the text as they would have been at the university, sought instead to develop a method for inquiry and criticism on the model of their Greek forbears.[14] Philosophers attended these meetings as peers, presenting research to their colleagues which could then be critiqued and discussed in a learned manner. The best-known visual depiction of this sort of egalitarian intellectual environment is undoubtedly Raphael's "Scuola di Atene" (**Illust. I**), commissioned by Pope Julius II for the Apostolic Palace in 1509. The painting clearly shows a variety of important intellectual figures from antiquity actively engaged in research and discussion in small groups.

Though Pythagoras's demonstration to the young boy in the lower-right corner attests to the importance of the primary formation of the student in the seven liberal arts, the painting's central focus is on the learned exchange between Plato and Aristotle, which the surrounding group observes with great attention. This is precisely the environment that Ficino and his circle sought to establish at his villa at Careggi, which Cosimo awarded him in 1463 for his translation of the *Pimander*.[15]

13 Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica*, 105.

14 For a discussion of the philosophical inquiry employed by the Academy of Athens, see Cherniss, *The Riddle of the Early Academy.*

15 Hankins points out that Ficino's letter of 1562, in which he thanks Cosimo for the Academy which he will "cultivate in the fields of Careggi" antedates this gift. Having established that Ficino has used the word "accademia" with reference to a literary work, he takes the sentence to be thanking Cosimo for a gift of a manuscript, which Ficino was planning to study at some

Illustration I: "La scuola di Atene" by Raphael.[16]

While the status of the Accademia Platonica as an institution with a fixed membership, exclusive dedication to the study of Plato, and enthusiastic support by the Medici family can all be called into question,[17] it is at least certain that Ficino must have had a group of associates that congregated at his villa from time to time. The villa at Careggi was Ficino's preferred residence despite having a home in the city, and it was consciously modelled on literary descriptions of the Academy of Athens, complete with its complement of stone pines to mimic the platanus groves of the Attic original.[18]

other place in Careggi that is not his future villa (possibly one belonging to Cosimo). This last hypothesis is not Hankins' strongest, and it seems plausible that Ficino simply had foreknowledge of the upcoming gift. See Hankins, "Cosimo de' Medici," 155-56.

16 Reproduction courtesy of The Yorck Project: *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei*, DVD-ROM (Berlin: DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH, 2002), released into the public domain under the GNU Free Documentation License.

17 Hankins, "The Myth of the Platonic Academy," 433.

18 For a more detailed discussion of all of the aspects of the Careggi villa that were modeled on the real and fictional characteristics of the Academy of Athens, see della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia*

The nature and degree of any musical activities at Ficino's academy remain uncertain. Ficino himself recorded at least two symposia that took place at Careggi, where musical entertainments formed a part of the festivities, but he does not go into much detail as to their nature.[19] Hankins notes that it is nonetheless possible that these symposia again represent something of a literary flight of fancy, and that no such entertainments occurred in reality.[20] Once again, the importance of Ficino's legacy among academicians of the following century far outstrips the importance of the veracity of his accounts.

A number of musicians are recorded in the ranks of the Accademia Platonica. These include Girolamo Amazzi, Domenico Benivieni, Bastiano Foresi, Antonio Serafico, Cherubino Quarquagli, Baccio Ugolini, and the poet Angelo Poliziano, famous to musicologists for the (now lost) musical performance of his *Orfeo*.[21] Whether these figures brought their professional skills with them into the academy is uncertain from the documentary evidence that remains, but it is certain that music formed an important part of Ficino's philosophy and metaphysics, and of his magical practice.[22] Contrary to earlier belief about Ficino's attitudes toward music,[23] Gary Tomlinson shows that Ficino believed music to be an essential carrier of meaning in magical rites through its ability to convey "images."[24] Though it is unknown whether Ficino and his circle employed music's power for carrying meaning outside the realm of the magical, this musical rhetorical force would becomes an important part in the literary

platonica, 640-42.

19 For a description of these banquets and their collocation in the Renaissance tradition of erudite conviviality, see della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica*, 808-816.

20 Hankins, "The Myth of the Platonic Academy," 432-33.

21 della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica*, 788-800. For more on Poliziano's *Orfeo*, see Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, 5-36.

22 Gary Tomlinson provides an excellent survey of Ficino's musical thought in *Music and Renaissance Magic*, 101-145. Della Torre also mentions the importance of music in Ficino's thought in his *Storia dell'Accademia platonica*, 788-89.

23 Most scholars held that for Ficino, only the words of a song were able to carry intellectual meaning. See, especially, D.P. Walker, *Demonic Magic,* 43, 48, 53.

24 Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 120.

discourse of the academies that followed in their wake.

The Academies of the Sixteenth Century

The Accademia Platonica was the earliest and perhaps most culturally significant of the Italian academies, and its influence on the academies and salons of the cinquecento is clear even in their adoption of the very word "academy" to describe themselves. In general, the academies of the sixteenth century can be divided into roughly two types: those formal "accademie" which adopted official rules of order and had an official membership roster, and the informal salons which did not concern themselves with establishing official regulations.[25] Of these two types, we often know much more about the former, as very often these academies' rules of order, membership lists, and activities have been preserved in centralised locations.[26] The informal salons, which were more or less based around circles of friends and acquaintances, are somewhat trickier to reconstruct as they require consultation of the correspondence of individual members for clues about the organisation and activities of the group, as Feldman has done in her work on Venetian salons.

Regardless of any changes and developments in the eighty or so years following the foundation of Ficino's academy at Careggi in 1462/3, one important aspect of the Accademia Platonica remained common to all future academies regardless of the degree to which their operations were formalised: to belong to any of these groups one had to possess erudition and (more importantly) personal friendship with its central figure or patron.[27] In essence, the *accademia* was as much a social organisation as an intellectual one. Erudite discussion and

25 It is only with the former type that Maylended concerns himself in his *Storia delle accademie*, as informal salons often did not always refer to themselves as "academies" and rarely left the sort of public records that the more institutional academies did. See Feldman, "Domenico Venier," 476, note 1.

26 The archives for the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona, for example, are still extant today and contain documentation dating back to their founding in 1543.

27 della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica*, 643-45.

scholarly activity were often complemented by a number of other forms of entertainment with which its members could pass the time, including food, wine, and music.[28] In the discussion of sixteenth-century academies that follows, I shall first discuss the more informal salons and social groups, as they resemble more closely the circle of friends and acquaintances that Ficino gathered around himself at Careggi. Afterward I will discuss the academic trend for institutionalisation and regulation that became more typical toward the middle of the century.

After Ficino's death in 1499, many figures associated with the Accademia Platonica went on to frequent the meetings in the Orti Oricellari sponsored by Bernardo Rucellai.[29] These meetings, which may have begun as early as 1504-6, were an important arena for political thought as well as discussions of poetry and the developing Italian literary language.[30] Though some musicians are recorded as members of Ficino's academy, as mentioned previously, it is with Rucellai's group that the first connection has been drawn between the Italian academy and the developing madrigal, as it has been suggested by several scholars that Philippe Verdelot also frequented these meetings.[31]

Though della Torre does not consider the Oricellari to be directly descended from Ficino's group due to their shift in focus from Plato to politics (a shift that would prove their own downfall), the group nonetheless continued the same collegial atmosphere and social organisation that had defined the earlier academy. After the group's involvement in an attempt on the life of Cardinal

28 One of the most notable examples of this sort of interaction is given by Doni in his *Dialogo della musica* (Venice: Scotto, 1544), which I will discuss later. Symposia are also recorded among the activites of the Accademia Platonica (della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica*, 808-16), and festivities were often held for special occasions by the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona (Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica*, 20-22).

29 Maylender, *Storia delle accademie,* vol. 4, 312-313.

30 Gilbert, "Bernardo Rucellai," 101, 116.

31 Among these are H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 53-61, and Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, 37-45. Edward Lowinsky also discusses Verdelot's anti-Medici political leanings in "A Newly Discovered Motet Manuscript," 440-44.

Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII) led to its dissolution in 1522, the flight of many of its members from the city led to the establishment of similar groups in other cities by Florentines in exile.[32] One former *oricellario*, Filippo Strozzi, brought his experiences with the academy and his taste for madrigals with him to Venice, where he and his sons went on to become key players in the salon culture of the 1530s and '40s.[33]

The cultural activities of these Venetian salons have been best documented by Martha Feldman, whose monograph *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* contains a wealth of information regarding the musical and literary developments that grew and fed each other in this unique cultural milieu. Among those salons she treats are those of the Venetian aristocrat Domenico Venier and the Florentine expatriate Neri Capponi, both of whom are known to have included leading composers in their social circles. The primary topic of discourse in these salons, as in Ficino's academy, was literature.

A most important distinction must be drawn, however, in the nature of these topics. While Ficino's group, as far as we know, focused exclusively on Classical (more specifically Hellenistic) literature, the Venetian salons stood at the centre of the most important developments in Italian vernacular literature. The literary theorist Pietro Bembo, whose *Prose della volgar lingua* remained the single most important and influential literary treatise of cinquecento Italy, was a dominant figure on the Venetian cultural scene, and even after his death his ideas remained strongly influential in literary circles.[34] Bembo's influence on Venier's circle is proven by Venier's own commemorative poems, published after Bembo's

32 Gilbert, "Bernardo Rucellai," 115-116.

33 Though Strozzi managed to remain in the Medici's good graces for a full decade after the dissolution of the Oricellari thanks to his deep pockets, he nonetheless eventually came to be regarded as a threat by Duke Alessandro and moved along to Venice. Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 27-30.

34 There is substantial work on Bembo and his theories. For his literary philosophy in a neoplatonic-academic context, see Raffini, *Marsilio Ficino*, and Mario Marti's notes to his edition of Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*. For Bembo's influence on musical æsthetics, see Mace, "Pietro Bembo," and Brown, "Words and Music."

death in 1547, and his associate Ludovico Dolce's publication of his *Osservationi della volgar lingua* in 1550, which Martha Feldman terms a "zealous reaffirmation of official vernacular ideology."[35]

That the Venetian salons were major venues for musical performance is beyond question; Feldman picks out a particularly colourful description by the Florentine polygraph and amateur musician Antonfrancesco Doni of musical entertainments given at the home of Capponi wherein the works of Adrian Willært were performed by the famous singer Polisena Pecorina:

> There is a gentlewoman, POLISENA Pecorina (consort of a *cittadino* from my native town), so talented and refined that I cannot find words high enough to praise her. One evening I heard a concert of *violoni* and voices in which she played and sang together with other excellent spirits. The perfect master of that music was Adrian Willaert, whose studious style, never before practiced by musicians, is so tightly knit, so sweet, so right, so miraculously suited to the words that I confess to never having known what harmony was in all my days, save that evening.[36]

This description is taken from the dedication of the tenor partbook from Doni's *Dialogo della musica* (Venice: Scotto, 1544), which is in itself a valuable source of information about musical performance in both informal and academic settings in this period, and one to which I shall return shortly. Feldman suggests that this excerpt describes the performance of music from Willært's yet unpublished *Musica nova*.[37] Such a performance of madrigals based on texts from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* would certainly not have been out of place in a cultural environment that was eminently concerned with the development and promulgation of Bembist literary theory. In addition to the performance of composed polyphony, Feldman also suggests the performance of improvised

35 Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 88-89.
36 Trans. by Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 32.
37 Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 33.

song in these salons.[38] Such improvised performance may have included the accompanied recitation of single poems from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, the recitation of lyric poetry composed by its members (the famed composer and poet Girolamo Parabosco numbered among those often present in Venier's salon), or even the recitation of stanzas from longer works, such as Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, which was published in its final version, with revisions supervised by Bembo himself, in 1532.

The first few decades of the sixteenth century also saw the growth of more formal academic organisations on the Italian peninsula. These formal academies maintained official membership rosters as well as rules of order that governed their cultural activities. Often their charters laid out exactly what sort of activities the membership were expected to participate in, from regular weekly *lezioni* (comparable to the *lectiones* of the university), to extraordinary events that took place at specific times of year.[39] These academies also adopted official coats-of-arms or *imprese*, which made use of coded heraldic language in order to reflect certain attitudes and attributes of their membership. Originally a pastime for courtiers, *imprese* were intended as riddles which employed highly evolved metaphors that could be decoded only by those familiar with its language. Obscure symbolic associations of image and text revealed the individual's name, personality, moral and physical traits, and personal history.[40]

When these came to be adopted by academicians, they were intended to reveal some aspect of the group character. This was often tied to the "collective plural," collective nouns or adjectives in their names that were intended to reflect some quality of the membership or their interests. Often these were intentionally vague: academicians could be "enthroned," "enflamed," or "disguised." While

38 Feldman, "The Academy," 501.

39 Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi," 610-611.

40 Entire treatises were dedicated to this symbolic language, presumably with the intention of opening this level of coded discourse to a wider audience of merchants and professionals that desired to emulate the courtly class. See Ciardi, "'A Knot of Words and Things,'" 41.

often abstract like the ones above, these collective nouns could also indicate a common interest or practice shared by the group membership, and around which their interaction was built. Such cases include of course Ficino's Accademia Platonica, as well as the Accademia del Disegno in Florence. The latter even modelled its impresa, three crowns of laurel, on the three circles which Michelangelo Buonarotti claimed as his personal *segnio*.[41]

As a reflection of the diversity of identity implied by these collective nouns and imprese, the *accademie* began to incorporate in their activities a wide variety of intellectual pursuits. These included not only political discussion, as was the case with the Oricellari, but also the composition and discussion of vernacular literature in addition to the classical literature that was discussed by Ficino's academy.[42] In Siena, the Accademia degli Intronati began "reading, disputing, composing, interpreting, and writing"[43] in the Tuscan language as well as in Latin and Greek by 1530. The *Intronati* even counted Pietro Bembo among their members, though, as Samuels mentions, there is no evidence that Bembo spent any significant time in Siena.

Among the most famous of these formal academies was the Accademia Fiorentina, which was originally founded in 1540 as the Accademia degli Umidi ("the wet ones"). This group, like Ficino's, flourished under Medici patronage, and is noted for its contributions to the development and sponsorship of literature in the Tuscan language, and was a clear antecedent to the greatly

41 Ciardi, 54.

42 Though there is no evidence that Ficino or his circle concerned themselves with vernacular literature, which would become the cornerstone of academic activity by the 1540s, Martha Feldman has remarked on Ficino's evident influence on the young Pietro Bembo, who passed the years 1478-80 at the Medici court with his father Bernardo. The first appearances of vernacular literature appear to have occurred in Florence at the home of Oberto Strozzi in the late 1520s or early 1530s. The group, known as the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli, was described by Antonfrancesco Doni in his *Mondi celesti, terrestri, et infernali degli Accademici pelegrini* (Venice, 1563).

43 Curzio Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel secolo XVI* (Florence, 1882), as translated by Richard Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi," 608.

influential Accademia della Crusca (the "bran" or "husk"), founded in 1583.[44]

Antonfrancesco Doni and the *Dialogo della musica*

One of the greatest insights we have into the activities of a mid-century academy comes in an unusual form: a dialogue that blurs the line between the institutional academy and the Venetian-style informal salon. Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* (Venice: Scotto, 1544) is a transcript of two fictionalised meetings of the Accademia Ortolana of Piacenza,[45] of which Doni was a member before his move to Venice in 1543.[46] Doni's dialogue is extremely valuable to modern scholars of the academic movement due to his unique choice of publication format: in addition to its function as a work of literature, the *Dialogo* also serves as a musical anthology. Though other famous dialogues in the past had included references to the performance of music at the fictional gatherings (most famously Boccaccio's *Decamerone* and Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*), Doni was the first to include the actual music said to have been performed.

The *Dialogo* took the form of part books, although the literary dialogue

44 Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi," 599-600. There is substantial work on the Accademia Fiorentina and its contributions to Italian Renaissance culture. See most recently Bryce, "The Oral World," and Sherberg, "The Accademia Fiorentina."

45 Maylender's brief discussion of the Accademia Ortolana can be found in *Storia delle accademie d'Italia,* vol. 4, 146-49.

46 Doni was first brought to the attention of music scholars in 1934 by Alfred Einstein. His article, "The 'Dialogo della musica' of Messer Antionio Francesco Doni," contains but a brief biography of Doni and a sort summary of the musical references in his dialogue. The same information is reprinted in *The Italian Madrigal*, 193-99. Einstein remains mute on the topic of the setting for Doni's dialogue, but James Haar has suggested that the first meeting takes places in Piacenza, and then shifts to Venice for the second evening, seemingly on the basis that Doni wrote the second part while living in Venice ("Notes," 205). There is nothing specifically in the text to support his hypothesis, aside from an informal atmosphere that seems reminiscent of Venetian salons. It is perhaps for this reason that Feldman goes along with his analysis (*City Culture and the Madrigal*, 19-20). The location certainly cannot be concluded from the guest list, which includes both Piacentines (Veggio, Domenichi, Landi, Bargo/Gottifredi) and Venetians (Parabosco and Cambio). Many of these figures travelled between the two cities, including Parabosco, Domenichi, and Doni himself, who appears in the dialogue as Michele. Neither modern edition of Doni's text (Malipiero, *Il dialogo della musica*, and Vacchelli, *L'opera musicale*) comments on this issue. I have given my own reading of Doni's as a testing ground for his radical political thought in the academy in my paper "The Anti-Courtier."

itself was to be found only in the cantus part book. Likely because of its hybrid nature, Doni's *Dialogo* was also the first collection of printed polyphony to be produced in upright quarto format, which Gardano later famously used for the publication of Willært's *Musica nova* in 1559.[47] Musical anthologies were not the most common form of publication at this point in the century, as single-composer prints had dominated the market since the publication of Arcadelt's *Primo libro* in 1539. Indeed, Scotto did not produce any anthologies within three years of the publication of the Dialogo; the closest two were *Le dotte et eccelente compositioni de i madrigali a cinque voci* (1540) and *Il primo libro di madrigali a misura di breve a 4* (1547).[48]

While James Haar has suggested that Doni may have been grabbing at any available music for inclusion in the dialogue,[49] it is seems to me quite telling that a large proportion of the works included in the Dialogo can be connected to figures Doni knew and with whom he regularly associated. The madrigals are mostly written by Doni's personal acquaintances Jacques Buus, Vincenzo Ruffo, Perissone Cambio, Claudio Veggio, and Girolamo Parabosco, and include texts from the poets Ludovico Domenichi, Luigi Cassola, and Bartolomeo Gottifredi, all of whom were members of the Accademia Ortolana.[50] In addition to the printed polyphony, the dialogue also records the musical improvisation of Count Ottavio Landi to his own verse, a practice that was common in social gatherings of all sorts.[51] Of these figures, six (Landi, Domenichi, Cambio, Veggio, Parabosco,

47 Jane Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 303-307.

48 See Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 255-57 and 353-55 for additional details on the collections.

49 Haar gives as his rationale Doni's well-known tendency to send his manuscripts to the press "while the ink was still wet, and...sometimes the printers had to stop for want of copy." See Haar, "Notes," 209-210, and 207, note 39.

50 Haar has produced a useful table detailing the composers and poets (where known) of all the pieces in the *Dialogo* at the end of his article. The total proportion of pieces that can be connected directly to Doni or one of his acquaintances is 19 out of 27. Those that cannot include those which remain unattributed and the works by Arcadelt, Nolet, Berchem, Rore, and Willært, all of whom save Rore are represented in Scotto's anthologies of 1540 and 1547 (c.f. Bernstein, *Music Printing*, 255-57 and 353-55). See Haar, "Notes," 221-223.

51 Such performance is recorded by Castiglione in his *Courtier* (I; xlvii), Martha Feldman in her

and Gottifredi as “Bargo”) appear as interlocutors in the Dialogo.

It rather seems that Doni was seeking to authentically recreate in print the experience of the Accademia Ortolana, where the traditional academic practice of sharing literary analyses and newly-composed poetic works appears to have extended also to the realm of musical composition. Doni is explicit in mentioning that some of these pieces are “newly composed,” and while this was undeniably a common trope in music publication, it rather seems to indicate that these pieces were composed expressly for the academy, especially when they result from the collaboration of one or more of its members. Parabosco in particular is well represented both as a poet and musician in Doni's text, and it seems reasonable to assume that the poet-composer's participation in Doni's fictional gathering can be extended by analogy to his participation in Venier's salon in Venice.

The inclusion of singing into the activities of the *accademie* likely served a number of important social functions. Laura Macy has suggested that music-making in informal group settings provided an important training ground for those wishing to climb the social ladder, as it allowed the participants to cultivate the technical skills, social graces, and sharp wit that would be required of them in an aristocratic salon.[52] Along these same lines, I would argue that the act of singing together in the academy could also have been a key element in forging a group identity for the academy's membership, much as the adoption of collective nouns and *imprese* would have done.

The performance of madrigals at formal or informal gatherings of academicians can be usefully compared to the socio-linguistic phenomenon of in-group discourse: the shared utterance of a text, often one with coded meanings, creates a heightened sense of complicity between the participants that is central in the creation of group identity. Because of the immediacy of this shared musical

research into the Venetian salons (“The Academy of Domenico Venier,” 501), and James Haar in his essay on improvisatory practice in Renaissance Italy (“*Improvvisatori*,” 78).

52 Laura Macy, “Speaking of Sex,” 8.

discourse, the sense of belonging in the academy is strong enough to override the overarching social classes of the participants, thereby permitting association, collaboration, and ultimately friendship (*amicizia*) between artistically inclined members of different castes in the rigidly stratified cinquecento society. The Accademia Ortolana provides an example of exactly this sort of association: Doni, the son of a scissors-maker, is able to socialise freely with minor nobility such as Counts Gottifredi and Landi, all in the name of art. Just as the members of the Florentine Accademia Platonica became "brothers in Plato," so did the members of the later cinquecento academies become brothers in poetry and music. It should come as no surprise that the majority of the surviving copies of Doni's *Dialogo* are inscribed with some variation of "for the use of [name] and his friends."[53]

It is at this point that a distinction ought to be drawn between the sort of brotherhood implied by participation in the *accademia* and another sort of brotherhood for which music became an important factor of group identity—the religious confraternity. Both religious confraternities and academies adopted similar rules of order and engaged in regular private and public functions, many of which included the performance of music. While the division between sacred and secular interests between the two groups is clear enough, perhaps more telling is the difference between the outward and inward focus of musical resources in these two types or organisations. Though the roots of music in the confraternities lay in the communal singing of *laude*,[54] by the fifteenth century these groups began to make the performance of music the defining factor of their outward expressions of devotion and affluence.[55] To this end, these groups

53 Haar, "Notes," 199.

54 Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 3. William Prizer also ties the tradition of *lauda* singing to other improvised performance in Renaissance Italy through contrafacta: the well-known *barzelletta* "I' son più malmaritata" was used as a musical model for the *lauda* "Pecorelle pien d'errore." See Prizer, "Games of Venus," 30-31. For more on Florentine confraternities and lauda performance, see also Wilson, *Music and Merchants*.

55 For a study on music and Marian devotion in the confraternities, see Hatter, *Marian Motets*.

generally employed professional musicians to perform complex polyphony in public settings.[56] By contrast, musical performance in academies was generally limited to the private sphere, with the notable exception of Verona's Accademia Filarmonica, which shall be discussed later. Thus a functional dichotomy can be seen between music intended for public performance, such as the liturgical music of the Church and the devotional music sponsored by the confraternities, and that music which was intended specifically for the consumption of a small group of intimates, often known to the composer, as occurred in the academy.

The Accademia Filarmonica di Verona

Given the importance of musical practice in the establishment of group identity for at least some cinquecento academics, it should not be surprising that one of these academies should have chosen to present itself to the world based on its dedication to the study, performance, and enjoyment of music. The Accademia Filarmonica of Verona was founded in 1543 through the merger of two previously existing Veronese groups about which little is known: the Accademia Incatenata and a prior Accademia Philarmonica. The former may have been founded as early as 1517, though as Giuseppe Turrini points out in his thorough monograph on the society, the only evidence is second-hand.[57] As for the latter, no documentary evidence exists, and Turrini himself speculates that it was likely not long-established in the city.[58]

The goals of the new society are clear not only from their name and *impresa* (**Illust. II**), but also from the proemio to their book of statutes: the society was to cultivate the musical art among its members and for its own sake; there is no mention of hiring professionals for public performance.[59]

56 Glixon, *Honoring God and the City,* 89-93.
57 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica*, 12-13.
58 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica,* 13.
59 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica*, 17.

Illustration II: The impresa of the Accademia Filarmonica.[60]

60 Repr. Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica*, table iii. The official description of the *impresa* adopted by the group in 1564 is as follows: A Mermaid ("Sirena": Italian does not distinguish between the two) with the Celestial Sphere in hand, surrounded by the script "Cœlorum imitatur concentum" ("Let the harmonious music of the heavens be imitated") Arms: Quartered shield with a chain and an upright anchor.

To this end, membership was contingent upon instruction in the musical arts, and the academy was understood to be an environment not for the acquisition of musical skills, but rather for their perfection. At the same time, the document is not entirely clear as to the nature of the musical skills that would be expected of its members, often using the ambiguous phrase "far musica," which does not distinguish between performance, improvisation, and composition. Turrini believes that in most cases this refers to singing and playing of instruments, but he does not exclude composition from the activities of the members.[61]

In making this observation in the early part of the twentieth century, Turrini may not have been aware of the lack of distinction between these spheres in the sixteenth century: improvisation, composition, and performance were inexorably bound together in the Renaissance conception of "far musica," and it is generally accepted that a well-trained musician would have been capable in all these overlapping spheres.[62]

The academy met regularly on Wednesday afternoons during the scholastic year, which lasted generally from the twentieth of October until the twentieth of June, just as in the university. At these meetings, members engaged in the execution of so-called "musica ordinaria," seemingly with the goal of fulfilling the society's dedication to musical pursuits and the entertainment of its membership.[63] Though the nature of this ordinary music is not made clear, one can surmise from the academy's inventory of music prints that members must have sung "sul libro," primarily madrigals but probably also motets and mass settings. **Table I** reproduces the contents of the academy's musical library at the time of its founding, which was greatly amplified in the years that followed:

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61 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica*, 18.

62 See on this point Wegman, "From Maker to Composer," and Schubert, "Counterpoint Pedagogy."

63 For a thorough description of musical practice in this and other academies, see Inga Mai Groote, *Musik in italienischen Akademien*.

Table I: Music prints owned by the Accademia Filarmonica in 1543.[64]

Madrigali de Verdeloth a Sej	Motteti de Gomberth a 4 et a 5
Madrigali de metre Jhan a 4	Motteti del frutto a 4
Madrigali de fra Giordan a 4	Motteti del frutto a 5 et a Sej
Madrigali a note negre a 4	Motteti de Adrian a 6
Madrigali di Costantio fes[ta] a 3	Messe de Morales a voce parj a 4
Madrigalj de Arcadelth a 3 ligadj alla Romana	Messe de Morales a voce piena a 4
Madrigali de feraboscho a 4	Messe de Morales et Jachet a 5
Madrigali de Claudio veggio a 4	Messe de Jachet et de Gomberth a 5
Madrigali de Diuersi authori a 5	Magnificat a 4
Madrigali de Verdeloth a 5 et a 5	
Canzone Napolitane a 3 ligade in Carton	Musiche dele nozze de fiorenza

In addition, the academy also had a number of extraordinary meetings throughout the year, which often meant public exhibitions or performances.[65] Chief among these was the annual anniversary of the society's founding on the first of May, which involved the execution of a newly-composed mass, followed by a banquet and a grand concert. The *filarmonici* also gave performances during the Carnival season for invited guests, as well as a series of public exhibitions shortly after their anniversary celebrations in May.[66] For the first few years of the academy's existence, the organisation of these musical performances fell to the *ordinatori delle musiche*, who were selected from the membership. As the events grew, however, it soon became clear that the filarmonici needed a full-time music director to arrange these performances and to provide the academy with new

64 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica, 32-33.*

65 These public exhibitions, as mentioned previously, seem to be a practice unique to the filarmonici among the academies of the sixteenth century, and in this sense they do resemble the sort of public spectacle sponsored by confraternities.

66 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica,* 20-22.

music of high quality.[67]

In early 1547, the *filarmonici* held their first competition for the directorship, inviting the composers Giovanni Nasco, Vincenzo Ruffo, and Gabriele Martinengo to participate in the selection process. Though the exact nature of the competition is unclear, Nasco appears to have beat out his competitors. He took up the position on the twenty-fourth of February that year, just in time to direct the annual Carnival performances. Nasco's responsibilities as music director are clearly delineated in his contract with the academy: in return for compensation totalling thirty ducats per year (donated by the members), Nasco was expected to be present every day after the ninth hour (three o' clock) in the academy's hall and compose new works on texts provided by the *filarmonici*. The group retained exclusive rights to offer him commissions and on the publication and performance of his compositional output. The following year, for example, Nasco had to obtain permission from the academy to publish a collection of five-voice madrigals (Venice: Gardano, 1548; RISM N77-1548), which he accordingly dedicated to the group.[68]

Nasco worked for the Accademia Filarmonica until 1551, when he gave his obligatory three-month notice. Turrini regards Nasco's tenure as one of great creative force, with the composer's zeal for the group's artistic development evidenced by his frequent purchases of instruments and music prints.[69] After Nasco's departure from the Verona for another position in Treviso, the academy elected Vincenzo Ruffo to take his place. Ruffo, a native Veronese, was much admired by the group, but his duties as music director of Verona's cathedral left him with little time to fulfill his obligations to the *filarmonici*.[70] In 1552 Giovanni

67 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica*, 49-50.

68 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica,* 53-55.

69 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica,* 56-58.

70 Turrini's dates conflict with Lockwood's and Armati-Camperi's dates in the *New Grove*, which claim that Ruffo did not become maestro di cappella of the cathedral until 1554. C.f. Lockwood and Camperi, "Ruffo, Vincenzo."

Stella, then governor of the *filarmonica*, suggested the termination of his employment for dereliction of duty. This suggestion was ultimately rejected by the group, who were evidently quite devoted to the composer, but Ruffo nevertheless resigned his post within the year.[71]

While Ruffo's tenure as musical director was short, it is likely that he was involved in the group's musical activities before he took on his official capacities as director; Lewis Lockwood attributes his large secular output c. 1550 to the patronage of the group.[72] Indeed, despite their competition for the group's directorship in 1547, several of Nasco's madrigals are published in Ruffo's second book of five-part madrigals (Venice: Gardano, 1554; RISM R3074-[1553]/28)[73], suggesting that the two competitors were on friendly terms and remained so even after Nasco's departure for Treviso.

It is exceedingly likely that Nasco and Ruffo were familiar with another composer in the Veronese cultural sphere, Jachet de Berchem. Berchem was Ruffo's predecessor as *maestro di cappella* of Verona's cathedral from 1546 until around 1550, and although he is not documented as being a member of the *filarmonici* or in their employ, Berchem's cultivation of secular music during this period suggests that his musical activities extended beyond his duties at the cathedral. Indeed, one mark in favour of association among these three composers is their literary taste, which includes many settings of both Petrarch and Ariosto. Lewis Lockwood attributes this literary orthodoxy to their admiration of Adrian Willært, the dominant musical figure in the literary circles of mid-century Venice. While this hypothesis may well be true, I would argue that the academy itself may also have played a much more immediate rôle in all three composers' choice of texts for musical setting.

71 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica*, 73.

72 Lockwood and Camperi, "Ruffo, Vincenzo."

73 Lewis reveals this undated edition to be from 1554, and not 1553 as is stated in RISM. See Lewis, *Antonio Gardano,* 289.

Turrini usefully reminds us that, although the Accademia Filarmonica defined itself in terms of music, it also engaged in the same types of scholarly pursuits that typified other cinquecento academies. Indeed, although the academy's statute dedicated one day a week to the pursuit of "musica ordinaria," it dedicated three more to *lezioni.* In 1549 the directorship reaffirmed the importance of "buone lettere" to the activities of the group, perhaps fearing that their musical bent might cause others to be dismissive of their erudition.[74] Considering the stipulation in the contract of the academy's music director that he compose music "on all those words which the Company, or the six Regents set out for him,"[75] it does not seem much of a stretch to think that such texts might be related to the group's literary pursuits, or perhaps even to lend a degree of musical rhetoric to the erudite discussions that had defined the Italian academy since the days of Ficino.

One work in particular turns up with notable frequency among the works of composers associated with the Accademia Filarmonica, and that is Ludovico Ariosto's epic *Orlando furioso*, easily the most important work of contemporary Italian vernacular literature from its initial publication in 1516 until the publication of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* in 1581. The most striking example of Orlando's importance and richness as source for madrigal texts is Berchem's own *Capriccio* (Venice: Gardano, 1561; RISM B1981-1561). Berchem's three-volume work is a massive undertaking in which the composer, with his typical predilection for madrigalian cycles,[76] set ninety-three *ottave* from Ariosto's romance. Despite its late publication date, both George Nugent and James Haar believe most of the content of the *Capriccio* to have been composed much earlier.[77]

74 Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica,* 70-71.

75 Turrini, *L'ccademia filarmonica,* 54.

76 Berchem was at the vanguard of the trend for setting longer, cyclical texts. His setting of Petrarch's *sestina* "Alla dolc'ombra delle belle frondi" was among the first of this genre to be published, in none other than Doni's *Dialogo della musica* of 1544. See Haar, "*Improvvisatori,*" 91.

77 See Nugent, "Berchem, Jacquet de" and Haar, "The Cappriccio of Giachet Berchem," 131.

Dating these works to Berchem's time in Verona c. 1546-1550 seems a particularly fortuitous proposition, as this period also saw the composition of Nasco's and Ruffo's numerous settings of *Orlando* during their time at the *filarmonica.* All of Nasco's and Ruffo's settings of *Orlando furioso* sport publication dates between 1545 and 1557, and while such publication dates do not necessarily indicate the time of their composition, they nonetheless centre around the composers' time in Verona and their contact with the *filarmonica*.

Indeed, given the work's enduring popularity with composers associated with the *filarmonici* throughout the century, it seems likely that the poem was among those works the academy regularly discussed during its literary meetings. Considering *Orlando*'s primacy among Italian literary works of the primo cinquecento this should hardly be surprising—any work of such cultural importance would have had a significant impact on the literary pursuits of all academies that concerned themselves with vernacular literature. Ariosto stood beside Dante and Petrarch on the literary daïs for nearly seven decades, until the publication of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* in 1581 finally challenged, and overthrew, *Orlando*'s literary dominance.

It is during this golden age of Ariostan literary supremacy that we should expect to find the most sophisticated literary and critical discourse in the academies and in print. While the academy's *lezioni* themselves are forever lost to us due to their ephemeral nature, we are nonetheless left with two important forms of literary criticism that doubtless had their place in the academic sphere. The first, naturally, comprises the published literary treatises in which contemporary scholars discussed Ariosto's text at length. The second, as we shall see, is the collection of polyphonic settings that would have been performed in the scholarly environments of the *accademie*. While both of these sources, by virtue of being written down, represent only half of the Castiglionian speech/text dichotomy, the musical sources in particular may well contain the shadows of the

impermanent spoken discourse of the academy.

Before we approach the works of Berchem, Nasco, and Ruffo in order to determine their rhetorical significance in the academic context, some historical perspective on the chivalric epic is required. It is to the question of genre in *Orlando furioso* that we must now turn our attention, as a thorough understanding of the poem's origins, history, and critical reception will allow a more nuanced approach to Ruffo's, Nasco's, and Berchem's settings of the text, and the purpose their madrigals would have served in the context of the academy.

Chapter II: Of Knights and Ladies, and Loves of Old

The musical performance of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* in cinquecento academies forms only a small part of the centuries-long tradition of musical recitation of chivalric narratives. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, improvised performance of these texts formed an important part of musical practice, and carried a great deal of cultural weight. I shall here present briefly the history of the chivalric epic as a musico-literary genre, to provide context for the discussion of Ariosto and his work that follows it. In the next chapter I shall then analyse in detail how the musical settings of Ariosto's text by Berchem, Nasco, and Ruffo drew on this performative tradition while at the same time venturing into the discursive space normally associated with the academic *lezione*.

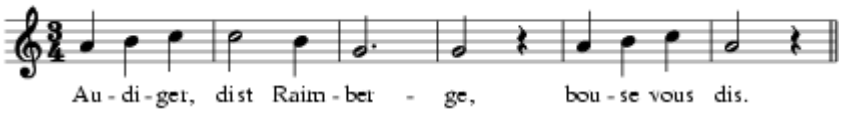
The Mediæval *Chanson de Geste* and its Musical Legacy

The history of the chivalric epic was intertwined with musical practice from its very origins in the courtly *chanson de geste* of the High Middle Ages. A form of heroic narrative loosely related to the classical epic, the *cantus gestualis*, as it was termed in Latin, focused on the deeds (*gestes*) of real and mythical figures of more recent history. Most often these stories lay within one of the three major narrative traditions of the Middle Ages: the matter of Cornwall (Tristan), the matter of Britain (Arthur), and, most commonly, the matter of France (Charlemagne and his knights). One of the earliest descriptions of the genre comes from the well-known mediæval theorist Johannes de Grocheo:

> Cantum vero gestualum dicimus, in quo gesta heroum et antiquorum patrum opera recicantur, sicuti vita er martyra sanctorum et proelia at adversitates, quas antiqui viri pro fide et veritate passi sunt, sicuti via beati Stephani protomartyris et historia regis Karoli.
>
> We call a song the *chanson de geste* in which the deeds of heroes and the achievements of our forefathers are

> recounted, like the life and sufferings of the saints and the conflicts and adversities which men of old endured for the faith and for the truth—the life of St. Stephen the first martyr, for example, and the story of Charlemagne.[78]

Here Grocheo specifically picks out Charlemagne as the primary source of inspiration for these narratives, along with a related tradition of narrating the lives of saints. One of the best surviving examples of the genre is the *Chanson de Roland*, which takes as its main character the very same knight as Boiardo's *Orlando inammorato* and Ariosto's own *furioso*. An allusion to the *Chanson de Roland* in the twelfth-century *Roman de Rou* (c.1170-75) seems to indicate that even at this early stage the *chanson de geste* was intended, as its name suggests, to be sung.[79] As John Stevens has pointed out, while the texts of these Romances are well-preserved, very little musical material survives to indicate precisely how these poems were performed. Some indications have, however, come down to us from references in other genres. For instance, an episode of Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* references the performance of a *chanson de geste*, and even provides a short melody (**Ex. 1**). The evidence that has survived seems to suggest that these works were sung to melodic formulas adapted to the poetic metre, and probably accompanied on the harp, or later on the lute.[80]



Example 1: Adam de la Halle, *Le jeu de Robin et Marion*.[81]

78 Quote and English translation given in John Stevens, *Words and Music*, 236. Originally taken from Ernst Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo* (Leipzig, 1976), 130.

79 "Devant le duc alout chantant/De Karlemagne e de Rollant,"' reproduced by *Stevens, Words and Music*, 222.

80 This is, as needs be, a gross simplification of our (lack of) understanding of the performance of these works. For a more nuanced summary, readers are encouraged to consult Stevens, *Words and Music*, 222-234.

81 Example from Parker, "Chanson de Geste."

There is significant evidence to support a continuous tradition of improvised song in the intervening centuries between the mediæval *chanson de geste* and the romances of the Renaissance. Indeed, as James Haar suggests in his essay on the Italian improvisatory tradition, such practice may well have been the most widespread and culturally significant musical practice in Italy well into the sixteenth century.[82] The types of extemporaneous performers in Renaissance Italy were many, and they went by a multitude of names that reflected not only the types of materials they performed, but often also the cultural contexts in which they performed them, from the professional musicians retained by the most opulent courts to the wandering musicians who performed raunchy *villotte* in the public squares.[83] We shall here focus on the *cantastorie*, who specialised in the musical recitation of heroic narratives, and form the most important link between the courtly performance of the *chanson de geste* and the poetic recitation that became integrated into the cultural activities of the salons and academies of the Cinquecento.

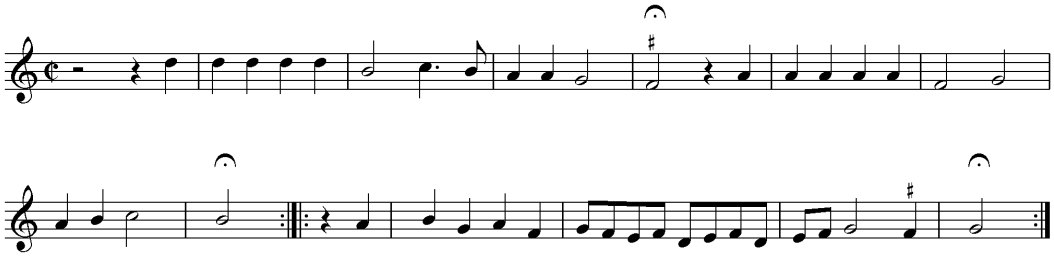
While the music performed by these improvisers was by its very nature not recorded, there are nonetheless several important clues in the written repertoire that suggest some traces of the tradition's influence. The genre of the *frottola* in particular seems to be closely tied to this improvisatory tradition, and several scholars have suggested that the *frottole* and *barzellette* of composers such as Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marchetto Cara, who were active at the intensely musical courts of Mantua and Ferrara, are also reflective of the sort of music performed by Pietrobono del Chitarrino, whose famous ability as an improvisor gained him notoriety far beyond the Este court in the early fifteenth century.[84] Such a link is further reinforced by Ottaviano Petrucci's publication of

82 Haar, "*Improvvisatori*," 76-99.

83 Haar, "*Improvvisatori*," 78.

84 See in particular James Haar, "*Improvvisatori*," 85-87, Prizer, "The Frottola," 3-19", and Nino Pirotta, *Li due Orfei*, 26-36. As a testament to the importance of improvised music with respect to composed polyphony, Pietrobono's earliest recorded salary under Leonello d'Este was 20

textless melodic formulas for the musical performance of various verse forms, including that of a sonnett in his fourth book of *frottole*, published in 1505. I reproduce this melody without its accompaniment as **Ex. 2**.



Example 2: ***Modo di cantar sonetti*** **(Petrucci,** ***Frottole libro quarto*** **[1505], fol. 14)**[85]

James Haar's work on the so-called "arie" of the sixteenth century provides us with one of the best views possible of this improvised recitation through the window of composed polyphony that appears to have been influenced by this genre. Haar has uncovered a number of "arie" in the repertoire of cinquecento polyphony that recur with some frequency, and he suggests that their simple contours and overall resemblance to the formula given above by Petrucci indicate that they form a part of this unwritten tradition.[86] Indeed, many of these citations can be found in settings of stanzas of *ottava rima*, the poetic form used in Boiardo's and Ariosto's romances, and this fact suggests a considerable overlap between the written and unwritten traditions in the settings of these texts in the early sixteenth century. Indeed, the first surviving musical setting of *Orlando furioso*, Bartolomeo Tromboncino's "Queste non son piu lachryme che fore," makes use of just such a formula in its canto melody, as shown in **Ex. 3** below.

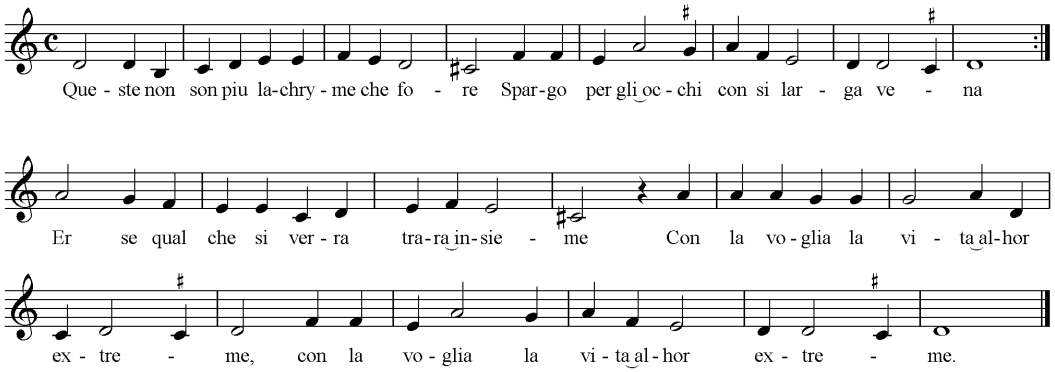
The adoption of formulas for singing ottave continued throughout the sixteenth century. While such formulas are not unique to musical settings of *Orlando furioso*, they are nonetheless quite common, and Haar notes that they

ducats, the same Dufay had received just four years previously. See Lewis Lockwood "de Burzellis, Pietrobono," and "Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara," 115-33.

85 Repr. Haar, "*Improvvisatori*," Ex. 14 (p. 169).

86 Compare Examples IV (p. 44) and V (p. 53) in the next chapter. Haar, *"Improvvisatori,"* 90-91.

were used by multiple cinquecento composers in setting stanzas from the work.[87] Jachet de Berchem is among those composers who used these formulas frequently in his works, often using them to maintain a sense of continuity in longer cycles, such as in his setting of Petrarch's "Alla dolc'ombra" and in his settings of Ariosto's stanzas in the *Capriccio*.[88]



Example 3: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, *Queste non son più lachryme che fore* (RISM 1517[2], fol. 3[v])[89]

Given these strong links between the musical tradition of *Orlando*'s genre, the importance of both improvisatory poetic performance and written polyphony in the academy, and the intersection between unwritten and written traditions in polyphonic settings of epic poetry, it can be of little wonder that settings of *Orlando* proved to be so popular at the Accademia Filarmonica. The particular musical bent of the academy made it the perfect venue for tradition and innovation on both musical and literary fronts to come together in the performance of these madrigals, just as Ariosto's poem was itself an intersection between the centuries-old tradition of chivalric epics and the new philosophy of vernacular style championed by Bembo.

87 Haar, "Arie per cantar stanze," 33.

88 See Examples IV (p. 44), V (p. 53), and VI (p. 53) in the next chapter. Haar, "Modal Organization," 131.

89 Repr. Haar, "*Improvvisatori*," 189.

Ariosto, Estense Patronage, and the Genesis of *Orlando furioso*.

Orlando furioso was begun by Ariosto circa 1505, as a continuation of Matteo Maria Boiardo's *Orlando inammorato*, which the author left unfinished at the time of his death a decade earlier. Both works narrate the story of Charlemagne's knight Roland, whose love for the Lady Angelica eventually drives him mad. Ariosto's choice to follow in Boiardo's footsteps likely had much to do with his employment: just as Boiardo himself had enjoyed substantial Este patronage during the composition of his work, Ariosto had recently entered into the service of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este of Ferrara.[90]

Despite the legendary generosity of the Este family toward artists, their relationship to the celebrated poet was not always cordial, and seldom poetic in nature. Though he spent years in Ferrara in an attempt to establish himself as the court poet, Ariosto was used more often for his considerable diplomatic and administrative skills than his artistic ones, a situation he resented a great deal.[91] From the time of his arrival at court in 1503, his rôle consisted almost entirely of diplomatic missions, most frequently to Rome. In 1517 Ippolito released Ariosto from his service for refusing to accompany him to Hungary, where the cardinal had been assigned by Pope Leo X. Ippolito also revoked the majority of the poet's benefices, which had originally been awarded to him in lieu of a stipend from the court.[92]

After his termination by Ippolito, Duke Alfonso himself took on Ariosto's patronage, though this new position at court amounted more often to reading

90 Ippolito's mother Eleonora of Aragon brought him with her to Ferrara at the time of her marriage to Duke Ercole I in 1473. Boiardo was also, coincidentally, the governor of Ariosto's native Reggio from 1478. For further information on the biographical and artistic relationship between Boiardo and Ariosto, see Marinelli, *Ariosto and Boiardo.*

91 A more complete analysis of Ariosto's relationship with his patrons can be found in Albert Russell Ascoli, *Ariosto's Bitter Harmony*, 281-89. For a recent biography of the poet, see Flamigini and Mangaroni, *Ariosto*. Commentary on the poem is too extensive to thoroughly cite here. Recent monographs include Dal Bianco (*L'endecasillabo del Furioso*), Picchio (*Ariosto e Bacco due*), and Dini (*Ariosto*).

92 Adrian Willært, by contrast, seems to have had the good sense to accompany Ippolito on this mission. For more about Willært's time in Ippolito's service, see Lockwood, "Adrian Willaert."

aloud than it did to writing new material. Ariosto's employment was cancelled yet again in 1520 due to insufficient funds, and the poet was instead posted to Garfagnana, a mountain town on the Appenine frontiers of the Este family's holdings, in order to deal with a group of roving bandits. Whether such an assignment can be regarded as a form of punishment or a mark of trust is difficult to determine: Ariosto clearly did not enjoy his posting and often asked to return home, but the Duke's trust in the poet's governatorial skills was evidently well-placed, as Ariosto's effective leadership is credited with eliminating the problem of the bandits.[93]

Orlando furioso was in essence the fruit of Ariosto's desire to establish himself as the Estense court poet during his long employment under Ippolito—an effort to stabilize his position and to impress his patrons into regarding him as their poet laureate rather than as a bureaucrat. That the work was intended to ingratiate Ariosto with the Este family is evidenced not only by its official dedication to Cardinal Ippolito, but also by Ariosto's inclusion of the story of Ruggiero and Bradamante, mythical forebears of the Estense dynasty. Published in Ferrara by Giovanni Mazocco dal Bondeno in 1516 at Ariosto's own expense, it was also the first of the poet's works to see print.[94]

While the poem does not seem to have secured Ariosto's fortunes with either Ippolito or Duke Alfonso, the poet did at least manage to ingratiate himself with their sister Isabella. Ariosto performed fragments of *Orlando furioso* for Isabella d'Este when he visited the Mantuan court in 1507. Isabella was so pleased with the quality of Ariosto's verse that she immediately wrote to her brother Ippolito to express her delight.[95] Whether Bartolomeo Tromboncino came to know Ariosto's poem first through his patroness Isabella or through their

93 Flamigni and Mangaroni, *Ariosto*, 206-09. One is tempted to wonder if these bandits were vanquished by the sword or the poet's mighty pen.

94 Dorigatti, *Orlando furioso*, xxi-xxii.

95 Regan, "Ariosto's Threshold Patron," 50.

common presence at the Ferrarese court in the years that followed, it is clear from the subtle differences between Tromboncino's text and Ariosto's first published edition that the composer was working with an earlier version of the text.[96] Tromboncino's setting may be the only written example of the improvisatory recitation tradition at the Ferrarese court, though the tradition of similar settings of earlier poets such as Boiardo and Pulci is clear.[97]

Monument though it was, *Orlando* does not appear to have ingratiated the poet enough with Ippolito to remain in his employ, nor does it appear that the poem made much of an immediate impact on the cinquecento literary scene. In the introduction to his recent critical edition of the 1516 publication, Marco Dorigatti notes that this initial version was quickly forgotten, and ultimately eclipsed by Ariosto's revised edition, to which he dedicated the last decade of his life.[98] This final edition of 1532 quickly became the defining literary monument of the Cinquecento. Its immense popularity is attested by its 155 editions in that century alone, a figure more than double that of the century's next best-seller, Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.[99] Even a conservative estimate of 500 copies per print run results in 77,500 copies sold, a respectable number even today. While the initial edition of 1516 did not play much of a part in *Orlando furioso*'s immense success, it nonetheless serves as a useful jumping-off point for understanding just what changes and literary values were involved in the poem's ascendancy.

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96 Published by Antico in *Canzoni sonetti strambotti et frottole, IV* (RISM 1517/2). The verse in question is Orlando's lament, "Queste non son più lacrime, che fuore" from Canto 23. Both this canto and Canto 32 were extremely popular among sixteenth-century composers, for reasons to be discussed later in this work.

97 Here I rely on the assumption that the performance of frottole and strambotti as solo songs with lute accompaniment (as evidenced by their frequent intabulation and often haphazard text setting in the lower voices of polyphonic settings) bears some resemblance to the unwritten tradition of improvised song to lute accompaniment. James Haar concurs on this point, noting that differences between Tromboncino's text and the publication text of 1516 include a number fo differences that may indicate an earlier draft of the poem. See Haar, "Arie per cantar stanze," 33 and 40.

98 Dorigatti, *Orlando furioso*, vii.

99 Dorigatti, *Orlando furioso*, xxi. *Arcadia* was nonetheless an important source for musical texts, especially in the 1580s. See Gerbino, "The Madrigal and its Outcasts."

The Poetics of Perfection: Revision and Reception of *Orlando furioso*

The revision and publication history of *Orlando furioso* is in a number of ways reminiscent of another seminal work of Italian literature, Alessandro Manzoni's *I promessi sposi*, first published some three centuries later. Like Manzoni, Ariosto felt compelled to revise and expand the initial version of his work. A new edition appeared in 1521, but the rushed timeframe of its publication allowed for few revisions.[100] Over the next several years, Ariosto produced eleven additional cantos, six of which he elected to include in the final edition, and five of which were published posthumously by his son. In addition to the composition of new material, Ariosto also felt it necessary to alter the poem's language. As mentioned previously, Pietro Bembo had already effectively established a standard for the Tuscan language *Prose della volgar lingua* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1525), which was promoted as the idiom of choice for the composition of vernacular literary works in Italy.

As the prestige and influence of Bembo and his circle grew, it would quickly have become clear to Ariosto that his original work, with its particularly Padanian[101] spellings and turns of phrase, would have had little chance of success in a militantly Tuscanised literary environment. It is thus little wonder that Ariosto went to Bembo himself in order to, in the famous but apocryphal words of Manzoni, "lavare i panni nell'Arno" and purge them from the imperfections of the Ferrarese language. The 1532 edition, bolstered by the addition of the new cantos and the infusion of the Florentine idiom, quickly became a success, although Ariosto himself did not live to see the heights to which the work would soar in the years following its publication.[102]

100 The 1521 edition took only a matter of weeks to print, as compared to six months for the first edition and eight for the 1532 edition. This works out to typesetting and printing approximately one folio per day. See Dorigatti, *Orlando furioso*, xxii-xxiii.

101 That is to say, of the Po Valley.

102 Ariosto died a year later in 1533, and was seemingly still unhappy with the quality of the edition. His brother Galasso wrote to Bembo the same year, certain that Ludovico had been "ill-served and murdered by this last printing (mal servito in questa ultima stanza et assassinato)."

While the literary merit of Ariosto's work was certainly discussed among humanists, literary theorists, and academicians in the years following its publication, no critical evaluation of the work survives from its first 17 years in print. That discussion of the work was widespread by mid-century can be ascertained from the first surviving discussion of the poem, Simone Fornari's *Spositione sopra l'Orlando furioso* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549), published in response to what were undoubtedly widespread criticisms of Ariosto's narrative style. Bernard Weinberg refers to these attacks as the "prehistoric" episode of the debate, since they cannot now be consulted directly.[103] Based on Fornari's defences we can be reasonably certain that most of the attacks were made based on the Aristotelian doctrines of linear plot and verisimilitude: Ariosto's narrative was regarded as too inconsistent and episodic, and the actions and events too marvellous to be true.[104]

Fornari's views of *Orlando* do not, however, seem to be the norm for cinquecento critics. The most fruitful and detailed discussions of Ariosto's work are instead to be found in the writings of two mid-century Ferrarese critics, Giovambattista Giraldi Cintio (1504-1573) and Giovanni Battista Pigna (1530-1575). It is from Giraldi's and Pigna's discussions of the work that we can get the best picture of the sorts of questions and issues addressed in the literary discourse of the academies in the period surrounding Ruffo's, Nasco's, and Berchem's compositional activity in Verona.

Giraldi and Pigna: A Picture of Literary Discourse in the Ferrarese Academy

Giraldi and Pigna had much in common beyond their given names. They were both Ferrarese by birth and attached to the Este court in administrative

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Delle letteri da diversi Re, et Principi, et Cardinali, at altri huomini dotti a Mons. Pietro Bembo scritte (Venice: Francesco Sansovino, 1560), reprinted in Dorigatti, *Orlando furioso*, xxii-xxiii.

103 Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, 954.

104 Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, 955.

capacities. Furthermore, both held teaching positions in rhetoric at Ferrara's university and belonged to the city's short-lived Accademia dei Filareti ("lovers of virtue") in the time preceding the publication of their respective treatises on romances.[105] Two scholars with such similar credentials would naturally have felt themselves to be in academic competition with one another, a situation that was certainly exacerbated by the fact that Giraldi, many years Pigna's senior, had taught the latter to write "in prosa latina e in volgar rima" while he was still a student at the university.[106]

Indeed, it is precisely this teacher-student relationship that Giraldi appears to have abused when entrusted with an early manuscript copy of Pigna's literary treatise *I romanzi* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1554), which Pigna claimed to have begun while recovering from an illness in 1547, at the age of 17. Giraldi evidently used Pigna's manuscript as a basis for his own treatise, the *Discorso intorno al comporte dei romanzi* (Venice: Giolitti, 1554), which effectively beat Pigna to the punch.[107] Giraldi seems to have covered his tracks by asking Pigna to write a letter enumerating the most common attacks on *Orlando furioso*, which he then published along with his own response in a pamphlet fraudulently antedated to 1548.[108] Giraldi's treatise, carrying the equally false date of 29 April 1549, could thereby be considered an elaboration of his earlier public letter to Pigna. This not only provided a convenient alibi against any charges of piracy, but it also allowed Giraldi to counter them with his own accusations of academic dishonesty on the part of his former student.

Considering the fact that the two scholars both worked together in the university and socialised together in the academy, however, it is unlikely that the

105 Pigna, *I romanzi*, xii-xiii and Giraldi Cinzio, *De' romanzi*, vii. For additional details on the *filareti*, see Maylender, *Stora delle accademie*, vol. 2, 369-72.

106 Pigna, *I romanzi*, 9.

107 Though the two prints carry the same publication year, Pigna's accusation of plagiarism in the introduction to his own work (p. 9) seems to indicate that Giraldi's treatise beat his to print.

108 Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, 958-59.

great similarities between their works are due entirely to plagiarism--it also seems plausible that both Giraldi's and Pigna's treatises reflect arguments that they routinely used in academic settings when discussing Ariosto's poem. Indeed, considering the number of references and allusions Pigna makes to his erudite friends, colleagues, and fellow academicians,[109] it is likely that both treatises contain the ideas and arguments of many in the Ferrarese literary community. It is even possible that the subsequent controversy over intellectual property is precisely what led to the dissolution of the *filareti*, though this cannot be substantiated by documentary evidence.

Polemics aside, both treatises approach the problem of *Orlando furioso* in a way that departs from Fornari's treatise of 1549. While Fornari attempted to fit Ariosto's square peg into Aristotle's round hole by calling it a classical epic in the vein of Homer and Vergil, both Pigna and Giraldi recognised that *Orlando furioso* belonged rather to the mediæval genre of the chivalric epic, which Fornari and his contemporaries termed the "romance." Such a distinction allowed the poem to be approached on its own terms, without the leaps of logic or literary distortions that Fornari's analysis required. The distinction between the genres is summarised by Giraldi as follows: while the classical epic recounts "una sola azione di un uomo solo" ("a single deed by a single man"), the romance recounts "molte [azioni], non solo di uno, ma di molti" ("many deeds, not only of one man, but of many").[110] Pigna refines this statement by affirming that "...i romanzi si dan bene a più fatti di più uomini, ma che un uomo specialmente li propongono, il quale sia sovra tutti gli altri celebrato." ("...romances lend themselves well to the many deeds of many men, but it is one man that they propose in particular, who is celebrated above all others"). [111] Needless to say, the

109 Pointed out explicitly by Ritrovato in his notes. See Pigna, *I romanzi,* xv.

110 Giraldi, *De' romanzi*, 16. A thorough discussion of these generic distinctions, including Giraldi's and Pigna's thoughts on the matter, can be found in Williams, "Epic Unity."

111 Pigna, *I romanzi,* 30.

title character plays this rôle in Ariosto's poem, though Ruggiero comes in a close second, as befits his position as the mythical patriarch of the Estense dynasty.

While the discussion of overall narrative structure may not seem to have immediate implications for musical settings that only treat individual *ottave*, the theoretical rationale for Ariosto's episodic structure does. Both Giraldi and Pigna were stalwart defenders of Ariosto's tendency to flit capriciously between his many storylines, precisely the tendency that critics of the work found to be disruptive and contrary to Aristotle's precepts of unified action.[112] They justify this by appealing to the idea of the canto: such "capricious" changes from one story to another serve to entertain and delight the audience for whom the poet is singing. Giraldi then attempts to make use of the cultural cachet of the classical epic by tying in the cantos of the romance with the books of the epic:

> Perchè, siccome era costume appresso i Greci ed appresso i Latini...di cantar colla lira ne'conviti e alle mense dei gran maestri i gloriosi fatti e le grandi imprese degli uomini virtuosi e forti; così i nostri Italiani, seguendo quel costume antico (parlo dei migliori poeti) hanno sempre finto di cantare dinnanzi ai principi ed a nobile brigata i lor poemi. E questo costume tanto oltre passò appresso i Greci, che i cantori loro, i quali si chiamano Rapsodi, non altrimenti divisero le composizioni di Omero, secondo alcuni, per farle atte ad essere cantate, che facessero i poeti scenici le lor favole in atti o forse i nostri poeti i loro romanzi in canti ... Da questa usanza dunque greca e latina hanno tratto i nostri Italiani questa loro divisione in canti ... E ciascun canto tanto oltre si stende, quanto si può acconciamente dire in una volta, e avere senza fastidio l'attenzione di coloro, ai quali questi poeti fingono di voltare i loro ragionimenti.
>
> Because, as it was a custom with the Greeks and the Romans...to sing with the lyre of virtuous and strong men, so our Italians, following that ancient custom (and here I speak of the best poets), have always feigned to sing their poems in front of princes and noble company. And the custom was also among the Greeks that their

112 Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, 958.

> singers, called Rhapsodes, divided the compositions of Homer for no other reason (as some would have it) than to make them apt for singing, just as the playwrights divided their stories into acts or perhaps as our poets divide their Romances into canti [...] Thus from this Greek and Roman habit have our Italians taken their division into canti [...] And each canto is just the length that one can conveniently recite at one time, without boring those to whom the poet pretends to direct his arguments.[113]

Interesting is Giraldi's take on the poet's interaction with the audience. The poet, as he writes, is merely *pretending* to recite his verse for a given company: the paper in front of him becomes the virtual audience, as his pen stands in for his voice. The "best poets," he maintains, will always address this fictional audience directly, as was traditional practice among the *cantastorie*.[114] He contrasts this with the style of Homer, Vergil, and their modern imitators, who might address their exhortations to the muses, but never to the audience:

> E di qui è venuto che i nostri poeti, i quali hanno così le loro composizioni divise, voltano spesse volte il loro parlare a quelle persone dinanzi alle quali fingono di cantare. Cosa che non sarebbe convenevole ai poeti greci, latini, e volgari che componessero nel modo nel quale ha composto Virgilio ed Omero. Perchè essi sono narratori da sè, e non hanno questo rispetto, se non in quanto introducono alcuno che narri i suoi errori, ovvero i suoi fatti, o quelli degli altri, come si vede in Omero di Ulisse, e di Enea in Virgilio.
>
> And hence it has come that our poets, who thus divide their compositions [into canti] often direct their speech to those persons in front of whom they pretend to sing. This would not be appropriate for the Greek, Latin, and vernacular poets that compose in the manner of Vergil and Homer, because [these poets] are simply narrators and do not exhibit this trait, except when they introduce

113 Giraldi, *De' romanzi*, 8-9. The English translation by Henry L. Snuggs (*Giraldi Cinthio on Romances*) obscures the meaning of this passage somewhat by obeying the original syntax and punctuation; I have accordingly provided my own.

114 Haar, "*Improvvisatori*," 82-83.

> someone that narrates his own errors or deeds [such as Æneas recounting his story to Dido and her company], or those of others, as Odysseus does in Homer and Æneas does in Vergil.[115]

Pigna agrees that the division into canti has its origins in an oral tradition of poetic recitation. Curiously, he claims such recitation to be a thing of the past, though it is rather likely that Pigna would have heard verses of Ariosto being sung daily by itinerent musicians in Ferrara's *piazze*. Pigna is, however, adamant that Ariosto's narrative structure is effective precisely because he divides the work in such a way as to delight his "fictional" audience. The narrative's efficacy is thus contingent upon the poet's ability to tie the public to the experience of listening, whether real or imagined. Indeed, Pigna prefers Ariosto's "errant" narration to the more linear nature of the classical epics, and notes that if a reader finds a canto to be confusing, it is only because it is really intended to be heard and not read:

> Ma diremo di questo romancio che vien a essere un animale sproporzionato? Dico che meglio è ch'egli in grandezza pecchi che in picciolezza, essendo da più un gigante che un pigmeo, ed essendo la beltà più nell'esser grande consiste che ben lineato. E se in un guardo tutto minutamente compreso non sarà, ciò non fa nulla, percioché non per li lettori ma per gli ascoltanti fu da principio composto; e chi udiva quella sol parte capir si contentava che per quel tempo cantata gli era, e poi quell'altra che un'altra volta alle orecchie perveniva. E un simil auditore costoro volea, come Didone Iopa e Alcinoo Demodoco dopo mangiare, tal che non potea tutto un soggetto di tutto un libro in così poco spazio intendere. Un canto intiero è quanto basta a chi canta e a chi ode; e se tutto un canto è talmente confuso che da un capo all'altro trascorrer con la mente non si possa, nell'errore caderà che dell'animale abbiam detto, nel qual non si cade veggendosi che esso canto agevolmente in un subito ci è manifesto.

115Giraldi, *De' romanzi*, 9-10.

> But will we say that this Romance has become a monstrous animal? I say that it is better that [the Romance] commit sins of grandeur rather than sins of smallness: for it is better to be a giant than a pygmy, and beauty consists more in having a grand scope than in being a narrow line. And if at one glance everything is not perfectly understood, it doesn't matter. For it was not for readers but rather for listeners that it was originally composed, and whoever heard one part was content that it was being sung to him, just as [he was content] another time, when another part reached his ears. And just as Dido wished to hear Iopa and Alcinous wished to hear Demodocus after their meals, a similar listener wished to hear [these mediæval poets], though he could not comprehend the content of an entire book in such limited time. One whole canto is enough for the singer and the listener. And if a whole canto is so confusing that the mind cannot get from one end of it to the other, the animal we have named above is not in error, as it does not so happen that it is easily made manifest to us just by looking at it.[116]

Such an attitude on Pigna's part begs the question: how can narrative structure in contemporary literature be justified by appeal to a supposedly "defunct" performative tradition? Clearly it was the agenda of both Pigna and Giraldi to defend Ariosto against his detractors by any means possible, but it is unlikely that Pigna in particular would have gone to such lengths in explaining the Romance in terms of musical performance unless he believed that such an argument would carry weight with his intended public.

Pigna's comments on the oral nature of the romance, along with his and Giraldi's common history for the evolution of its structure in cantos, demonstrate a vivid awareness of the history of the genre that belies the flippant tone with which they are delivered. While both authors' agendas certainly include the validation of *Orlando*'s structure by appeal to the cultural cachet of the Hellenist rhapsodic tradition, both are acutely aware that Ariosto's work lies outside of the epic genre, and unlike their predecessor Fornari they have no qualms about

116 Pigna, *I romanzi*, 49-50. Translation mine.

saying so. Both authors seem to have been aware of the long history of the Romance as a performative genre, and their audience must at the very least have been aware of the tradition's survival in the art of the *cantastorie*, so why bother pretending?

Pigna's admonition that uncomprehending silent readers should approach the text as if it were read aloud may well have been intended with a wink and a nod, a tongue-in-cheek jab at those critics so preoccupied with their Aristotle as to forget what everyone knew about the romance even from its earliest days: the poem may have been written down, but it was meant to be experienced as if the poet were there in the room, intoning his verse for the entertainment of his public. He indicates that the poet has become a virtual orator through the written medium, and that the reader of a romance should regard himself as a member of the virtual noble company to which the poet directs his frequent asides. In doing so, the reader becomes a virtual listener, and thus engages with the work in an auditory rather than visual way.[117]

There is thus no reason to think that either Giraldi or Pigna meant that Ariosto's poetry was never performed aloud (this was indeed not the case), or even that the majority of the poem's audience would have encountered it in written form.[118] It is instead a reminder to the literary scholar, the precise public for Giraldi's and Pigna's treatises, that Ariosto's work belonged to a living tradition and had to be judged as such. Giraldi and Pigna are highlighting a tension between the oral and written tradition that was made manifest in Ariosto's poem: *Orlando furioso* is clearly a work in a genre intended for the public sphere of recitation, but also being consumed in a private sphere of

117 Precisely the opposite of *Augenmusik.* In a way, Pigna seems to be anticipating modern developments in cognitive linguistics, which have shown that the brain processes spoken and written speech differently. Stephen Pinker has cogently proven this point in his discussion of the nearly-unintelligible Watergate transcripts in *The Language Instinct,* 222-24, but the difference is clear enough to anyone that has attended an academic conference.

118 After all, a large proportion of a *cantastorie*'s audience in a public *piazza* would have been illiterate.

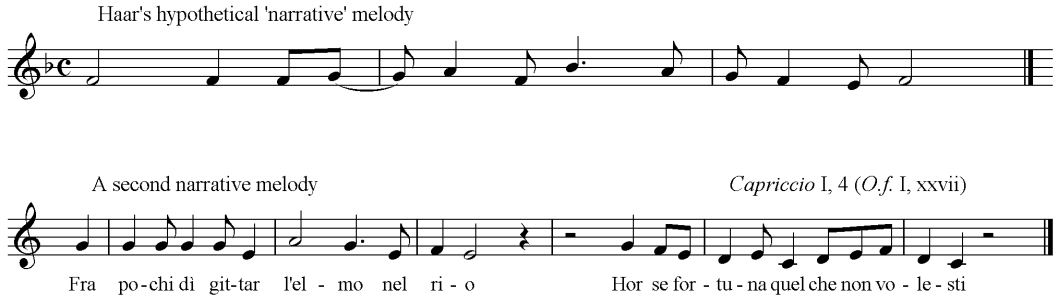
reading.

This tension between recitation and reading is also reflected in the tension between public improvisation and the performance of composed polyphony, which was by its nature an individual experience both for the composer and for the singers reading each part. The oral and written traditions thus intersect and influence one another in Ariosto's text, in the academy, and, as we are about to see, in the musical settings of *Orlando* that were composed with the academic environment in mind.

Chapter III: *Orlando musicato*

The rhapsodic tradition of poetic recitation began to be absorbed into polyphony during the 1540s and '50s. James Haar has successfully identified a number of formulaic, recitational melodies that repeatedly appear in settings of Orlando by various composers toward the middle of the century, including around a half dozen used repeatedly by Berchem in his *Capriccio*.[119] Haar is careful in noting that these "arie," as he terms them, are not necessarily unique to settings of Ariosto or even of *ottava rima*, but concludes that they are at the very least well-suited to the poem and at times carry an appropriately heroic air.[120]

Haar's suggestion that these were the same sorts of melodies used by the *cantastorie* of the 1520s, '30s, and '40s seems likely,[121] and even their resemblance to the simple recitation formulæ from Petrucci (**Ex. 2**) and Tromboncino (**Ex. 3**) in the previous chapter is striking.



Example 4: Two "narrative melodies" individuated by Haar in Berchem's *Capriccio*[122]

Haar terms these melodies "arie" in reference to the "madrigali ariosi" printed by Barré in the 1560s, which share the melodic stereotypes described above along with a flexible "parlando" rhythm and relatively simple homophonic texture. Taking Barré's application of this term to mean that these

119 See Haar, "Arie per cantar stanze," 41, "The Capriccio of Giachet Berchem," 134, and "The 'Madrigale arioso.'"

120 Haar, "Arie per cantar stanze," 41.

121 The practice was evidently so widespread during this period that, according to Pigna, Ariosto himself altered his verses after hearing them performed aloud in the piazza. See Pigna, *Scontri de' luoghi* (1554), cited by Haar, "Arie per cantar stanze," 34.

122 Haar, "The *Capriccio* of Giachet Berchem," 145-46.

melodies were themselves considered "arie" (thus Haar's "Arie per cantar stanze"), he notes that Barré is likely alluding to the practice of improvisatory singing ("cantare all'aria," as opposed to "sul libro") practised by the likes of Pietrobono. In this sense the "madrigale arioso" refers to a collection of stereotypes and formulæ that is firmly rooted in a long-standing improvisatory tradition of verse recitation and only recently co-opted by composers of polyphony.

That the tradition of singing "all'aria" continued to be practised both at court in the academy in the sixteenth century is beyond doubt, as the literary examples from Castiglione and Doni discussed in Chapter I make clear. A remaining mystery is how and why such formulæ came to be used by the madrigalists in order to set narrative poetry. I would argue that the academy's position in between the public and private spheres and the academicians' literary activities provided the perfect environment for the composer to experiment with a musical *lezione* of the poem that took on features of both the written and unwritten traditions.

While those listeners who heard a *cantastorie*'s rendition of a poem could hear only one person's words at a time, readers of major poetic works such as Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and Dante's *Divina commedia* were long used to the tradition of surrounding a source text with explanatory glosses, a practice which extended back to the Middle Ages. These glosses generally served to give background information, summarise the action, explain metaphors, and list the references in the primary text to other works. This tradition of commentary was particularly strong for the works of Dante Alighieri, and the following reproduction (**Illust. III**) of the first page of the *Inferno* from a contemporary edition offers an excellent example of this tradition.[123]

123 For a comprehensive study on Dante commentaries see Deborah Parker, *Commentary and Ideology*. For a study of printed marginalia in English works see Slights, *Managing Readers*.

DELLA

COMEDIA DI DANTE

ALIGIERI PRIMO CANTO

DELLA PRIMA CANTICA

DETTA INFERNO.

ALLEGORIA.

PEr lo mezzo del camino s'intende la metà della uita nostra. Per la selua oscura il uitio, nel qual l'huomo uigorosamente preuale in quell'età. Per gl'animali, i tre uitij capitali, cioè, l'auaritia, la superbia, & la lussuria, i quali non lasciano che noi possiamo salire il monte della virtù ch'è difficile & aspro. Per Virgilio mandato da Lucia si comprende la dottrina dataci da Dio, accioche col suo mezzo conosciamo, & n'allegnamo da' uitij, & che con la sua guida s'indirizziamo a buona uia, secondo che possono le forze nostre.

ARGOMENTO.

HAuendo Dante smarrita la uia diritta in una oscurissima selua, mostra di trouar Virgilio, dal quale, raccomandatosi a lui, fu tolto in protettione, & difendendolo dalle fiere che lo haueuano assalito, promette di fargli ueder l'Inferno, & il Purgatorio, & che in ultimo sarebbe poi guidato da Beatrice nel Paradiso.

NEL MEZZO del camin di nostra uita
Mi ritrouai per una selua oscura;
Che la diritta via era smarrita;
Et quanto a dir qual'era, è cosa dura
Esta selua seluaggia, & aspra, & forte;
Che nel pensier rinoua la paura.
Tant'è amara, che poco è piu morte,
Ma per trattar del ben ch'i ui trouai,
Dirò de l'altre cose, ch'io v'ho scorte.

Illustration III: First page of Dante's *Inferno* with marginal glosses.[124]

Just as an editor built his glosses around the written verses that represented the poem's orality, so too could a composer like Berchem build his own musical glosses around the pre-existing melodic material from the recitational tradition. I would argue furthermore that Berchem's musical glosses serve the same purpose as the glosses found in the textual tradition: they help to highlight the poet's use of imagery and metaphor and elucidate them musically. They can also, in a manner which departs from the classical tradition of glossing and commentary, help to bring out the psychological drama present in the text

124 Dante Alighieri, *La divina commedia* (Venice: Giovanni Battista & Melchior Sessa, 1564). Image courtesy of the University of Notre Dame, *Renaissance Dante in Print: 1472-1629* (accessed 20 August 2008) <http://www.italnet.nd.edu/Dante/index.html>.

through modal inflection, texture, dissonance, and rhythmic motion.[125]

An important thing to bear in mind about these musical glosses is that they, like their analogous textual glosses, rely on a written medium of transmission. The composer, like the commentator, inserts his own voice (in the composer's case three or more) into the work, and this new material can only be interpreted through the act of *reading*. A significant difference, however, lies in the manner in which each form of commentary is read. While the reader of the textual commentary is likely to be silent and alone, the reader of the polyphonic gloss cannot be so: the musical *lezione* requires the participation of multiple collaborative readers. It is only in a social environment, like that of the academy, that such works can be read and appreciated.[126]

Thus the tension between reading and performance that we find in Pigna's and Giraldi's treatises can be effectively resolved in the academic environment when such polyphony is performed. The reader becomes at once the narrator and the listener, reading his own version of the text while simultaneously taking in the different angles on the text presented by his fellow singers.

This solution to the spoken/silent problem highlighted by Pigna in his treatise, however, necessitated a departure from the traditional segmentation into cantos that both theorists rely on in their arguments. While Giraldi and Pigna maintained that the canto was the ideal amount of material to be read or sung aloud by a single performer to his audience, the prospect of performing an entire canto in a polyphonic setting would have been prohibitive for reasons both of time and resources. Just as the pace of a mass slows with every gradation along the line from spoken word to chant to polyphony, so would any polyphonic

125 For a discussion of such a use of mode in Monteverdi's "Ahi, dolente partita," see McClary, *Modal Subjectivities*, 24-37.

126 This is consistent with Stanley Boorman's conclusion that the main market for madrigal prints must have been those who sang from them: see Boorman, "Early Music Printing."

performance of a romance have been much slower than a spoken or musical recitation by a single performer.

Berchem's solution to this problem in his *Capriccio* is quite elegant: rather than setting entire cantos, he instead builds a number of cycles around particular dramatic events and speeches.[127] These cycles, which range from two to seven madrigals in length, are then contextualised for the listener/performer by means of short headers in each part. Dramatic context is most often provided for the first piece in a set, with many of the rest being marked as continuations (e.g. "continua Bradamante," see **Illust. IV**) since her lament spans multiple settings. Such a cycle, in which the emotional high points of a particular canto would be dramatised musically, could well have formed an important part of the literary activities of an organisation like the Accademia Filarmonica. Indeed, the adoption of the stylistic tropes of narrative improvisation into the polyphony may even suggest that these pieces were intended to be inserted at the appropriate points in a solo recitation of an entire canto, or as a complement to the day's literary discussions.[128]

While no records indicate that this was the case, it is nonetheless telling that Berchem's, Nasco's, and Ruffo's settings of Ariosto intersect in the cantos with the most literary meat: the twenty-third, where the titular hero goes mad with despair, and the thirty-second, where Bradamante laments the faithlessness of Ruggiero.[129] That these passages were an important source of literary discussion and analysis can also be ascertained from the extended glosses that Fornari provides for them in his own treatise, and we shall examine Berchem's,

127 James Haar has individuated these cycles through their common modalities and laid them out on a convenient table. See Haar, "The Cappriccio of Giachet Berchem," 132-33.

128 A similar approach was taken by Ensemble Daedalus in the only modern recording of works from Berchem's Capriccio: selected madrigals are joined together by the recitations of a traditional southern Italian *cantastorie*. C.f. Ensemble Daedalus, "La favola di Orlando," notes by Roberto Festa (Beert, Belgium: Accent, 1995), ACC 95112 D.

129 Berchem's other cycles also narrate major dramatic points in the story. See Haar, "The Capriccio of Giachet Berchem," 132-33.

Ruffo's, and Nasco's own musical glosses.

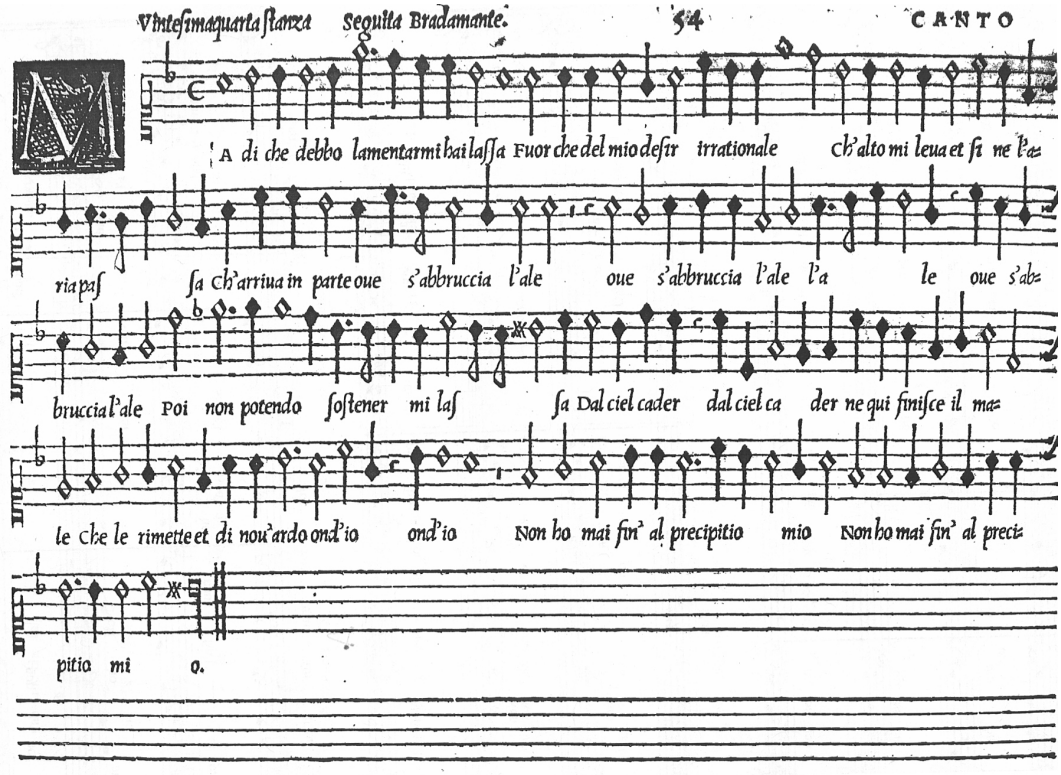


Illustration IV: The canto part for Berchem's "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi." Note the caption, which reads "Seguita Bradamante."

In the sections that follow, I will discuss in detail one episode from each canto where multiple composers' settings overlap. In the case of Canto XXXII, I will first discuss Jachet de Berchem's cyclic setting of Bradamante's lament, and then compare Berchem's take on the second ("Sa questo altier") and fourth ("Ma di che debbo lamantarmi") stanzas of the lament to two free-standing settings of the same stanzas by Vincenzo Ruffo. These two incidences of parallel settings are particularly fortutious examples, as the first ("Sa questo altier") will demonstrate the different sort of musical rhetoric that Ruffo employed for larger-scale public settings, while the second will show the finer differences in interpretation that appear in two settings of the same text intended for the same performance context. Following this discussion I will compare another of Ruffo's settings, "Liete piante, verd'herbe," to a setting of the same text by Jan Nasco. For

complete transcriptions of the Berchem settings, please see the **Appendix**.

Where to Place the Blame: Berchem's *Lamento di Bradamante*

As they were the mythical ancestors of the intensely musical Estense dynasty, it is little wonder that vignettes featuring Ruggiero and Bradamante were popular with composers throughout the sixteenth century. Ariosto invested Bradamante in particular with a number of spectacular soliloquies in the second half of the poem, perhaps with the intention of pleasing his patrons by attributing to their mythical forebears a particularly fine way with words, not to mention Bradamante's enduring, if trying, faithfulness in her lover.

Toward the beginning of Canto XXXII, Bradamante's frustration boils over into an emotional outburst wherein she accuses Ruggiero of ceasing to love her (Stanzas I & II). This is the only explanation that comes to her mind for his extended and unexplained absence, despite a prophecy given by Merlin predicting their eventual happy union. She appeals helplessly to Amor to aid her (Stanza III), and then compares her own suffering to that of Icarus, whose wax wings melted upon flying too close to the sun (Stanza IV). The difference between her and Icarus, Bradamante maintains, is that the boy was lucky enough to fall to his death but once, while Bradamante's own pangs of love trap her in an eternal cycle of suffering (Stanza IV; 8: “Non ho mai fine al precipizio mio”). Then, in a moment of introspection, she realises that she herself has had a rôle to play in her own unhappiness, for she has opened her heart to desire and allowed her senses to be overcome by Ruggiero's charms (Stanza V). Berchem ends the cycle with Bradamante's realisation that she cannot truly blame herself for her misfortune: for all the pain, she is nonetheless lucky to be able to bask in Ruggiero's reflected glory (Stanza VI). The text of the lament as set by Berchem is as follows:

- Dunque fia ver (dicea) che mi convegna
cercare un che mi fugge e mi s'asconde?
Dunque debbo prezzare un che mi sdegna?
Debbo pregar chi mai non mi risponde?
Patirò che chi m'odia, il cor mi tegna?
un che sì stima sue virtù profonde,
che bisogno sarà che dal ciel scenda
immortal dea che 'l cor d'amor gli accenda.

Is it true then (she said) that I must
seek one who flees and hides from me?
Am I thus to prize one who disdains me?
To entreat one who never answers me?
Shall I suffer one who hates me to hold
my heart? One who so esteems his
profound virtues that he'd need an
Immortal goddess to kindle his heart?

Sa questo altier ch'io l'amo e ch'io l'adoro,
né mi vuol per amante né per serva.
Il crudel sa che per lui spasmo e moro,
e dopo morte a darmi aiuto serva.
E perché io non gli narri il mio martoro
atto a piegar la sua voglia proterva,
da me s'asconde, come aspide suole,
che, per star empio, il canto udir non vuole.

This haughty man knows I adore him,
yet wants me neither as lover nor slave.
This cruel man knows I throb and die for
him, but aids me only after my death.
And so that I can't tell him of my agony
which might bend his wayward will,
he hides from me like the asp, which,
to retain its poison, shuns song.

Deh, ferma, Amor, costui che così sciolto
dinanzi al lento mio correr s'affretta;
o tornami nel grado onde m'hai tolto
quando né a te né ad altri era suggetta!
Deh, come è il mio sperar fallace e stolto,
ch'in te con prieghi mai pietà si metta;
che ti diletti, anzi ti pasci e vivi
di trar dagli occhi lacrimosi rivi!

Oh, halt, Love, that one who so freely
hurries ahead of my plodding run;
oh return me to the state you took from
me—I was not subject to you or anyone!
Alas, how foolish and vain is my hope to
ever instil pity in you with my prayers;
for you enjoy, indeed you feast and live
by drawing rivers of tears from my eyes!

Ma di che debbo lamentarmi, ahi lassa
fuor che del mio desire irrazionale?
ch'alto mi leva, e sì ne l'aria passa,
ch'arriva in parte ove s'abbrucia l'ale;
poi non potendo sostener, mi lassa
dal ciel cader: né qui finisce il male;
che le rimette, e di nuovo arde: ond'io
non ho mai fine al precipizio mio.

But what can I blame, alas, aside from
my own irrational desire, which lifts me
up high and passes me through the air
until I arrive to where my wings burn;
and not able to support me, then let me
fall from the sky. Nor does the sorrow
end here, for my wings return and burn
anew, so there is no end to my falling.

Anzi via più che del disir, mi deggio
di me doler, che sì gli apersi il seno;
onde cacciata ha la ragion di seggio,
ed ogni mio poter può di lui meno.
Quel mi trasporta ognor di male in peggio,
né lo posso frenar, che non ha freno:

But even more than my desire, I should
blame myself, that I opened my heart to
it, where it chased out all reason from its
seat, and all my power is weak before it.
It takes me constantly from bad to worse,
but I can't rein it in, as it has no reins:

e mi fa certa che mi mena a morte, perch'aspettando il mal noccia più forte.	and it assures me it leads to my death, for expectation of suffering augments it.
Deh perché voglio anco di me dolermi? Ch'error, se non d'amarti, unqua commessi? Che maraviglia, se fragili e infermi feminil sensi fur subito oppressi? Perché dovev'io usar ripari e schermi che la somma beltà non mi piacessi, gli alti sembianti e le sagge parole? Misero è ben chi veder schiva il sole!	But why should I even blame myself? What error, if not to love, did I commit? What wonder, if my fragile and weak womanly senses were overwhelmed? Why should I have shielded myself, so that your great beauty, noble presence, and wise words would not please me? Miserable indeed are those who shy away from the sun![130]

In the analysis that follows, I will first examine the overall structure of Berchem's setting of the lament, paying special attention to the way modal inflection is used to reflect the composer's attitude toward the text and the fictional narrator, and I will then use Berchem's setting to create a rough inventory of the sorts of compositional techniques he uses for more localised glosses.[131]

Berchem's setting of the cycle is unified both by its tonal type (C_1, C_3, C_4, F_4, one flat, G final) and by his use of "arie."[132] Four of the settings (Stanzas I, II, III, & V) begin with the same G-Bb ascending minor third in the canto line. James Haar has connected this figure to the "'Roman' chant form of the first mode," and notes that it is particularly common in Berchem's G-Dorian pieces.[133] In the case

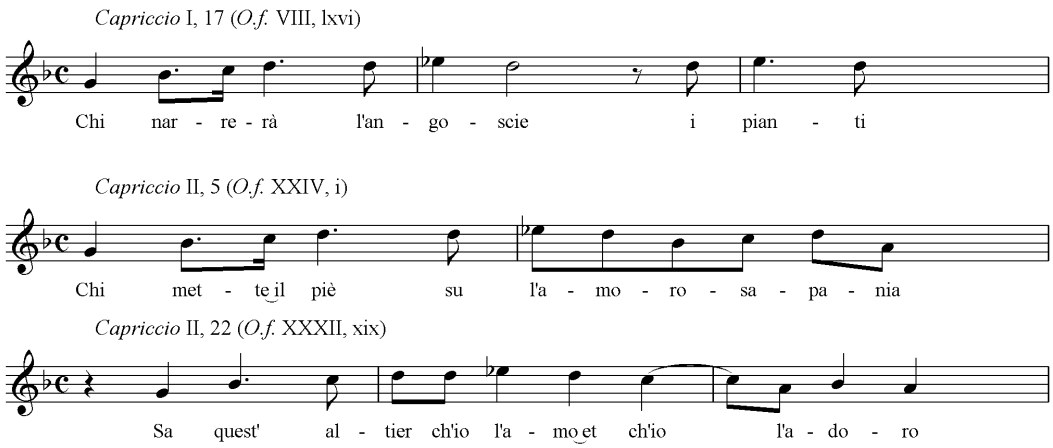
130 The text set by Berchem is identical to the 1532 edition of Ariosto's poem, which has been reproduced in all subsequent editions (though more recent ones often have modernised spellings). I have inserted the appropriate diacriticals where they are absent in the music print. The translation provided is my own.

131 For further information on other composers' approaches to this lament as a cycle, see Sally E. Norman, "Cyclic Laments," 248-305. For a study on Roman cyclic madrigals in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Myers, "Italian cyclic madrigals."

132 Harold Powers first devised the system of tonal types in "Tonal Types." Haar's discussion of mode and tonal type for Berchem's setting can be found in "The Capriccio of Giachet Berchem," 132-35.

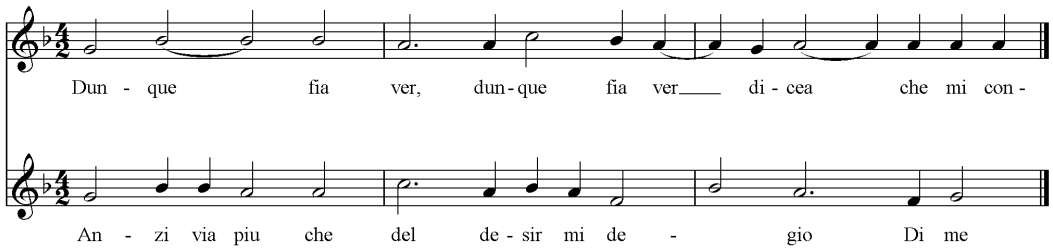
133 Haar, "The Capriccio of Giachet Berchem," 140. Meier's description of this melodic formula can be found in *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie*, (Utrecht: Scheltema & Holkema, 1974), 195.

of the Stanza II ("Sa questo altier"), Berchem employs an aria he uses two other times in the course of the *Capriccio*:



Example 5: Three instances of the same aria in Berchem's Capriccio[134]

In fact, the arias used for the settings of Stanza I ("Dunque fia ver") and Stanza V ("Anzi via più che del desir") are also similar enough to be considered variations on the same tune.



Example 6: The opening canto *arie* of Stanzas I and V. My Transcription.

Haar lists the mode of the cycle as varying between Modes I and II, transposed to G.[135] His reasons for doing so are unclear, as both canto and tenor regularly occupy the authentic ambitus for the duration of the cycle. Given the fact that the canto is the line based on previously existing material, and that its behaviour is very regular and indicative of the authentic ambitus, I would argue for an overall attribution of G Dorian (Mode I).

134 Haar, "The Capriccio of Giachet Berchem," 152. Note values are halved.
135 See Haar, "The Capriccio of Giachet Berchem," 133.

Berchem uses modal inflection in order to divide his cycle into two sections, according to the divison in narrative focus found in Bradamante's lament. In the first three stanzas, Bradamante examines the outward causes of her grief and rails against them, while in the last three she turns her inquiry inward. Berchem mirrors this division in his cycle by ending Stanza III ("Deh, ferm'Amor") on a D major triad, drawing out the anticipation for Bradamante's change in focus. As Sally E. Norman has noted, Berchem's polyphony also seems to struggle against its modal constraints: the *arie* are often at odds with other modal signposts, and Berchem rarely cadences to important notes in the mode (and more rarely still on the final).

In the following analysis of the cadences in Berchem's cycle (**Table II**), I will be basing my terminology largely on that adopted by Michele Fromson from Zarlino's *Isititutioni harmoniche*.[136] "Cadence" is defined by any major sixth-octave or minor third-unison motion to two voices. "Strong" cadences employ a suspension, while weak ones do not. "Evaporated" cadences occur when a cadence is approached, but one of the voices drops out, or otherwise does not resolve normally. "Imperfect" cadences are defined by a major third-perfect fifth motion, normally with a suspension. "Disjunct" cadences are defined primarily by a descending fifth or ascending fourth motion in the bass, where one of the two primary cadential gestures (cantizans ot tenorizans) is absent. "Dovetailed" cadences occur when the resolution of a cadence leads directly into a second cadential gesture, usually (but not always) to another pitch. "Plagal" cadences involve the typical IV-I gesture, with the leap of the descending fourth or ascending fifth in the lowest sounding voice.

While the "plagal cadence" is not considered to be a standard type of cadence by any Renaissance theorist, Berchem often ends phrases and entire

136 Fromson, "A Conjunction of Rhetoric and Music," 210-211.

pieces with just such a gesture. These seem to fall into two types: In most cases, this final “plagal” cadence follows a much stronger cadence to the final and could thereby be considered a sort of “supplementum gesture,” although no notes are held in any of the parts. The second type can be seen at the end of Stanza III (“Deh ferm'amor”), where Berchem ends the *parte* with a “plagal cadence” to the fifth degree of the mode. The presence of the F# in particular causes the final sonority to feel like an unresolved cadential gesture pointing toward G, rather than a final cadence to D. This is quickly, though not immediately, resolved in the first measure of Stanza IV (“Ma di che debbo lamentarmi”). For this reason it would not be unreasonable to sharp the Alto's F in the initial D sonority of this piece.

Table II: Berchem's Setting of Bradamante's Lament

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Stanza I		
Dunque fia ver (dicea) che mi convegna	A phrygian "dicea" [3]	D phrygian [4]
Cercar un che mi fugg'e mi s'asconde		Bb (impf) [6]
Dunque debbo prezzare un che mi sdegna?		F [8]
Debbo pregar chi mai non mi risponde?		G [10]
Patirò che chi m'odia'l cor mi tegna?	D (weak) "odia" [10]	D phrygian [15]
Un che sì stima sue virtù profonde,	C (A in bass) "stima " [17]	None; rests all vv.
Che bisogno sarà che dal ciel scenda		Bb [22]
Immortal dea ch'el cor d'amor gli accenda?		G [26]
Immortal dea ch'el cor d'amor gli accenda?	*D phrygian "cor" [27]* *Idem. [28]* *Bb "cor" [29]*	*G [30]*

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Stanza II		
Sa questo altier ch'io l'amo e ch'io l'adoro	C "amo" [2]	F [3]
Né mi vuol per amante né per serva		G [5]
Il crudel sa che per lui spasmo e moro *(musical rep of verse i)*	*C "lui" [7]*	*F [8]*
Et doppo morte a darmi aiuto serva. *(musical rep of verse ii.)*		*G-C dvtl [10-11]*
Et perché non gli narri il mio martoro		None
Atto a piegar la sua voglia proterva		D [15]
Da me s'asconde come aspide suole	A phryg-D dvtl "s'asconde" [16]	None
Che per star empio il canto udir non vuole		G [20]
Che per star empio il canto udir non vuole		*G "plagal" [23]*

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Stanza III		
Deh ferm'amor costui che così sciolto		None; enjamb't

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Dinanzi al lento mio correr s'affretta		A phrygian-D phrygian dvtl [5]
O tornami nel grado onde m'hai tolto		None
Quando né a te né ad altr'era suggetta *(musical rep. mm. 3-4)*		G [10]
Deh, com'è il mio sperar fallace e stolto		A phrygian-D dvtl [12-13]
Ch'in te con prieghi mai pietà si metta;	C "mai" [14]	Bb (evap) [15]
Che ti diletti, anzi ti pasci e vivi	F "diletti" [17]	F [18]
Di trar dagli occhi lacrimosi rivi!		Bb "plagal" [21]
Di trar dagli occhi lacrimosi rivi!		D (inc.) [24]

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Stanza IV		
Ma di che debbo lamentarmi, ahi lassa		A phr-D dvtl [3]
Fuor che del mio desir irrazionale		Bb [5]
Ch'alto mi leva, e sì ne l'aria passa,		D phrygian [8]
Ch'arriva in parte ove s'abbruccia l'ale;	A phrygian "ale" [9] F "ale" [12]	G [13]
Poi non potendo sostener, mi lassa		C (evap) [16]
Dal ciel cader. Né qui finisce il male:	F "cader" [18]	D (evap) [19]
Che le rimette, e di novo ardo; ond'io		F [22]
Non ho mai fine al precipitio mio		A phrygian (D in bass) [25]
Non ho mai fine al precipitio mio		*G "plagal" [28]*

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Stanza V		
Anzi più che del desir, mi deggio		F [3]

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Di me doler, che sì gli aspersi il seno	Bb “doler” [4]	F [7]
Onde cacciata ha la ragion di seggio;		D phrygian [9]
Et ogni mio poter può di lui meno		G [14]
Quel mi trasport'ogni'hor di mal in peggio		D phr (evap) [16]
Ne lo posso frenar, che non ha freno:		A phrygian [17] (10-8; v. weak)
Et mi fa certa che mi mena a morte		G “plagal” [20]
Perch'aspettando il mal noccia più forte	Bb “noccia” [22]	D phrygian [23]
Perch’aspettando il mal noccia più forte		*G “plagal” [26]*

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Stanza VI		
Deh perché voglio ancho di me dolermi?		G [3]
Ch'error se non d'amarti unqua commessi?		Bb [6]
Che maraviglia, se fragili et infermi		None; enjamb't
Femminil sensi fur subito oppressi?		C (evap) [11]
Perché dovev'io usar ripari e schermi		A phrygian [15]
Che la somma beltà non mi piacessi,	C (disjunct) “piacessi” [17]	C [18]
Gli alti sembianti e le saggie parole?		D [21]
Misero è ben chi veder schiva il sole!		G [24]
Misero è ben chi veder schiva il sole!		*G “plagal” [24]*

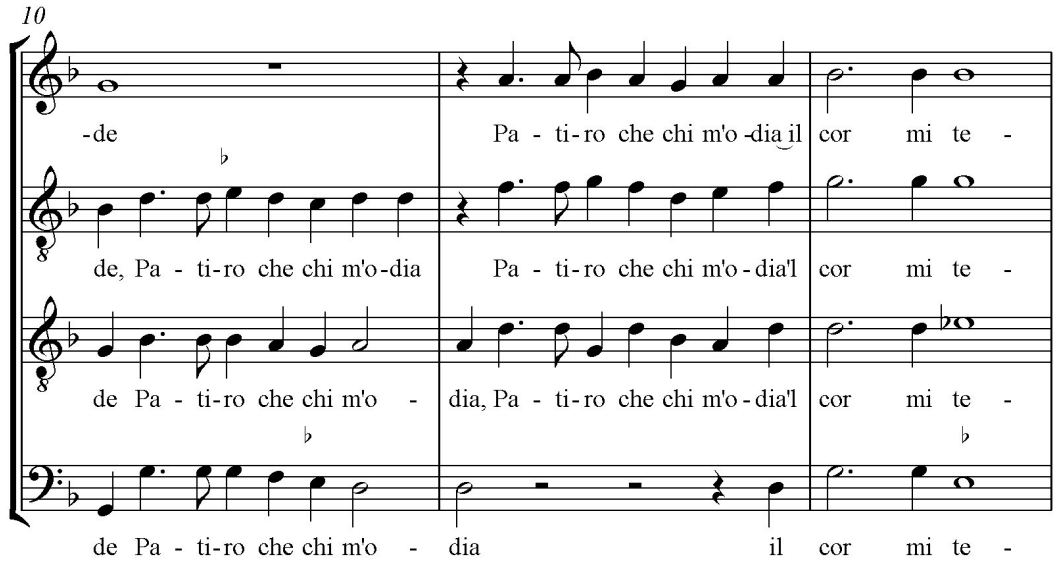
Berchem's use of the added voices to contravene the modal expectations implied by the “aria” can be considered among the rhetorical tools a composer has to provide his own contrapuntal *lezione.* As Bradamante shifts her G-oriented inquiry from one possible cause of her unhappiness to the next, she is continually

derailed as Berchem employs cadences outside the mode that are driven by the supporting polyphony.[137] This tension between the public space of the aria and the private space of the musical gloss may in fact represent the psychological tension Bradamante feels as her public arguments are rejected by her inner feelings on the matter. Berchem employs this technique most clearly at the beginning of each stanza, where he uses the first cadence (on the first line of text) to indicate whether or not Bradamante has hit on an explanation for ther suffering that she can live with.

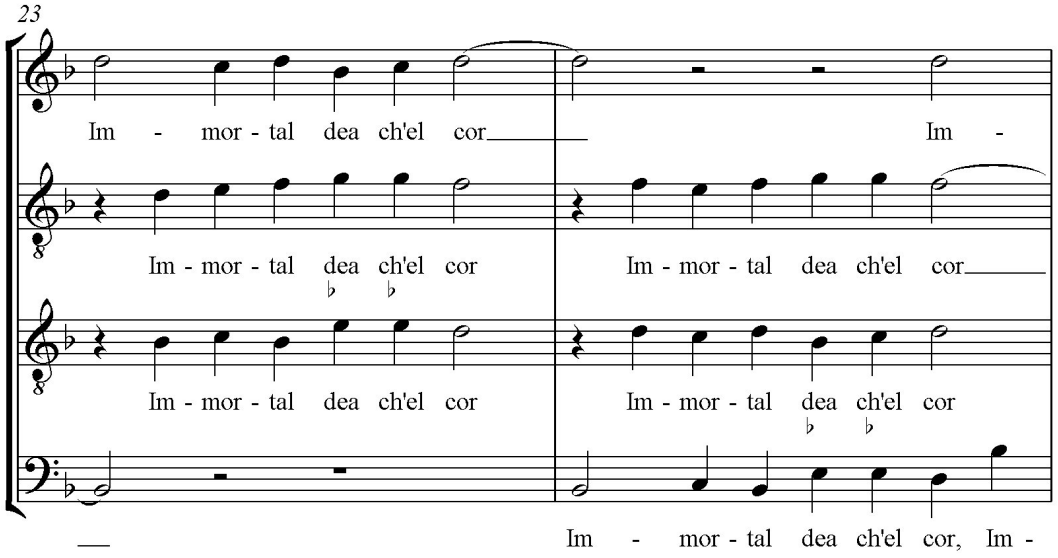
The first five pieces in the cycle have their first cadences on the modally distant notes A, C, and F, as if to demonstrate musically that Bradamante is not on the right track in her investigation. Indeed, Berchem is particularly modally obstinate when Bradamante tries to blame herself for the whole ordeal in Stanza V ("Anzi via più che del desir"): the composer has to throw in three F cadences (mm. 3, 5, and 7) and a Bb cadence (m. 4) in order to demonstrate how uncomfortable she is with the idea. It is only in the last stanza ("Deh perché voglio anco di me dolermi"), where she decides that the situation is beyond her control, that Berchem writes an initial cadence to the final (m. 3). Bradamante has come to a conclusion that she can live with, and furthermore rationalises her suffering as the result of a greater good.

On a more local level, Berchem often uses contrapuntal texture in various ways in order to express meaning. Berchem can, for example, use texture to draw parallels or conceptual ties between different parts of the stanza. In mm. 10-11 of Stanza I ("Dunque fia ver,") Berchem highlights the phrase "patirò che chi m'odia" ("shall I suffer that he who hates me [holds my heart]") with a call-and-response figure between the lower three voices and the upper three voices (**Ex. 7**).

137 See, for example, the the first two lines of Stanza V ("Anzi via più che del desir mi deggio/di me doler che gli apersi il seno") which receives cadences on F (m. 3), Bb (m. 4), F (m. 5), and F once more (m. 7). The G-oriented cadential gesture in the Canto in m. 3 is ignored.



Example 7: Berchem - "Dunque fia ver," mm. 10-12



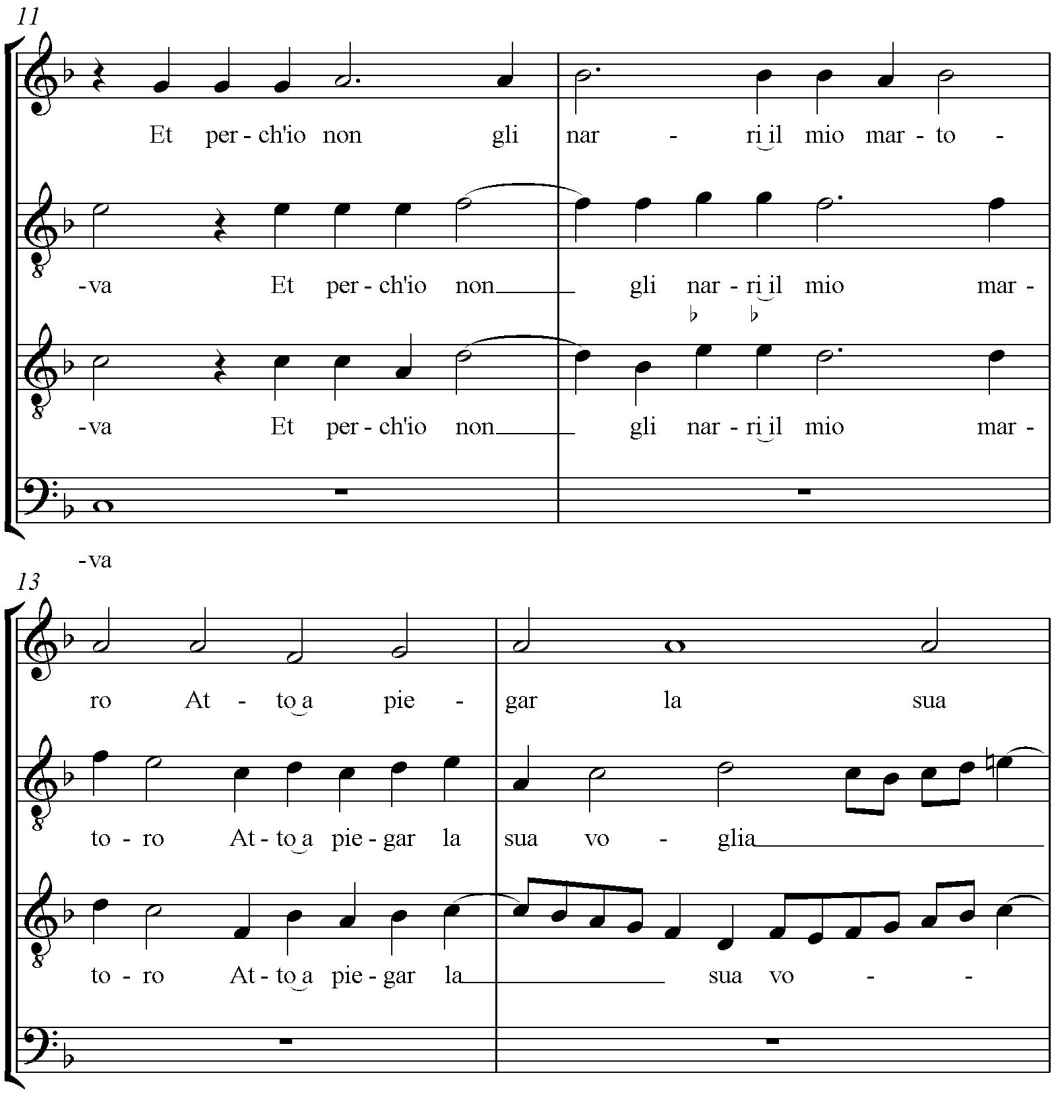
Example 8: Berchem - "Dunque fia ver," mm. 23-24

This call-and-response texture returns at mm. 23-24 on the text "Immortal dea," this time beginning with the upper three voices (**Ex. 8**). By connecting the phrases "chi mi odia" and "Immortal dea," Berchem implies that Love, and not Ruggiero, is the one who hates Bradamante and is responsible for her suffering. In so doing, Berchem foreshadows the content of Stanza III ("Deh, ferm'Amor") where Bradamante goes on to say that Love is the one who hates her, and revels in

drawing tears from her eyes: “Che ti diletti, anzi ti pasci e vivi/di trar da gl'occhi lagrimosi rivi” (“for you enjoy, indeed you feast and live/by drawing rivers of tears from my eyes!”).[138]

Berchem can also use texture to associate individual singers with characters and perspectives. For example, in mm. 11-14 of “Sa questo altier” (**Ex. 9**) Berchem drops the bass and employs a three-voice texture on the words “Et perch'io non gli narri il mio martoro/atto a piegar la sua voglia proterva” (“And so that I can't tell him of my agony/which might bend his wayward will”). One could take this to imply a correllation between the absent bass part and the absent Ruggiero, whose representative in performance would then be *listening* to the other three singers as they speak in Bradamante's voice. Such a technique is most famously represented in Arcadelt's “Il bianco e dolce cigno,” where the bass part enters on the second phrase (“et io, piangendo, giung'al fin del viver mio”) to reflect the entrance of the male narrator onto the scene.

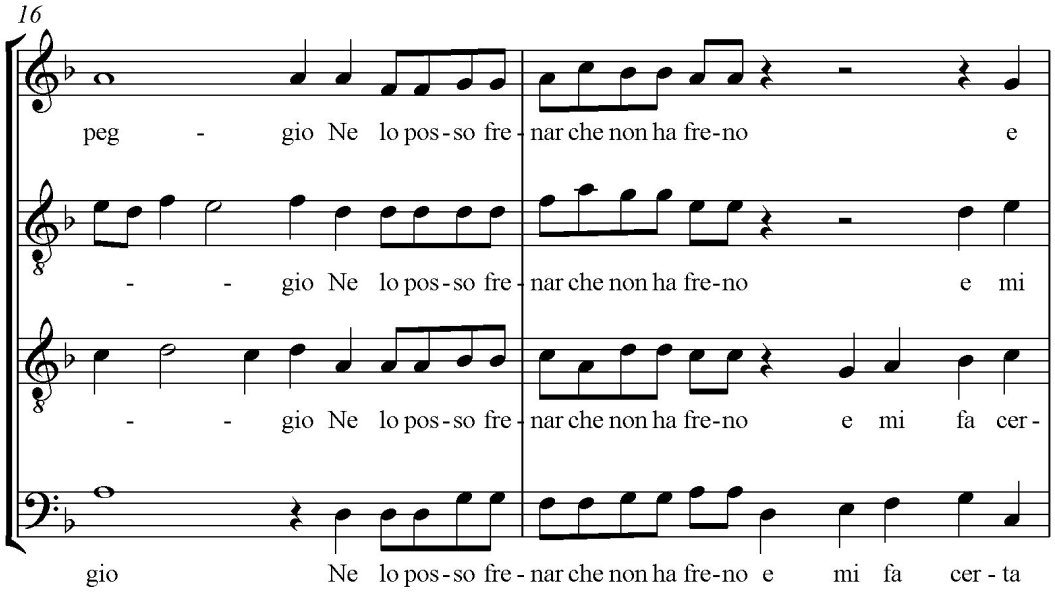
138 Berchem may also have been playing with the idea of Augenmusik (quite literally) at the end of “Deh ferm'amor” (Stanza III). The penultimate iteration of “lagrimosi rivi” (m. 21) shows two minims with the stems pointed downward and separated by a semibreve in all parts but the basso. These could be seen as two weeping eyes with a nose in the middle. My thanks to Manfred Herman Schmid for pointing out this practice in his paper “Orlando di Lasso's Madrigal *Solo e pensoso*: Ways how to Respond to Words,” given at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Bangor, Wales, 24 July 2008.



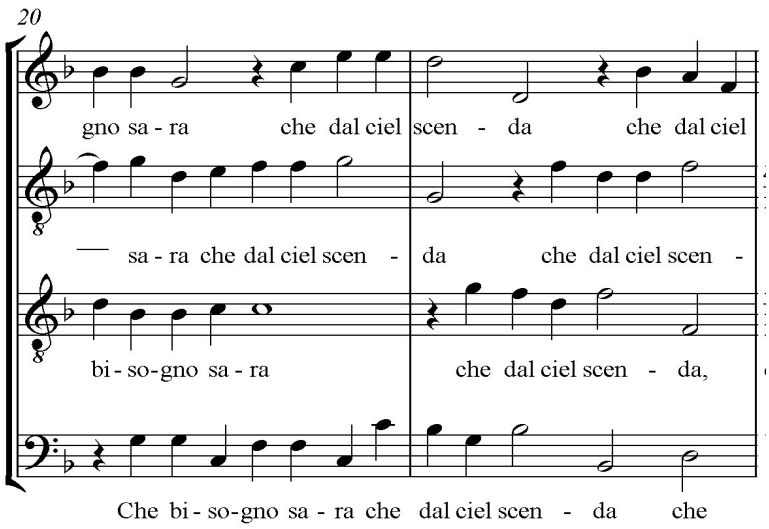
Example 9: Berchem- "Sa questo altier," mm. 11-14

More standard madrigalisms occur with some frequency in Berchem's cycle, and they generally mirror physical rather than abstract concepts. While chromaticism and dissonance are not used to highlight harsh or emotionally charged words and ideas, the composer seems particularly fond of setting passages about running, speed, or flight in passages of black notes, c.f. Stanza I, "Dunque fia ver," at m. 5 ("che mi fugg'e mi s'asconde"), Stanza III, "Deh ferm'amor" at m. 5 ("s'affretta"), and Stanza V, "Anzi via più che del desir" at mm. 16-17 ("Ne lo posso frenar, che non ha freno"). See **Ex. 10**. Such pictorial

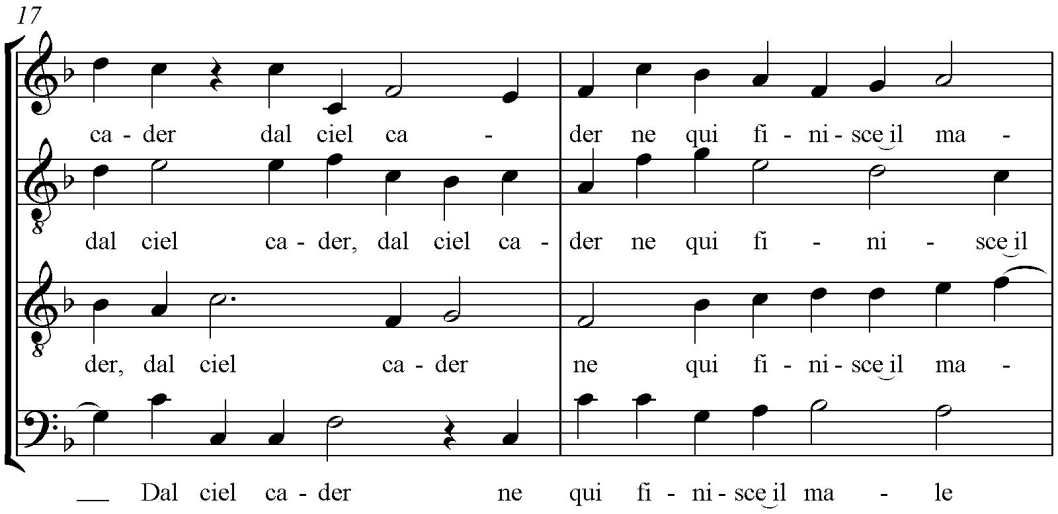
gestures can, however, have a rhetorical purpose beyond the pictorial. In both Stanza I (mm. 20-21) and Stanza IV (mm. 17-18) Berchem employs striking downward leaps on the text "dal ciel scenda/cader" (**Exx. 11 & 12).** This use of descending leaps is particularly significant because of the differing poetic contexts in which they are found. As previously mentioned, Bradamante's lament is divided both poetically and musically into two halves: the first (Stanzas I-III) represents Bradamante's search for an external cause to her suffering, while the second (Stanzas IV-VI) represents her switch in focus to internal inquiry.



Example 10: Berchem - "Anzi via più che del desir," mm. 16-17



Example 11: Berchem - "Dunque fia ver," mm. 20-21.



Example 12: Berchem - "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi," mm. 17-18

Accordingly, the text "dal ciel scenda" in Stanza I refers to the "Immortal dea [d'Amor]" while the text "dal ciel cader" in Stanza IV refers to Bradamante herself. Berchem thus explicitly connects the "Immortal dea" to Bradamante herself and her own desire, and the mutual hatred established in the previous stanza comes to represent Bradamante's internal struggle and self-loathing—the inevitable result, according to Fornari, of such tragic experience.[139]

This discussion of the large-scale features of Berchem's cycle has served to highlight modal inflection and manipulation of contrapuntal texture as two of the more important devices at the composer's disposal for commenting on a text, yet it seems that the cycle on the large scale does not in itself constitute a large-scale analysis of the text's meaning. Indeed, these devices are most effective at the level of the phrase and the individual word, which are, unsurprisingly, the levels upon which Renaissance literary criticism seems to have been focused. At the most, one could say that the modal disjuncture beteen the canto's arie and underlying polyphony mirror Bradamante's own conflicted psychological state: she is unable to reconcile her words with how she truly feels about her situation. Her attempts lay the blame on others and herself for her unhappiness belie her true feeling that she is nonetheless lucky to have met Ruggiero and fallen in love with him, no matter what the consequences.

It is, however, at the level of the phrase that compositional practice best mirrors the literary practice of glossing. To best demonstrate this, I will here provide a more detailed analysis of Berchem's setting of Stanza IV ("Ma di che debbo lamentarmi"), and then compare it to Vincenzo Ruffo's setting of the same text, which was included in Doni's *Dialogo della musica* of 1544 and seems to be the composer's first printed madrigal.[140]

139 Fornari, *La spositione*, 495. This passage is translated in full below.
140 Haar, "Notes," 204.

Endless Falling: Parallel Settings of "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi"

"Ma di che debbo lamentarmi" was one of the most popular *ottave* of the entire poem among composers, seeing 15 different settings in the course of the sixteenth century.[141] Analysis of parallel settings has long been a way of highlighting composers' different compositional styles, though Jessie Ann Owens rightly warns of the dangers of limiting such analysis to only one text, as sometimes textual considerations can dominate the musical discourse and obscure the real differences between composers' approaches.[142] In this comparison, however, I am interested in precisely the opposite phenomenon: how do composers respond to the textual exigencies when stylistic differences are minimised?

The case of Ruffo's and Berchem's settings of "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi" is a particularly helpful one. Both composers are writing in approximately the same period, in the same city, and for the same public (whether this be the Accademia Filarmonica itself or the academy/salon in a more general sense). It is also a fortuitous example when it comes to the madrigal's rôle in literary discourse, because this *ottava*'s rich imagery led Fornari to write an extended gloss on it in his 1549 *Spositione*. Fornari's gloss can then be compared to Berchem's and Ruffo's use of music's expositional power to show that both composers and literary critics were interested in conveying the same aspects of the text to their audience.

We shall thus begin with Fornari's explanation of the passage:

> Il desir, di cui lamenta Brad. è dipinto in forma d'Augello, & tante volte mette l'ale, & vola: quante persuade l'amante a sperare, & lo inalza credere di dover giugnere ai supremi termini del suo amore. Et per cio che aviene ben ispesso, che queste speranze le faccia vane, & le risolva in

141 Balsano, "L'Ariosto in Musica," 69.
142 Owens, "Marenzio and Wers read Tasso," 555.

vento o la fortuna, o la persona amata, che non corrisponde; ne segue che l'amante cade in miseria, & poscia veggendosi caduto in dispera, & discorda di se stesso. Non resta però dopo alquanto a perepararsi alla medesima ruina: & tutto che questo infinitamente gli avenga, sempre rifugge a credere, & a sperare, secondo quell'altro detto; che'l miser suole dar facile credenza a quel, che vuole. Chiama Brad. si fatto desio irrationale, cio è cosa fuor, d'ogni ragino, et natura. Percioche se crediamo al detto [del] Philosopho, che dalla privatione si lagna Brad. che questo suo desio, havendo le ali della speranza bruciate, & spente in tutto non è una fiata, ma molte; esso pur le rimetta, & per questo divenga ardito, & si ripari, come se non fosse [successo]. Et è qui da notare, che questa similitudine dell'ali della speranza è stata ritirata dall'esempio d'Icaro, il quale per voler troppo alto volare, il Sole gli bruciò l'ale; onde egli cadde nel mare. Il che a chi ama sovente suole avenire, come dicemmo.

The desire which Bradamante laments [or blames] is painted in the form of a Bird, which takes on wings and flies just as the lover is persuaded to hope, and rises up to believe she can reach the farthest reaches [or the object?] of her love. And because it happens quite often that these hopes are in vain, and disappear with the wind, or by acts of fortune, or by a lover who does not reciprocate, so it follows that the lover falls into misery, and then seeing herself in despair begins to loathe herself. She does not, however, refrain from soon preparing herself again for the same ruin, and this recurs infinitely: she always returns to believe and hope as before, for the miserable soul easily believes what it wants to. Bradamante calls this desire irrational—that is, outside of nature and all reason. Therefore if we believe in the words of the Philosopher [Aristotle], it is from the deprivation [of Ruggiero] that Bradamante moans that her desire has burned and destroyed the wings of hope not just once, but many times; and it then puts them back, and she becomes once more enflamed, and returns as if nothing happened. And it is to be noted here that this similarity to the wings of hope was taken from the example of Icarus, who, because he desired to fly too high, the sun burnt his wings and he fell into the sea. This indeed happens to those who love, as we said.[143]

143 Fornari, *La spositione*, 495. Translation mine.

Fornari is clearly most concerned with explaining to his readers the literal meaning of the metaphor (that is, that the flight is to be understood as the uplifting feeling of hope experienced by the lover) and that this metaphor has its origins in the mythical story of Icarus. Fornari's concern is purely at the local level: he does not attempt to relate this metaphor, where Icarus's wings are melted by the sun, to Bradamante's later association of Ruggiero with the very same heavenly body (Stanza VI: "Misero è ben chi veder schiva il sole!").

Berchem's and Ruffo's settings are quite similar in a number of ways. Both composers' settings are for four voices, and both use the Dorian mode, though Ruffo leaves his final untransposed. Furthermore, both Berchem and Ruffo make the Icarus metaphor the central image of their settings, but they go about it in slightly different ways: Ruffo, as we shall see, is far more likely to use extremes of register and melodic contour to gloss the images of ascent and descent than is Berchem, who instead is more interested in representing musically the repetitive, cyclical nature of all aspects of Bradamante's suffering.

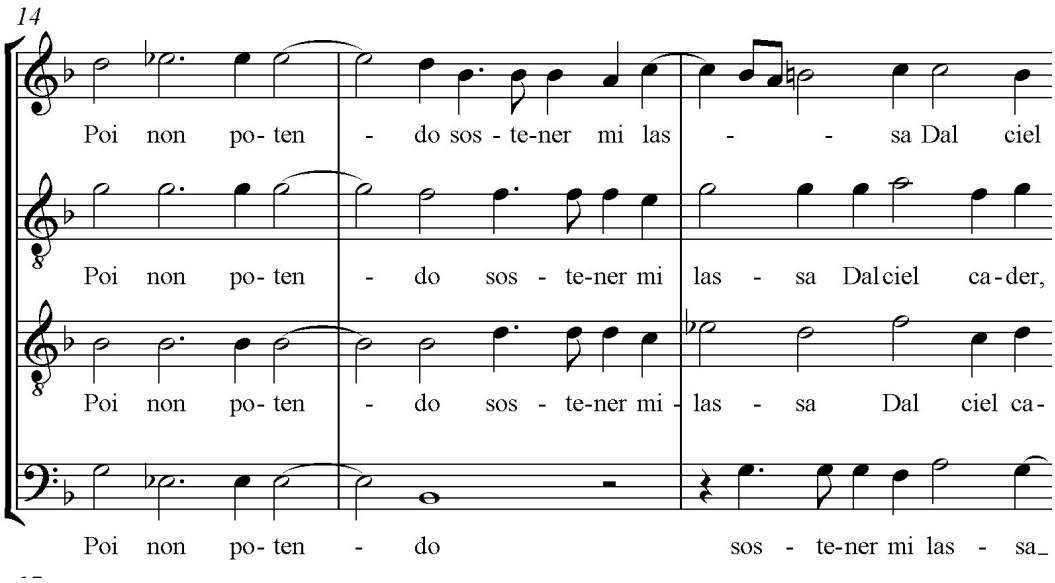
Both composers begin their settings of the text with the 5th degree of the mode in the lowest sounding voice. In Berchem's case this is unusual in the context of the cycle to which it belongs: all of the other stanzas begin on G. One possible explanation for this aberration is the fact that "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi" is the first piece in the second section of the cycle, and thus follows a final D-major sonority at the end of Stanza III ("Deh, ferm'Amor"). In Ruffo's case the motive for beginning on the fifth degree of the mode is somewhat less clear, but it likely has to do with the establishment of modal ambiguity: since Ruffo also makes a Phrygian cadence to A to end the first phrase of text (m. 4), the reader's first impression of the mode is closer to a transposed Phrygian mode than any sort of Dorian mode.

Table III: Ruffo's "Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi"

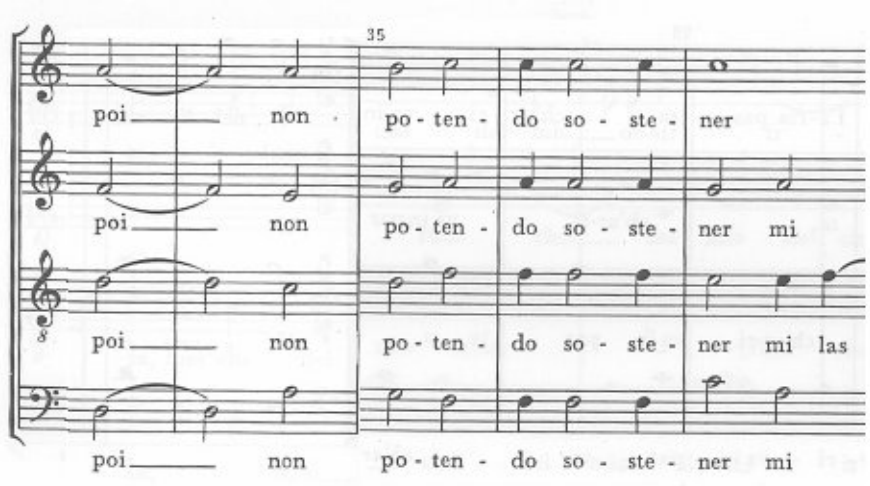
Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi, ahi lassa		A phrygian [4]
Fuor che del mio desir irrazionale		A [7]
Ch'alto mi leva, e sì ne l'aria passa,		None
Ch'arriva in parte ove s'abbruccia l'ale;	A "ale" [30]	D [33]
Poi non potendo sostener, mi lassa		A phrygian [38]
Dal ciel cader. Né qui finisce il male:		E phrygian- A phrygian dvtl [45-46]
Che le rimette, e di novo ardo; ond'io	A phrygian "ardo" [54]	None
Non ho mai fine al precipitio mio		D [79]

Ruffo's modal ambiguitiy, however, is not nearly so pronounced as Berchem's: while Berchem frequently cadences to the second and seventh degrees, Berchem cadences only to the fifth and the final, sliding along a Dorian-Phrygian axis that depends on the presence or absence of Bb. Interestingly, both composers choose to delay cadencing to the final until the end of the fourth line of the stanza, "ch'arriva in parte ove s'abbrucia l'ale" (Berchem, m. 13; Ruffo, m. 33). The use of a strong cadence to the final in both settings helps to divide the stanza into two discrete sections of four lines each.

This division is also highlighted by the use of homorhythmic declamation by both composers to begin the second half of the stanza on the text, "poi non potendo sostener" (**Exx. 13 & 14**). In both cases this seems to be a musical pun on the word "sostener" (sustain) due to the longer note values employed, but Berchem takes it a step farther and turns it into a musical *double entendre.* By allowing the bass to drop out and enter a measure later on the word "sostener" (mm. 15-16) he also highlights the real meaning of the word in context—the harmonic support drops out from underneath the upper voices just as Bradamante's wings can no longer bear her aloft.



Example 13: Berchem - "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi," mm. 14-16



Example 14: Ruffo - "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi," mm. 33-37

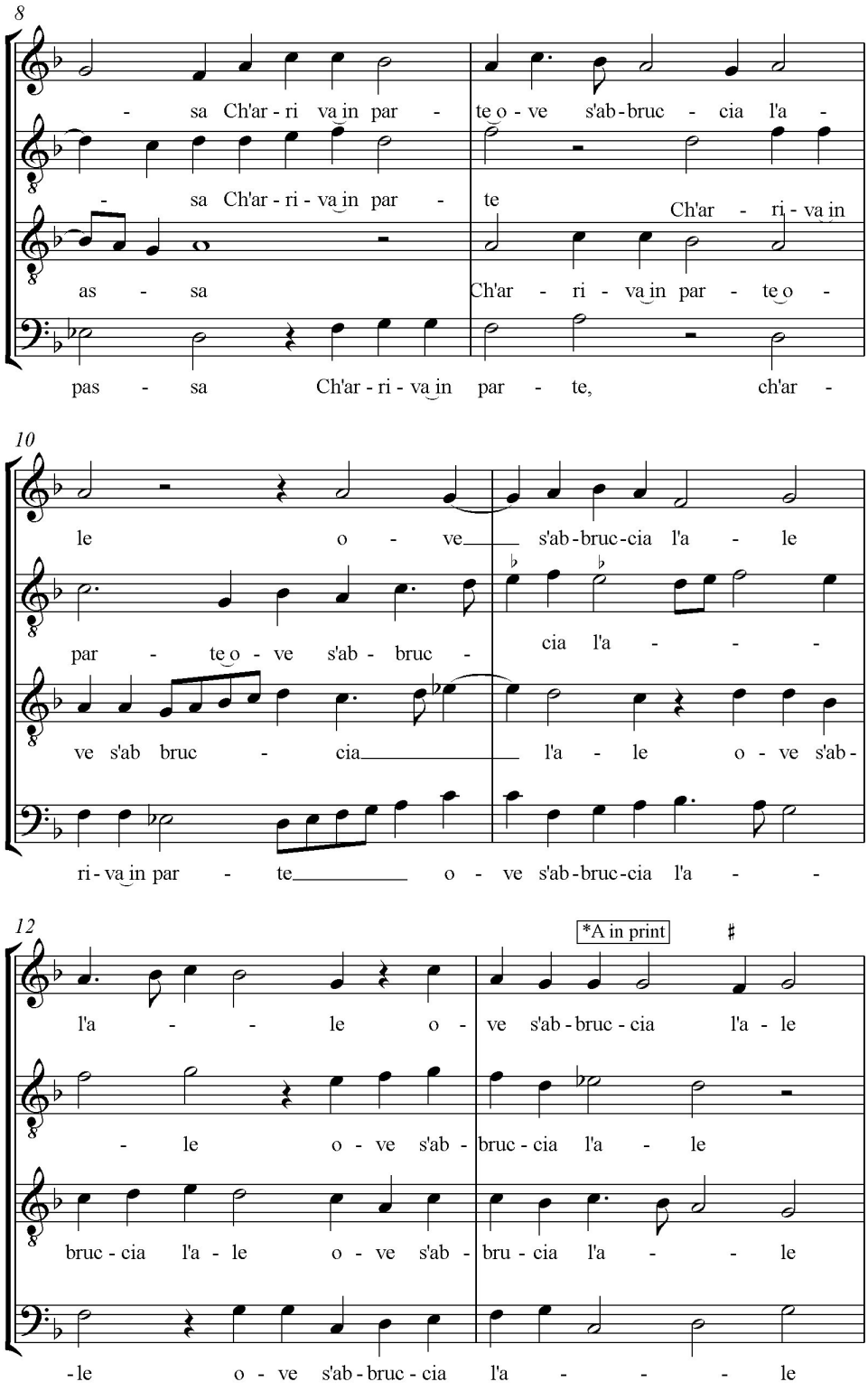
Remembering the aforementioned association of the basso with Ruggiero in Berchem's setting of Stanza II ("Sa questo altier") yields a further insight from the composer: Ruggiero's presence is precisely the support that Bradamante needs. Ruggiero's further association wth the sun in the last line of Stanza VI ("Misero è ben chi veder schiva il sole") shows the tragedy and hopelessness of Bradamante's condition, as Ruggiero represents at the same time the wings that

bear her aloft and the sun that burns them.

Because Ruffo is not constrained by the use of a pre-existing *aria* in his canto line, he is much more free than Berchem is to use range and contour in this part to underline the essential imagery of the text. The canto reaches the extreme upper limit of its range (g_3) on the words "sì nell'aria passa" (m. 17-18), and "ond'io [non ho mai fine al precipizio mio]" (m. 56, mm. 66-67), and also stretches up to f_3 on the words "parte ove s'abbrucia [l'ale]" (mm. 27-31). Ruffo thus uses pitch level to mirror the metaphorical highs and lows of Bradamante's spirits to a much greater degree than does Berchem, although both composers use descending lines to illustrate the phrase "dal ciel cader" (Berchem, mm.16-18; Ruffo, mm. 39-42).

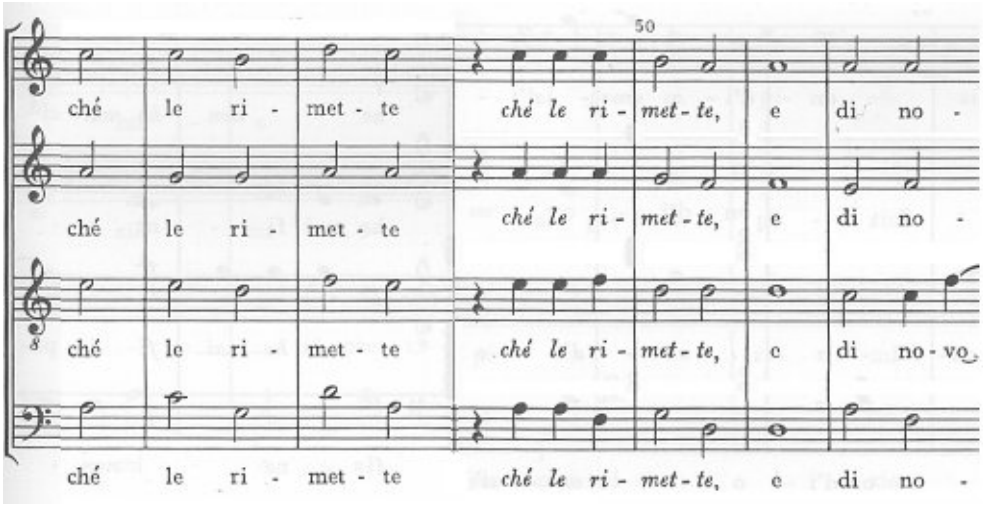
Berchem, by contrast, chooses to gloss this line through contrapuntal texture rather than range and contour. Since Berchem's texture is more homorhythmic than Ruffo's overall, it is particularly striking when he employs multiple entries in imitation to highlight the continual repetition of Bradamante'srise and fall on the line "ch'arriva in parte," (mm. 8-9) and then on "ove s'abbrucia l'ale" (mm. 9-13), as seen in **Ex. 15**. Thus while Ruffo is more concerned with expressing the highs and lows of Bradamante's experience, Berchem is concerned with its continual repetition, projecting the message of the last line of the stanza back onto the earlier text.

Ruffo also uses texture to make a rhetorical point, however. Since his setting of the text is significantly more imitative than Berchem's, however, he makes his point through the use of homorhythm rather than imitation. The only two incidences of homorhytmic texture in Ruffo's setting occur at mm. 33-37 on "Poi non potendo sostener" (**Ex. 14**) and at mm. 46-52 on "Che le rimette" (**Ex. 16**). Both phrases in this instance refer to the wings in the two states that define the extremes of Bradamante's experience—the tragic fall from the apex of hope and its reawakening after she hits rock bottom emotionally.



Example 15: Berchem - "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi," mm. 8-13

The technique is analogous to the one Berchem uses in his setting of Stanza I "Dunque fia ver" to connect the word "odia" to "Immortal dea," and I believe that such use of texture constitutes one of the primary methods Renaissance composers had of connecting words and concepts from different parts of a stanza.



Example 16: Ruffo - "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi," mm. 46-52

What, then, have we learned about Berchem's and Ruffo's priorities and opinions by examining these parallel settings? First, their significantly different approaches to what is essentially the same mode (if transposed to different finals) demonstrates a difference in attitude with respect to Bradamante herself. The psychological intrigue created by the tension between the modal implications of the *aria* and their constant frustration by the supporting polyphony in Berchem's setting is absent from Ruffo's more straightfoward modal space. This may reflect a greater interest on Berchem's part in Bradamante's inner conflict, and this may also explain his choice to set the lament as a cycle.

Furthermore, while both composers highlight the central themes of the stanza outlined by Fornari, Ruffo tends to direct his musical forces toward the process of flying and falling itself, while Berchem is more concerned with the

eternal repetition of this process. Berchem's interest in the repetition may once again be reflective of his greater interest in Bradamante as a character: while certainly the process itself is difficult for her, it is surely the sheer *repetition* of the highs and lows that is the most difficult to bear, rather like the problem of Sysiphus and his boulder. Perhaps this sentiment is what Grullone means in Doni's *Dialogo* when after singing Ruffo's setting of the stanza he exclaims, "O bel quello, *ond'io non ho mai fine al precipizio mio*" ("Oh that's lovely: *where there is no end to my falling*").[144]

Thus, even though the two composers were driven by the same textual exigencies and employed many of the same compositional techniques in doing so, it is clear that each found a different aspect of the stanza's central theme more compelling and chose to focus the musical resources of his *lezione* to reflect that difference. Owens' suggestion that it is always best to examine two separate parallel settings, however, will be useful to demonstrate the point that a comparison of musical *lezioni* relies on the fact that both composers were intending their musical settings for a performance context that supported musical glossing.

A Matter of Context: Performance Venue and Musical Glossing

The comparison of Ruffo's and Berchem's settings of "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi" was informative because of their similarities as much as their differences. A brief comparison of Berchem's setting of Stanza II ("Sa questo altier") to Ruffo's setting of the same text will at once show that what was considered appropriate discourse in an intimate space was not necessarily considered to be appropriate in a more public one.

Berchem's setting exhibits all of the characteristics of the rest of his cycle:

144 Vachelli, *L'Opera musicale*, 104. Interestingly this is among the most specific musical comments made in the entire *Dialogo*.

use of an aria, modal tension, predominantly homophonic text setting with changes for effect (such as Bradamante's "narration" in **Ex. 9**).[145] Ruffo's setting, however, bears little resemblance either to Berchem's setting or to Ruffo's own setting of Stanza IV. Ruffo's setting, like Berchem's, is in G-Dorian, but exhibits no modal ambiguity whatsoever. All cadences are to G, D, and Bb, the most important mode-defining degrees, and both the first and last cadences are to the final.

Table IV: Ruffo's "Sa questo altier"

Text	Internal Cadences [mm]	Final Cadence
Sa questo altier ch'io l'amo e ch'io l'adoro	D "amo" [4] D "adoro" [9]	G-Bb dvtl [11-12]
Né mi vuol per amante né per serva	Bb "amante" [14]	G [19]
Il crudel sa che per lui spasmo e moro	D phrygian? "moro" [24][146] Bb "moro" [27]	F [8]
Et doppo morte a darmi aiuto serva.	Bb "morte" [30]	G [34]
Et perché non gli narri il mio martoro		D-G-G dvtl [38-40]
Atto a piegar la sua voglia proterva	D "piegar/voglia" [43]	G [45]
Da me s'asconde come aspide suole		D [54]
Che per star empio il canto udir non vuole	Bb "vuole" [63] D "vuole" [65] G "vuole" [67]	G [71]

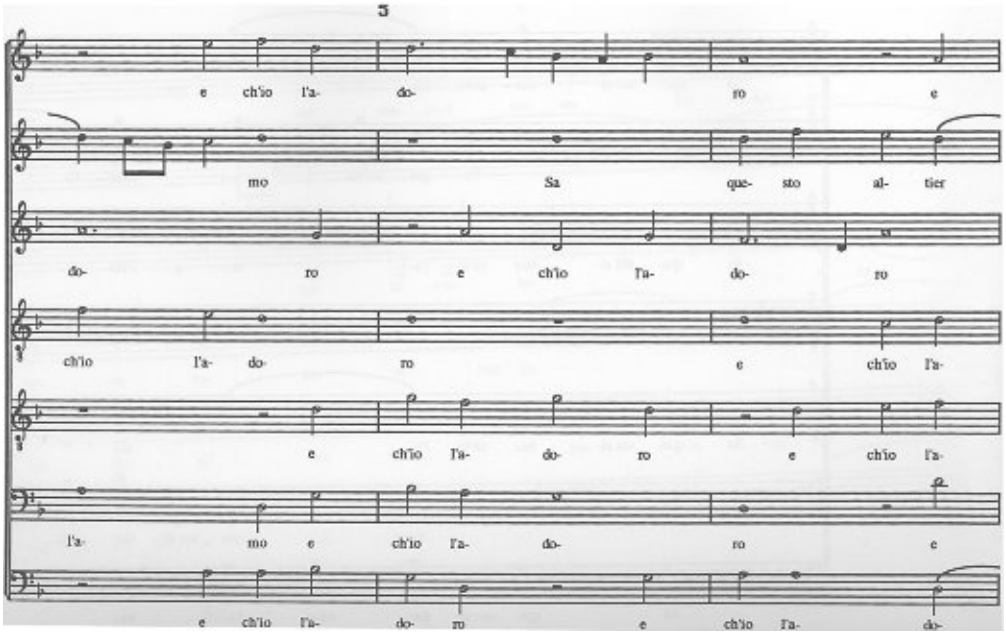
The texture of the madrigal is almost entirely seamless, free imitation of a particularly Venetian (even Willærtian) kind.[147] There are no incidences of homorhythmic declamation in all voices, and indeed what homorythm there is (normally for two or three voices only) serves to weave larger blocks of sound into the seamlessness of the texture (mm. 4-6 "che io l'adoro," given as **Ex. 17**) or

145 This time, unusually, the aria is in imitation between the tenor and the canto. See mm. 1-2 and 5-7.

146 There is an error in the edition that makes the actual cadence at mm. 22-23 ambiguous. The most likely solution is to shift the C-Bb whole notes in the Quintus up a third to E(b)-D, thus creating a standard D phrygian cadence. I have not been able to consult the source on this matter.

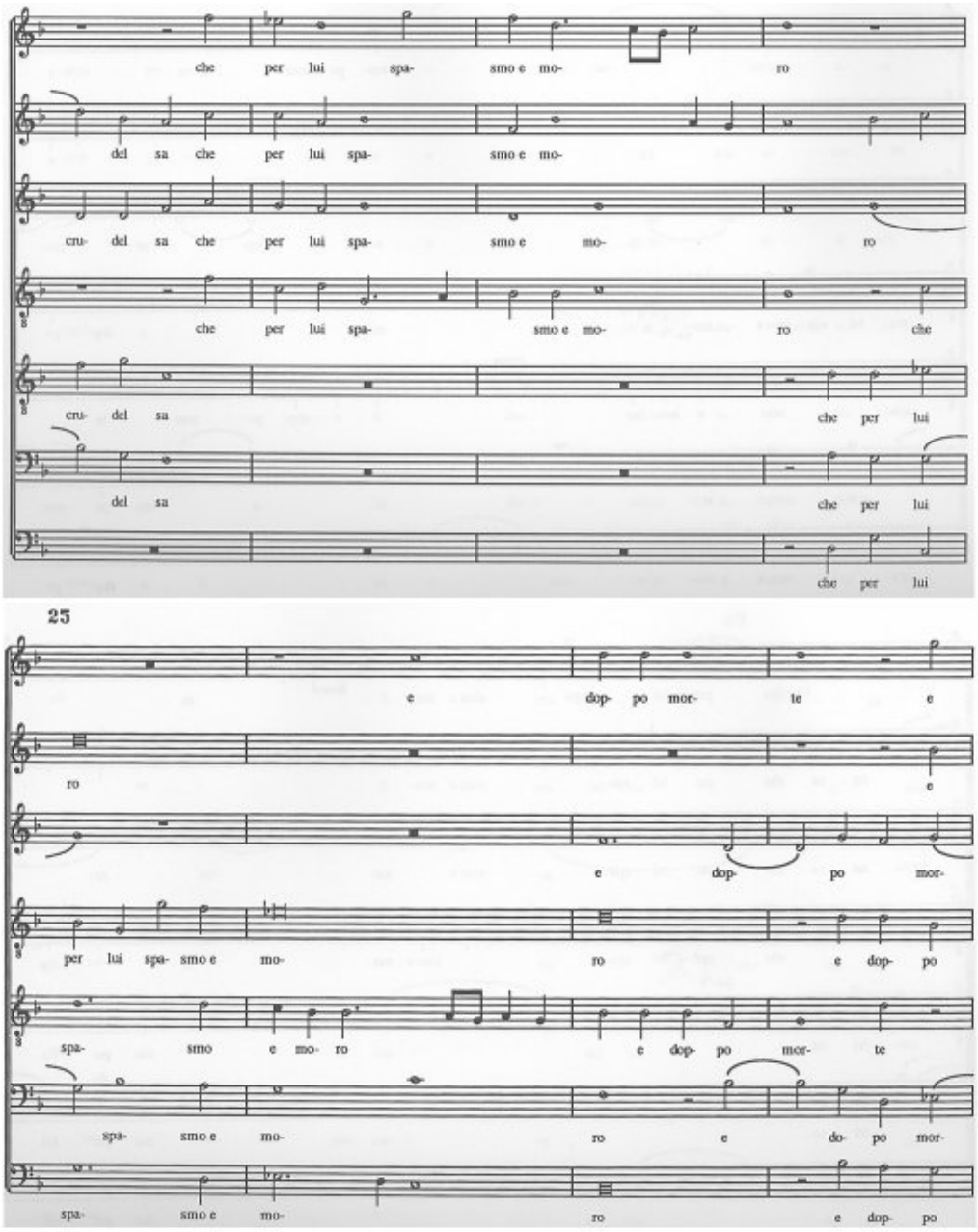
147 For a thorough discussion of Willært's madrigalian style, see Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 200-259.

to employ a polychoral effect (mm. 21-27, "che per lui spasmo e moro," given as **Ex. 18**). Ruffo's setting, in short, bears much more resemblance to a Willært madrigal than it does to the other settings of Bradamante's lament we have seen thus far.



Example 17: Ruffo - "Sa questo altier," mm. 4-6

I would argue that this difference in style has less to do with the composer's changing taste—the madrigal was published ten years after Ruffo's setting of "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi"—and much more to do with the work's probable performance context. Given the madrigal's use of larger musical forces and its publication shortly after the end of Ruffo's term as musical director of the Accademia Filarmonica, it does not seem out of the question that it may have been composed for one of the academy's public performances, either for Carnival or for their anniversary celebrations. Such a public performance context would locate the piece outside of the middle ground of public/private space found at the academy's regular meetings, or in the private space of a salon. For this reason, Ruffo's setting is less a *lezione* than it is a polyphonic *recitazione*, uninflected by the the composer's analysis of the poetic content.



Example 18: Ruffo - "Sa questo altier," mm. 21-27

Competing Views: Nasco's and Ruffo's "Liete piante"

My last musical examples come from the end of Canto XXIII of Ariosto's poem, where the title character goes famously mad. They demonstrate a fascinating inclusion of the act of reading into the madrigal itself, and the way composers respond to issues of narrative voice and multi-layered texts through music. The narrative context of the passage is as follows:

After the Tartar prince Mandricardo's horse spooks during combat and carries him off, Orlando sets off in pursuit. Not long after, he comes to a tree with Angelica's and Medoro's names carved into the trunk. A local shepherd explains to Orlando that the two were romantically involved, and points out a cave where they used to pass the time together. Investigating the cave, Orlando finds the following inscription left by Medoro in Arabic:

Liete piante, verd'herbe, e limpide acque,	Happy plants, green grass, clear waters,
spelunch'opach'e di fredde ombre grata,	dark cave blessed with cool shade,
dove la bell'Angelica che nacque	where beautiful Angelica, who was born
di Galafron, da molt'in van amata,	of Galafron, and is vainly loved by many
spesso ne le mie braccia nuda giacque;	often lay nude in my arms;
Per la commodità che qui m'è data,	for the comfort that I have received here,
io povero Medor ricompensarvi	I, poor Medoro, cannot otherwise repay
d'altro non posso, che d'ogn'hor lodarvi:	you, except in praising you always:
et di pregar ogni signor amante,	and to pray that every noble lover,
e cavallier e damigell' e ognuna	every knight and lady, and every person
persona, o paesana o viandante,	whether local or passerby,
che qui sua volontà meni o Fortuna;	be led willingly here by Fortune, so that
ch'all'erbe, all'ombre, all'antro, al rio, alle piante	he say unto the grass, shade, cave,
dica: benign'habbiat'et sol et luna,	stream, and plants: enjoy well the sun
e de le nimph'il coro, che proveggia	and moon, and nymphs in their chorus,
che non conduca a voi pastor mai greggia.[148]	who let no shepherd bring his sheep.

148O.f. XXIII; 108-109. Translation mine.

It is upon reading (and obsessively rereading) this inscription that Orlando finally comes to know the true nature of Angelica's and Medoro's relationship, and his jealousy causes him to take leave of his senses. Setting such a text musically provides the composer with an interesting dilemma with regard to narrative voice and perspective: although these words are Medoro's, we come to know them through Orlando's experience of reading them.[149] It is thus up to the composer to decide how to present the text's varying narrative levels in the polyphony: he can choose to speak through Medoro's experience in writing the words, Orlando's experience in reading them, some mixture of these two voices, or even on a more neutral level of uninflected declamation, as we saw in Ruffo's setting of "Sa questo altier."

Before tackling the issue of narrative voice in the two settings, it will first be necessary to describe them in a more general sense. Medoro's inscription was not a popular text for madrigalists. Over the course of the sixteenth century, the first stanza was set to music four times, and the second was set only twice (always as a *seconda parte* to the first).[150] This lack of popularity among composers could be ascribed not only to the tricky narrative situation, but also to Orlando's much flashier response to Angelica's betrayal with Medoro, "Questi ch'indizio fan del mio tormento," which appears shortly afterward and was set fourteen times by cinquecento composers.[151]

Nasco's setting comes from his *Secondo libro di madrigali a 5 voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1557) and treats both stanzas in a two-part madrigal. Nasco chose a rather ambiguous mode for his cycle: while the G final and the authentic ranges of the canto and tenor parts suggest a Mixolydian mode, the prominence of cadences to C suggest the influence of either the Hypomixolydian mode, or even

149 Or, to be more precise, we come to know the text through our own reading (private or public) of Ariosto's description of Orlando's act of reading Medoro's inscription.

150 Balsano, "L'Ariosto in musica," 62.

151 Balsano, "L'Ariosto in musica," 63.

commixture with an Ionian or transposed Lydian mode. As shown in **Table V** below, both *parti* end on a G sonority, although neither has a particularly satisfying final cadence: the *prima parte* ends on a "plagal" cadence to G in the *supplementum* style I referred to earlier (mm. 68-69), while the *seconda parte* ends with a real *supplementum* that begins with a cadential gesture toward C (mm. 52-53). With its re-articulated suspension in the tenor, deceptive 2-3 motion in the quintus, and 5-1 motion in the bass, this serves as the last real cadential arrival in the piece before it spins out to a weak arival on G (mm. 53-55).

This modal ambiguity may indeed reflect the multiple levels of narration going on in the text: the tension between the narrative voices of Medoro and Orlando is mirrored by the tension between C, which appears to be the "true" final and representative of Medoro's voice, and G, which frames Medoro's words in Orlando's experience as reader.[152] This tension is in fact crucial to Nasco's reading of the poem, as we shall see.

Texturally, Nasco's setting offers few surprises. There are no incidents of homorhythmic declamation in all voices, and as in Ruffo's setting of "Sa questo altier," homorhythm among several voices is always employed for variation in an imitative texture.[153] Because of this relative seamlessness, one could be tempted to call Nasco's setting a polyphonic *recitazione* that does not employ the sort of musical glossing we have seen in the earlier settings of Bradamante's lament. There are, however, a few musical details that seem to indicate Nasco's adoption of Medoro's narrative voice for the setting of this text, which is then loosely framed by Orlando's *lezione*, represented by the supplementum and its weak gesture toward G.

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152 Susan McClary also discusses modal ambiguity as a device for framing narrative discussions in her analysis of Cipriano de Rore's "Da le belle contrade d'oriente." See McClary, *Modal Subjectivities,* 104-113.

153 See, for example, "Per la commodità che qui m'è data" (Prima parte; mm. 32-38) and "Et di pregar ogni signor amante" (Seconda parte; mm. 1-6).

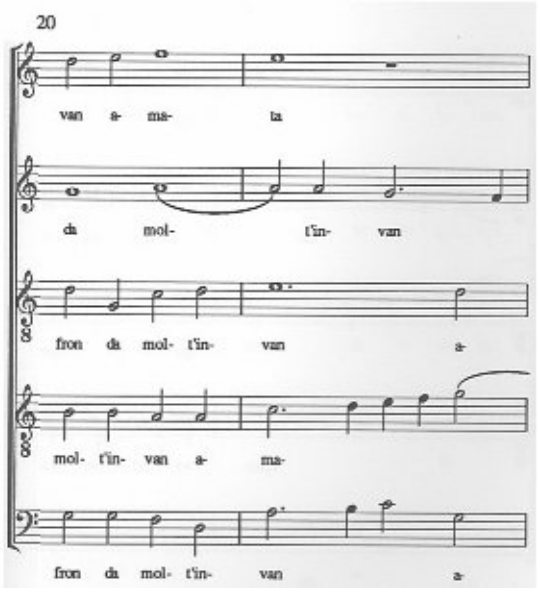
Table V: Nasco's "Liete Piante" and "Et di pregar ogni signor"

Text	Internal Cadences [mm.]	Final Cadence
Liete piante, verd'herbe e limpide acque	C "herbe" [5]	C [7]
Spelunch'opach'e di fredde ombre grata,	G "opacha" [9, 10, 11, 12]	G [15]
dove la bell'Angelica che nacque		G [18]
di Galafron, da molt'in van amata,	E phrygian (weak) "amata" [21]	G [22]
spesso ne le mie braccia nuda giacque;	E phrygian "braccia" [25] C "giacque" [27] G (dbl-LT) "giacque" [32[	G (impf.) [33]
Per la commodità che qui m'è data,		G (evap.) [38]
io povero Medor ricompensarvi		G [45] C in bass!
d'altro non posso, che d'ogn'hor lodarvi	C "pensarvi" [48] G "posso"[49] C "lodarvi" [51] G "posso" [53] G "posso lodarvi" [55]	G (evap) [56]
io povero Medor ricompensarvi		G [64]
d'altro non posso, che d'ogn'hor lodarvi		G "plagal" [69]

Text	Internal Cadences [mm.]	Final Cadence
Seconda Parte		
et di pregar ogni signor amante		G (evap) [5]
e cavallier e damigell' e ognuna		None - Enjamb't
persona, o paesana o viandante,	G "persona" [14]	G-G Dvtl [17-18]
che qui sua volontà meni o Fortuna;	D "volontà/fortuna" [21-22] 4-3 sus. in canto points to G, but unresolved.	G [24]
ch'all'erbe, all'ombre, all'antro, al rio, alle piante	C "antro" [26]	G [29]
dica: benign'habbiat'et sol et luna,		G [36]
e de le nimph'il coro, che proveggia		C (weak) [42]
che non conduca a voi pastor mai greggia.		G [45-46]
che non conduca a voi pastor mai greggia.		C [49]
che non conduca a voi pastor mai greggia.		G "plagal" [55]

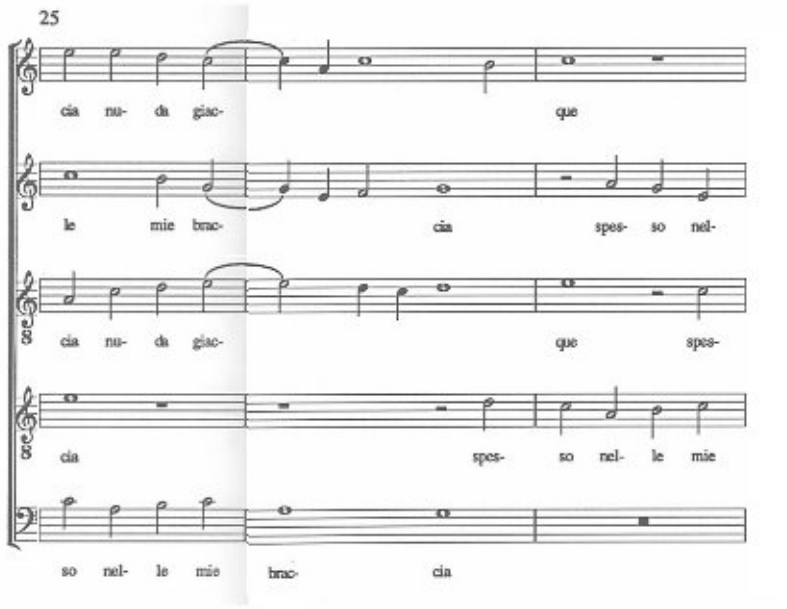
It is important to remember that Medoro's words are *written down*, even in the context of the poem. Nasco responds to this by maintaining a varied imitative texture throughout his setting, a form of making music that is the most distant from any improvisatory tradition. He does, however, occasionally allow emotional inflection to slip through into the music at key points in the first stanza, as if excitement had caused the Moorish prince's pen to slip and mar his otherwise flawless Arabic calligraphy, or perhaps in order to foreground the emotional experience of the otherwise neutral reader, Orlando.

The first such example occurs on the text "da molt'in van *amata*" (m. 21), where the canto's iteration of the text ends with a weak tenth-to-octave E-phrygian cadential gesture (**Ex. 19**). Such a cadence is not clearly under the influence of either of the modes in play in Nasco's piece, thus highlighting the event's location in a real-world space outside the subjectivities of the two narrators. This gesture is mirrored by a strong 6th to 8ve cadence to E on "Spesso nelle mie *braccia* nuda giacque"(m. 25),where Medoro highlights his conquest of the lady whose love is vainly sought by so many.



Example 19: Nasco - "Liete piante," mm. 20-21

The first iteration of this text ends with a cadence on C (mm. 26-27), which represents Medoro's original narration of the fact (**Ex. 20**).

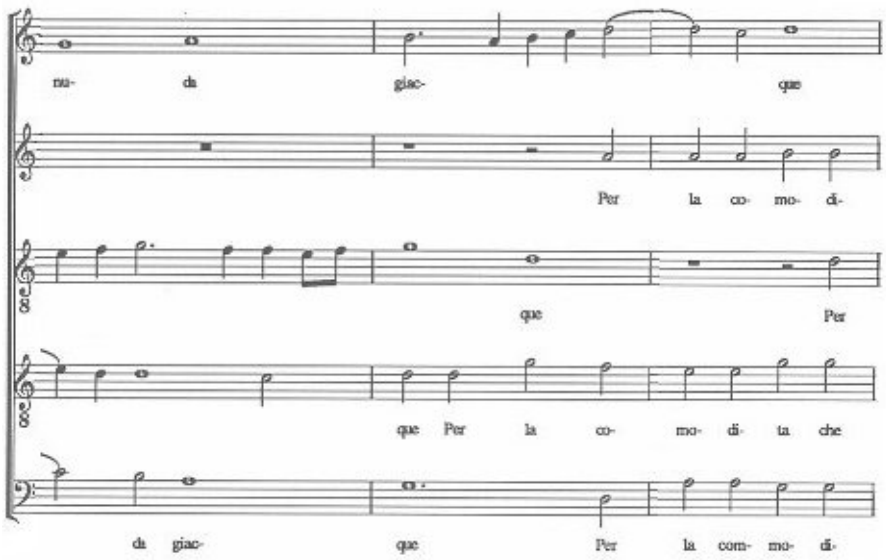


Example 20: Nasco - "Liete piante," mm. 25-27

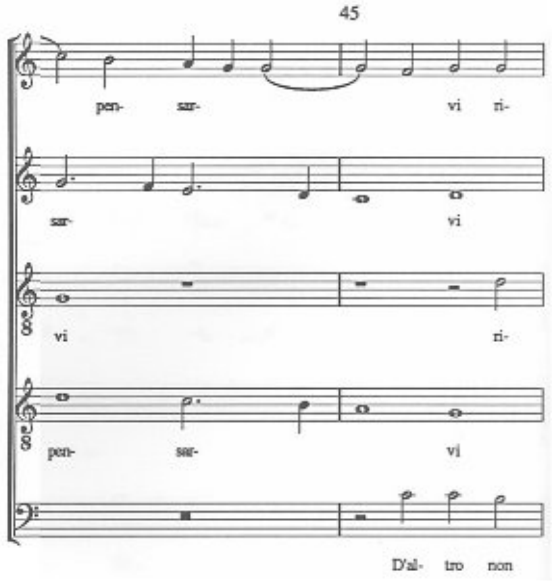
Nasco then goes on to reinforce Medoro's point in Orlando's mind with a double-leading-tone cadence to G on "giacque" (mm. 31-32), followed immediately by another "imperfect" third-fifth cadence to G in the following measure (**Ex. 21**)**.** The unusual and archaic sound of this cadence mirrors Orlando's shock at reading these words, the simultaneous sharps representing the *durezza* of the feeling. The next cadence, on "Io povero Medor ricompensarvi" (m. 45) reinforces Medoro's destruction of Orlando's inner world as his identity is revealed as the bass's entrance on C (the final of Medoro's narrative mode) undermines the cadence to G (the final of Orlando's narrative mode) in the cantus and tenor, causing a striking dissonance with the altus's D (**Ex. 22**).

Ruffo's setting, from his *Primo libri di madrigali a 5 voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1553) by contrast, appears to ignore Medoro's subjectivity by focusing on Orlando's reaction upon reading the inscription left at the cave. It is perhaps for this reason that the composer did not bother to set the second stanza—it contains

no further information about Medoro's and Angelica's relationship, and thus would have borne little importance in Orlando's eyes. Ruffo's setting, unlike Nasco's, is very stable modally. Ruffo elected to set the text in the the Hypolydian mode, and though he begins the madrigal on a C sonority, nearly all subsequent cadences are to the final (**Table VI**).



Example 21: Nasco - "Liete piante," mm. 31-33



Example 22: Nasco - "Liete piante," mm. 44-45.

Ruffo employs most of the same techniques in his musical reflection of Orlando's *lezione* as he used in his setting of "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi," though in this case melodic contour is not nearly so crucial to his reading as polyphonic texture, most likely because he is expressing abstract rather than physical concepts. As in Nasco's setting of the stanza, Ruffo's starts off modally stable and contrapuntally seamless, as he easily reads the Arabic insciption, which, as Ariosto notes in the following stanza, "...[i]l conte intendea/così ben come latino:/fra molte lingue e molte ch'avea pronte,/prontissma avea quella il paladino" ("the count understood/as well as Latin:/for among the many languages he mastered/the paladin had truly mastered that one").[154]

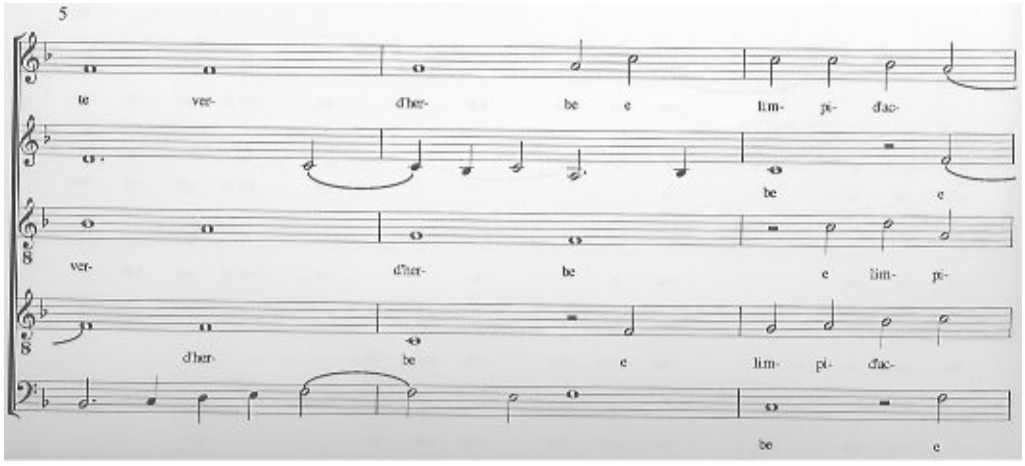
Table VI: Ruffo's "Liete piante"

Text	Internal Cadences [mm.]	Final Cadence
Liete piante, verd'herbe e limpide acque	F-C dvtl "herbe e limpide" [6-7] C is weak (no susp).	A phrygian [10]
Spelunch'opach'e di fredde ombre grata,	A (F in bass) "grata" [14] C (weak; F in bass) "grata" [15]	F [18]
dove la bell'Angelica che nacque		C [22]
di Galafron, da molt'in van amata,	F "amata" [25]; Idem. [29]	F [30]
spesso ne le mie braccia nuda giacque;		F [34]
Per la commodità che qui m'è data,		F [38]
io povero Medor ricompensarvi		A phrygian [44]
d'altro non posso, che d'ogn'hor lodarvi		F [48]
io povero Medor ricompensarvi		A phrygian [54]
d'altro non posso, che d'ogn'hor lodarvi		F [58]

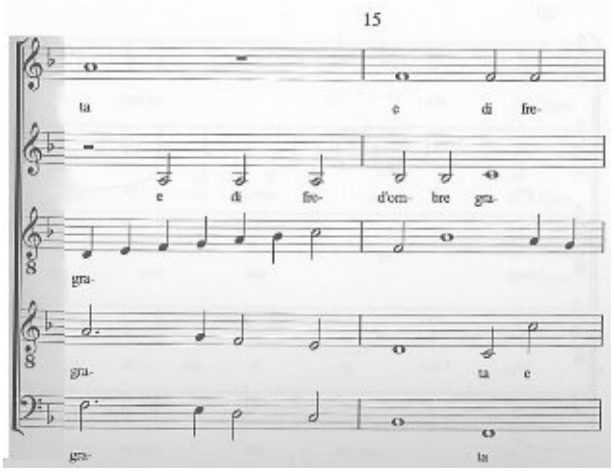
Orlando's comfortable reading of the Arabic inscription, however, begins to crack as soon as he encounters the name of his beloved Angelica. The text "Dove la bell'Angelica che *nacque*" carries the only strong cadence to any note other than F (the final) or A (the reciting tone). Indeed, the only other cadential

154O.f. XXIII; 110. Translation mine.

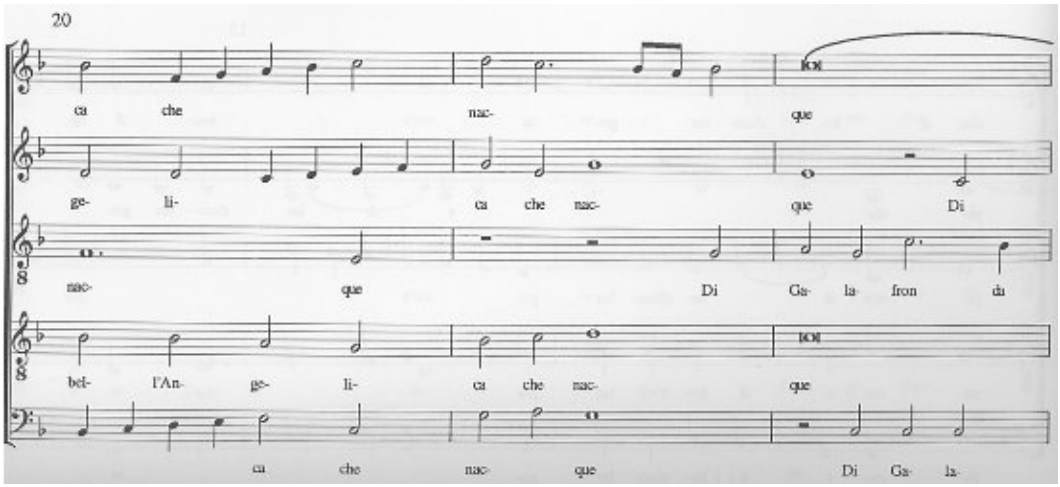
gestures toward C are either weakened by a stonger gesture to F (**Ex. 23**) or sabotaged by an F in the bass (**Ex. 24**). This avoidance of C may represent Orlando's conscious attempts to avoid giving into his suspicions, which are finally incontrovertibly set before him. When he sees Angelica's name written in stone (**Ex. 25**) Orlando is unable to hide from the truth any longer and begins his descent into madness.



Example 23: Ruffo - "Liete piante," mm. 5-7



Example 24: Ruffo - "Liete piante," mm. 14-15



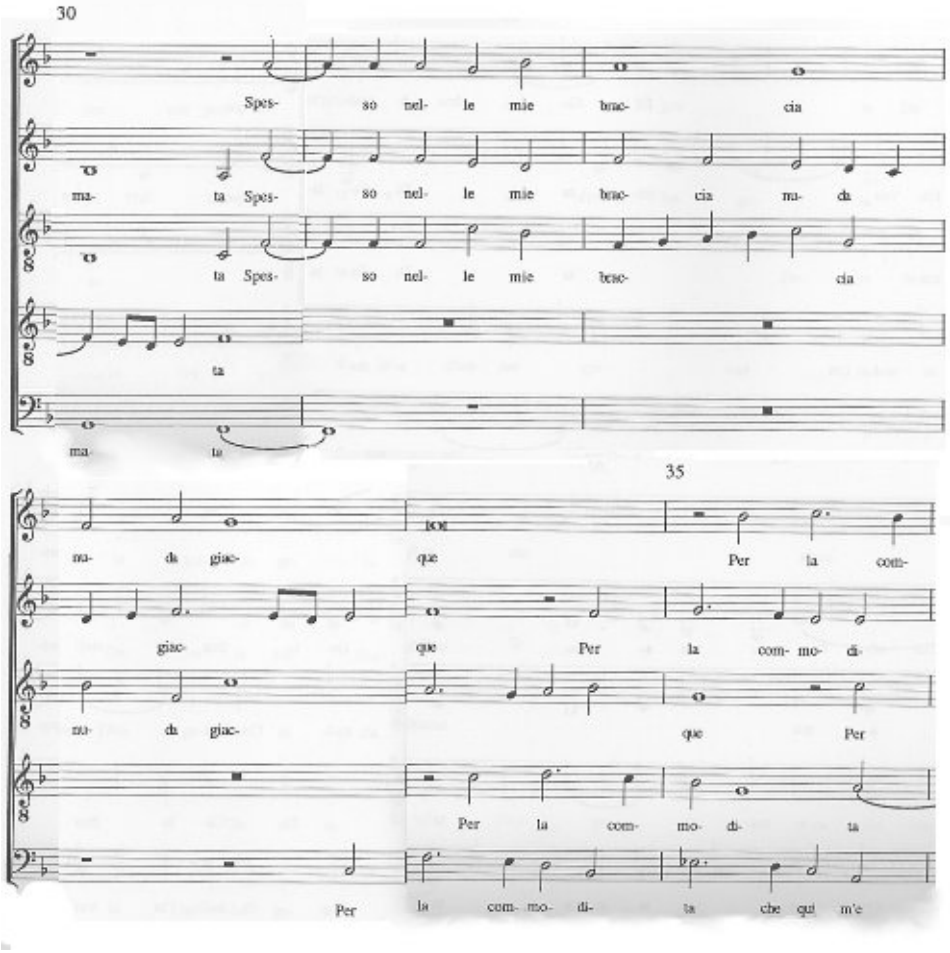
Example 25: Ruffo - "Liete piante," mm. 20-22

Indeed, it is precisely when Medoro goes on to describe his erotic experience in the cave with Angelica that Orlando really begins to lose it. The tenore and basso drop out on the text "spesso nelle mie braccie nuda giacque" (mm. 30-34) as the upper three voices declaim the text in homorhythm, which breaks down on the word "nuda" (m. 32) into free polyphony. The floor thus drops out from under Orlando as the realisation hits him that Angelica has lain with another man, and this man's comforts ("commodità") lead to the only chromatic inflection in the piece, the Eb at measure 35, creating a unique Eb-major sonority that must have corresponded in Ruffo's mind to the sinking feeling Orlando felt in the pit of his stomach (**Ex. 26**).[155] This could be easily compared to first appearance of the same sonority on the text "et io *piangendo*" in Arcadelt's "Il bianco e dolce cigno."

Thus informed of Angelica's "betrayal" with another man (Orlando and Angelica had not, in fact, ever been together), the only missing piece of information was the identity of her lover—the man responsible for stealing her

155 This inflection would have also come as a great surprise to all the singers save the basso, where the leap of a fourth would have necessitated a ficta Eb, but the composer elected to write in the accidental regardless.

love and her virtue. Indeed, when Orlando reaches Medoro's name it echoes



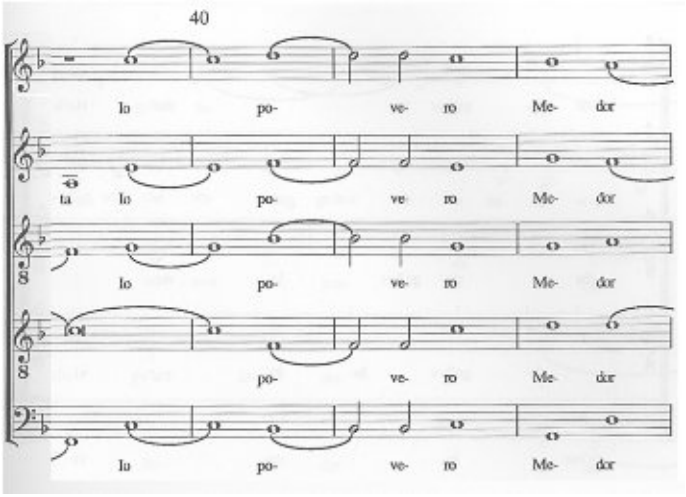
Example 26: Ruffo - "Liete piante," mm. 30-35

forcefully in his mind, as all five voices twice declaim in unison the words "Io povero Medor" (**Ex. 27**), where the repetition of the last two lines of the stanza is used to great effect in representing Orlando's obsessive rereading of Medoro's words, as the poet describes two stanzas later: "Tre volte e quattro e sei lesse lo scritto" ("Three times, and four, and six he read the insciption").[156]

The preceding two madrigals have shown exactly how each composer's choice of text and musical approach helped them to represent narrative voice in Ariosto's multi-layered text. Such a choice is not required in the case of silent reading—much in the same way a reader does not need to choose between

156O.f. XXIII; 111. Translation mine.

reading the text and a commentator's glosses—but they are required in a public recitation such as would have occurred in the academy. Only when it is clear *who* is speaking can any effort be made to interpret musically that character's interior state.



Example 27: Ruffo - "Liete piante," mm. 39-43

Indeed, these two settings would have made for an excellent study in these multiple layers of narration in an academic context, as their performance side-by-side would have afforded the singers the opportunity to experience and discuss both points of view. To this end, there is some evidence of performance of Ruffo's madrigal by the *filarmonici*: not only was it printed shortly after the end of Ruffo's employment by the academy, the collection in which it appeared was also dedicated to Count Giovanbattista della Torre, a member the Accademia Filarmonica who also belonged to one of Verona's most powerful aristocratic families.[157]

No such direct connection exists for Nasco's composition, but a case can nonetheless be made. While the dedication to Nasco's *Secondo libro* suggests that its contents were composed in Treviso, such a claim may have been intended to appease the dedicatee, who was a canon there.[158] Indeed, after his departure for

157 Einstein, "Vincenzo Ruffo," 234.
158 Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 2, 34.

Treviso Nasco wrote to the *filarmonici*: "I have recopied and corrected to a large extent my *canzone* that I composed when I was at the Accademia; I will send them to your Lordships soon because they are yours. I was hoping to get them into print."[159]

Not only do the dates of publication, the shared text, and the connections of both composers to the academy make it very likely that they were performed there during Nasco's and Ruffo's tenure, but both prints have also (at least partially) survived in the academy's archives, indicating at the very least their performance in later years.[160] Such performance would have been an excellent fit for the group's literary prerogative and a stimulating starting point for the discussion of Ariosto's narrative style—always a popular point of discussion among the critics of the age.

159 Trans. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 2, 32.
160 Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 2, 165.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have shown the importance of the amateur academy as a centre for cultural discourse in Renaissance Italy from the mythical founding of Ficino's Accademia Platonica in the 1460s onward. As a place where members were free to associate outside the normal bounds of the stratified castes of Renaissance society, the academy was an ideal environment for free discussion because the normal boundaries between public and private—or spoken and written—discourse became blurred. Research by leading scholars has proved the importance of music—both improvised poetic recitation and polyphony—to the activities of these academies, and it is in the cultural environment of mid-century Verona, with the founding of the Accademia Filarmonica, that musical participation in the academy's cultural activities seems to have reached its zenith.

This tension between the spoken and the written, reflected in both musical and critical glosses, was an important matter of discussion in Ariosto's text. Indeed, Giovan Battista Pigna explicitly states in his 1554 treatise that *Orlando* is best understood when read *aloud*, because that is the very nature of the narrative tradition in which Ariosto followed. In their settings of selections from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, Berchem, Nasco, and Ruffo prove themselves to be interested in many of the same things that interested literary critics of the time. Polyphonic settings allowed the composers to create musical glosses for texts much in the same way that critics used marginalia to gloss poet's texts, building a unique commentary around the poet's pre-existing verse in such a way as to require an act of *reading* in order to comprehend it fully. Berchem's *Capriccio*, with its contrapuntal glosses built around the pre-existing *arie* of the improvisatory tradition, provides a particularly compelling example of this concept: Berchem takes an uninflected declamation of the text and builds his commentary around it in a written medium.

By combining the best attributes of the written tradition (glosses) with the spoken tradition (comprehensibility and directness), musical *lezioni* such as Berchem's must therefore represent an especially rich means of encountering a text, and they allowed composers to approach the text on varying levels. The first of these levels, and the one most commonly employed by the literary critics, was the explicatory level, wherein musical gestures were used to highlight and explain important images and metaphors. In this case, music's explanatory power can easily be seen in the comparison of Berchem's and Ruffo's settings of "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi" with Simone Fornari's gloss of the same passage in his 1549 *Spositione*. Both Berchem and Ruffo manipulate texture, tessitura, and melodic line in order to convey musically the key image of Icarus, and Bradamante's eternal cycle of soaring and falling on the wings of her love.

Composers could also, however, use music's ability to represent the intangible and to provide psychological analyses of Ariosto's characters. The second case is best evidenced by Berchem's musical representation of Bradamante's conflicted internal state in his cyclic setting of her lament for Ruggiero (Canto XXXII; 18-23). In each madrigal of the cycle Berchem plays on the tension between the G-oriented *arie*, which were drawn from the tradition of improvised recitation, and the modal implications of his added contrapuntal lines, which often point toward F. This tension represents not only the interaction between the improvisatory and written traditions in the academy (which itself mirrored the academy's melding of spoken and written discourse), but also Bradamante's internal conflict. Melodic and textural connections across the cycle that came to associate Bradamante with the Goddess of Love that so despised her (Stanza I, "Dunque fia ver" and Stanza IV, "Ma di che debbo lamentarmi"), bring the character's inner torment and self-hatred into sharp focus for the second half of the lament, where Bradamante turns her focus of her blame from the exterior world to her internal one.

Finally, composers could use these *lezioni* as a form of meta-commentary, addressing the complexities of multi-level narration by employing and even mixing different points of view in their own settings. Nasco's multi-layered reading of "Liete piante," which deftly uses modal ambiguity to musically represent Ariosto's narration of Orlando's reading of Medoro's inscription, is a clear example of such a process, while Ruffo's setting, which seems to more clearly focus on Orlando's experience of reading about Medoro's tryst, shows the composer's greater interest in Orlando's subjective experience.

The likely performance of these works in the Accademia Filarmonica indicates not only their importance as musical works, but also their importance to the literary discourse that was central to the concerns of all the amateur academies of this age. These musical *lezioni* clearly represent an important form of literary criticism that combines the concerns of the written critical tradition of Fornari, Giraldi, and Pigna with the private, individual response of the composer as reader. The performance of these responses by other members of the academy may represent a musical parallel to the the sort of private literary discourse that did not find its way into print: the subjective reaction of the individual reader.

The madrigal, therefore, may just be the only remaining evidence of a vein of literary thought that had, until now, appeared irrevocably lost. My analysis of the aforementioned madrigals, then, should serve as a model for scholars seeking to draw new meaning out of polyphonic settings of narrative poetry. Musical *lezioni* can indeed expand our view of cinquecento literary criticism beyond the realm of style and explication and into the realm of what readers, performers, and listeners might have thought and felt about the works they discussed in the academy, but never wrote down in *words*.

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Appendix: Bradamante's Lament

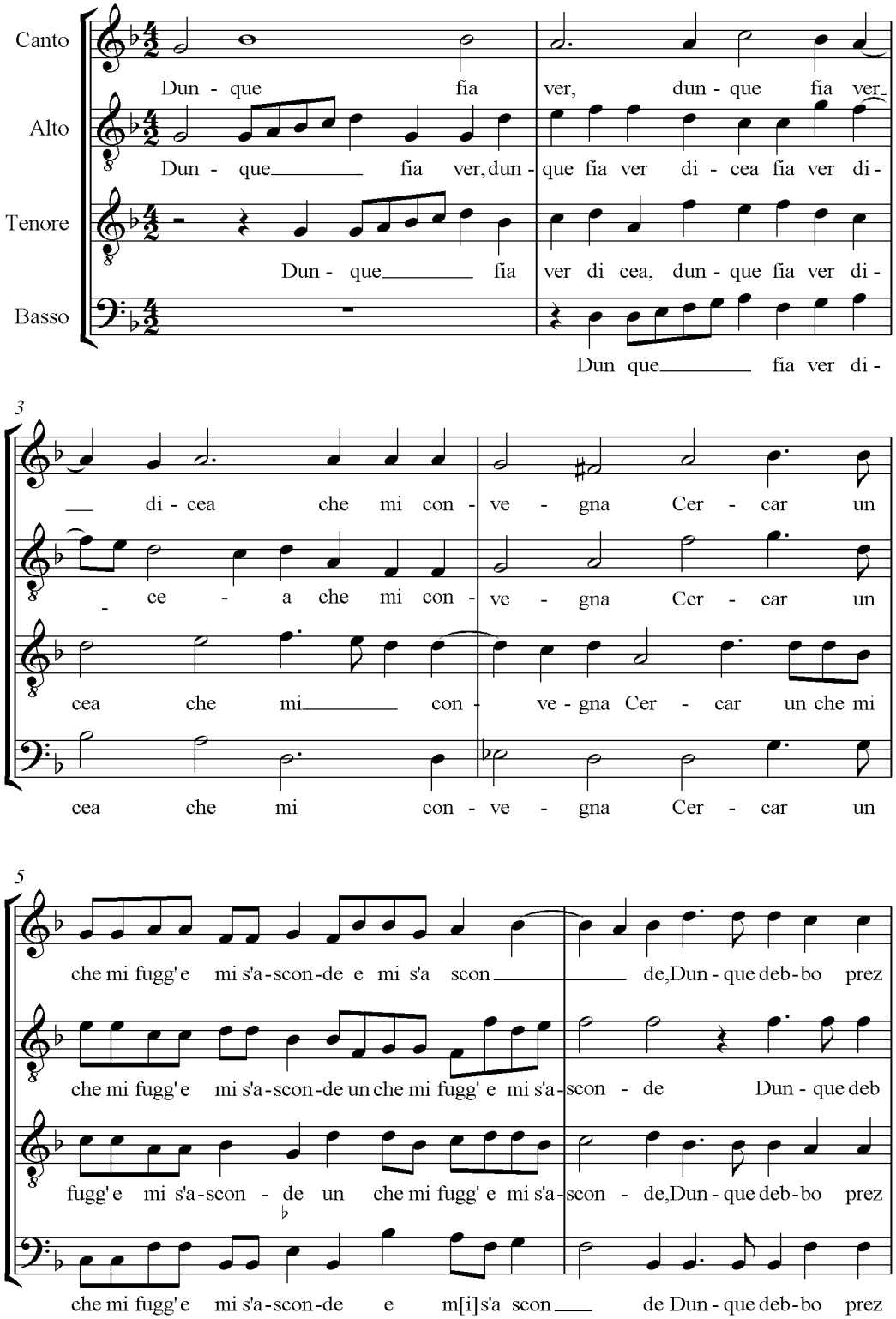
Dunque fia ver

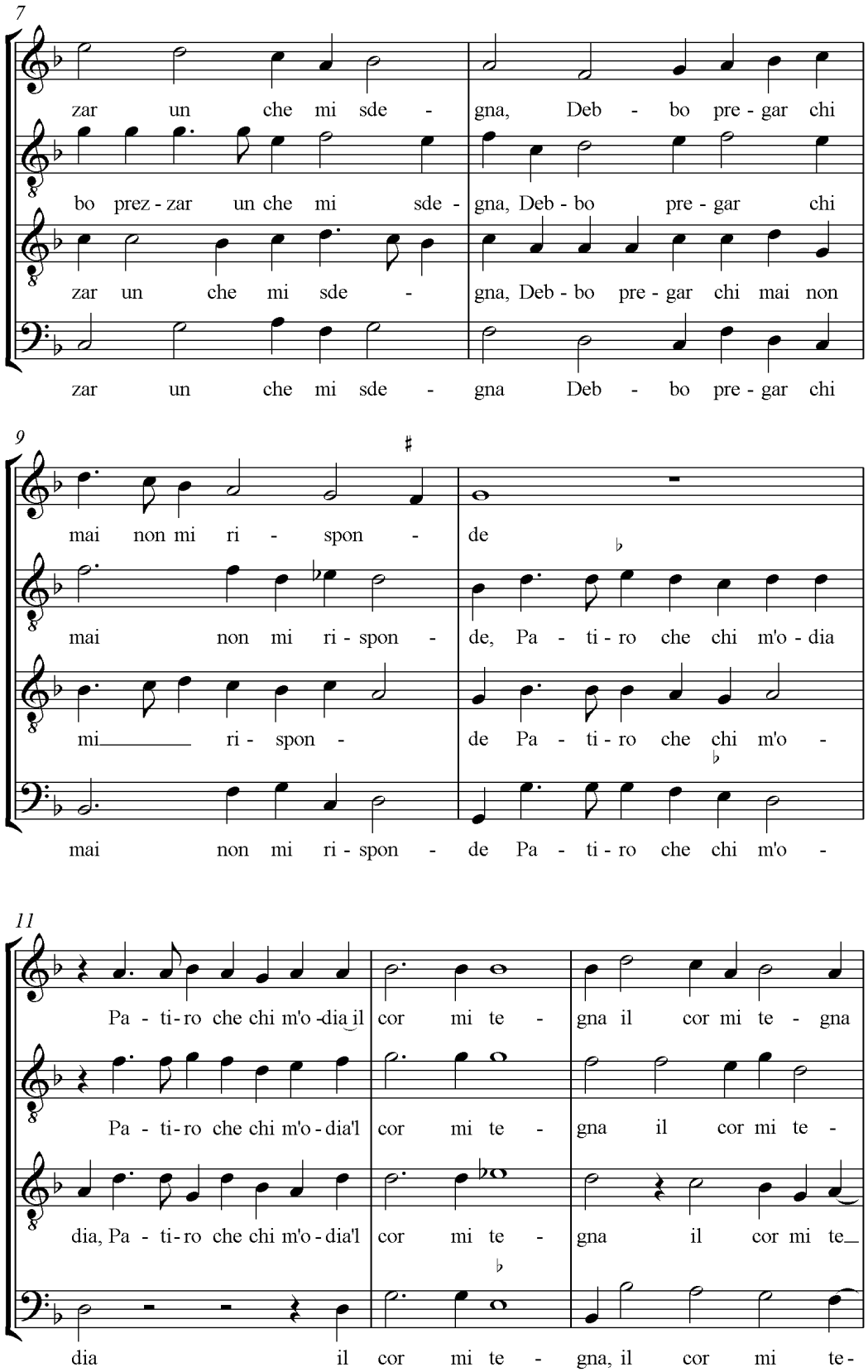
Transc. Daniel Donnelly

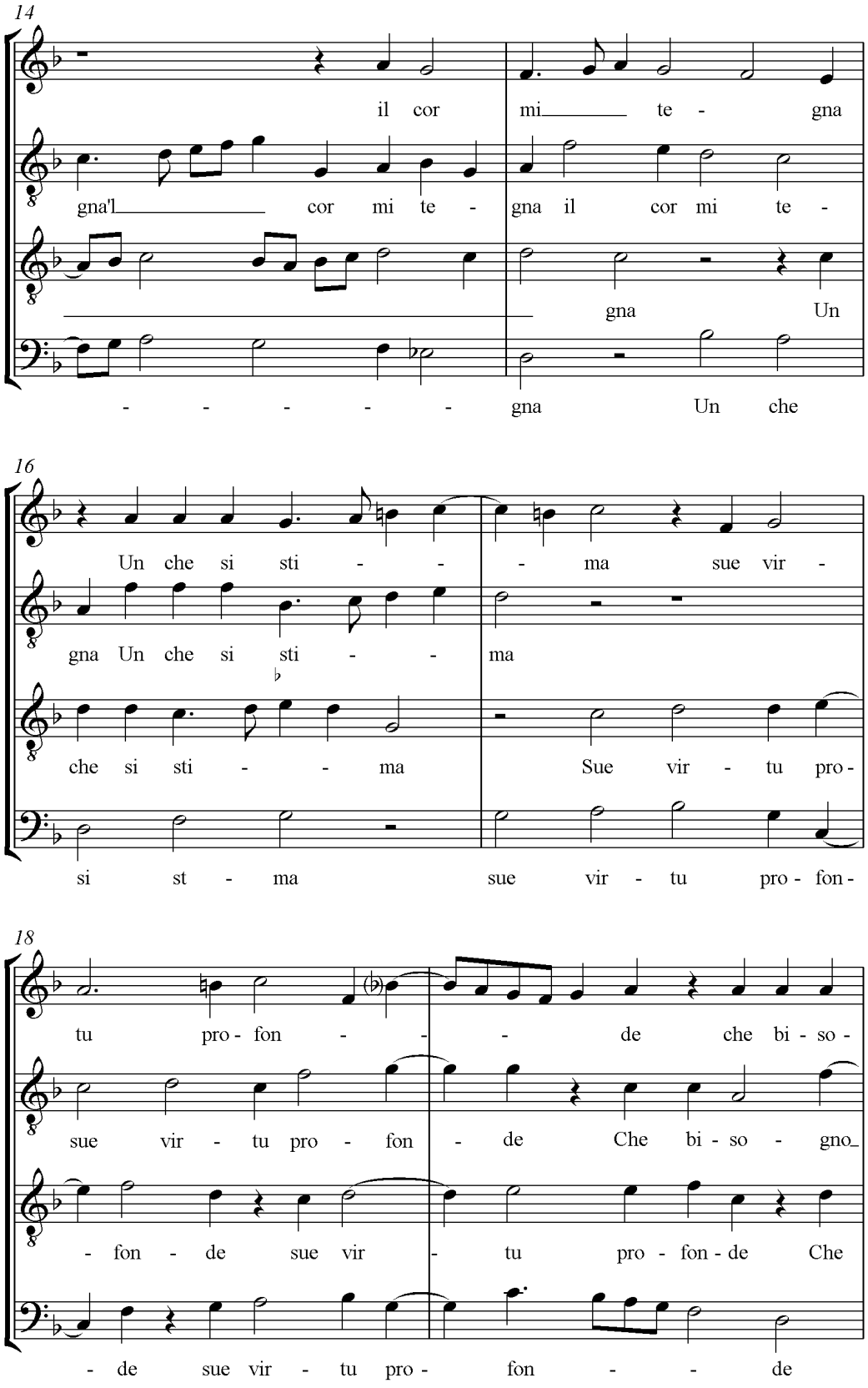
Bradamante's Lament I

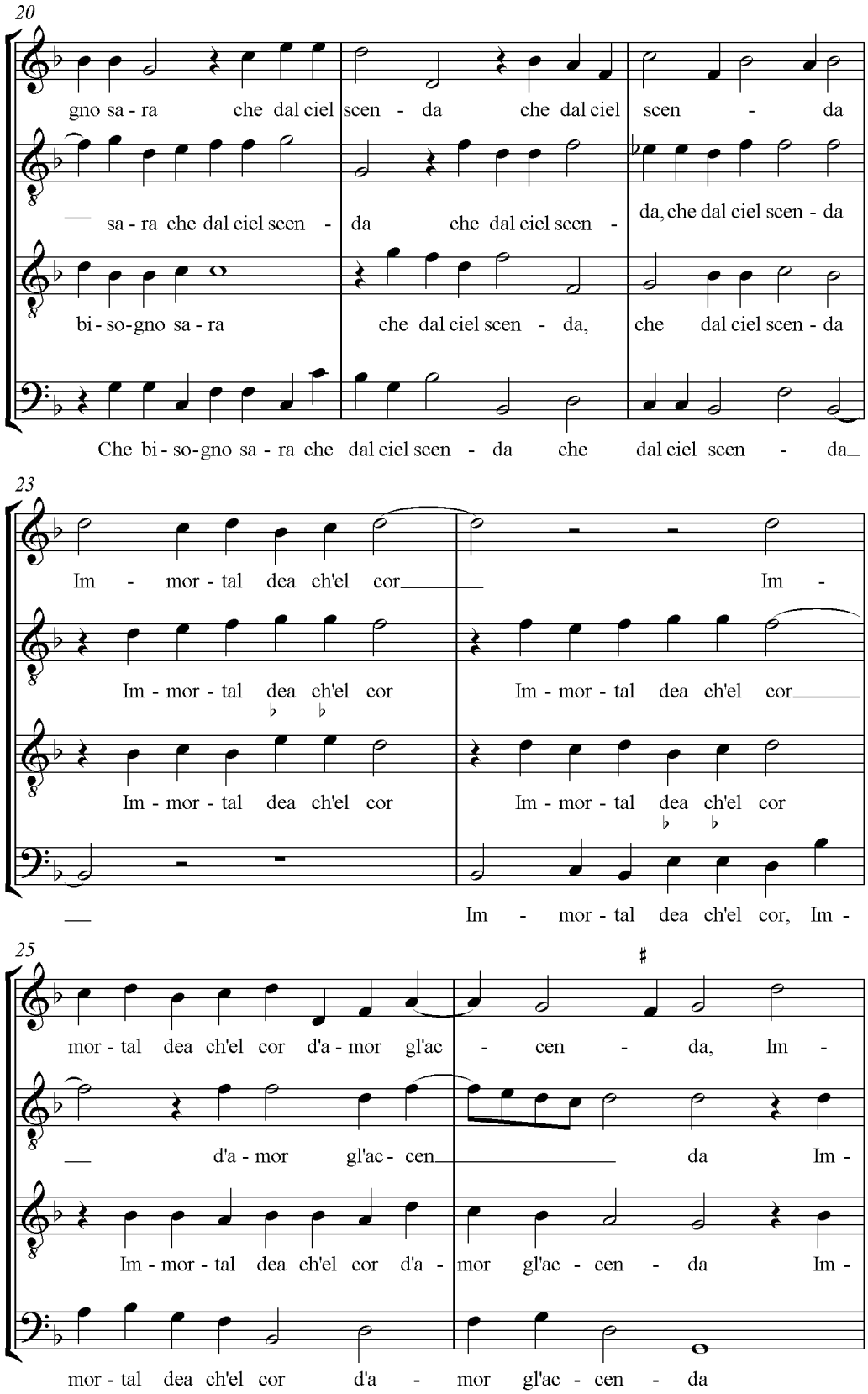
O.f. XXXII, 18

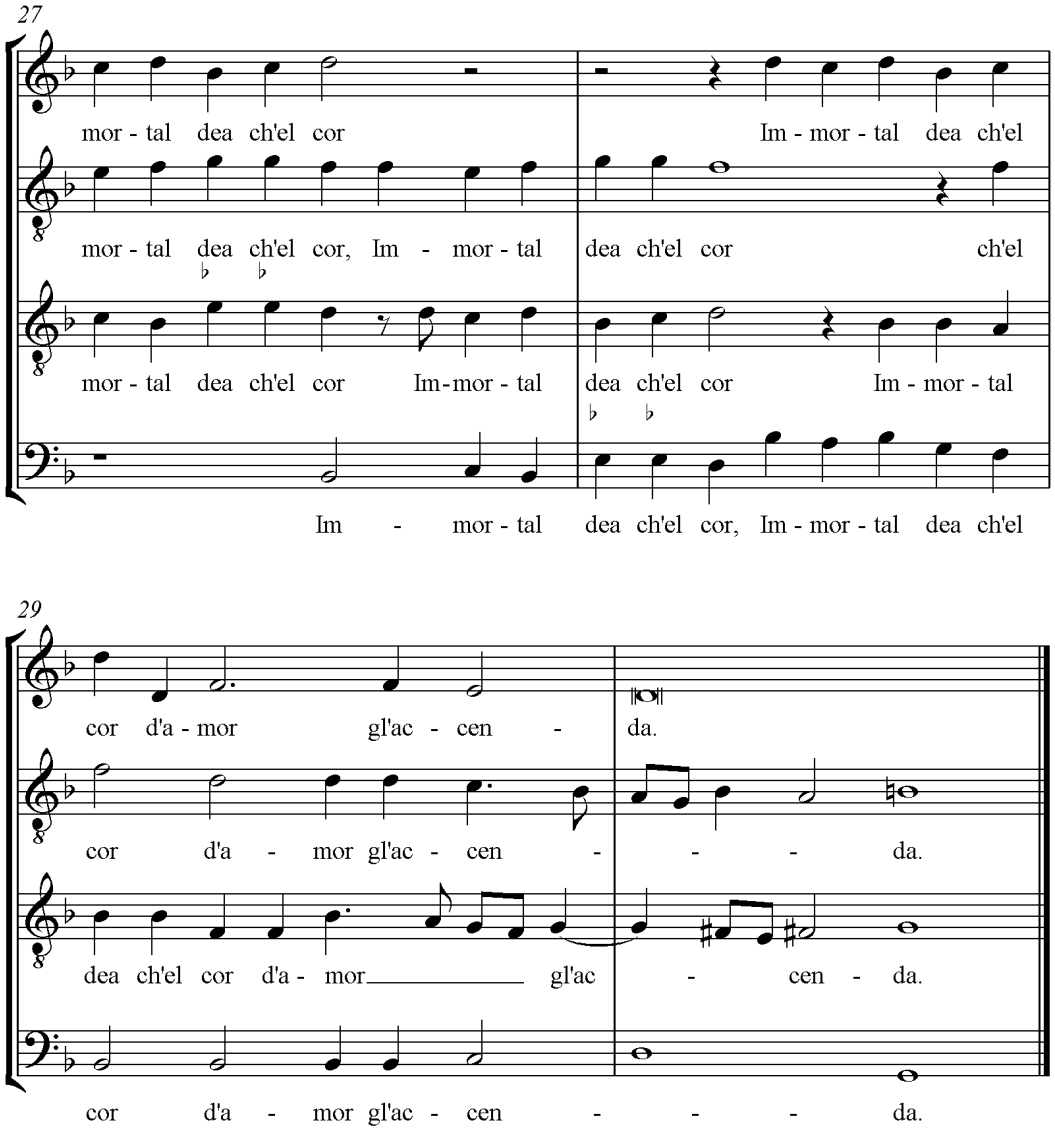
Jachet de Berchem




7
zar un che mi sde - gna, Deb - bo pre - gar chi
bo prez - zar un che mi sde - gna, Deb - bo pre - gar chi
zar un che mi sde - gna, Deb - bo pre - gar chi mai non
zar un che mi sde - gna Deb - bo pre - gar chi
9
mai non mi ri - spon - de
mai non mi ri - spon - de, Pa - ti - ro che chi m'o - dia
mi ri - spon - de Pa - ti - ro che chi m'o -
mai non mi ri - spon - de Pa - ti - ro che chi m'o -
11
Pa - ti - ro che chi m'o - dia il cor mi te - gna il cor mi te - gna
Pa - ti - ro che chi m'o - dia'l cor mi te - gna il cor mi te -
dia, Pa - ti - ro che chi m'o - dia'l cor mi te - gna il cor mi te
dia il cor mi te - gna, il cor mi te -


14
il cor mi te - gna
gna'l cor mi te - gna il cor mi te -
gna Un
- - - - - gna Un che
16
Un che si sti - - - ma sue vir -
gna Un che si sti - - ma
che si sti - - ma Sue vir - tu pro -
si st - ma sue vir - tu pro - fon -
18
tu pro - fon - - - de che bi - so -
sue vir - tu pro - fon - de Che bi - so - gno
- fon - de sue vir - tu pro - fon - de Che
- de sue vir - tu pro - fon - - de


20
gno sa - ra che dal ciel scen - da che dal ciel scen - da
sa - ra che dal ciel scen - da che dal ciel scen - da, che dal ciel scen - da
bi - so - gno sa - ra che dal ciel scen - da, che dal ciel scen - da
Che bi - so - gno sa - ra che dal ciel scen - da che dal ciel scen - da
23
Im - mor - tal dea ch'el cor Im -
Im - mor - tal dea ch'el cor Im - mor - tal dea ch'el cor
Im - mor - tal dea ch'el cor Im - mor - tal dea ch'el cor
Im - mor - tal dea ch'el cor, Im -
25
mor - tal dea ch'el cor d'a - mor gl'ac - cen - da, Im -
d'a - mor gl'ac - cen da Im -
Im - mor - tal dea ch'el cor d'a - mor gl'ac - cen - da Im -
mor - tal dea ch'el cor d'a - mor gl'ac - cen - da


27
mor - tal dea ch'el cor
Im - mor - tal dea ch'el
mor - tal dea ch'el cor, Im - mor - tal
dea ch'el cor
ch'el
mor - tal dea ch'el cor
Im - mor - tal
dea ch'el cor
Im - mor - tal
Im - mor - tal dea ch'el cor, Im - mor - tal dea ch'el
29
cor d'a - mor gl'ac - cen - da.
cor d'a - mor gl'ac - cen - - - da.
dea ch'el cor d'a - mor gl'ac - cen - da.
cor d'a - mor gl'ac - cen - - - da.

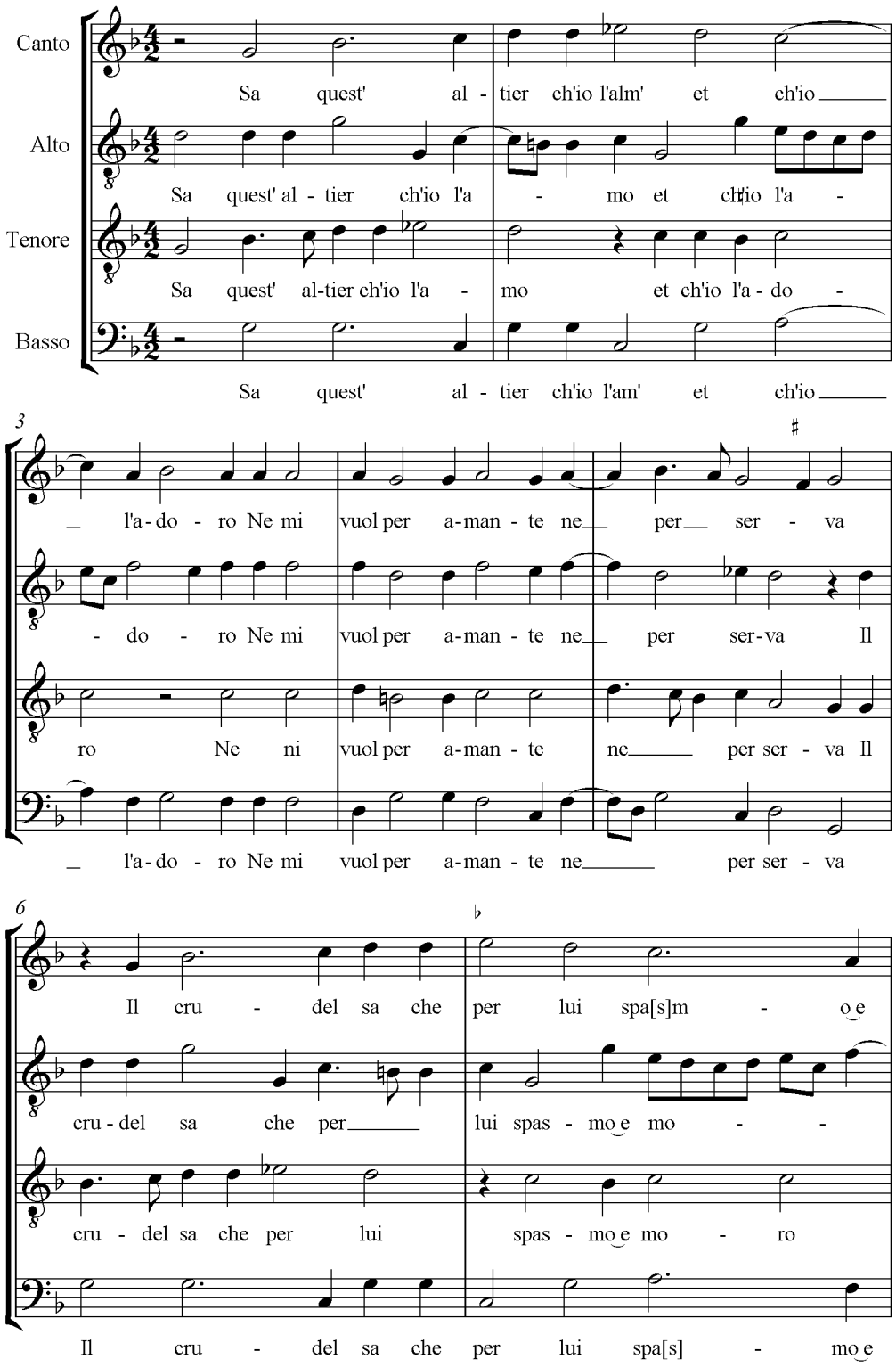
Sa questo altier

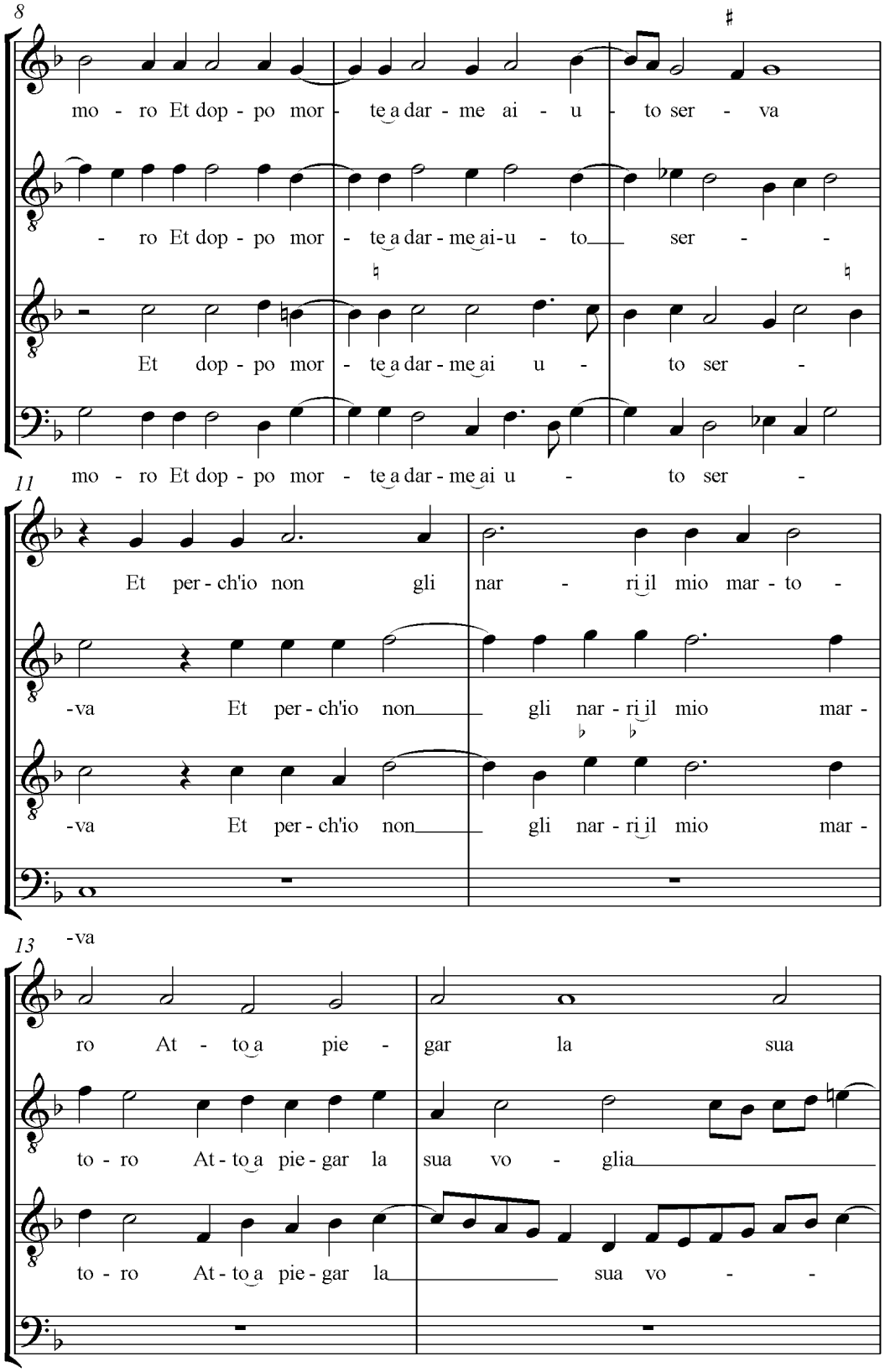
Bradamante's Lament II

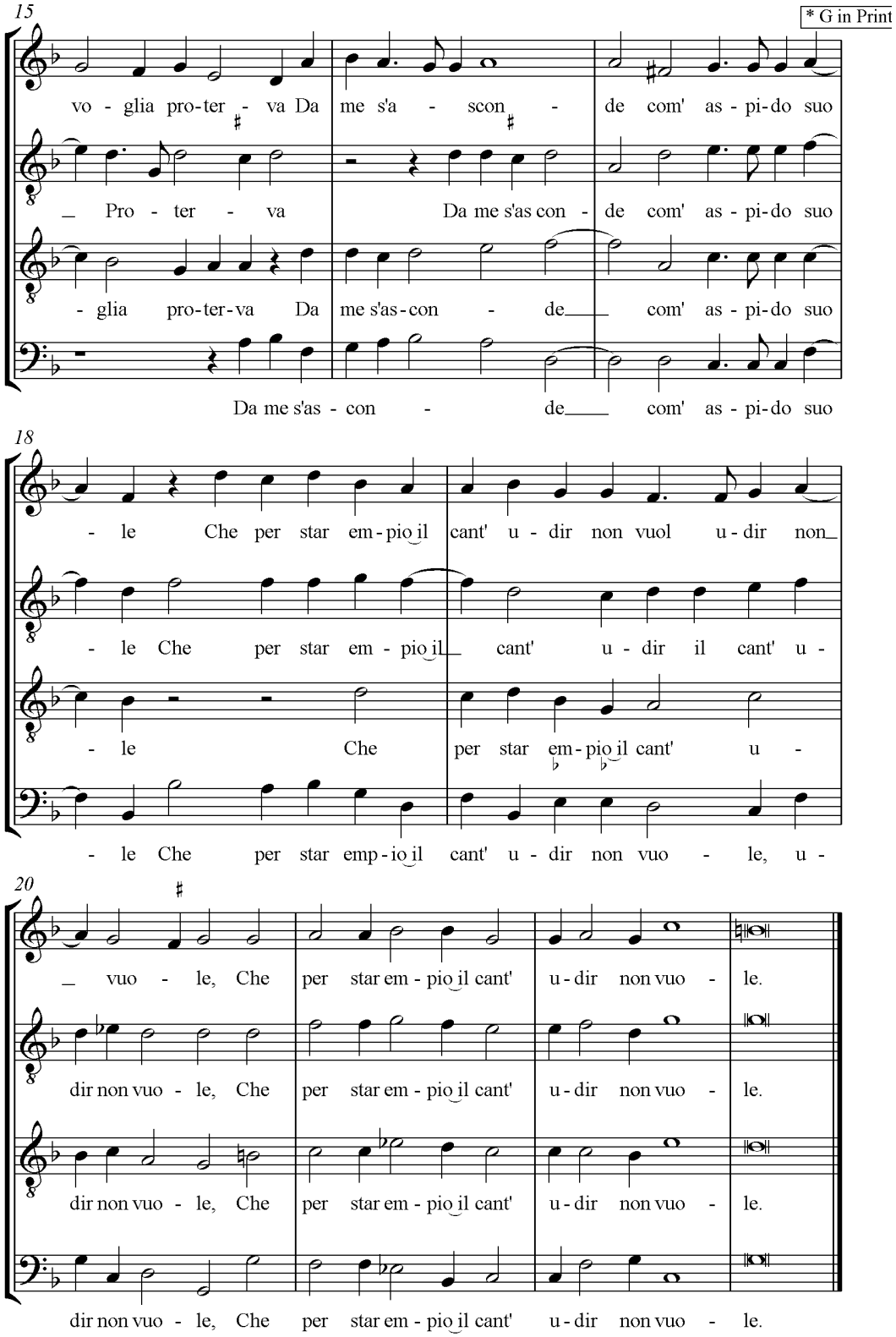
O.f. XXXII, 19

Transc. Daniel Donnelly

Jachet de Berchem




8
mo - ro Et dop - po mor - te a dar - me ai - u - to ser - va
- ro Et dop - po mor - te a dar - me ai - u - to ser - -
Et dop - po mor - te a dar - me ai u - to ser -
mo - ro Et dop - po mor - te a dar - me ai u - to ser -
11
Et per - ch'io non gli nar - ri il mio mar - to -
-va Et per - ch'io non gli nar - ri il mio mar -
-va Et per - ch'io non gli nar - ri il mio mar -
13
-va
ro At - to a pie - gar la sua
to - ro At - to a pie - gar la sua vo - glia
to - ro At - to a pie - gar la sua vo - -


15
* G in Print
vo - glia pro-ter - va Da me s'a - scon - de com' as - pi-do suo
_ Pro - ter - va Da me s'as con - de com' as - pi-do suo
- glia pro-ter-va Da me s'as-con - de com' as - pi-do suo
Da me s'as - con - de com' as - pi-do suo
18
- le Che per star em-pio il cant' u - dir non vuol u - dir non
- le Che per star em - pio il cant' u - dir il cant' u -
- le Che per star em-pio il cant' u -
- le Che per star emp-io il cant' u - dir non vuo - le, u -
20
_ vuo - le, Che per star em - pio il cant' u-dir non vuo - le.
dir non vuo - le, Che per star em - pio il cant' u-dir non vuo - le.
dir non vuo - le, Che per star em - pio il cant' u-dir non vuo - le.
dir non vuo - le, Che per star em - pio il cant' u-dir non vuo - le.

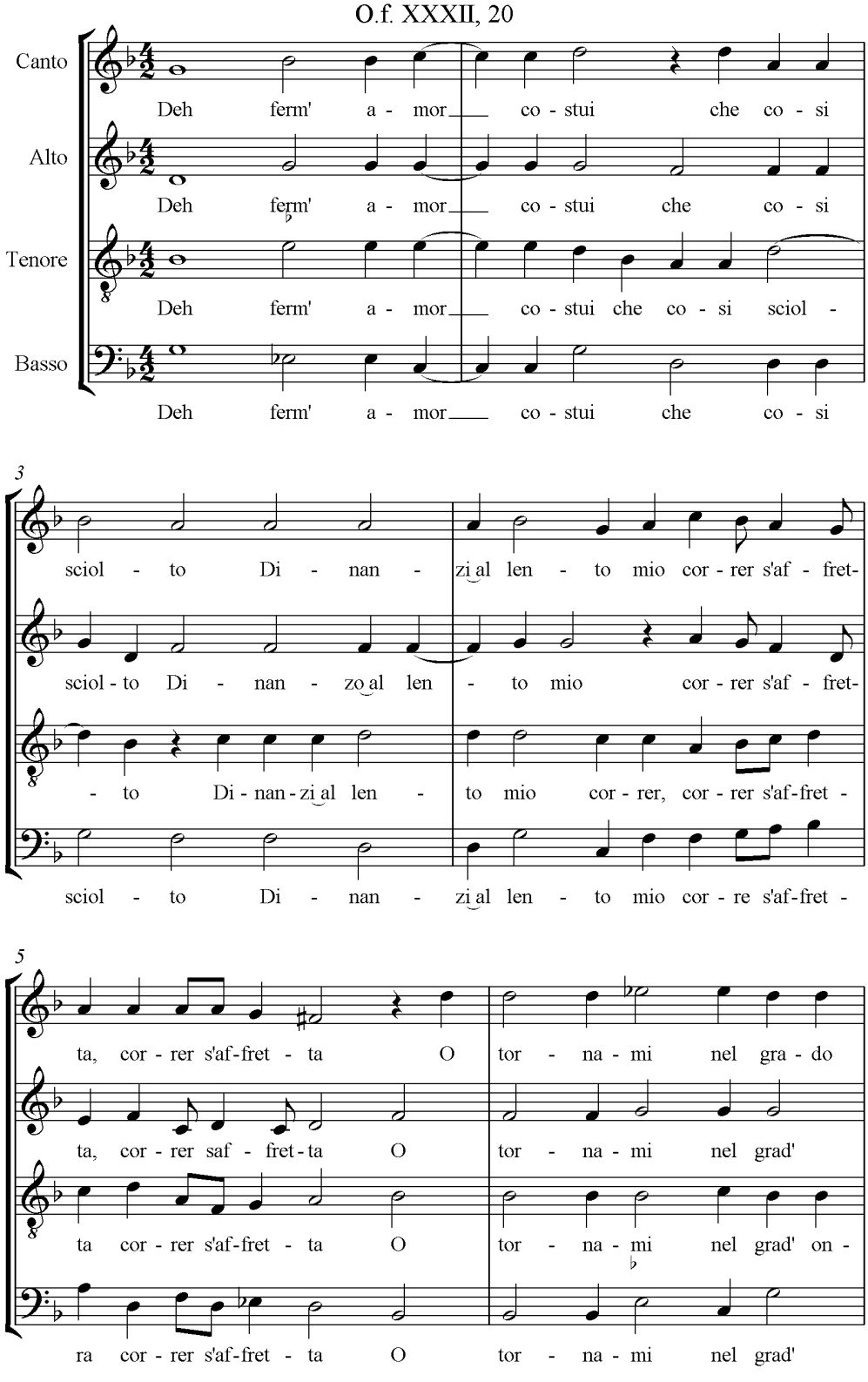
Deh ferm'amor

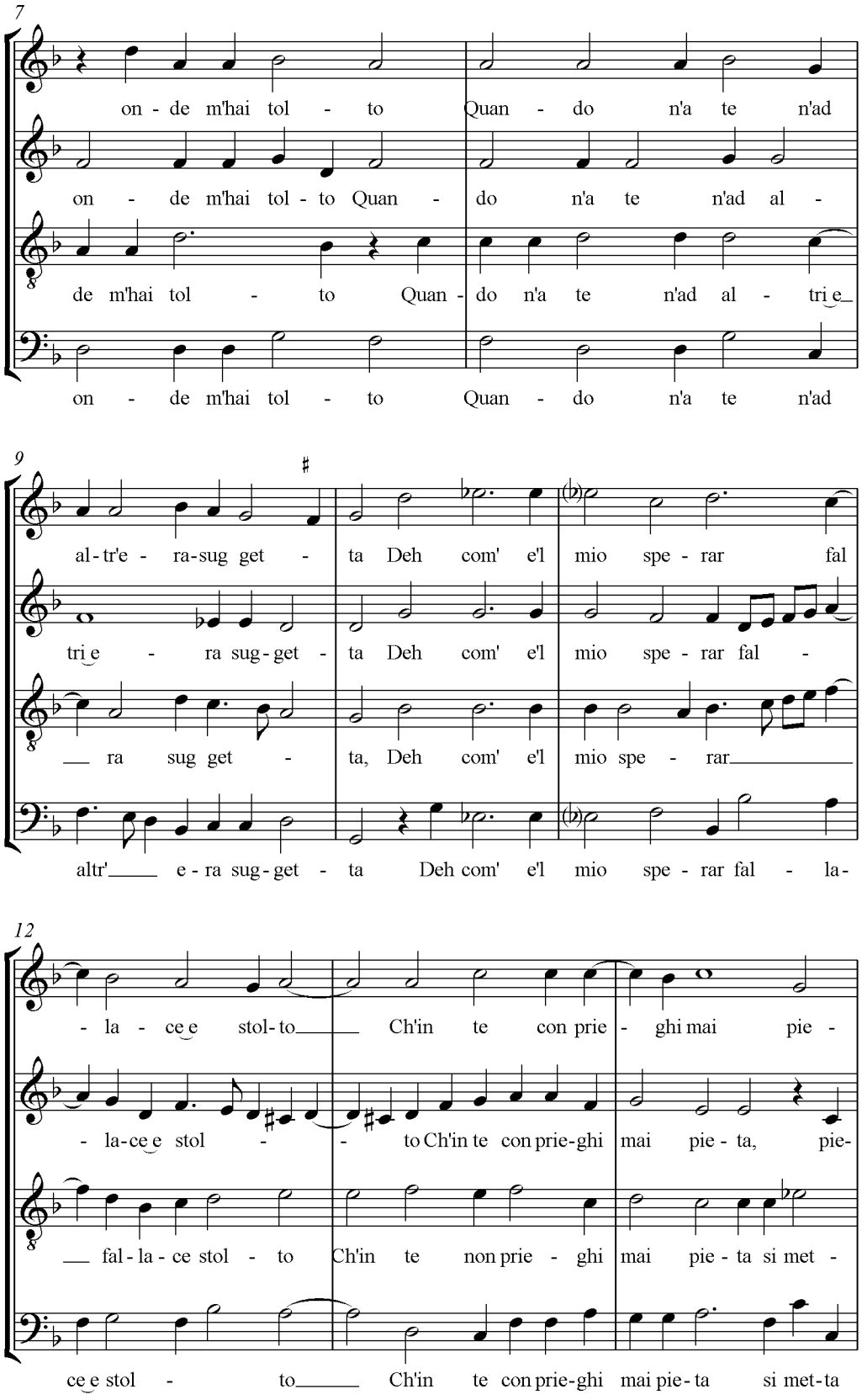
Bradamante's Lament III

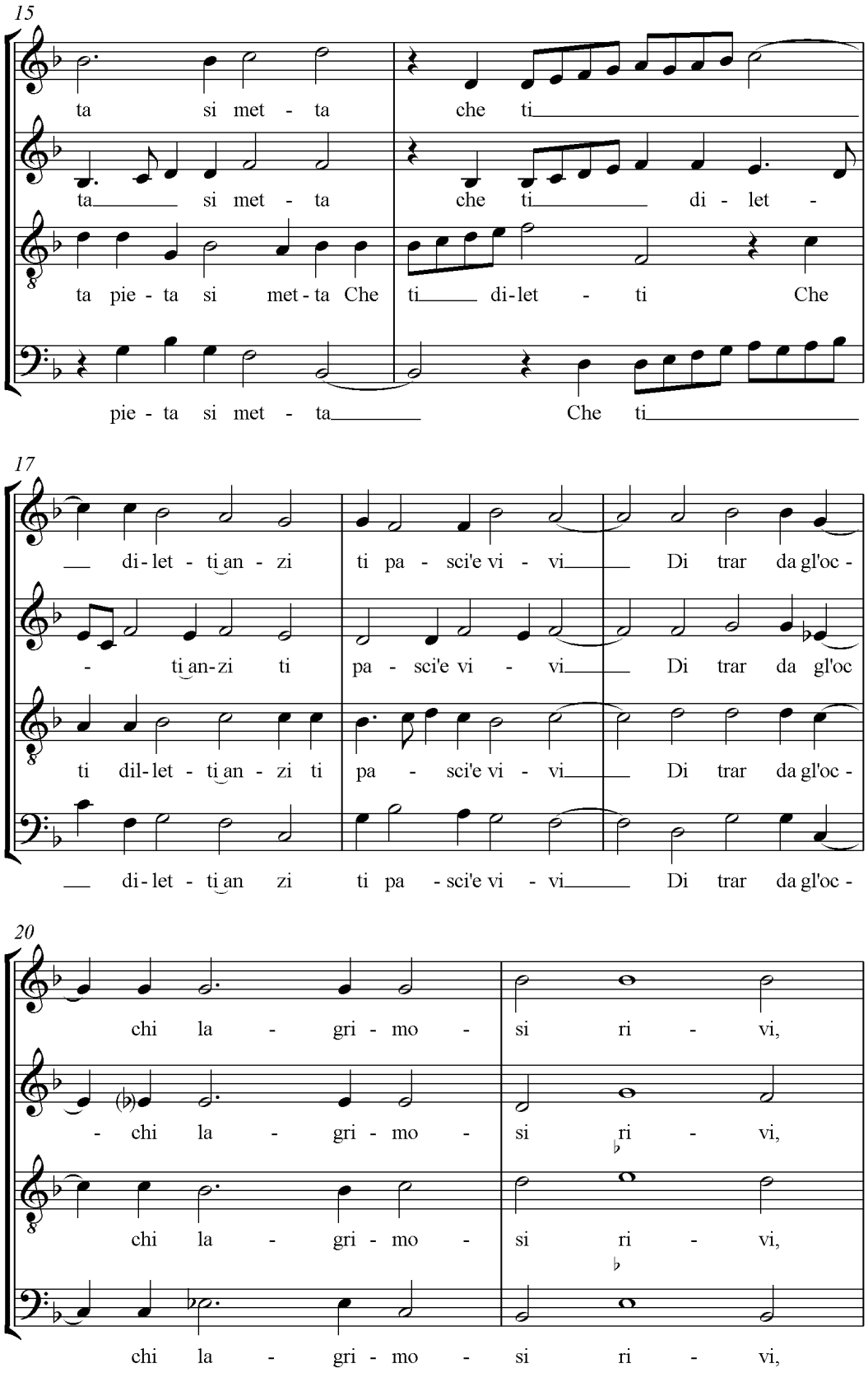
O.f. XXXII, 20

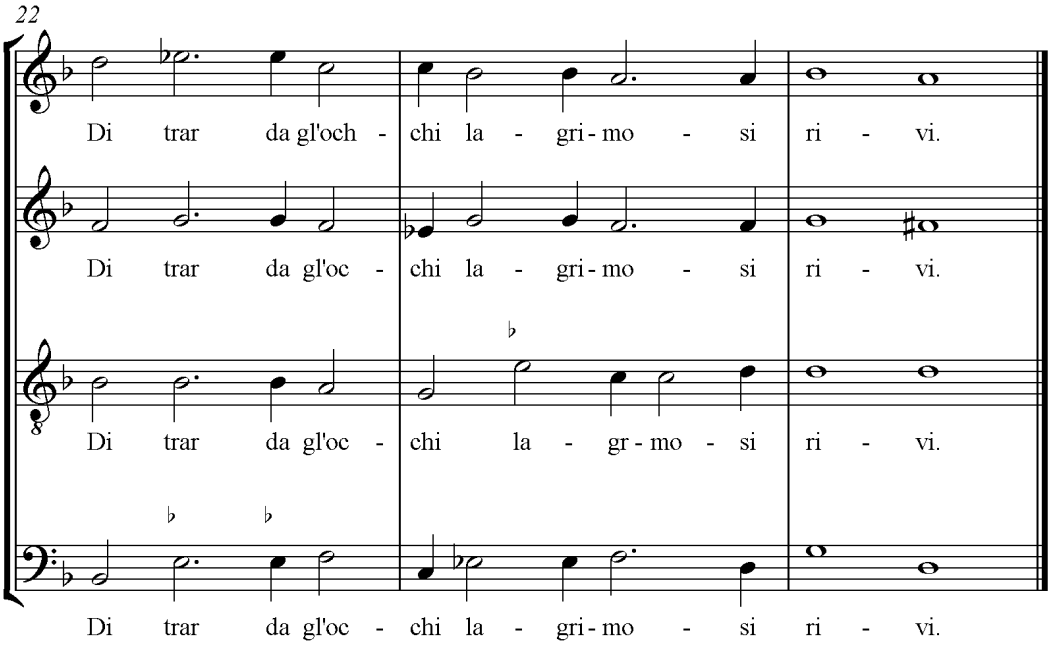
Transc. Daniel Donnelly

Jachet de Berchem




7
on - de m'hai tol - to Quan - do n'a te n'ad
on - de m'hai tol - to Quan - do n'a te n'ad al -
de m'hai tol - to Quan - do n'a te n'ad al - tri e
on - de m'hai tol - to Quan - do n'a te n'ad
9
al - tr'e - ra - sug get - ta Deh com' e'l mio spe - rar fal
tri e - ra sug - get - ta Deh com' e'l mio spe - rar fal -
ra sug get - ta, Deh com' e'l mio spe - rar
altr' e - ra sug - get - ta Deh com' e'l mio spe - rar fal - la -
12
- la - ce e stol - to Ch'in te con prie - ghi mai pie -
- la - ce e stol - to Ch'in te con prie - ghi mai pie - ta, pie -
fal - la - ce stol - to Ch'in te non prie - ghi mai pie - ta si met -
ce e stol - to Ch'in te con prie - ghi mai pie - ta si met - ta


15
ta si met - ta che ti
ta si met - ta che ti di - let -
ta pie - ta si met - ta Che ti di-let - ti Che
pie - ta si met - ta Che ti
17
di-let - ti an - zi ti pa - sci'e vi - vi Di trar da gl'oc -
- ti an-zi ti pa - sci'e vi - vi Di trar da gl'oc
ti dil-let - ti an - zi ti pa - sci'e vi - vi Di trar da gl'oc -
di-let - ti an zi ti pa - sci'e vi - vi Di trar da gl'oc -
20
chi la - gri - mo - si ri - vi,
- chi la - gri - mo - si ri - vi,
chi la - gri - mo - si ri - vi,
chi la - gri - mo - si ri - vi,


22
Di trar da gl'och - chi la - gri - mo - si ri - vi.
Di trar da gl'oc - chi la - gri - mo - si ri - vi.
Di trar da gl'oc - chi la - gr - mo - si ri - vi.
Di trar da gl'oc - chi la - gri - mo - si ri - vi.

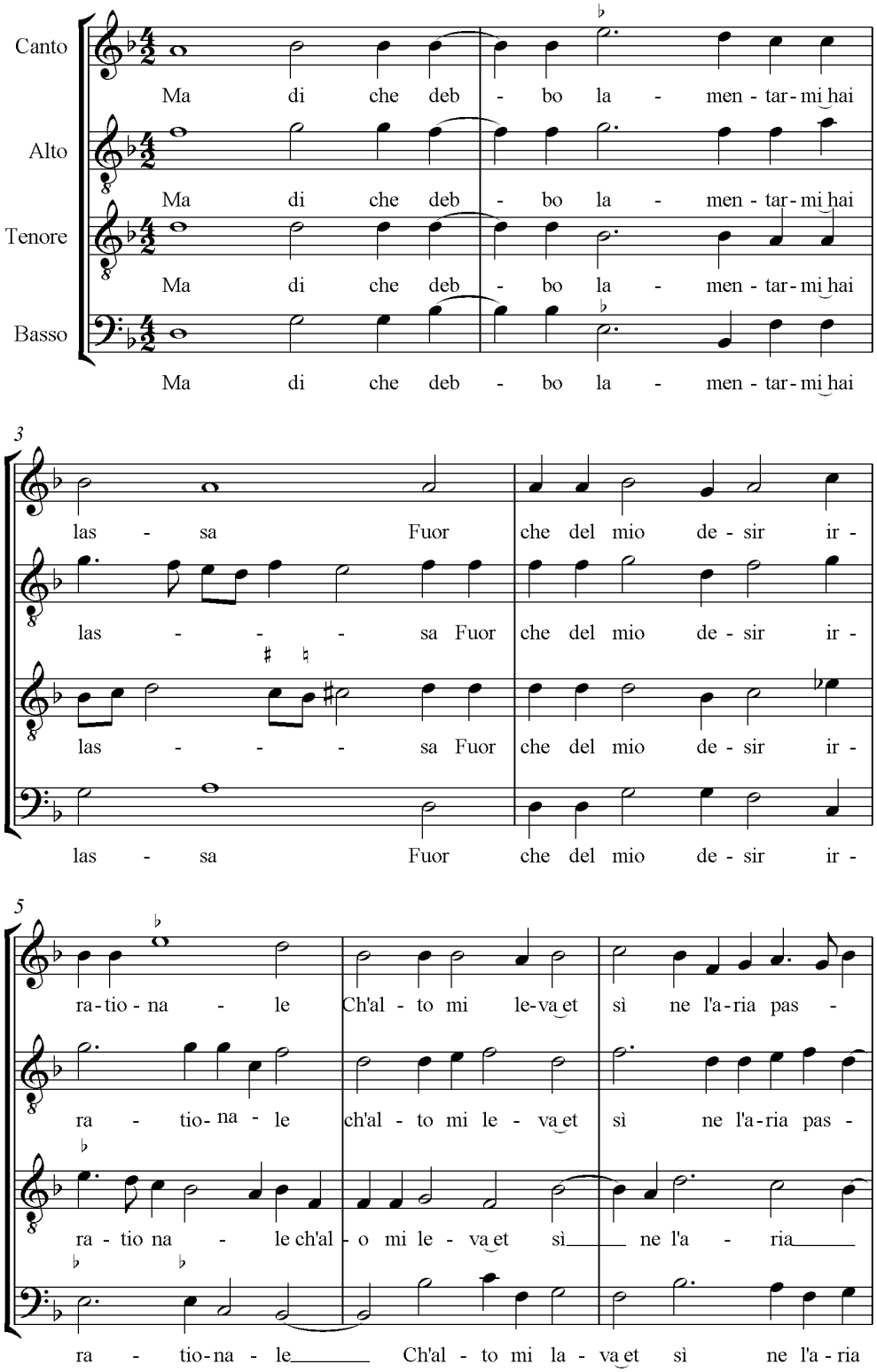
Ma di che debbo lamentarmi

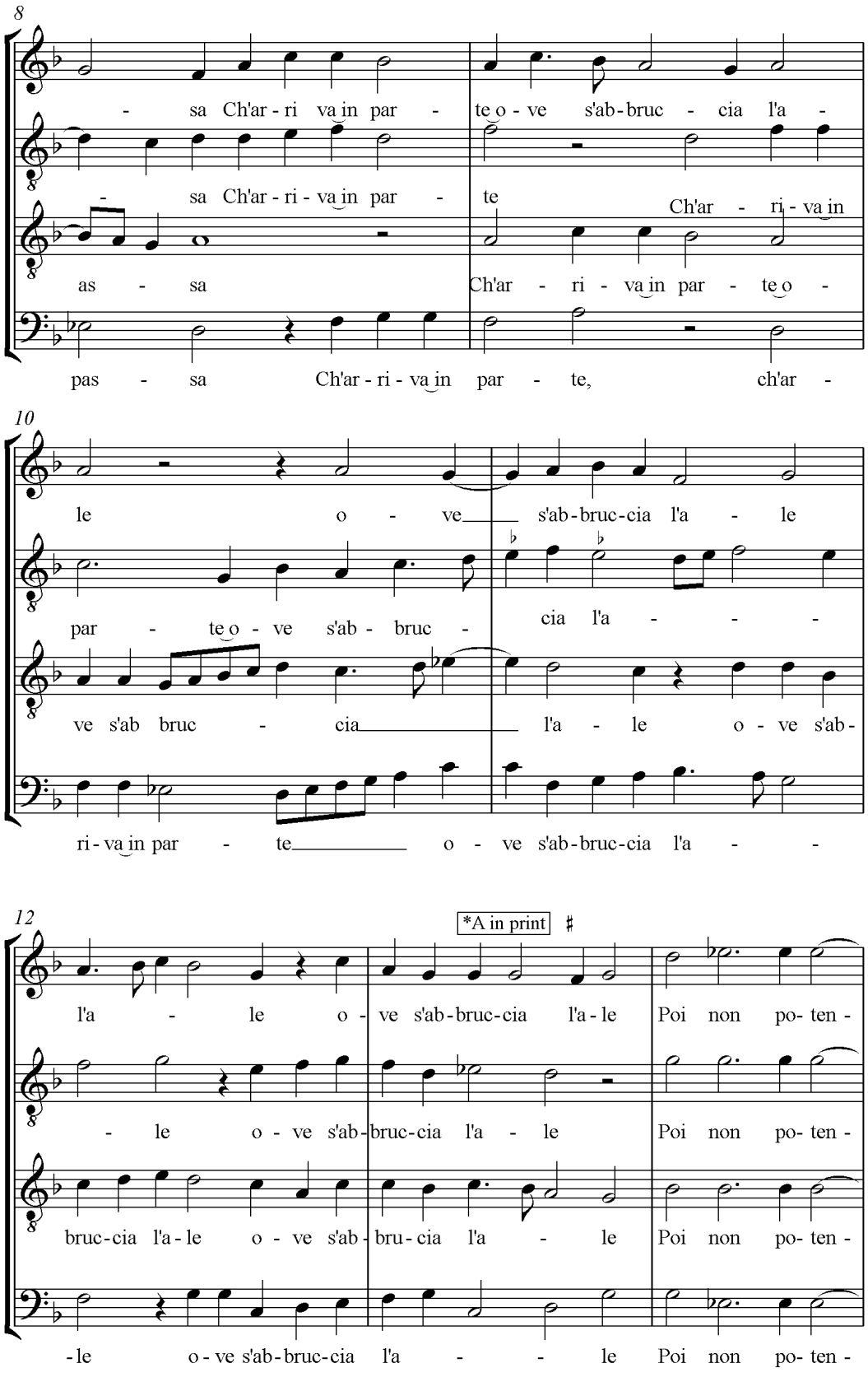
Transc. Daniel Donnelly

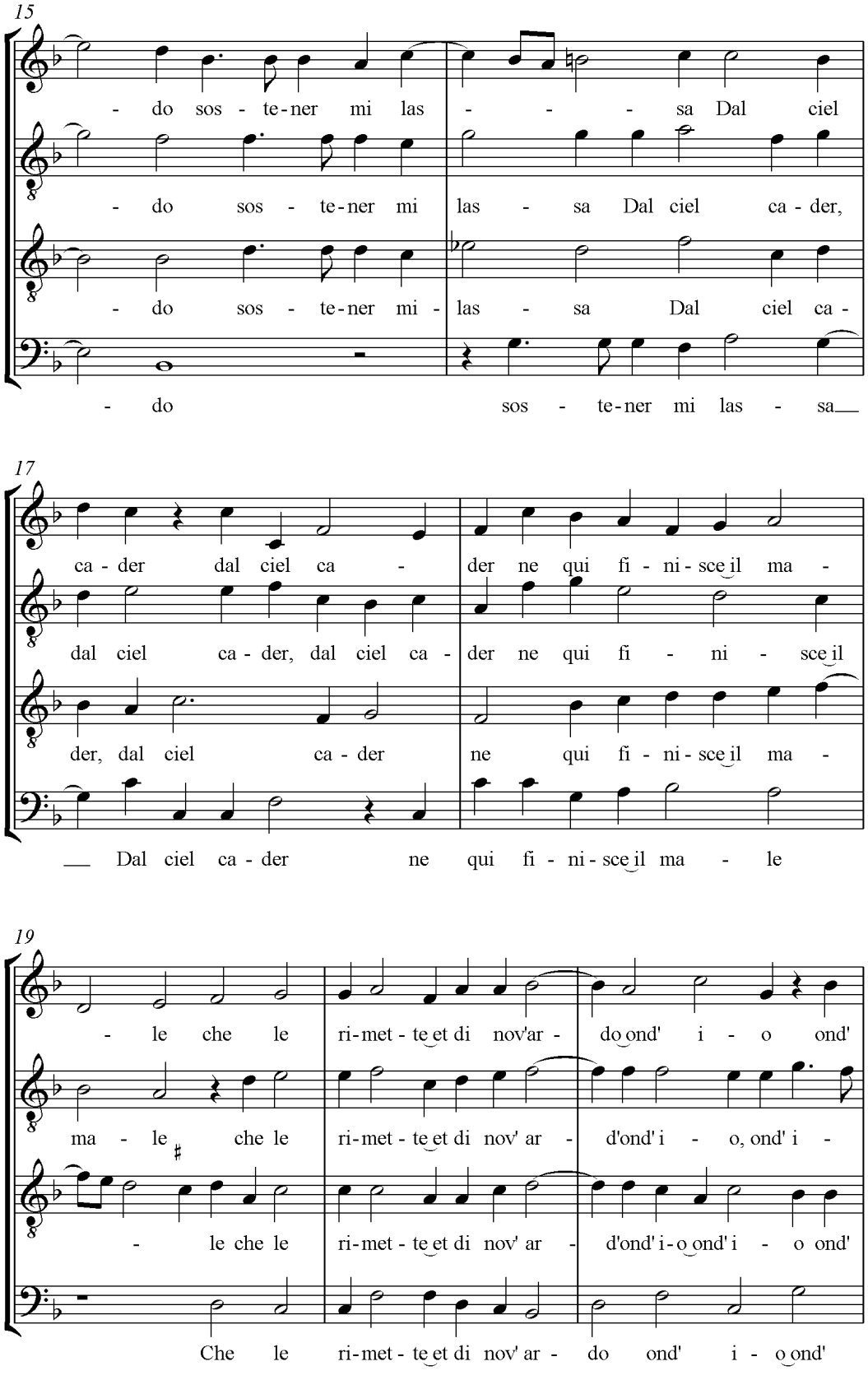
Bradamante's Lament IV

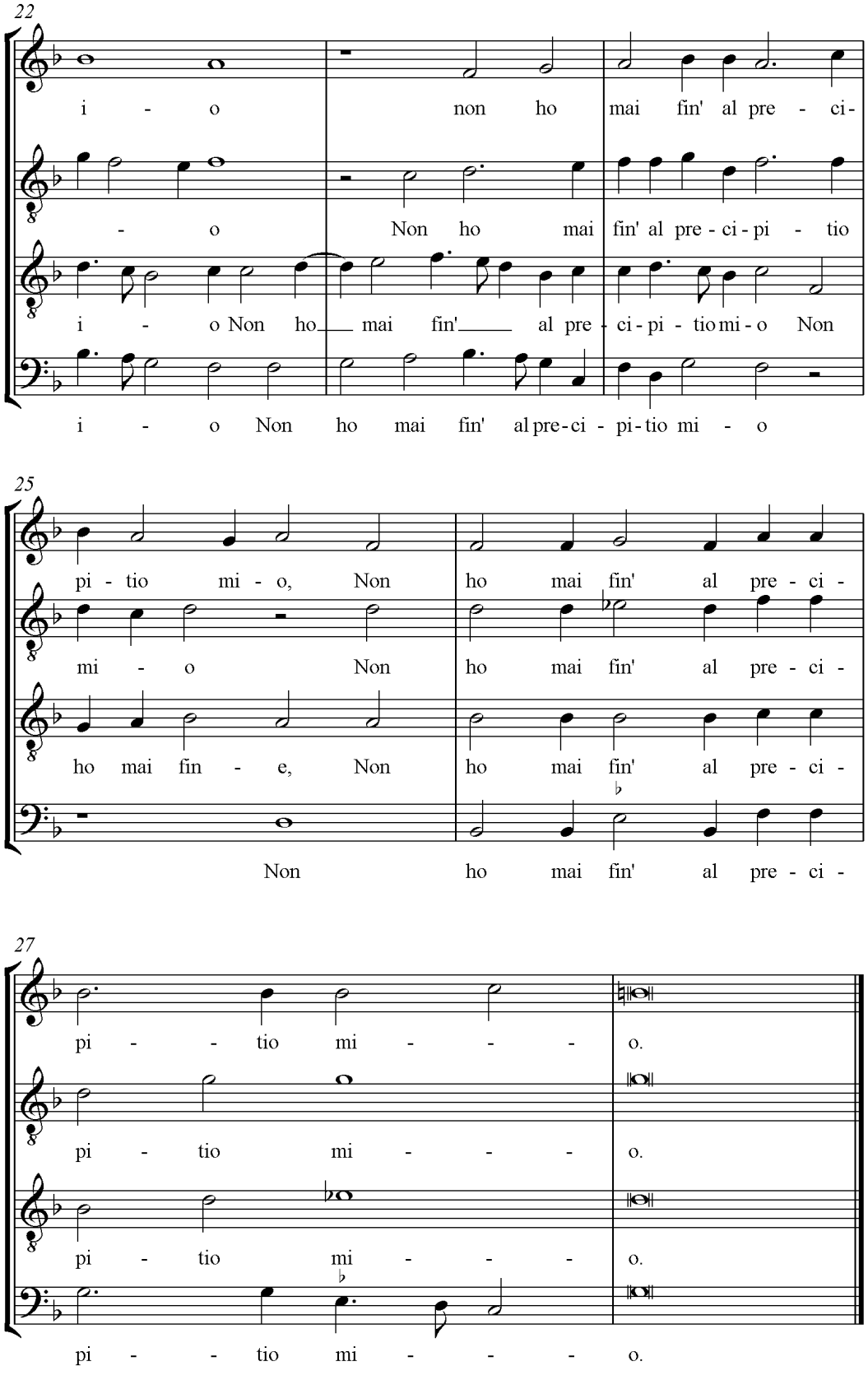
O.f. XXXII, 21

Jachet de Berchem




8
- sa Ch'ar - ri va in par - te o - ve s'ab - bruc - cia l'a -
- sa Ch'ar - ri - va in par - te Ch'ar - ri - va in
as - sa Ch'ar - ri - va in par - te o -
pas - sa Ch'ar - ri - va in par - te, ch'ar -
10
le o - ve s'ab - bruc - cia l'a - le
par - te o - ve s'ab - bruc - cia l'a - - -
ve s'ab bruc - cia l'a - le o - ve s'ab -
ri - va in par - te o - ve s'ab - bruc - cia l'a - -
12
*A in print
l'a - le o - ve s'ab - bruc - cia l'a - le Poi non po - ten -
- le o - ve s'ab - bruc - cia l'a - le Poi non po - ten -
bruc - cia l'a - le o - ve s'ab - bru - cia l'a - le Poi non po - ten -
- le o - ve s'ab - bruc - cia l'a - - le Poi non po - ten -


15
- do sos - te-ner mi las - - - sa Dal ciel
- do sos - te-ner mi las - sa Dal ciel ca - der,
- do sos - te-ner mi - las - sa Dal ciel ca -
- do sos - te-ner mi las - sa
17
ca - der dal ciel ca - der ne qui fi - ni - sce il ma -
dal ciel ca - der, dal ciel ca - der ne qui fi - ni - sce il
der, dal ciel ca - der ne qui fi - ni - sce il ma -
Dal ciel ca - der ne qui fi - ni - sce il ma - le
19
- le che le ri-met - te et di nov'ar - do ond' i - o ond'
ma - le che le ri-met - te et di nov' ar - d'ond' i - o, ond' i -
- le che le ri-met - te et di nov' ar - d'ond' i - o ond' i - o ond'
Che le ri-met - te et di nov' ar - do ond' i - o ond'


22
i - o non ho mai fin' al pre - ci-
- o Non ho mai fin' al pre - ci - pi - tio
i - o Non ho mai fin' al pre - ci - pi - tio mi - o Non
i - o Non ho mai fin' al pre-ci - pi-tio mi - o
25
pi - tio mi - o, Non ho mai fin' al pre - ci -
mi - o Non ho mai fin' al pre - ci -
ho mai fin - e, Non ho mai fin' al pre - ci -
Non ho mai fin' al pre - ci -
27
pi - - tio mi - - - o.
pi - tio mi - - - o.
pi - tio mi - - - o.
pi - - tio mi - - - o.

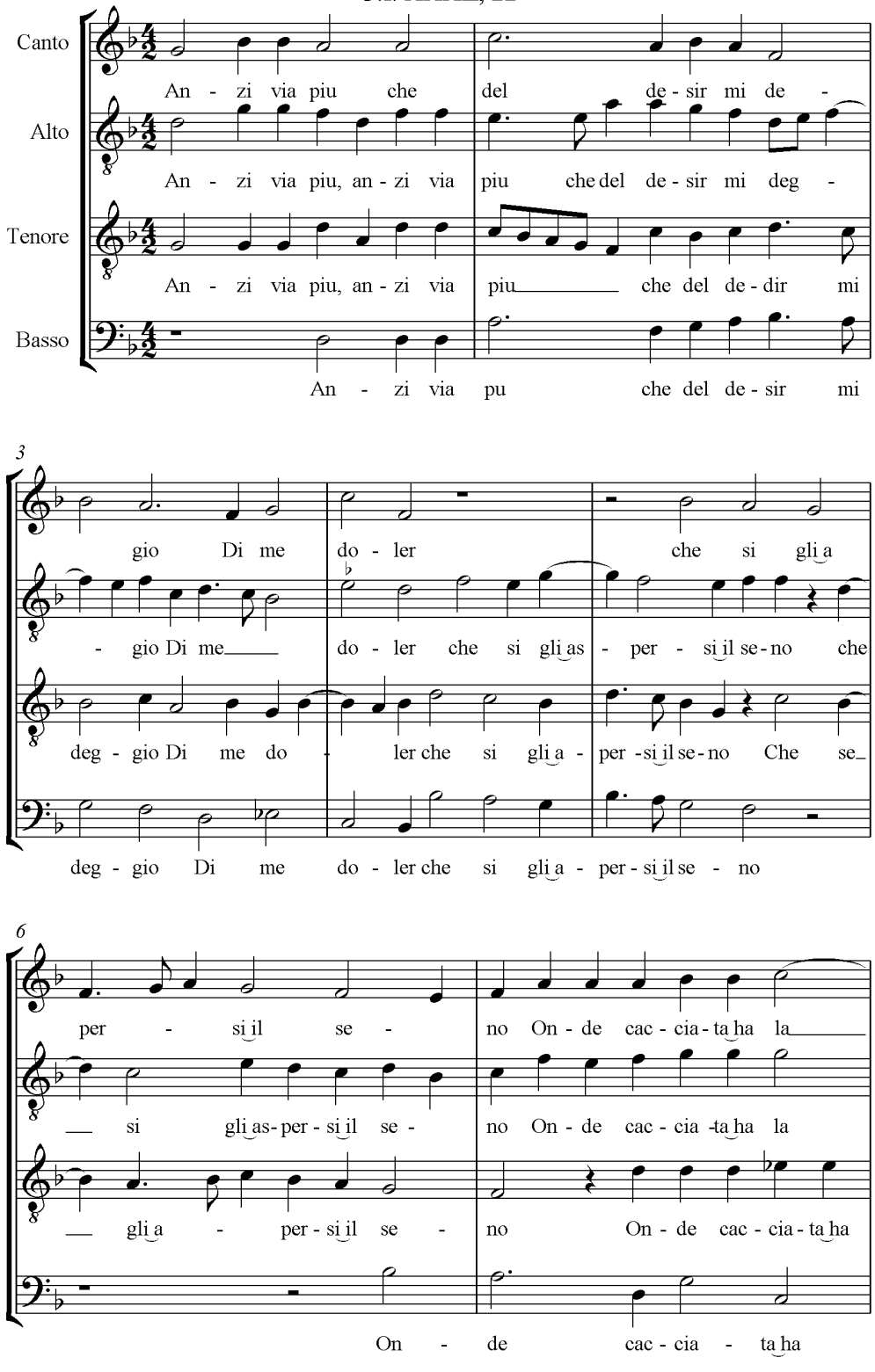
Anzi via piu che del desir

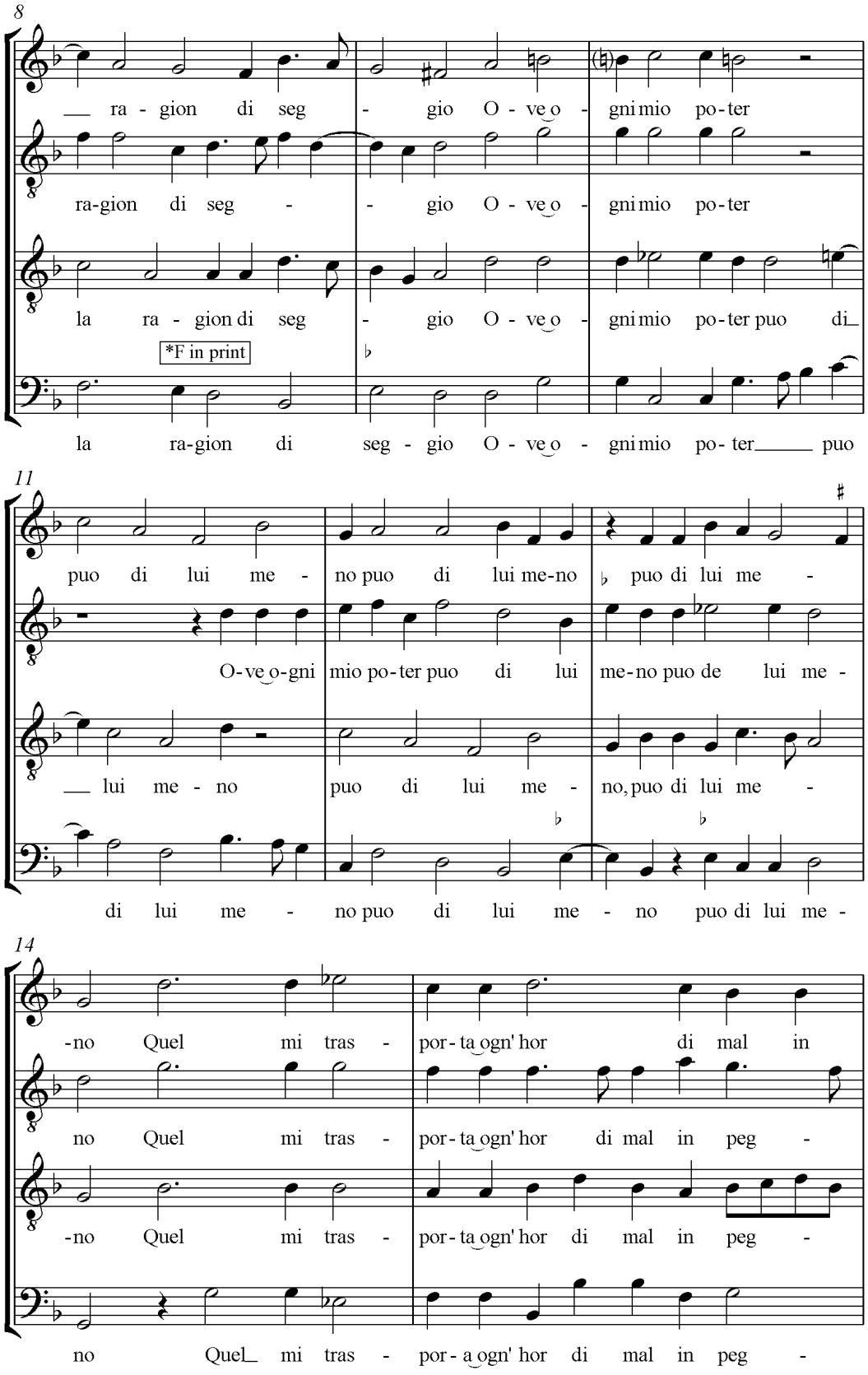
Transc. Daniel Donnelly

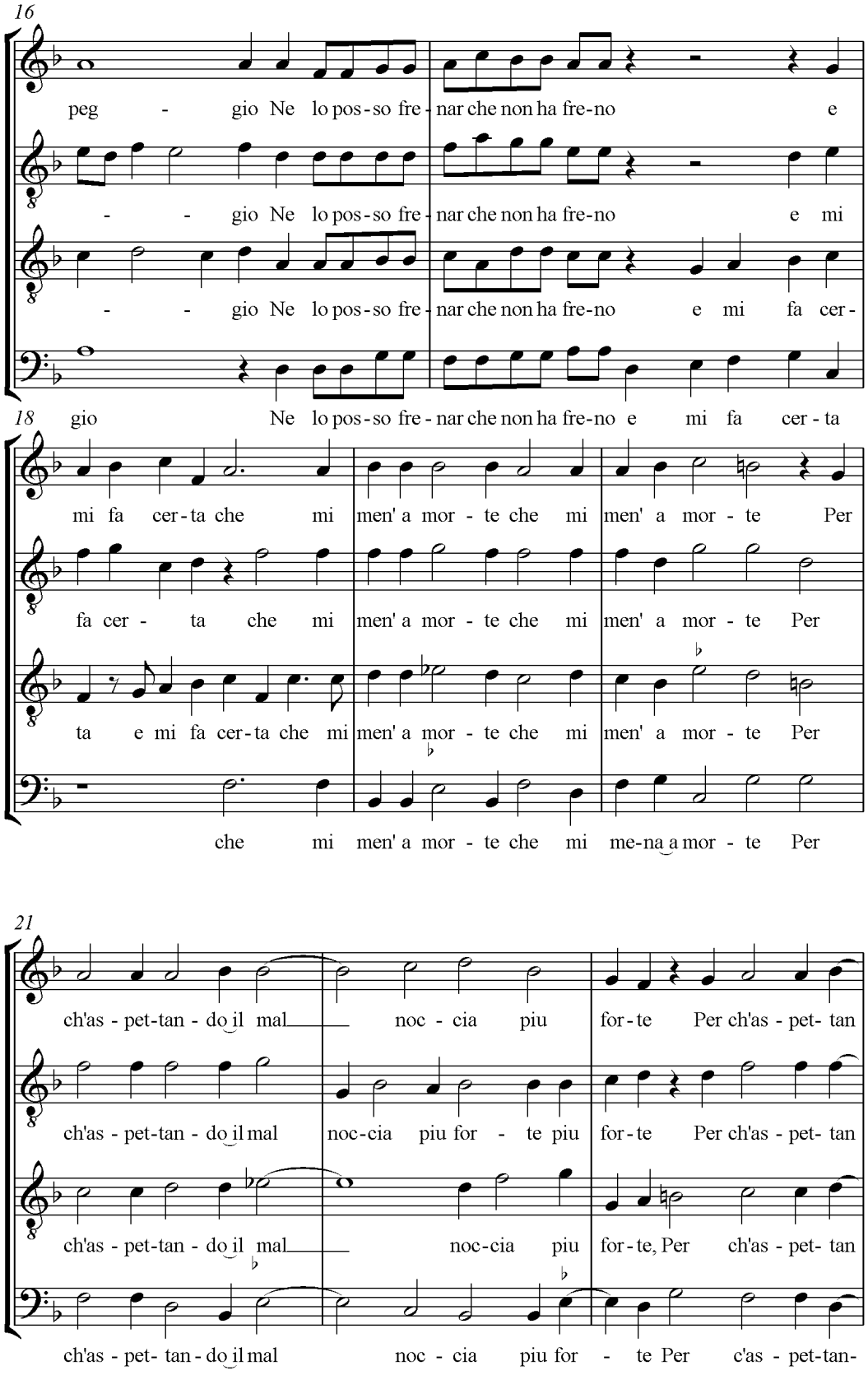
Bradamante's Lament V

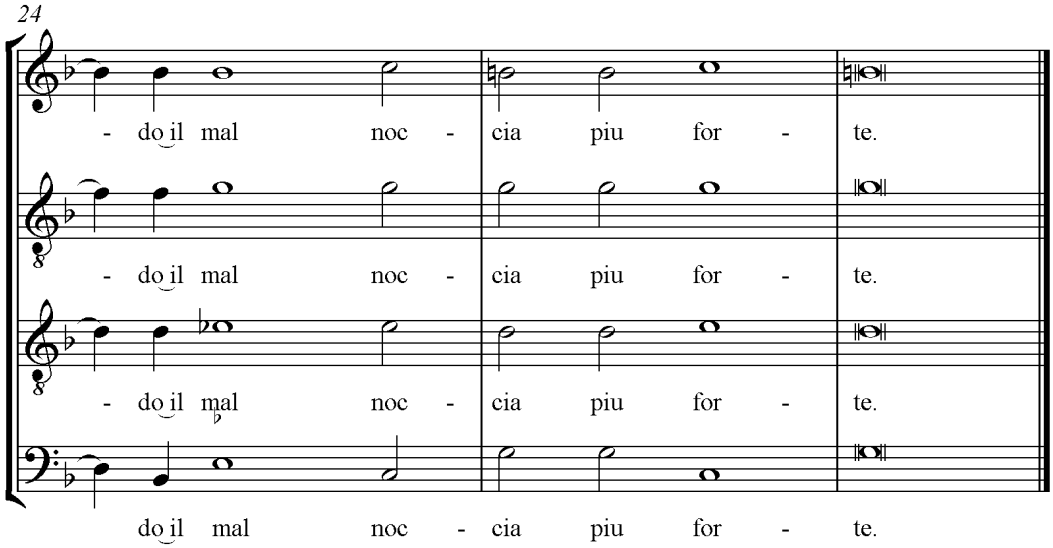
O.f. XXXII, 22

Jachet de Berchem




8
ra - gion di seg - gio O - ve o - gni mio po - ter
ra-gion di seg - - gio O - ve o - gni mio po - ter
la ra - gion di seg - gio O - ve o - gni mio po - ter puo di
*F in print
la ra-gion di seg - gio O - ve o - gni mio po - ter puo
11
puo di lui me - no puo di lui me-no puo di lui me -
O-ve o-gni mio po-ter puo di lui me-no puo de lui me -
lui me - no puo di lui me - no, puo di lui me -
di lui me - no puo di lui me - no puo di lui me -
14
-no Quel mi tras - por-ta ogn' hor di mal in
no Quel mi tras - por-ta ogn' hor di mal in peg -
-no Quel mi tras - por-ta ogn' hor di mal in peg -
no Quel mi tras - por-a ogn' hor di mal in peg -


16
peg - gio Ne lo pos-so fre-nar che non ha fre-no e
- - gio Ne lo pos-so fre-nar che non ha fre-no e mi
- - gio Ne lo pos-so fre-nar che non ha fre-no e mi fa cer-
18 gio Ne lo pos-so fre-nar che non ha fre-no e mi fa cer-ta
mi fa cer-ta che mi men' a mor - te che mi men' a mor - te Per
fa cer - ta che mi men' a mor - te che mi men' a mor - te Per
ta e mi fa cer-ta che mi men' a mor - te che mi men' a mor - te Per
che mi men' a mor - te che mi me-na a mor - te Per
21
ch'as - pet-tan - do il mal noc - cia piu for-te Per ch'as - pet- tan
ch'as - pet-tan - do il mal noc-cia piu for - te piu for-te Per ch'as - pet- tan
ch'as - pet-tan - do il mal noc-cia piu for-te, Per ch'as - pet- tan
ch'as - pet- tan - do il mal noc - cia piu for - te Per c'as - pet-tan-


24
- do il mal noc - cia piu for - te.
- do il mal noc - cia piu for - te.
- do il mal noc - cia piu for - te.
do il mal noc - cia piu for - te.

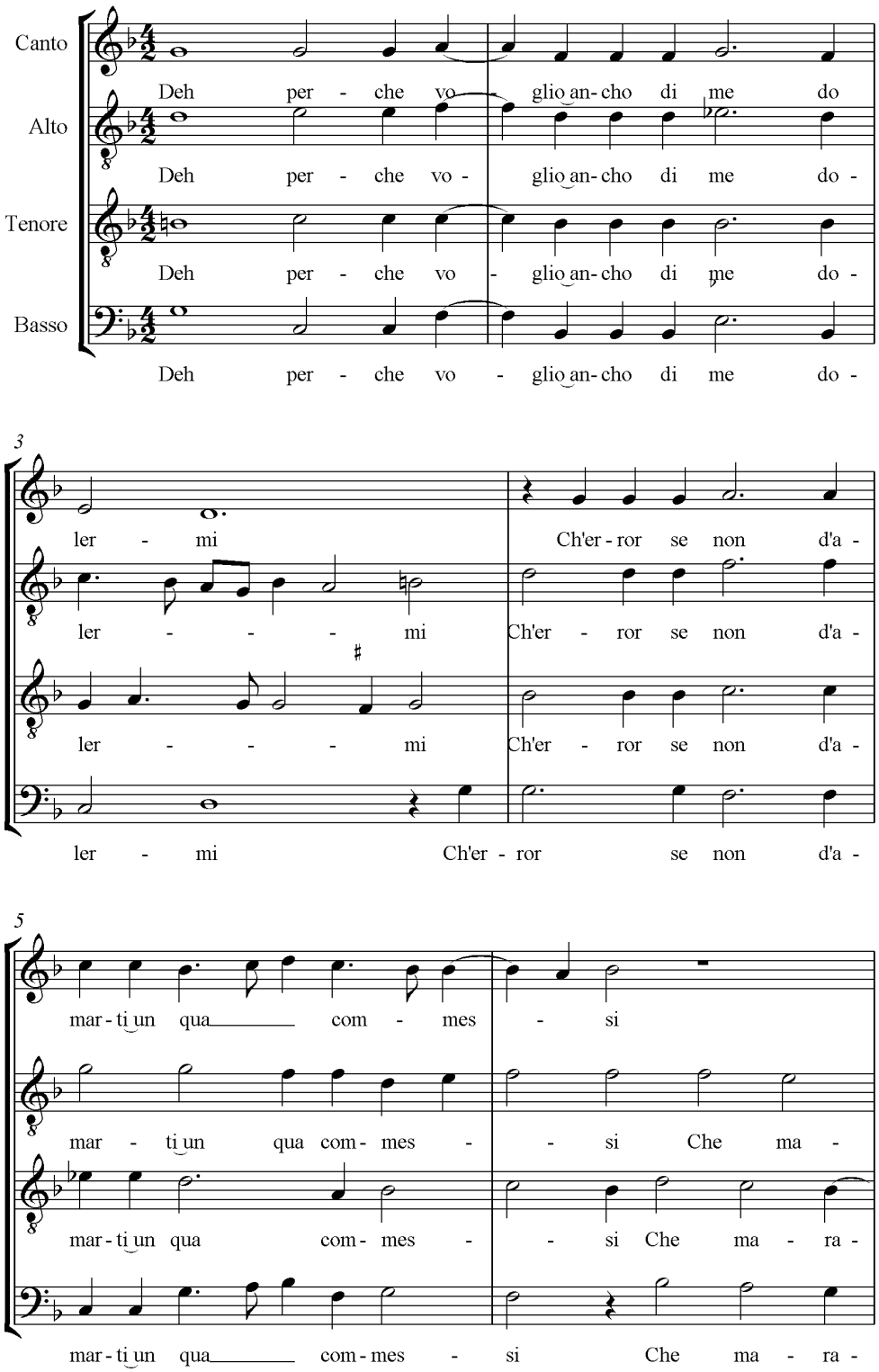
Deh perche voglio ancho di me dolermi

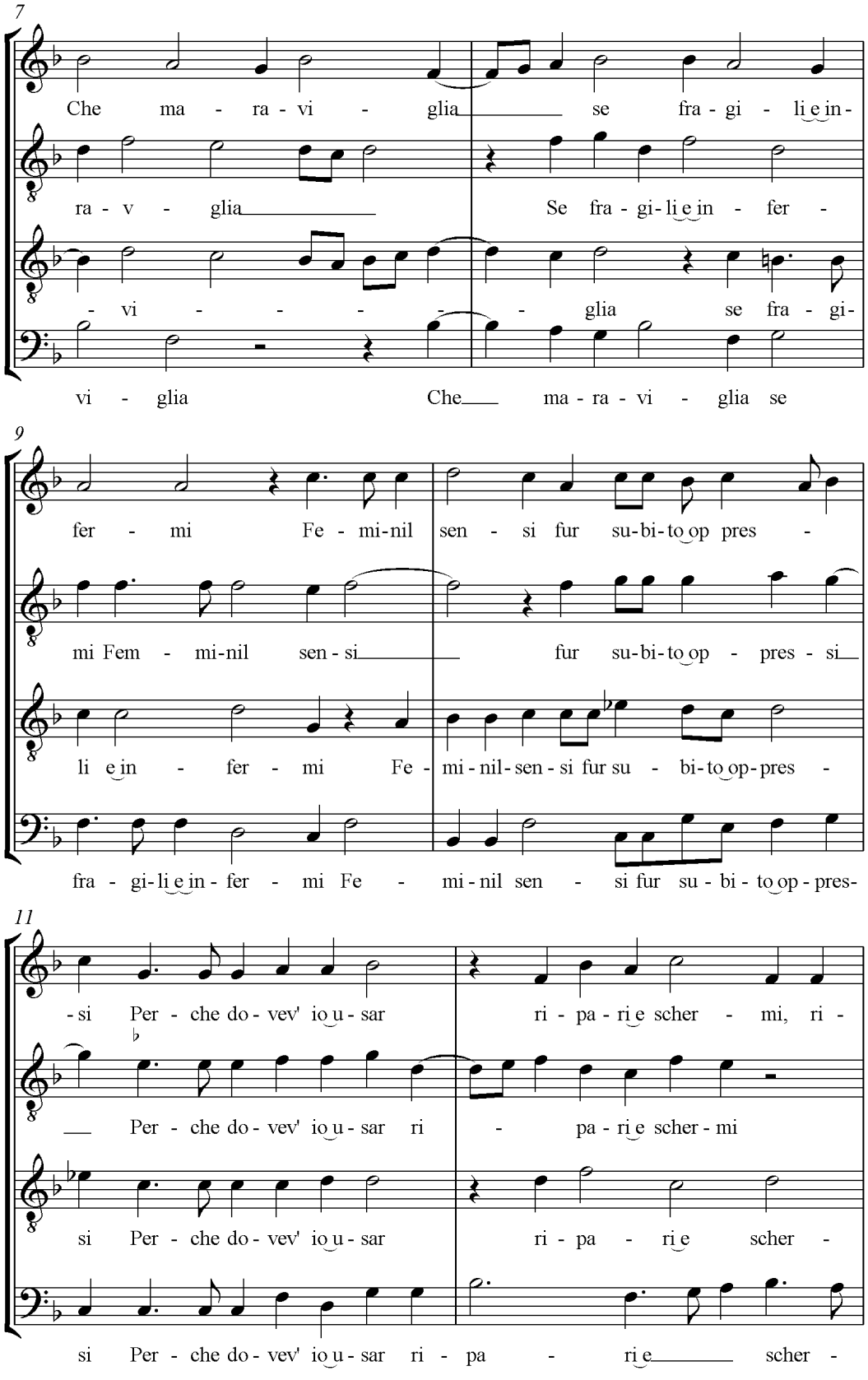
Bradamante's Lament VI

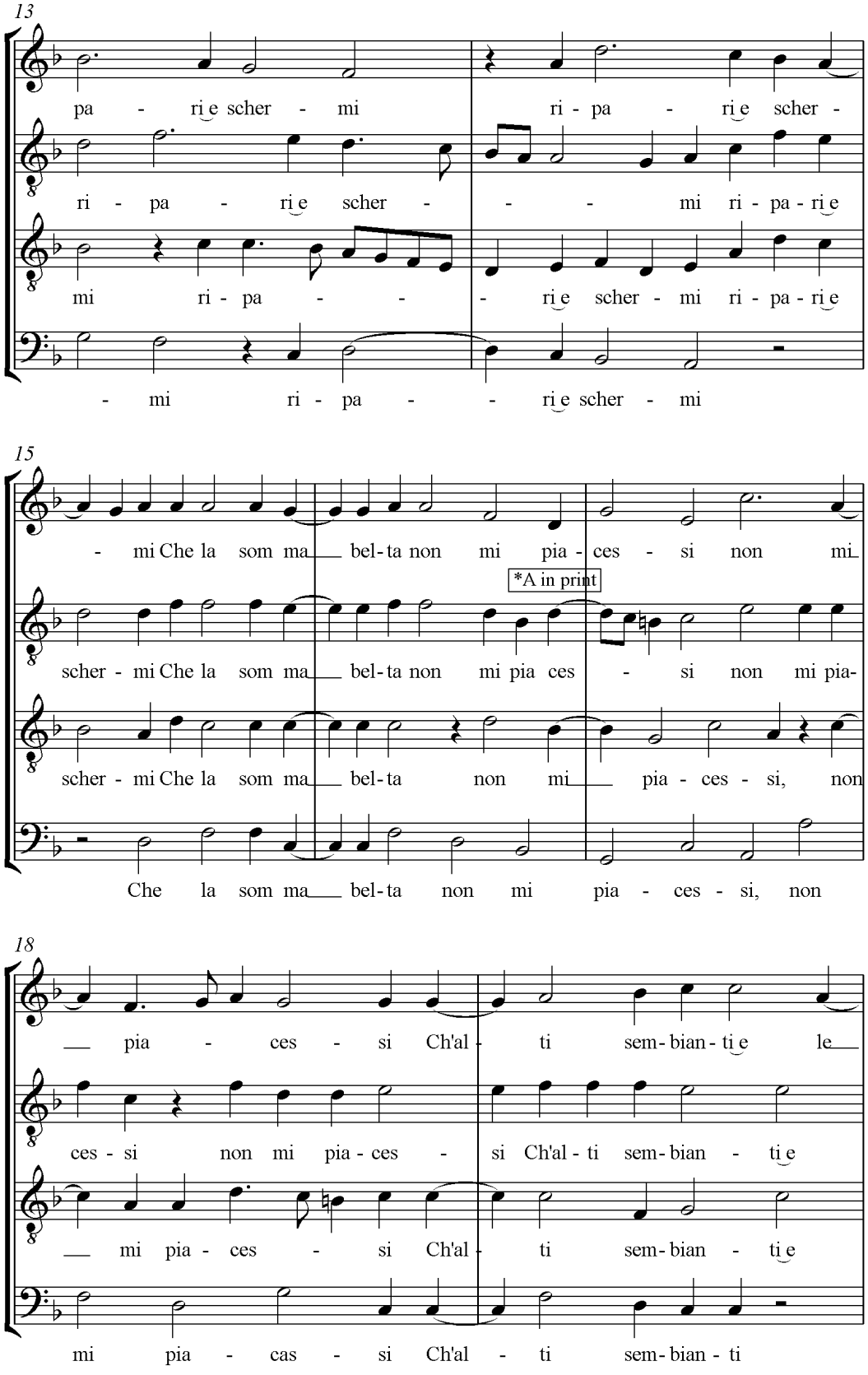
O.f. XXXII, 23

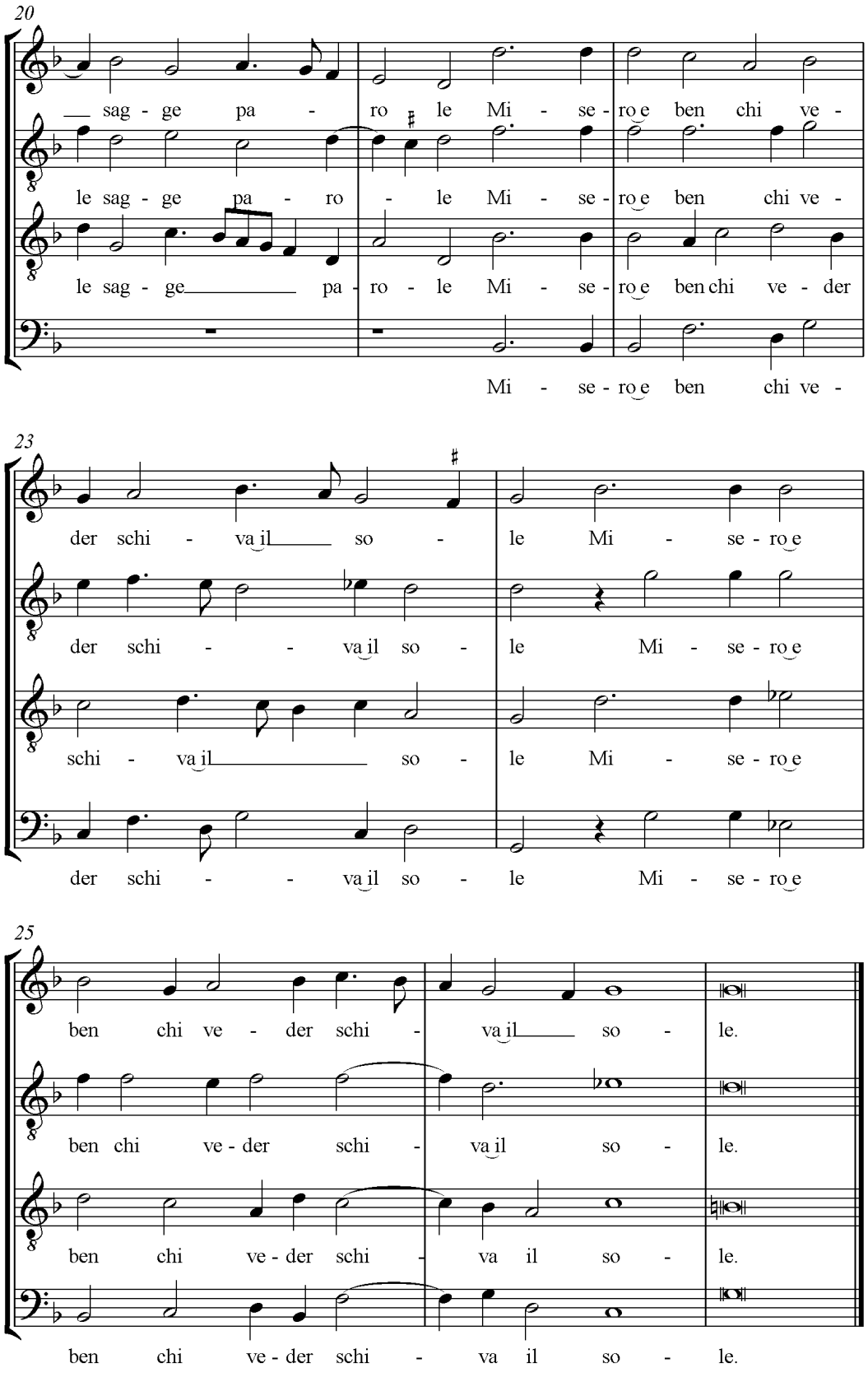
Transc. Daniel Donnelly

Jachet de Berchem




7
Che ma - ra - vi - glia se fra - gi - li e in -
ra - v - glia Se fra - gi - li e in - fer -
- vi - - - - glia se fra - gi -
vi - glia Che ma - ra - vi - glia se
9
fer - mi Fe - mi-nil sen - si fur su-bi-to op pres -
mi Fem - mi-nil sen - si fur su-bi-to op - pres - si
li e in - fer - mi Fe - mi - nil - sen - si fur su - bi-to op-pres -
fra - gi-li e in - fer - mi Fe - mi - nil sen - si fur su - bi - to op - pres -
11
- si Per - che do - vev' io u - sar ri - pa - ri e scher - mi, ri -
Per - che do - vev' io u - sar ri - pa - ri e scher - mi
si Per - che do - vev' io u - sar ri - pa - ri e scher -
si Per - che do - vev' io u - sar ri - pa - ri e scher -


13
pa - ri e scher - mi
ri - pa - ri e scher -
ri - pa - ri e scher -
mi ri - pa - ri e
mi ri - pa -
ri e scher - mi ri - pa - ri e
- mi ri - pa -
ri e scher - mi
15
- mi Che la som ma bel-ta non mi pia - ces - si non mi
*A in print
scher - mi Che la som ma bel-ta non mi pia ces - si non mi pia-
scher - mi Che la som ma bel-ta non mi pia - ces - si, non
Che la som ma bel-ta non mi pia - ces - si, non
18
pia - ces - si Ch'al - ti sem-bian-ti e le
ces - si non mi pia - ces - si Ch'al - ti sem-bian - ti e
mi pia - ces - si Ch'al - ti sem-bian - ti e
mi pia - cas - si Ch'al - ti sem-bian - ti


20
sag - ge pa - ro le Mi - se - ro e ben chi ve -
le sag - ge pa - ro - le Mi - se - ro e ben chi ve -
le sag - ge pa - ro - le Mi - se - ro e ben chi ve - der
Mi - se - ro e ben chi ve -
23
der schi - va il so - le Mi - se - ro e
der schi - - va il so - le Mi - se - ro e
schi - va il so - le Mi - se - ro e
der schi - - va il so - le Mi - se - ro e
25
ben chi ve - der schi - va il so - le.
ben chi ve - der schi - va il so - le.
ben chi ve - der schi - va il so - le.
ben chi ve - der schi - va il so - le.