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# “Marenzio’s *Madrigali a quattro, cinque et sei voci* of 1588: A Newly-Revealed Madrigal Cycle and its Intellectual Context”\*

RICHARD FREEDMAN

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**L**uca Marenzio’s *Madrigali a quattro, cinque et sei voci* of 1588 is a compelling manifesto of Renaissance musical and literary sensibilities. In this book, the composer tells us, are new madrigals that aim “through the imitation of the words and the propriety of the style at a somber gravity [*mesta gravità*]” not encountered among his earlier works.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the serious character of the book of 1588 is plain enough: Jacopo Sannazaro, Marenzio’s most favored poet prior to 1588, is represented by lyrics that avoid the sort of bucolic narratives typically found among Marenzio’s earlier selections from his writings. Marenzio’s approach to the lyrics carefully chosen for the book of 1588 is extraordinary, juxtaposing poems and parts of poems in a remarkable musical retelling of his own stylistic transformation. The book of 1588 is thus more than a collection of serious madrigals. Unprecedented certainly in Marenzio’s output and a rare gem

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<sup>1</sup> The quotation is from the preface to Marenzio’s 1588 book as translated by Steven Ledbetter in his recent modern edition of the print: Luca Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo (1588)*, ed. Steven Ledbetter. Luca Marenzio, *The Secular Works*, 7 (New York, 1977), xvi.

by any standard of measure, it is a cyclic collection whose artistic program puts it at the center of the composer's musical development.

Marenzio's new concern for the apparent decorum of a serious style doubtless reflects the immediate circumstances of his career. Left in late 1586 without a regular patron following the death of his principal protector, Cardinal Luigi d'Este, the composer had hoped perhaps to find an appropriate sponsor in Count Mario Bevilacqua, one-time *padre* of the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona, whose musical household and avid connoisseurship were the final destination of the book of 1588. The close association of aesthetic sensibility and social setting is of course a familiar theme in the history of Renaissance culture, and there is good reason to link the remarkable poetic organization, musical vocabulary, and artistic program of the *Madrigali* to the specialized tastes of Bevilacqua's musical *ridotto*. But there are also a number of wider contexts for the ideas at work in Marenzio's pivotal book, themes that recur with surprising import in a long series of debates about artistic representation and social order that thrived in academic and patrician circles of late sixteenth-century Italy. Before considering the mutual claims of social destination and aesthetic forms, however, we should first attempt to understand the special program of the *Madrigali* of 1588 and its place in Marenzio's musical production.

### Marenzio and the Poetry of Sannazaro

Marenzio, in the words of Alfred Einstein, "is pre-eminently the musician of the pastoral."<sup>2</sup> Nowhere are the composer's interests in this topic better represented than in his two dozen settings of texts by Jacopo Sannazaro, an early sixteenth-century Neapolitan poet and himself a prominent Renaissance pastoralist. Facile imitator of Virgil and Petrarch alike, Sannazaro's *Rime* and especially his bucolic narrative, *Arcadia* circulated well into the 1590s, printed and reprinted with editorial changes aimed to bring it in line with the prevailing Tuscan idiom of the *cinquecento*.<sup>3</sup> For composers such as Marenzio, Giovanelli, and other musicians active in Rome during the middle years of the sixteenth century, Sannazaro's poetry was closely tied to the canzonetta, a musical genre whose lively rhythms and clear textures apparently seemed well suited to the *sdruciole* (literally "slippery," but

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols, tr. A.H. Krappe, Rogers Sessions, and O. Strunk (Princeton, 1959), II, 613.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning Sannazaro's writings in relation to the growing Tuscanism of Italian literary culture during the sixteenth century, see William S. Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of the Pastoral* (Hanover, NH, 1983), 2–60. The best modern edition of the *Opere volgari* appeared under the editorial supervision of Alfredo Mauro (Bari, 1961). In English, see Sannazaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. Ralph Nash (Detroit, 1966).

in this context referring to their characteristic dactylic line endings) accents and often terse syntax of the Arcadian landscape.<sup>4</sup>

Sannazaro's poetry also figured prominently in the *Madrigali* of 1588 (see Table 1), but in general Marenzio here avoided descriptive verse, animated rhythms, and closed form of the sort favored in his early musical production. Indeed, scholars have noted the careful sobriety maintained throughout the book of 1588. "Marenzio," Steven Ledbetter observed in the preface to his critical edition of the print,

had previously set many texts of Sannazaro and Petrarch in many varied moods, but here he single-mindedly chose from the works of these, his two favorite poets, texts reflecting uniformly somber and even morose sentiments.<sup>5</sup>

This assessment seems on the surface fair enough: the texts found here dwell largely on remorseful themes, and the music, with its antique *misura di breve* and densely contrapuntal fabrics, aims at a seriousness found only in passing among Marenzio's earlier settings of Sannazaro lyrics. The book of 1588, however, is remarkable not so much for the newly found uniformity of its serious tenor, as for the extraordinary musical means Marenzio employs here. The volume is a carefully crafted manifesto of related conceits of late sixteenth-century musical parlance, themes that play centrally in the composer's mature style. So complex is Marenzio's volume, in fact, that it is nearly impossible to consider any work offered here except in relation to the meticulous narrative that emerges from the assembled settings. The collection begins, for instance, with a stanza by Petrarch that serves well to establish the searching rhetoric and plaintive tone that dominate the *Madrigali*. Posing a question, "Ov'è condotto il mio amoroso stile?," that offers poetic creation itself as a leading theme, the text implicitly looks both back to an unstated but happier former production and forward to present sufferings soon to be explained. The cyclic exploration of a focused theme and

<sup>4</sup> Settings of Sannazaro's lyrics abound in printed collections of Italian secular music of the sixteenth century. See, by way of introduction, the listing of prints given in Emil Vogel, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, new edn., ed. Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, 3 vols. (Pomezia, 1977), III, 22–23; Patricia Ann Myers, "Sannazaro's Humanistic Strains on Oaten Pipes," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Ann Arbor, Michigan, November, 1981; and Silke Leopold, "Madrigale sulle egloche sdruciole di Jacopo Sannazaro. Struttura poetica e forma musicale," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* XIV (1979), 75–128.

<sup>5</sup> Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo (1588)*, ed. Ledbetter, xviii. For a survey of Marenzio's poetic choices, see James Chater, "Fonti poetichi dei madrigali di Luca Marenzio," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* XIII (1978), 60–103.

a carefully chosen matrix of rhymes and phrases is of course essential to any *sestina*, and thus it should come as no surprise that the text for the fifth madrigal from Marenzio's collection, *Fuggito è'l sonno*, which is drawn from the very same double *sestina* as *Ov'è condotto*, should recall the language and images of the opening stanza (this same poem, *Mia benigna fortuna*, was evidently a favorite of Marenzio's, having also provided the texts for *O voi che sospirate* [II a5 of 1581], *Nessun vise giamai* [II a6 of 1584], and for several madrigals in Book IX a5 of 1599, including his justly famous chromatic *Crudele acerba*). *Fuggito è'l sonno* inevitably shares the same six-line endings with *Ov'è condotto* (and thus its concern with *rime* and *stile*; *pianto* and *lieto*; *notti* and *morte*) and also dwells in the same sort of remorseful retrospection as the opening text: for this speaker, formerly articulate words, thought, and song dissolve as inarticulate cries.

These same themes, and much of the same poetic language, too, recur in the other two *sestinas* found in the book of 1588, stanzas that Marenzio evidently sought out among the works of Sannazaro precisely on account of their close verbal connections with those by Petrarch. *Fiere silvestri* (No. 9), for instance, recalls the "lungo pianto" and "dolorose rime" of Petrarch's *sestina*, clearly situating them against the pastoral landscape so prevalent in Sannazaro's (and in Marenzio's) production (this pastoral element is also strong in Nos. 8 through 12 of the *Madrigali* of 1588). Another *sestina* by Sannazaro, *O fere stelle* (No. 14), likewise alludes to the pastoral world, making hopeful reference to a restored landscape of shepherds and woods, site of the longed-for "cantar primo" toward which Petrarch had been content only to hint (see Nos. 2 and 3, the sonnets *Se la mia vita* and *Piangi ch'è Amor*). Sannazaro's *O fere stelle*, moreover, recalls in a short space other enduring themes encountered among the poems that precede it in this book. Thanks to an apt phonetic coincidence, it makes explicit connection between the conditions of poetic language (*stile*) and those of the heavens (*stelle*). This parallel, in turn, recalls one set out in Girolamo Troiano's sonnet, *Senza il mio vago sol* (No. 6), which identifies the poet's current isolation ("dunque andrò solo") with the absence of a guiding sun ("il mio vago sol"). This same word play also recurs in the poem that immediately follows Troiano's sonnet, Sannazaro's *Senza il mio sole*. Among the poetry assembled for the *Madrigali* of 1588, in short, are texts carefully selected to converge on a central set of themes, poems that "effect a troping," in the words of Laura Macy, "of the tale of artistic metamorphosis."<sup>6</sup> That Marenzio was well aware of the

<sup>6</sup> Laura Williams Macy, "The Late Madrigals of Luca Marenzio. Studies in the Interactions of Music, Literature, and Patronage at the End of the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1991), 167.

connections among these poems is amply demonstrated in the sophisticated musical responses elicited from him by these texts.

### The Musical Plan of the *Madrigali*

The overall narrative plan of the book moves from the affective retrospection of Petrarch's *sestinas* and sonnets to the latent pastoralism of Sannazaro's lyrics, culminating in the brief but compelling *O fere stelle*. The musical organization to which these texts have been subject seems designed to highlight this broad progress, joining the central utterances of these poems through the reprise of specific melodies and gestures, through the musical representation of important words and ideas, and even through the musical forces and vocal ranges required by individual works. The fifteen settings found here are grouped according to the number of vocal parts required by each, moving from small to large in an arrangement long favored by music printers of the sixteenth century, who evidently had employed such organization as both a typographical convenience and an aid for performance. Adrian Willaert's celebrated *Musica nova* of 1599, to cite one famous model for this scheme, likewise puts four-voice works before those for five, six, and seven parts. In Marenzio's *Madrigali*, moreover, the organization by ensemble is rearticulated by the choice of cleffing combination and background system: low clefs and natural system (*cantus durus*) for works for four voices; low clefs and flat system (*cantus mollis*) for those for five voices; high clefs and natural system for all but the last piece for six voices (*O fere stelle*), which like the lone work for ten voices uses high clefs and a flat system (see Table 1).

Within these broad groupings by register and by ensemble there is apparently neither rhyme nor reason to the succession of modes represented by the cleffing and system combinations. In this respect Marenzio's book does not emulate the sort of modal self-consciousness encountered, for instance, in Palestrina's *Vergine* cycle from the *Madrigali spirituali* of 1581 or in Lassus's *Lagrime di San Pietro* of 1595, cycles conceived as settings of poetic texts that were themselves intended as cohesive sets (the former by Petrarch and the latter by Luigi Tansillo).<sup>7</sup> But the *Madrigali* readily compensates for its apparent lack of schematic

<sup>7</sup> Harold S. Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXIV (1981), 429–70. Surveying the organizational schemes of Renaissance music prints, Powers cites a number of important publications of the middle years of the sixteenth century that unfold according to clear modal designs. These designs necessarily result in the grouping of works sharing background system and cleffing arrangement. But none of the prints considered by Powers bring together works for different musical ensembles, as does Marenzio's *Madrigali*.

ordering by the extraordinary means used to create a cyclic design from varied musical forces and utterly independent texts. The book of 1588 proceeds not according to any intrinsically modal or tonal plan, but instead by offering pride of place to literary themes and forms, weaving musical connections and allusions among these lyrics in an apparent effort to recount a stylistic program, rather than a theoretical design. Thus each of the groups of madrigals for four and for five voices opens with a setting of a stanza from a Petrarch *sestina*, verses that, as previously noted, dwell on images and feelings central to other poems at hand. The first piece for six voices, *Com ogni Rio*, likewise has special significance for the collection as a whole, hiding within its descriptive couplets the name of Marenzio's dedicatee, Count Mario Bevilacqua.<sup>8</sup> Artfully playing with the sonic similarity between *amare* and *mare* (and perhaps between *Mario* and *Marenzio*), this anonymous poem recalls the verbal identification of *stelle/stile* and *sole/sola* at work elsewhere in the volume. No wonder Marenzio saw fit to give this text a privileged position at the very center of the eight Sannazaro settings that otherwise comprise the second half of the book. All of this suggests that the ordering of texts and the arrangement by ensemble and range are part of a broad and yet remarkably subtle design. Printing conventions may perhaps have helped to dictate the general placement of works within this volume, but clearly there are musical and poetic relationships at work here that can only have resulted from conscious compositional choice.

*O fere stelle*, which is the only work for six voices to use the flat system, remains the one wrinkle in this otherwise neat plan of vocal forces and ranges. In and of itself, the use of *cantus mollis* rather than *cantus durus* is perhaps not terribly significant. But taken together with the striking musical means employed in this piece and its patent connection with madrigals both within and beyond the book of 1588, the shift in system is a signal well worth noting. The poem is in many ways the culmination of Marenzio's entire narrative design for the *Madrigali*, drawing together the high affect of Petrarch's "cantar converso in pianto" with the "fiere silvestri" of Sannazaro's idiom. A single stanza from Sannazaro's *sestina*, *Spent'eran nel mio cor l'antiche fiamme*, the text appeals for a return to the bucolic landscape of the speaker's first song. Densely packed with contrasting images and even violent sentiments, the poem prompted one of the most musically audacious efforts of Marenzio's output.

The work begins sedately enough, with a motet-like imitative exordium clearly centered around G (See Example 1, mm. 1–8.). The

<sup>8</sup> For the text and translation of this poem, see Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo (1588)*, ed. Ledbetter, xxvi.

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EXAMPLE 1. O fere stelle (1588), mm. 1-22.

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Canto

Sesto

Aito

Tenore

Quinto

Basso

O fere stelle ho mai da -

O fere stelle

O fere stelle

4 fe - re stel - le

- te - mi pa - ce, ho - mai da -

O

Ho - mai da - te - mi pa - ce

ho - mai da - te - mi pa -

le ho - mai da - te - mi pa -

EXAMPLE 1. (continued)

7

ho - mai da - te - mi pa - ce E  
 - te - mi pa - ce E tu For - tu na  
 fe - re stel - le ho - mai da - te - mi  
 E tu For - tu -  
 - ce E tu  
 - ce E tu For - tu -

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10

tu For - tu - na mu - tajl cru - do sti - le,  
 mu - ta il cru - do sti - le,  
 pa - ce E tu For - tu - na mu - tajl  
 - na mu - tajl cru - do sti - le, E tu For - tu -  
 mu - tajl cru - do sti - le, E tu For -  
 - na, E tu For - tu - na mu - tajl cru - do sti -

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EXAMPLE 1. (continued)

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14

E tu For - tu - na mu - tajil cru - do

E tu For - tu - na

cru - do sti - le, E tu For -

-na mu - tajil cru - do sti - le,

-tu - na mu - tajil cru - do sti - le,

-le, E tu For - tu - na mu -

17

sti - le. il cru - do sti - le. Ren - de - te - mi - a' pa -

mu - tajil cru - do sti - le.

-tu - na Ren - de - te - mi - a' pa -

il cru - do sti - le.

il cru - do sti - le. Ren - de - te - mi - a' pa -

- tajil cru - do sti - le. Ren - de - te - mi - a' pa -

EXAMPLE 1. (*continued*)

20

-sto - ri, Ren - de - te-mi a' pa - sto - ri et a le sel - ve

Ren - de - te-mi a' pa - sto - ri et a le sel - ve

-sto - ri

Al

-sto - ri, Ren - de - te-mi a' pa - sto - ri et a le sel - ve

-sto - ri, Ren - de - te-mi a' pa - sto - ri et a le sel - ve

second line of the poem, however, provokes a rather unexpected musical response: taking the allusion to the mutability of Fortune as his cue, Marenzio sequentially restates a melodic motive, first heard in the bassus in measures 8 through 11, in a series of downward transpositions by fifth that drag the ensemble inexorably through *E-flat*, *A-flat*, *D-flat*, and *G-flat*, coming to rest in measure 19 with a convincing cadence on *D-flat*. Here, diametrically opposite his initial *G* on this musical compass, lies the restored but now decidedly alien pastoral world of the poet's (and Marenzio's) "first song," a world musically embodied in the lively rhythms and spare homophonic textures of measures 19 and 20 ("rendetemi a pastori"). This is precisely the canzonetta-inspired musical idiom at the heart of Marenzio's customary response to Sannazaro's pastoral lyrics. This idyll, however, is short-lived, and Marenzio soon returns to the densely imitative textures and eventually to the *G* modal orbit of the opening.

▷ The basis of Marenzio's stylistic opposition rests in an extreme application of the most basic of Renaissance musical conceptions, the semitone *mi-fa* as a central determinant of the hexachord and, therefore, of musical space. In the passage that leads up to the pastoral

idyll, changeable Fortune suggests a series of downward transpositions (with each new flat necessarily corresponding to a new *fa*), while in the passage that follows this episode, the sustained struggle against Love implies a complementary series of ascending semitones (each of which necessarily representing a new *mi-fa* juncture; in mm. 35ff the words “mi fa,” from the last line of the stanza, themselves span the semitone at times—see Example 2.<sup>9</sup>

This madrigal, in short, does more than depict, intone, or emote upon its chosen text. It is instead a symbolic representation of opposed genres and styles, a representation hinging upon the construction of musical space itself. The focus of this piece is thus decidedly different than that of the approach Marenzio took in his settings of Sannazaro poems from his early musical production, where his attentions were directed chiefly at prosody and pictorial representation through the sweeping appropriation of the canzonetta idiom as material for development and variation. Here, by contrast, the canzonetta idiom is carefully circumscribed as a lost alternative to the otherwise severely contrapuntal style that dominates this opus.

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*O fere stelle* bears clear and quite remarkable relation—both musical and literary—to other works from the book of 1588. It is followed, for instance, by *Basti fin qui le pen'e i duri affanni*, a pastoral dialogue for two five-voice ensembles, a work dwelling exclusively in the “restored” poetic and musical idiom envisaged by the central D-flat section of *O fere stelle*. Yet *O fere stelle* looks back in important ways to earlier pages of the 1588 book as much as it looks forward to its bucolic close. The opening line of the poem, “O fere stelle, homai datemi pace,” for instance, echoes the final line of the preceding madrigal (a setting of the first quatrain of Sannazaro’s sonnet *Interdette speranze e van desio*), which concludes “date homai pace al, lasso, viver mio.” Marenzio took special care to highlight the connection between these two lines, underscoring them with musical echoes obvious to the attentive listener: the melodic leap and gradual descent that pervades the final bars of *Interdette speranze* (at “al, lasso, viver mio” in mm. 41ff, starting with the bassus; see Example 3) recurs as the very first melodic gesture of *O fere stelle* (in mm. 1–8; see Example 1. The two works also mark the shift from *cantus durus* to *cantus mollis*—see below). Marenzio, always sensitive to musical possibilities in his chosen texts, seems here to have selected two texts (each by Sannazaro and each a fragment

<sup>9</sup> Marenzio’s fondness for hexachordal puns of this sort is evident throughout this collection. The opening melodic idea of *Senza il mio sole* (No. 7 from the *Madrigali* of 1588), for instance, transforms “mio sole” into the musical syllables *mi so la*.

EXAMPLE 2. O fere stelle (1588), mm. 27-40.

27

Canto  
-me Ch'io non son for - te a

Sesto  
-me Ch'io non son for - te a

Alto  
Ch'io non son for - te a

Tenore  
-me Ch'io non son for - te a so -

Quinto  
-me Ch'io non son for - te

Basso  
-me Ch'io non son for - te a

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31

so - ste - ner la guer - ra

so - ste - ner la guer - ra

so - ste - ner la guer - ra

- ste - ner la guer - ra

a so - ste - ner

so - ste - ner la guer - ra

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EXAMPLE 2. (continued)

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34

Ch'A - mor mi fa co'l

Ch'A - mor, Ch'A - mor mi fa co'l

Ch'A - mor mi fa

Ch'A - mor mi fa

Ch'A - mor mi fa, Ch'A -

Ch'A - mor, Ch'A - mor mi fa,

38

suo spie - ta - to lae - cio,

suo spie - ta - to lae - cio,

co'l suo spie - ta -

- mor mi fa co'l suo spie -

Ch'A

EXAMPLE 3. Interdette speranze (1588), mm. 40-50.

40

Canto

Da - te ho-mai pa - ce al las -

Sesto

Da - te ho - mai pa - ce al las - so vi -

Alto

Da - te ho - mai pa - ce al las - so

Tenore

Da - te ho - mai pa - ce al

Quinto

Da - te ho - mai pa - ce al las - so

Basso

te ho-mai pa - ce al las - so vi -

43

- so vi - ver mi - o, al las -

-ver mi - o, al las - so

vi - ver mi - o, al las - so vi - ver mi -

las - so vi - ver mi - o, al

vi - ver mi - o, al las - so vi - ver

-ver mi - o, al las - so

## EXAMPLE 3. (continued)

332

so vi - ver mi - o.  
 vi - ver mi - o.  
 o.  
 las - so vi - ver mi - o.  
 mi - o.  
 vi - ver mi - o.

from a longer poem) at least partly on account of the opportunity they provided for specifically musical connections between related verses. Embracing the juncture between two madrigals in an elegant musico-poetic *chiasmus*, Marenzio deftly ties the “forbidden hopes” of *Interdette speranze* to the idyllic “first song” at the heart of *O fere stelle* (see texts in Appendix).<sup>10</sup>

The crucial musical phrase that joins *Interdette speranze* and *O fere stelle*, moreover, marks the last in a series of musical and textual

<sup>10</sup> As noted above, *O fere stelle* is a single stanza from a sestina. The text of *Interdette speranze* is the first four lines of a sonnet, a poem whose original sense and form is fractured by Marenzio’s truncation of it. For the complete poem, see Sannazaro, *Opere*, 196. Only once before had the composer set a portion of a sonnet: the octave of Sannazaro’s *L’alto e nobil pensier*, from V a5 of 1585.

That Marenzio should have juxtaposed and joined these two texts in this particular way seems impossibly obscure. But the gesture nevertheless has a double significance within the *Madrigali*. It highlights, for instance, a series of musical connections prompted by textual similarities found among the poems assembled here. But it culminates a parallel series of purely musical echoes that tie together each of the three pieces for six voices that immediately precede *O fere stelle*. Starting with the first of these pieces, *Com ogni Rio*, with its embedded verbal allusion to Mario Bevilacqua, Marenzio

reprises that link *O fere stelle* with still other pieces—including ones for four and five voices—found early in the *Madrigali*. The very same melodic motive that joins these two pieces (see Example 1, mm. 1–4) also appears at the words “O fere stelle” in the midst of the five-voice setting of Girolamo Troiano’s sonnet, *Senza il mio vago sol* (No. 7, mm. 21ff—see Example 4) and at “O mio destino” in the four-voice setting of Giovanni Della Casa’s *Affliger chi per voi* (No. 4, mm. 14ff—see Example 5), poems that dwell exclusively in the affected rhetoric that dominates the first part of the volume. Clearly, this high level of musical and textual correspondence suggests that special planning went into the selection of even the arrangement of pieces for the *Madrigali*.

The central moment of *O fere stelle*, as we have discovered, relies upon the sequential repetition of a single melodic line (at “E tu Fortuna . . .”) through a series of downward transpositions designed to carry the idea to a musical register far beyond the compass of the remainder of the collection. But if the extreme continuation of this process is realized uniquely in *O fere stelle*, the latent possibility of such continued and sequential transposition is nevertheless implied in three similar contexts elsewhere in the book of 1588. Each of these instances, moreover, appears in direct association with the “O fere stelle” refrain that opens this piece. In *Affliger chi per voi*, for instance, the motive for “o mio destino” appears at four pitch levels, each a fifth lower than the last (see cantus, then bassus, in mm. 14–22—see Example 5). In *Senza il mio vago sol*, too, successive entries of the motive for “o fere stelle” appear a fifth apart, with the added complication of an E-flat in the first appearances (altus and bassus, mm. 21ff), suggesting at least the possibility of the corresponding addition of A-flat in the next (cantus, m. 25—see Example 4). To do so, of course would require still more inflections that would pull the entire ensemble far to the flat side of Marenzio’s musical spectrum (precisely as he later does at “E tu Fortuna”). The end of *Interdette speranze* also presents the signal motive from *O fere stelle* in ways that imply sequential continuation, with two

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draws together each of the following pieces in an impressive musical chain. The descending scale at “amaro infinito” (No. 11, mm. 49ff), for instance, is clearly recalled in the opening melodic gesture of *Valle riposti* (No. 12, mm. 1ff), which reworks this diatonic scale in a long cascade of incidental suspensions. The central motive that closes *Valli riposte*, in turn, outlining the *naturale* hexachord in a long sepulchral coda in the measures 55ff (starting in the cantus at “Ma qui si stia sepolta”), also recurs (now as the outline of the *durum* hexachord) in the contrapuntal opening of *Interdette speranze* (No. 13, mm. 1ff). The extraordinarily subtle *chiasmus* between *Interdette speranze* and *O fere stelle* is thus but the culmination of a series of similar junctures, wherein the closing musical gesture of one madrigal has been reworked—sometimes extensively—as the opening gambit of an ensuing piece. Implicit in the musico-poetic union of *Interdette speranze* and *O fere stelle*, in short, is the idea of cyclic continuation of former ideas.

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EXAMPLE 4. Senza il mio vago sol, mm. 21-28.

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Canto: -to O fe - re

Alto: -to O fe - re stel - le o mio mal - (NB)

Tenore: -to O fe - re stel - le o mio mal - vag - gio

Quinto: O fe - re stel - le o

Basso: -to O fe - re stel - le (NB)

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Canto: stel - le o mio mal - vag - gio fa - to Dun -

Alto: (b) - vag - gio fa - to Dun -

Tenore: fa - to, o mio mal - vag - gio fa - to Dun -

Quinto: (b) mio mal - vag - gio fa - to Dun -

Basso: mio mal - vag - gio fa - to

EXAMPLE 5. Affliger chi per voi, mm. 1-22.

Canto  
Alto  
Tenore  
Baso

Af - fli - ger chi per voi la  
Af - fli - ger chi per voi  
Af - fli - ger  
Af - fli - ger

5  
vi - ta pia - gne Che vien man - can - do el fi -  
la vi - ta pia - gne Che vien man - can - do el  
la vi - ta pia - gne Che vien man - can - do el  
Che vien man - can - do el fi - ne ha

10  
- ne ha da vi - ci - no E na - tu - ral fie - rez -  
fi - ne ha da vi - ci - no E na - tu - ral fie -  
fi - ne ha da vi - ci - no E na - tu - ral fie - rez -  
da vi - ci - no

EXAMPLE 5. (continued)

14

-za O mio de - sti - no, E na - tu - ral fie - rez - za, E -

-rez - za. E na - tu - ral fie - rez - za, E na - tu - ral fie -

-za O mio de - sti - no, E na - tu - ral fie - rez -

E na - tu - ral die - rez - za O mio de - sti - no,

19

na - tu - ral fie - rez - za O mio de - sti - no Che

rez - za O mio de - sti - no

-za, E na - tu - ral fie - rez - za O mio de - sti - no

O mio de - sti - no, O mio de - sti - no

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sets of imitative entries (each a fifth apart), the last leading to a cadence on this final, *G* (see Example 3, mm. 41–50).

With this peculiar arrangement of this series of entries at the conclusion of *Interdette speranze* Marenzio seems to have wanted to bring out the parallelism between the end of this work and the outset of the next, which begins with the same motive at precisely the same pitch level (cantus and tenor, mm. 1–4 of Example 1). The two pieces nevertheless would not have been understood to represent the same musical mode, for the *b-flat* system (*cantus mollis*) at the outset of *O fere stelle* designates this piece as mode 1 transposed down a fifth, as distinct from the *untransposed* mode 7 (with a background *cantus durus*) designated by the cleffing and system of the previous composition. The

shift to the *b-flat* system for *O fere stelle* (recalling that it is the only six-voice piece with this register) thus gains significance in the larger musico-poetic plan of the entire volume. It joins Marenzio's complex series of allusions and refrains (which link *O fere stelle* with four-, five-, and six-part pieces elsewhere in the volume) with his extraordinary sequential extension of musical harmony (suggested but left unrealized elsewhere in the *Madrigali*). The shift from *cantus durus* to *cantus mollis* thus effects a musical transposition that serves as an emblem of Marenzio's entire program for the book of 1588. Transposing the decorous pastoralism of his previous idiom as a distant tonal and textural realm, Marenzio here crafted a book designed to ally poetry by Sannazaro with the Tuscan poetry and poets—from Petrarch to Della Casa—so central to Italian literary ideals of the sixteenth century. In this volume the composer did more than bring together madrigals of uniform sobriety: instead he coordinated poems and parts of poems in ways that contrast and connect the gestures, forms, and *topoi* embraced by his mature style.

### The *Madrigali* and Marenzio's Musical Career

The book of 1588, in short, was plainly the product of extraordinarily focused and purposeful planning, coordinating poetic idioms, musical registers, and style itself in a reflexive assessment of the composer's own musical language. Judged from the perspective of his entire output, moreover, the book seems to mark an important turning point in his poetic choice and approach to overall design. The *Madrigali* stands as Marenzio's last (and certainly his most concentrated) use of the poetry of Jacopo Sannazaro, a writer whose works had provided the composer with a quarter of his texts up to and including this book. Pondering the artistic price of this former dependency, Marenzio here evidently aimed to restore Sannazaro's poetry (and its associated musical conventions) at the conclusion of the book. The gesture seems now more than a little ironic, for in fact the composer never again set a text by Sannazaro. Instead, Marenzio's subsequent pastoral lyrics came principally from the works of Guarini, a writer whose dramatic poetry both was held in high regard by Marenzio's later patrons (especially by Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini), and was at the court of Mantua the literary foundation for Wert's and Monteverdi's new musical idioms of the late 1580s and 1590s. Marenzio's abandonment of Sannazaro thus should be taken at least in part as an acknowledgment of new developments in poetry and music, not merely as the rejection of old conventions.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> On the place of Guarini's texts in Marenzio's VI a5 (1594) and VII a5 (1595), see Macy, "The Late Madrigals of Luca Marenzio," 88–93 and 114ff.

The *Madrigali*, as Marenzio himself maintained, included works “composed by me very recently in a style quite different from that of the past.” To be sure, the serious sentiments and motet-like *exordia* of many of the pieces found here offer marked contrast with much of Marenzio’s earlier secular output. But the new manner of 1588 nevertheless had some precedent in his production. Among the *Madrigali spirituali* a5 of 1584, for instance, are works—including three to poetry by Sannazaro—whose somber texts and slow-moving rhythms clearly anticipate those found in the ambitious volume of 1588. His setting of Sannazaro’s *Non fu mai cervo si veloce al corso*, the closing composition from the book of 1584, moreover, looks directly to the cyclic concerns of the *Madrigali*, joining six stanzas of this long *sestina* in a modally (but not motivically) unified series of sections.<sup>12</sup> Subsequent attempts at cyclic design among Marenzio’s publications were also far-reaching, particularly in his VI a6 of 1595, a book that in Laura Macy’s words approaches the “apotheosis of the madrigal cycle.”<sup>13</sup> We should recall, however, that like the *sestina* from the *Madrigali spirituali* of 1584, cycles of the sort found in the 1595 book were based upon literary models that were themselves inherently cyclic: Tansillo’s *Se quel dolor* (a *capitolo*) and Petrarch’s *Giovene donna* (a long *sestina*). The same use of cyclic literary designs also figures in Marenzio’s final Book IX a5 of 1599, with its independent settings of isolated stanzas from the same Petrarch *sestina* that opens the *Madrigali* of 1588. In this respect the *Madrigali* sets an organizational precedent to which the composer never again seems to have returned: it is a subtle and cohesive essay from a remarkably varied body of music for four, five, six, and ten voices to independent texts by at least four different writers.

The simultaneous novelty and finality of the book of 1588 doubtless reflects the immediate biographical context of Marenzio’s career as a composer, which was by 1587 certainly in economic crisis following the death in late 1586 of Cardinal Luigi d’Este, the prelate who had been his patron for nearly a decade. Marenzio’s efforts to secure a musical post either at Mantua or at Ferrara remained inconclusive in the months following Luigi’s death, much as they had been even during the patron’s lifetime, and the composer did not find regular employment again until February 1588, when he was retained by the Grand Duke of Florence.<sup>14</sup> 1587 thus found Marenzio without a guiding light, a

<sup>12</sup> For a modern edition of *Non fu mai cervo si veloce al corso* and other works from the 1584 print, see Luca Marenzio, *Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci. Libro primo (1584)*, ed. Ledbetter. Luca Marenzio, *The Secular Works*, 17 (New York, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> The cyclic aspects of Marenzio’s late prints are considered in Macy, “The Late Madrigals of Luca Marenzio,” 186ff.

<sup>14</sup> The problems of Marenzio’s biography during 1587 are reviewed in Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo (1588)*, ed. Ledbetter, xiii–xiv.

condition perhaps emblematically represented in the now absent *Sole* of several of the poems chosen for this book. These circumstances appear in the case of the *Madrigali* to have reinforced an earlier, but less extreme turn towards a new seriousness of style that marked his previous attempts to win favor with North Italian courtly and academic circles. Already in a print of 1584 (the second book for six voices, dedicated to the Cardinal of Guise, nephew of his patron Luigi d'Este) the composer hinted at the need to subordinate sensuous delight ("diletto de' sentimenti") to a kind of heavenly harmony ("celeste concerto") that he likened to moderation itself. "Marenzio's soul," Alfred Einstein wrote of the profound transformation that unfolded during the 1580's, "is divided, torn like Petrarch's between the sensuous and the super-sensuous . . . the pastoral and the pathetic."<sup>15</sup>

There simply is not enough direct evidence of Marenzio's thoughts or intentions to say with certainty precisely why or how he came to reexamine his own stylistic fortunes. But there is nevertheless good reason to locate the *Madrigali* securely among the literary, musical, and even philosophical sensibilities of certain North Italian academies and private houses. In any event, it seems unlikely that the intricate connections worked out in the collection would have been obvious to the casual musical reader. Indeed, the book of 1588 was from the outset intended for exclusive rather than broad appeal, as Marenzio plainly states in his dedication to Mario Bevilacqua. It contains music, the composer advises, whose "somber gravity . . . will perhaps be far more pleasing [than that of the past] to connoisseurs like you and to your most virtuoso ensemble."<sup>16</sup> The serious tenor and complex organization of

<sup>15</sup> Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, II, 629. The preface from Book II a6 of 1584 appears in Ledbetter, "Luca Marenzio: New Biographical Findings," (Ph. D. Diss., New York University, 1971), 173–74.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted and translated in Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo (1588)*, ed. Ledbetter, xvi. Marenzio's abilities as a composer are likely to have been well-known to Bevilacqua already by the early 1580s: the composer's third book of madrigals for five voices was dedicated to the Accademia in 1582, when Bevilacqua was himself *padre* of that organization. See Ledbetter, "Luca Marenzio: New Biographical Findings," 163–64. Marenzio's music had also figured in *I lieti amanti*, an anthology offered to the count by the Ferrarese poet Ippolito Gianluca in 1586. Indeed, *I lieti amanti* articulates a carefully crafted program whereby, in the words of Anthony Newcomb, "the poems alternate the motif of departure with that of the dissolution of an affair," and "the settings are alternately by Ferrarese musicians [like Count Alfonso Fontanelli] and non-Ferrarese musicians [like Marenzio] who were friends of the court." Recalling the preeminently literary conception of the earlier *Il Lauro verde* and *Il Lauro secco* (anthologies which themselves circulated around Bevilacqua's household during the early 1580s) *I lieti amanti* may well have served as something of a model for the personal story worked out in Marenzio's *Madrigali* of 1588. See Newcomb, review of the recent modern edition, *I Lieti amanti. Madrigali di venti musicisti ferrarese e non*, ed. Marco Giuliani, Studi e testi per la storia della musica, 9 (Florence, 1990), in *Notes* XLIX/1 (1992), 83. The *Lauro secco* and *Lauro verde* prints are explored in Newcomb, "The Three Anthologies for Laura Peverara, 1580–1583," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* X (1975), 329–45.

this collection, it seems, found their fitting counterparts in the select destination of the music: the volume was the only one of Marenzio's publications never to have been reprinted and, except for the last work in the volume, none of its contents were ever included in any other printed anthology of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> The *Madrigali*, in short, seems to have been aimed narrowly at Mario Bevilacqua's liberality as a prospective patron. But the likelihood that the book enjoyed only limited circulation should not be taken as an indicator of its insularity. Quite to the contrary, in this volume we may detect allusions to and reworkings of poetry, music, and aesthetic ideals current not only in Bevilacqua's household, but also in the Accademia filarmonica di Verona, and even among other elevated circles of North Italian musical patronage of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Some of the texts and textual allusions assembled in the *Madrigali* doubtless reflect the obscure and private world of Mario Bevilacqua and his *ridotto*. The text of *Com ogni Rio*, it will be recalled, cleverly reworks the syllables of the count's name as the phonetic constituents of a brooding seascape ("Com'ogni Rio che d'acque dolci et chaire / Porge tributo al Mare"). Exactly who might have written these verses will probably never be known, but the poem apparently relies on a conceit also expressed in the preface to a pseudonymous collection of poetry offered to Bevilacqua and his *ridotto* in 1587, the *Rime dell'Acuto in lode dell'honoratissimo ridotto dell'Illustre Signor Conte Mario Bevilacqua*, which

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The full story of Bevilacqua's musical *ridotto* and its place in the stylistic history of the Italian madrigal remains largely unexplored, and in any event would be a mammoth undertaking. Concerning his activities as a patron, see Enrico Paganuzzi, "Mario Bevilacqua, amico della musica," in Lanfranco Franzoni, *Verona: La Galleria Bevilacqua* (Milan, 1970), 143–60; Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo* (1588), ed. Ledbetter, xiv–xvi; and Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579–97*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1980), I, 197–98. The contents of the Bevilacqua collections of musical instruments and books are considered in Giuseppe Turrini, *Città di Verona. Biblioteca della Soc. Accademia Filarmonica di Verona. Fonda Musicale Antico*, Catalogo delle Opere Musicale, Serie XIV (Parma, 1935–36); and Marcello Castellani, "A 1593 Veronese Inventory," *The Galpin Society Journal* XXVI (1973), 15–24.

<sup>17</sup> The unique publication history of this volume among Marenzio's collections of madrigals is discussed in Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo* (1588), ed. Ledbetter, xvii. Never reprinted *in toto*, selections from the book of 1588 were borrowed for only four other anthologies: the concluding madrigal, a dialogue for two five-part choirs, was included in the *Liber secundus Gemmae musicali*, (Nürnberg, 1589) [RISM 1589<sup>8</sup>], in *Di Luca Marenzio, musico eccellentissimo. Madrigali a sei voci in un corpo ridotti*. (Antwerp, 1594) (Vogel, *Bibliografia*, II, 1030–32 [No. 1670]), and (apparently not noticed by Ledbetter) in *Madrigali spirituali e temporalis, Di Luca Marenzio a cinque, sei, otto, nove, e dieci voci*. (Nürnberg, 1610) (Vogel, *Bibliografia*, II, 1036–37 [No. 1680]). The same dialogue, together with ten other madrigals from the 1588 print, was copied (without its text) in an autograph manuscript prepared by the English instrumentalist John Baldwin during the years around 1600 (further on the Baldwin Miscellany, now in the British Library, see Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo* [1588], ed. Ledbetter, 166–67).

recalls how the very sounds of the patron's name invited transformation as "Io sono MAR, Bevi l'Acqua de Mare."<sup>18</sup> Other poems from the *Madrigali*, too, are apt to have elicited knowing smiles among the members of Bevilacqua's circle. *Senza il mio vago sol*, for instance, was penned by a fellow member of the celebrated Accademia filarmonica di Verona, Girolamo Troiano, a poet whose verse Marenzio also included in the very next volume he brought out following the book of 1588.<sup>19</sup> All three of the Troiano texts chosen by Marenzio, in fact, are to be found on the very same few pages of a single poetic anthology, Dionigi Atanagi's *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani* of 1565.<sup>20</sup> The close reliance on this single source and the apparent lack of interest in Troiano by other masters of the Italian madrigal together suggest that Marenzio's poetic selection was here governed by local literary taste. It seems less than coincidental, moreover, that the obscure Troiano's only contribution to the book of 1588 is a poem that plays centrally in the entire program for the print, its first line anticipating the opening verse of the first Sannazaro text, *Senza il mio sole*, and its middle verses containing one of the striking *O fere stelle* refrains so central to the design of the *Madrigali*.

<sup>18</sup> From the preface to *Rime dell'Acuto in lode dell'honoratissimo ridotto dell'Illustre Signor Conte Mario Bevilacqua* (Verona, 1587), cited in Paganuzzi, "Mario Bevilacqua, amico della musica," 149.

<sup>19</sup> Troiano was listed as a member of the Accademia Filarmonico di Verona on 28 December 1574. See Turrini, *L'Accademia filarmonica di Verona alla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico* (Verona, 1941), 268. During the 1580s Troiano belonged to the same Brescian monastery as Don Angelo Grillo, then Torquato Tasso's correspondent and literary advisor. See Note 27, below. Taken together, the central place of Troiano's poetry in the plan of the *Madrigali* and his links to Brescia and Verona—cities also important in Marenzio's life—allow at least the possibility that the obscure poet was in some way connected with the creation of the book of 1588.

<sup>20</sup> Troiano's *Senza il mio vago sol* appears on fol. 112<sup>r</sup> of *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani raccolte da M. Dionigi Atanagi*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1565). *Ecco che'l ciel* and *Spiri dolce Favori Arabi odori* (Nos. 5 and 6 in Marenzio's V a6 of 1591) were taken from fols. 113<sup>v</sup> and 112<sup>r</sup> of the very same poetic source. A setting of Troiano's *Spiri dolce Favonio [sic] arabi odori* appears in Ippolito Sabino's I a6 of 1579 (Vogel, *Bibliografia*, II, 1561 [No. 2526]). An eight-voice setting of *Ecco che'l ciel* appears in Francesco Stivori's *Concerti Musicali* of 1601 (Vogel, *Bibliografia*, II, 1646 [No. 2647]). No other texts by this obscure literary figure of the late sixteenth century appear among printed sources of the Italian madrigal. According to James Chater, *Senza il mio vago sol* is something of an assemblage of lines and images from other poems, including lines 16–19 of Tansillo's *Se quel dolor* (corresponding to lines 9–12 of Troiano's text), the cyclic *capitolo* that Marenzio later included in Book VI a6 of 1595 (No. 13). James Chater, *Luca Marenzio and the Italian Madrigal, 1577–1593*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1981), I, 202.

Atanagi's *Rime di diversi* had also been the source for *Gratie renda al Signor meco la terra*, set by Marenzio as the opening work of his *Madrigali Spirituali* a5 of 1584. According to Atanagi, the author of this text was a certain "Benedetto Guidi," probably the same Benedictine monk to whom Troiano had dedicated some of his poetry and who during the mid 1580s served as abbot of the same Brescian monastery where Troiano lived at the time, SS. Faustino e Giovita.

Marenzio's 1588 collection, of course, relies heavily on the poetry of Sannazaro, a writer whose *Arcadia* and lyric verse, too, were widely circulated during the sixteenth century. Indeed, Sannazaro's writings seem to have been held in especially high regard among literary critics and philosophers active in precisely the sorts of academic settings from which the *Madrigali* emerges. Tommaso Poracchi, a member of the Brescian Accademia degli Occulti and a writer to whom Girolamo Troiano once addressed some of his poetry, authored an important commentary on Sannazaro's Arcadian verse that was issued in 1558.<sup>21</sup> Giovambattista Massarengo, a literary critic active in the Accademia degli Innominato at Parma, also edited Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and *Rime* during the late sixteenth century. Keenly interested in the generic conventions, prosody, and vocabulary of Sannazaro's writings, Massarengo directed his readers to the rich and multiple meanings to be found among the poet's writings. Massarengo's comments suggest that Sannazaro's texts were the object of intense scrutiny by academicians such as those assembled at Parma. In these Arcadian verses, Massarengo observes, literary figures and conceits are themselves transformed as aspects of a pastoral landscape,

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an *Arcadia* of infinite pleasure in which one may regard mountains as the loftiness of conceptions, valleys as deep judgments, plains as beautiful descriptions, forests as pleasant sentences, leaves as choice words, fruits as the most peculiar stories, flowers as charming decorations and poetic artifices, fountains as occult secrets of philosophy, and the range of animals as the various actions and activities of shepherds. This unexpected jewel nevertheless reveals itself in the manner of the ancient Sileno, enclosing things of complete perfection.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Poracchi's Sannazaro commentaries were reprinted well into the eighteenth century, when they appeared, along with those of the historian Francesco Sansovino and the critic Giovambattista Massarengo, in Giovanni Antonio Volpi's *Le Opere volgari di M. Jacopo Sanazzaro [sic]* (Padua, 1723).

<sup>22</sup> "Un' Arcadia d'infinito piacere a chi considera per monti l'altezza de' conceitti, per valli le profonde sentenze, per painure le belle descrizioni, per alberi i dilettevoli periodi, per fogli le scelte parole, per frutti le curiosissime favole, per fiori i vaghi ornamenti, ed artifici poetici, per fonti gli occulte secreti di filosofia, e per diversità d'animali le varie azioni, e ricreazioni de' pastori; benchè d'improvviso rozza si dimostri, a guisa nondimeno dell'antico Sileno, rinchidue cose di tutta perfezione. . . ." From the preface to Massarengo's *Arcadia di M. Jacopo Sanazzaro [sic] più d'ogn'altra che fia stata stampata copiosa, nella quale si sono unite le Annotazioni di Tommaso Poracchi, e di Francesco Sansovino, ed aggiunte nuovamente molte Osservazioni del Sig. Giovambattista Massarengo, Accademico Innominato* (Pavia, 1596), quoted in Volpi, ed., *Le Opere volgari di M. Jacopo Sanazzaro [sic]*, 205. It is not certain that Bevilacqua's *ridotto* or the Veronese Accademia Filarmonica would have had direct knowledge of Massarengo's commentary or the Parma academy in which it developed. But we should recall that there survives other evidence linking Massarengo's Parma with Bevilacqua's Verona: Pietro Pontio's *Ragionamento di musica* (Parma, 1588; repr. edn. Kassel, 1959), dedicated to Bevilacqua (and written as a series of dialogues having taken place in his apartments) at the time the theorist was choirmaster at the church of the Madonna della Steccata in Parma.

Whether the readers and listeners who first encountered Marenzio's *Madrigali* would have understood the lyrics assembled in this book in such allegorical terms remains unclear. But there remains still one more piece of circumstantial evidence to suggest that the transformative story told in the book of 1588 concerned not only the immediate circumstances of the composer's career, but also a wider crisis of artistic representation for Italian composers of the late sixteenth century. In a now famous passage from the conclusion of Torquato Tasso's *La Cavaletta*, a dialogue written by 1585 and printed in 1587, one of the great poet's speakers called upon "[Alessandro] Striggio, Giaches [de Wert], Luzzasco [Luzzaschi] and any other excellent master of excellent music" to restore music to the proper "*gravità*" from which it had recently strayed (see Document 1 in Appendix). The similarity of Tasso's turn of phrase to the language found in Marenzio's preface of 1588 (with its avowed aim of "*mesta gravità*") was for Alfred Einstein, among others, too great a coincidence: "there must be a connection of some sort between them."<sup>23</sup>

The trouble, of course, has been deciding just how direct a connection may have bound the composer's 1588 manifesto with the poet's polemical challenge. Indeed, how and even whether to link Tasso's "excellent master" to Marenzio is even more problematic than the question of Marenzio's musical career during 1587. Marenzio himself visited Tasso's Ferrara as early as 1581, and is sure to have heard the celebrated ducal chamber ensemble, the *concerto delle donne*, sometime during the later part of the decade.<sup>24</sup> That Marenzio's music was known at Ferrara during the early 1580s is equally certain: at least two of his publications from this period were dedicated to Ferrarese patrons, and Marenzio's music figured in *Il Lauro secco*, a madrigal anthology prepared in 1582 with help from Tasso himself in honor of Laura Peverara, celebrated singer of the Ferrarese ducal camera.<sup>25</sup>

All of this allows the possibility that Marenzio and Tasso were aware of their mutual links with Ferrarese courtly circles. But Marenzio's circumstantial connections with Ferrara do not prove that Marenzio

<sup>23</sup> Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, II, 663.

<sup>24</sup> Ledbetter ("Luca Marenzio: New Biographical Findings," 51–52 and 156–58) cites payment records from the household of Luigi d'Este made during a Ferrarese visit in 1581. On the circumstantial evidence demonstrating Marenzio's familiarity with the *concerto*, see Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579–97*, I, 72–85.

<sup>25</sup> Marenzio's Book I a6 of 1581 was dedicated to Duke Alfonso II d'Este, while Book II a5 (also of 1581) was addressed to that patron's sister, Lucrezia d'Este, then duchess of Urbino. The prefaces to these collections appear in Ledbetter, "Luca Marenzio: New Biographical Findings," 158–60. On the prepublication history of *Il Lauro secco* (which evidently circulated in Bevilacqua's circle as a manuscript), see Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, I, 69–86 and 207. Many of Marenzio's madrigal collections were once owned by the ducal library at Ferrara. See *ibid.*, I, 232–34.

and Tasso ever discussed questions of musical or poetic style, much less that the 1588 book bears witness to Tasso's implied criticisms of recent stylistic trends in which Marenzio figured so centrally. Quite to the contrary, Tasso would have been inaccessible at just the time Marenzio's Ferrarese contacts increased: the poet was imprisoned at Santa Anna in 1579, on grounds of his patent insanity, and in 1587—the very time during which Marenzio may have been in the North at work on the 1588 book—Tasso was in Rome with the inquisitorial censor, Scipione Gonzaga. Moreover, Marenzio's second-hand knowledge of and life-long equivocal treatment of Tasso's poetic texts, according to Iain Fenlon, argue against direct contacts between writer and composer.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, there is good reason to suspect that Marenzio's reception of ideas like those detailed in *La Cavaletta* would have been via Tasso's circle of academic correspondents and not as the result of direct association of poet and composer.

Perhaps the most promising avenue for such indirect dissemination of ideas on stylistic propriety and impropriety was Don Angelo Grillo, Benedictine monk, musico-literary advisor, and himself the author (*alias* Livio Celiano) of dozens of texts set by composers like Wert, Monteverdi, and Marenzio, too. Angelo Grillo's correspondence with Torquato Tasso was frequent in 1584 and 1585, just the period when the imprisoned poet was at work on *La Cavaletta*. The exchange of letters between Tasso's rooms at Santa Anna and Grillo's quarters in the Brescian monastery of SS. Faustino e Giovita (where Grillo lived for a time between 1580 and 1585) reveals, moreover, that the monk acted as the poet's advisor on literary and musical matters even as he served as an advocate for Tasso's early release. It was from Grillo that Tasso received copies of Zarlino's writings in late 1584, theoretical texts which doubtless helped to shape the thoughts on music that found their way into the famous concluding passage of *La Cavaletta*. And there is much in the correspondence of Tasso and Grillo to show that drafts of his *La Cavaletta* received surprisingly wide circulation even in advance of its later publication in 1587.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Fenlon has recently uncovered a large body of evidence to show that Marenzio and Tasso are unlikely to have had direct contact with one another. See Fenlon, "Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga (1542–93): 'Quel padrone confidentissimo,'" *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* CXIII/2 (1988), 223–49. The ambivalent relationship of composer and poet is also considered in Nino Pirrotta, "Notes on Marenzio and Tasso," *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 198–209.

<sup>27</sup> Tasso mentions having received "due tomi del Zerlino" in a letter of 24 December 1584. See Cesare Guasti, ed., *Le Lettere di Torquato Tasso disposte per ordine di Tempo*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1852–53), II, 304 (No. 313). The earliest reference to Grillo among the letters published by Guasti comes in a missive of 25 March 1584. See *ibid.*, II, 265–66 (No. 274). Tasso's allusions to his *Dialogo della poesia toscana*, then under revi-

There is no unequivocal evidence that Grillo ever had direct contact with Marenzio during the time that he and Tasso corresponded concerning *La Cavaletta* and other issues. But Grillo was well placed to have been a conduit for the sort of musical and poetic ideals addressed by Tasso's dialogue and implied by Marenzio's preface of 1588: Grillo and Marenzio shared professional contacts with two composers in Marenzio's native Brescia, Lelio Bertani and Giuliano Paratico, men whose settings of Grillo's (*alias* Celiano's) poetry appeared during the second half of the 1580s.<sup>28</sup> Finally, among Grillo's fellow residents in the Brescian monastery of SS. Faustino e Giovita during the mid 1580s was Girolamo Troiano, former member of the Accademia Filarmonica di Verona, author of a poem central to the programmatic plan of Marenzio's *Madrigali*, and a mutual acquaintance of Grillo and Tasso at just the time when *La Cavaletta* was under preparation.<sup>29</sup> The circle of academics, theologians, and aristocrats that Tasso knew in part through Grillo thus seem themselves to have belonged to precisely the elite communities approached by Marenzio during the late 1580s. That Tasso developed and circulated *La Cavaletta* among these circles certainly raises the possibility that the ideas explored here—if not the dialogue itself—could have been known to Marenzio during the second half of the decade and even in advance of Cardinal Luigi's death in 1586.

### Marenzio and Tasso Reconsidered

The problem with Einstein's theory of Marenzio's artistic crisis, it seems, is in part the very fragmentary evidence upon which it depends—arguing from negative evidence and from innuendo hardly makes for solid conclusions. The point, however, should not be to discard as irrelevant Einstein's hypothesis or Tasso's cryptic remarks,

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sion for later publication, appear in letters of 15 February 1585, 22 February 1585, and an undated one (probably from 1586) to Grillo at Mantua. See Guasti, ed., *Lettere di Torquato Tasso* II, 322–33 (No. 338); II, 324–28 (No. 341); and II, 532 (No. 502). Further on the Grillo-Tasso liaison during the middle years of the 1580s, see Elio Durante and Anna Martellotti, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. Alias Livio Celiano. Poeta per musica del secolo decimosesto* (Florence, 1989), 111–42. See also the excerpt from Grillo's correspondence with Tasso quoted in Note 31, below.

<sup>28</sup> Bertani's settings of poetry by Grillo/Celiano first appeared in 1585; those by Paratico were printed in 1588. See Durante and Martellotti, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. Alias Livio Celiano*, 467 and 472. Marenzio's own settings of Grillo's (Celiano's) lyrics appeared only during the 1590s. Grillo's nostalgic memories of the composer are revealed in a letter of 1615 he wrote to the editor of a posthumous collection of Marenzio's sacred music. See *ibid.*, 269 and 464.

<sup>29</sup> In their correspondence Tasso repeatedly asks Grillo to send his regards to "reverendo padre don Girolamo Troiano." See Guasti, ed., *Lettere di Torquato Tasso*, II, 265–66 (No. 271); II, 269 (No. 279); II, 312–13 (No. 325); and II, 317–18 (No. 329).

but instead to consider them in a broader context. The real trouble with the theory of artistic crisis is that it defines Marenzio's realignment according to an overly narrow set of what are essentially aesthetic and economic criteria, when in fact the language and rhetoric of Tasso's critique hints at a much fuller spectrum of ideas about the social and ideological location of music and poetry than have previously been acknowledged. The debate outlined in Tasso's dialogue—and programmatically presented in Marenzio's *Madrigali* of 1588—was not merely about music, and it was not simply about questions of beauty.

Our reexamination of these ideas ought properly to begin with the dialogue in question, Tasso's *La Cavaletta, o vera de la poesia toscana*, penned by early 1585 (and printed in 1587) during the poet's long imprisonment and convalescence at Santa Anna in Ferrara.<sup>30</sup> The speakers in this text are the poet Orsina Cavaletta, her husband Ercole, and Tasso's own perennial persona, "la Forestiera napoletana." The bulk of the conversations offered here rehearse the stylistic history of Tuscan poetry as valorized in the literary criticism of Pietro Bembo during the early years of the sixteenth century. Aesthetic criteria loom large in this review of Petrarch and Della Casa, whose mixture of sweetness and majesty is a literary ideal of high regard for Tasso's conversants. The oft-cited passage on music comes from the final pages of *La Cavaletta*, which draw together thoughts on poetry, music, and the perilous state of contemporaneous Italian culture. These pages repay careful study (see Document 1 in Appendix).

Music, according to Tasso's speakers, has not simply fallen from its proper gravity: "degenerating," it has become "soft and effeminate" through the overuse of "sweetness and gentleness." For Tasso, then, the aesthetic worth of music rests largely in the relative moral values attached to implied audiences, in this case the merits of "gravi huomini e donne" on one hand and "lascivi giovani" on the other. Of course the defense of grave magnificence against the seductive power of sweetness is not merely a reflection of the contest between age and youth, since degeneration is clearly represented as a feminizing process ("divenuta molle ed effeminata").<sup>31</sup> Artistic creation thus assumes a social hierarchy that places age before youth and male

<sup>30</sup> *Dialogo della Poesia toscana*, in *Dialoghi e discorsi del Signor Torquato Tasso sopra diversi soggetti, di nuovo posti in Luce, e da lui riveduti, e corretti* (Venice, 1587), fols. 2<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>r</sup>. The *Dialoghi* are appended to the *Gioie di Rime e prose del Sig. Torquato Tasso nuovamente poste in luce per ordine dell'altre sue opere. Quinta e sesta parte* (Venice, 1587). For a modern edition of *La Cavaletta*, see *I Dialoghi di Torquato Tasso*, ed. Cesare Guasti, 3 vols. (Florence, 1859), III, 61–115. The precise date of the dialogue is not known, although Tasso alluded to it as early as February 15, 1585, when he apologized to Grillo for the delay entailed in conveying him a copy of it. See Note 27, above.

before female. Decoration or frivolity, as manifestations of youthful or feminine excess, must, according to this model, be contained, aspiring to a balanced “temperamento” of sweetness and severity. To do otherwise, as Tasso’s speakers insist, is to risk “non solamente gli huomini, ma l’arti medesime.” Tasso here echoes the language of a long tradition of sumptuary legislation designed to control ostentation and lascivious behavior with the aim of moral preservation. Edward Muir, for instance, has recently detailed the actions of the Venetian nobility to regulate private as well as public entertainments, drawing specific parallels between artistic representation and social order.<sup>32</sup>

There is ample reason to suspect that certain of the pastoral texts of the sort Marenzio and his contemporaries set to music were specifically identified with the seductive or lascivious—and thus threatening—qualities that conservative thinkers of the sixteenth century wanted to control. Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*, after all, is not merely a setting for bucolic pathos, it is a place where shepherds are often lured and rejected by the women who populate this deceptive landscape. Indeed, many of the most celebrated pastoral madrigals of the sixteenth century are drawn from scenes of feminine enticement and masculine frustration scattered throughout *Arcadia*, throughout Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*, and even throughout Tasso’s own *Gerusalemme liberata*. *Vezzosi augelli*, set by Marenzio and others, for instance, describes in brilliant poetic detail the enchantress Armida’s garden of pleasures where the Christian knights of Tasso’s epic are seduced and delayed.<sup>33</sup> And it was precisely such episodes of sensuous excess that landed Tasso in a great deal of trouble with censors of the Roman Inquisition. So great was the debate surrounding such potentially blasphemous eroticism and un-Aristotelian variety, that Tasso himself was

<sup>31</sup> Angelo Grillo’s thoughts about literary styles, genres, and their social proprieties were apparently much in sympathy with those that Tasso expressed in the final text of *La Cavaletta*. For Grillo (who after all issued his own secular poetry under the protection of a pseudonym), the majestic (*grave*) and the humble (*humile*) had distinctive means and effects that prohibited their direct mixture in a single poetic voice. Those of elevated standing (Tasso included, according to Grillo’s advice) should thus prefer silence to excessive *dolcezza*: “Le dolcezze, et le tenerezze lascio à chi conversa con le Gratie, et con gli Amori; e trà Dame, et Cavalieri ne parla, et ne canta: et à Vostra Signoria, la quale se ben veste alla lunga, et stà in parte, dove simili delitie solamente si sospirano, ne parla, et ne canta però si bene con l’affetto d’altri, come farebbe co’l suo proprio.” From an undated letter sent by Grillo to Tasso from Brescia (probably during 1585), printed in Angelo Grillo, *Lettere del molto rever. Padre Abbate D. Angelo Grillo Monaco Cassinese*, ed. Ottavio Menini (Venice, 1602), 42.

<sup>32</sup> On Venetian regulations of entertainment, see Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), 299–403.

<sup>33</sup> Marenzio’s setting of the text appears in I 24 of 1585. The poem, along with similar passages drawn from Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*, was also set in Giaches de Wert’s VIII 25 of 1586.

obliged in the 1580s to offer his own allegorical reading of how a Christian hero like Rinaldo (by the poem's own account founder of the d'Este line) might fall prey to the seductive pleasures of Armida's enchanted garden: "the flowers, the springs, the streams, the musical instruments and the nymphs," Tasso wrote, "are the lying syllogisms that present us the easiness and pleasures of the senses under the aspect of the good." These "diabolical temptations," "from which all sinfulness proceeds," must be controlled and destroyed through temperance and human reason.<sup>34</sup>

No wonder then, that in *La Cavaletta*, Tasso wanted to temper and to control this "soft and effeminate" poetry and music. It represented for him the artistic manifestation of a much broader cultural crisis which, *pace* Plato, threatens to confuse medicine with cuisine, oratory with slander, and philosophy with sophistry. His readers should be on guard against these wiles, like Christians against "Turks, Moors, and the others who have lost the light of the true faith." Clearly the threat identified by Tasso is not merely a question of aesthetics. It concerns a peril that confronts the very basis of culture itself. Publicly espousing a correct ideology, the poet at once recants previous excess and allows himself the controlled exploration of artistic liberty. This seems precisely the attitude at work in Marenzio's "artistic crisis" of the 1580s and programmatically worked out in the *Madrigali* of 1588: a reversal of Fortune tied to the recanting of earlier choices.

Marenzio, always attentive to the semantic and syntactic subtleties of his poetic texts, has here revealed the rich and continuing appeal of Sannazaro's poems, lyrics well suited to the sort of autobiographical musical story told in the *Madrigali* of 1588. But Marenzio's reworking of musico-poetic ideas also opens itself to the surrounding social and intellectual landscape. During the sixteenth century, as Annabel Patterson has recently argued, the pastoral was decidedly ideological, touching upon intellectual and philosophical issues of fundamental importance to an age of fiercely contested creeds.<sup>35</sup> This surely is precisely the point of sixteenth-century commentators like Giovambattista

<sup>34</sup> An English text of the *Allegoria* appears in Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, trans. Ralph Nash (Detroit, 1987), 469–74 (quotations from page 471). As in the conversations of *La Cavaletta*, the reception and revision of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* finds aesthetic and moral categories thoroughly intermingled. See, for instance, Charles Brand's retelling of Tasso's work during the early 1580s, when he revised the epic on the advice of the Roman censor, Scipione Gonzaga, among others, in his *Torquato Tasso, a Study of the Poet and of his Contribution to English Literature* (Cambridge, 1965), 73ff and 125ff. Bernard Weinberg reviews the history of the critical debate on the relative merits of literary genres and styles at work in the controversy over the *Gerusalemme liberata* in *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1961), I, 628ff; II, 1037 and 1056ff.

Massarengo, who allude to the power of pastoral literature as a form of philosophical representation as well as verbal delight. Marenzio's *Madrigali* of 1588 likewise makes a compelling story of stylistic alternatives in light of a mercurial career. Yet the significance of this uniquely poised book need not be purely aesthetic or biographical. The genres and styles represented here retell an impressive tale of Marenzio's musical development during the 1580s, when the changing claims of artistic patronage and academic audience led him to reconsider the "forbidden hopes" and "misleading thoughts" of Sanzaro's pastoral vision.

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<sup>35</sup> Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology. Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley, 1991), 7–8.

TABLE 1  
The Contents of Luca Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo* (Venice, 1588)

No.	Piece	Poet	Form	Voices	Clefs	System	Final
1.	<i>Ov'è condotto il mio amoroso stile?</i>	Petrarch <i>Canzoniere</i> , 332, St. 3	double sestina	4	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	natural	E
2.	<i>Se la mia vita da l'aspro tormento</i> (1a parte) <i>Pur mi darà tanta baldanza Amore</i> (2a parte)	Petrarch, <i>Canzoniere</i> , 12	sonnet	4	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	natural	G
3.	<i>Piango ch'è Amor con disusato oltraggio</i>	Anonymous	ottava rima	4	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	natural	A
4.	<i>Affliger chi per voi la vita piagne</i> (1a parte) <i>Nulla da voi fin qui mi vene aita</i> (2a parte)	Giovanni Della Casa <i>Sonnetti</i> , 3	sonnet	4	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	natural	D
5.	<i>Fuggito è 'l sonno [a.] le mie crude notti</i>	Petrarch <i>Canzoniere</i> , 332, St. 6	double sestina	5	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	flat	G
6.	<i>Senza il mio vago sol qual fra il mio stato</i> (1a parte) <i>O giorno che per me mal si rischiara</i> (2a parte)	Girolamo Troiano	sonnet	5	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	flat	G
7.	<i>Senza il mio sole in tenebre e martiri</i> (1a parte) <i>Alto che lagrimar gl'occhi non ponno</i> (2a parte)	Jacopo Sannazaro <i>Rime</i> , 60	sonnet	5	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	flat	F
8.	<i>Ben mi credeva, lasso</i>	Sannazaro <i>Rime</i> , 53, St. 2	canzone	5	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	flat	D
9.	<i>Fiere silvestre, che per lati campi</i>	Sannazaro <i>Arcadia</i> , IV, 25-30	double sestina	5	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	flat	A
10.	<i>Ecco che un'altra volta, o piagge apriche</i> (1a parte) <i>E se di vero Amor qualche scintilla</i> (2a parte)	Sannazaro <i>Rime</i> , 34	sonnet	5	C <sub>1</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	flat	C

TABLE 1 (continued)

No.	Piece	Poet	Form	Voices	Clefs	System	Final
11.	<i>Com'ogni Rio che d'Acque dolci et chiare</i>	Anonymous	couplets	6	G <sub>2</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	natural	A
12.	<i>Valli riposte e sole</i>	Sannazaro <i>Rime</i> , 59, St. 1	canzone	6	G <sub>2</sub> -F <sub>4</sub>	natural	C
13.	<i>Interdette speranze e van desio</i>	Sannazaro <i>Rime</i> , 81, lines 1-4	sonnet	6	G <sub>2</sub> -F <sub>3</sub>	natural	G
14.	<i>O fere stelle homai datemi pace</i>	Sannazaro <i>Rime</i> , 33, St. 3	sestina	6	G <sub>2</sub> -F <sub>3</sub>	flat	G
15.	<i>Basti fin qui le pen'e i duri affanni</i>	Sannazaro <i>Rime</i> , 89, St. 3, lines 1-8	canzone	10	G <sub>2</sub> -F <sub>3</sub> G <sub>2</sub> -F <sub>3</sub>	flat	C

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Text and translation for *Interdette speranze* and *O fere stelle*, following Luca Marenzio, *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci. Libro primo (1588)*, ed. Steven Ledbetter. Luca Marenzio. *The Secular Works*, 7 (New York, 1977), xxvi.

<p>Interdette speranze e van desio,                      Pensier fallaci, ingorde e cieche                      voglie,                      Lagrime triste, e voi, sospiri                      e doglie,                      Date homai pace al lasso viver mio.</p>	<p>Forbidden hopes and vain desire,                      Misleading thoughts, greedy                      and blind wishes,                      Sad tears, and you, sighs and laments,                      You never grant peace to my weary                      life.</p>
<p>O fere stelle, homai datemi pace,                      E tu, Fortuna, muta il crudo stile;                      Rendetemi a' pastori et a le selve,</p>	<p>O cruel stars, you never give me                      peace,                      And you, Fortune, change your cruel                      style;                      Restore me to the shepherds and to                      the woods,</p>
<p>Al cantar primo, a quelle usate                      fiamme,                      Ch'io non son forte a sostener                      la guerra                      Ch'Amor mi fa co'l suo spietato                      laccio.</p>	<p>To my first song, to those                      accustomed flames,                      For I am not strong enough to                      sustain the warfare                      That Love makes upon me with                      his merciless snare.</p>

## DOCUMENT 1.

Torquato Tasso, *La Cavaletta; Dialogo della Poesia toscana*, in *Dialoghi e discorsi del Signor Torquato Tasso sopra diversi soggetti, di nuovo posti in luce, e da lui riveduti, e corretti* (Venice, 1587), fols. 38<sup>v</sup>–39<sup>r</sup> [Punctuation added; original spellings retained].

**Forestiere Napolitano:** Ma le canzoni hanno bisogno de la musica quasi per condimento. Ma quale cercherem noi che sia questo condimento? Qual piace a' giovani lascivi fra' conviti e fra' balli de le saltatrici; o pur quello ch' a gli huomini gravi ed alle donne suol convenire?

But canzoni have need of music as a flavoring. What should we seek for this flavoring to be? That which pleases frivolous youths between banquets and the dancing of girls; or rather that which should suit serious men and their women?

**Orsina Cavaletta:** Questo più tosto.

The latter one.

**FN:** Dunque lascerem da parte tutta quella musica, la qual, degenerando, è divenuta molle ed effeminata: e pregheremo lo Striggio, e Iacches e 'l Lucciasco, e alcuno altro eccellente Maestro di musica Eccellente, che voglia richiamarla à quella gravità, dalla quale traviando, è spesso traboccata in parte, di cui è più bello il tacere che'l ragionar. E questo modo grave sarà simile a quello che Aristotele chiama *δωριστι*, il quale è magnifico, costante e grave, e sopra tutti gli altri accomodato a la cethera.

Thus we shall leave aside all that music, which, degenerating, has become soft and effeminate, and we shall ask Striggio and Giaches and Luzzasco, and any other excellent master of excellent music, that he may be willing to recall it to that seriousness by straying from which it has often in some respects overflowed with which it is better to remain silent than to speak. This serious manner will be similar to that which Aristotle calls Dorian, which is magnificent, constant, and grave; and which above all the others suits the lyre.

**OC:** Cotesto non mi spiace: ma pur niuna cosa, scompagnata da la dolcezza, può essere dilettevole.

That does not displease me. But still no other thing, not accompanied by sweetness, can be delightful.

**FN:** Io non biasimo la dolcezza e la soavità, ma ci vorrei il temperamento; perch' io stimo che la musica sia com' una delle altre arti pur nobili, ciascuna de la quali è seguita da un lusinghiero simile ne l'apparenza, ma nell'operazioni molto dissomigliante: e come l'arte de la cucina lusinga a la medicina, il calunniatore all'oratore, il sofista al filosofo; così la musica lasciva a la temperata.

**OC:** Fra tanti lusinghieri sono in molto pericolo non solamente gli huomini, ma l'arti medesime, e quelli e queste in gran parte contaminate.

**FN:** Dunque il nostro poeta dall'una parte si guarderà di non cadere ne le argutie de' sofisti, le quali hanno ripiene molte composizioni che piacciono al mondo: da l'altra, che'l condimento della musica non sia stemperato nè soverchio; ma, come Tirteo tra gli Spartani, doverà esser fra gl'Italiani, o fra' Cristiani più tosto, in queste guerre che sono tra loro e i Turchi e i Mori e gli altri ch'hanno perduto il lume della vera fede: e cantando hora circa il sinistro, hora circa il destro, si dovrà proporre, come per esempio, il movimento del primo Cielo, che si muove dall'Oriente a l'Occidente, o pur dalla destra alla sinistra, e quelli de gli altri ancora, che sono mossi diversamente; i quali duo moti assomiglia l'anima nostra con la volontà e con l'appetito.

I do not censure sweetness and gentleness, but wish for moderation; because I consider that music is like one of the other arts, noble as they are, each of which is accompanied by a flattery similar in its appearance, but of very dissimilar workings: as the art of cooking flatters medicine; slander flatters oratory; sophistry flatters philosophy; thus lascivious music flatters tempered.

Among all these allurements not only are men in peril, but the arts themselves, and both are contaminated in great measure.

Thus on one hand our poet must brace himself so as not to fall into the fallacies of the sophists, which have filled many compositions that please the world. On the other hand, that the flavoring of music should be neither immoderate nor excessive—but, what Tyrtaeus was among the Spartans, so he should be among Italians, or still better Christians, in this war between them and the Turks, Moors, and the others who have lost the light of the true faith—and singing now to the left, now to the right, he must take as his model, for example the motion of the first heaven, which moves from east to west or from right to left; and like the others, too, which move differently. The two movements resemble our soul with its will and appetite.