



GUARINI'S "IL PASTOR FIDO" AND THE MADRIGAL

VOICING THE PASTORAL IN LATE RENAISSANCE ITALY

Seth J. Coluzzi

ROUTLEDGE



Guarini's "Il pastor fido" and the Madrigal

Battista Guarini's pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor fido* (1589) began its life as a play, but soon was transformed through numerous musical settings by prominent composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Through the many lives of this work, this book explores what happens when a lover's lament is transplanted from the theatrical stage to the courtly chamber, from speech to song, and from a single speaking character to an ensemble of singers, shedding new light on early modern literary and musical culture.

From the play's beginnings in manuscripts, private readings, and aborted stage productions in the 1580s and 1590s, through the gradual decline of *Pastor fido* madrigals in the 1640s, this book examines how this widely read yet controversial text became the center of a lasting and prolific music tradition. Using a new integrative system of musical–textual analysis based on sixteenth-century theory, Seth Coluzzi demonstrates how composers responded not only to the sentiments, imagery, and form of the play's speeches, but also to subtler details of Guarini's verse. Viewing the musical history of Guarini's work as an integral part of the play's roles in the domains of theater, literature, and criticism, this book brings a new perspective to the late Italian madrigal, the play, and early modern patronage and readership across a diverse geographical and temporal frame.

Seth J. Coluzzi is an Assistant Professor of Music at Colgate University and a scholar of the music, poetry, and culture of late-Renaissance Italy. His work focuses on issues of analysis, mode, interpretation, and text–music relations in the Italian madrigal and has appeared in *Journal of Musicology*, *Music and Letters*, *Music Theory Spectrum*, *Early Music*, *Studi musicali*, and other journals and collections.



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*Voicing the Pastoral in Late
Renaissance Italy*

Seth J. Coluzzi

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Acknowledgments

Guarini's *Il pastor fido* and the late-Renaissance madrigal have been a central part of my life for some time now. Through such a period, it is almost without question that life will yield many experiences, both enjoyable and challenging, yet often unexpected, and always enlightening. I have been very fortunate through this book's development to find myself surrounded by many remarkable people, whose encouragement, direction, and generosity have been invaluable, and to whom I owe the sincerest thanks.

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Editorial Principles

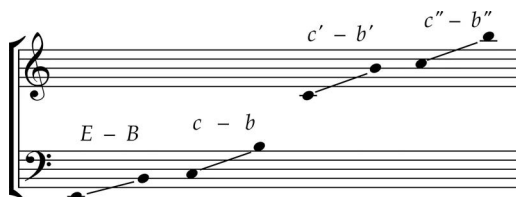
Translations throughout are my own unless otherwise noted. The original Italian for lengthier citations is available in the Support Material (www.routledge.com/9781032423852) for rare sources and where subtleties of the original language are important to the discussion. In most cases, for the sake of clarity and consistency, I have not modernized the Italian in prose citations, even if it has meant retaining odd usages. Likewise, poetic texts transcribed from primary print and manuscript sources, particularly for purposes of comparison and lineage, are left unedited, and hence follow the spelling, punctuation, accents, and abbreviations of the originals. In other instances, poetic texts are minimally edited, generally by way of added punctuation, when it is important to the sense of the passage. I have made the poetic translations as literal as possible, including in terms of lineation and syntax, in order to facilitate line-by-line references and comparisons for musical and textual analysis, even if this has come with slight sacrifices in elegance. I also adopt the convention here of capitalizing the beginnings of poetic lines, including for partial verses and in musical settings, in order to convey the formal layout and treatment of the text.

All music examples have been newly edited based on image files or microfilms of the princeps, when extant. Music examples are provided for the most relevant passages when dealing with works for which modern editions are readily available. For works that are difficult to access in modern edition—namely, the three madrigals of Gian Giacomo Gastoldi and three of Salamone Rossi discussed in Chapter 8—I have provided complete scores in the Support Material.

Throughout the study, for madrigals consisting of multiple “*parti*” (parts) or sections—similar to movements in later music or acts in a play—these component sections are referred to as *parti* to avoid confusion with the connotation “voice parts.” Such multi-*parte* madrigals, in turn, are considered and counted as single madrigals; thus, Monteverdi’s five-*parte* setting *Ecco, Silvio, colei che 'n odio hai tanto* in his Fifth Book constitutes a single work (rather than five individual madrigals). All references to madrigal books not specifying the number of voices refer to collections for five voices: for example, Marenzio’s Seventh Book implies the Seventh Book for five voices.

Collections of madrigals calling for any other number of voices will be specified, as in “First Book for four voices.” The shorthand *a4*, *a5*, and so forth likewise refer to the number of voices in a work or collection.

References to general pitch classes take the form of roman upper-case letter names: for instance, “a cadence on A,” or “the continuous presence of A.” Sonorities (“triads”) similarly appear in roman with upper case denoting major (D) and lower case, minor (d), except where the quality is written out (“a D-minor sonority”). Specific pitches are indicated by italics and use primes and case to indicate register in the manner:



Pitch classes are also indicated at times based on their position in the mode (i.e., relative to the modal final): for example, G represents the “modal fourth” or “ $\hat{4}$ ” of the D-dorian mode. The terms *diapason*, *diapente*, and *diatessarón* of sixteenth-century modal theory refer to the octave, fifth, and fourth, respectively, and often carry with them the connotation of the role of these intervals—with their internal intervallic makeup—in defining the mode. Importantly, true cadences are distinguished from non-cadential arrivals (especially in examples and tables) using parentheses for the latter: hence, “D” represents a cadence on that pitch, while “(D)” denotes a non-cadential ending. The basic principles of cadences and mode are discussed in Chapter 1. Finally, I refer to the specific voice parts of the madrigal with the Italian names used in contemporary sources: Canto (soprano), Alto, Tenore, Basso, Quinto (“fifth,” a variable part), Sesto (“sixth”), and so forth.

Introduction

Voice, Genre, and Interpretation in the Italian Madrigal

With its close musical readings of high Italian poetry, the madrigal represents a culmination of musical–literary innovation and technique in the early modern period not only in Italy, but throughout Europe. The flourishing of the genre through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries followed the literary fashions of the age, conveying the poems, epics, romances, and plays of poets such as Petrarch, Ariosto, Sannazaro, Tasso, Guarini, Marino, and countless others in settings for an unaccompanied vocal ensemble (typically from four to six voices), and later, after c.1600, increasingly for vocal ensemble, solo voice, or duet with instrumental accompaniment. This introspective and rhetorically sophisticated verse inspired bold, new means of musical expression that pushed the bounds of accepted practice.

Yet, the transition from lyric poem to music—from the act of silent or spoken reading to the experiences of singing, listening, and observing—brings significant consequences to the text in terms of perception and perspective. Take, for example, the first lines of a poem by Giovanni Guidiccioni of which composer Jacques Arcadelt produced a notable setting:

Il bianco e dolce cigno
Cantando more, et io
Piangendo giungo al fin del viver mio.

The white, sweet swan
dies singing. And I,
weeping, reach the end of my life.

Thus begins the poem, and thus sing the three, then four, voices in Arcadelt’s celebrated madrigal first published in 1539 (see Example I.1). But just what happens when the text is transferred from lyric poem to polyphonic madrigal, from the perspective of a single poet-speaker to an ensemble of four voices? Such questions of voice and interpretation have stood at the center of madrigal studies in recent years, with the two principal views arguing that the genre renders the poetic voice as a shared, universal “I” voiced collectively by the ensemble, at times with individual voices coming to the fore for expressive effect, verisimilitude, or variety; or as a singular subjectivity located primarily in a specific voice part. The latter view sometimes comes with a teleological framing of the madrigal as in some sense “dramatic” or

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C Il bian - co e dol - ce ci - gno Can - tan - do mo - re, et io Pian - gen - do giun -
 A Il bian - co e dol - ce ci - gno Can - tan - do mo - re, et io Pian - gen - do giun -
 T Il bian - co e dol - ce ci - gno Can - tan - do mo - re, et io Pian - gen - do giun -
 B Et io Pian - gen - do giun -

[Canto = Tenore, mm. 7-10] →

go al fin del vi - ver mi - o, et io Pian - gen - do giun - go al fin del vi - ver mi - o.
 go al fin del vi - ver mi - o, et io Pian - gen - do giun - go al fin del vi - ver mi - o.
 go al fin del vi - ver mi - o, et io Pian - gen - do giun - go al fin del vi - ver mi - o.
 go al fin del vi - ver mi - o, et io Pian - gen - do giun - go al fin del vi - ver mi - o.

Example 1.1 Arcadelt, *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, mm. 1–15

mimetic, a precursor to opera, whereby the polyphonic setting represents a type of conventionalizing garb for an underlying representational or soloistic treatment.

Analyses of any madrigal’s manner of reading, furthermore, tend to focus overwhelmingly on texture, whereby homophonic declamation represents a collective unity to some, a centered Self to others, and a plainly accompanied principal voice to others still. A rhythmically offset voice, in turn, marks that part as the speaking subject, while polyphony represents a fractured or conflicted Self, despite the lack of a systematic framework (not to mention historical backing) for such straightforward associations and how they are applied. The lack of contemporary sources on the subject and the variety of modern hermeneutical–analytical approaches have led to a plurality of assertions about the madrigal’s narrative mode or “voice.” This outcome may, on the one hand, be part of the point: that the genre facilitates a variety of interpretative readings. But on the other hand, it gets us no closer to a reliable and historically informed understanding of how madrigals read and were read.

Two relatively recent analyses of Arcadelt’s *Il bianco e dolce cigno* illustrate the point. The text opens by evoking the white swan’s singing at its death in the first clause—“Il bianco e dolce cigno cantando more”—and contrasting it with the first person’s weeping at the end of his life in the second—“et io piangendo giungo al fin del viver mio.” The poem stresses this change of focus from swan to Self with the inward gesture of the first-person pronoun

at “et io” (and I) at the end of verse 2, the first-person verb “giungo” (reach) and possessive “mio” (my) in verse 3, and the end-rhyme *io*–*mio* between the two verses.

In *Modal Subjectivities* (2004), Susan McClary interprets Arcadelt’s madrigal as a rendering of an individual Self divided between a rational, unified persona (portrayed with homophony) and a decentered, irrational interiority (rendered through polyphony). Thus, through most of the madrigal’s prevailing homophony, McClary explains that “all four voices declaim the text at the same time to produce the image of a single [centered] speaking subject,” while at the later shift to imitation, “the speaker becomes riddled with inner conflict.” Here, McClary reads the Tenore as the predominant voice, while the delayed entrance of the Basso at “et io” in mm. 5–6 strengthens “the contrast between the swan...and the masculine Self.”¹

In analyzing the same passage in *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi’s Staging of the Self* (2012), Mauro Calcagno focuses on a reading of the Basso as a representation of the poem’s speaker, “who is silent for the first clause (dominated by the swan’s singing), but ‘steps forward’ for the second clause, singing the word *io* (and then *mio*).”² Calcagno continues by noting that this textual device results in:

a conflation, a merging of the *persona* of the composer—the musical narrator—with the *persona* of the poet, the literary narrator, via the protagonist/character of the poem, coalescing into the actual singer [the Basso] at the moment in which he sings the word *io*.³

A different perspective, focusing on the second clause (mm. 5–10), however, reveals another potential reading, one in which, while the Basso “steps forward” and *joins* the ensemble, the Canto steps *away from* it, and in its rhythmic displacement, enunciates the first-person pronoun, “et *io*,” and verb, “giungo” (I reach), independently. The varied restatement of this passage in mm. 10–15 further emphasizes the Canto’s singularity by combining its rhythmic separation with the pre-cadential syncopation from the Tenore’s earlier statement of “viver mio” in mm. 7–10. To all of these readings, furthermore, could also be added the general views of the madrigal’s rendering of the lyric *io* as a shared, plural identity throughout; as narrated (or reported) speech; and as a quasi-dramatic persona, whose location in the Canto is supported by that part’s consistent presence and frequent textural, rhythmic, and registral prominence across the piece amidst a largely homophonic setting. All of these readings prove plausible and demonstrate the inevitable inconsistencies—or, to put it more positively, variety—inherent in interpretative analyses of voice and subjectivity based chiefly on superficial features, such as texture, register, and offset phrasing.

My study further explores such questions of poetic genre, voice, and perspective as part of a broader investigation into compositional and interpretative strategies in the madrigal by looking at a distinctive and prominent trend in the genre in the decades around 1600: the setting of texts not from

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a lyric source, as was typical, but from a play, Battista Guarini's pastoral tragicomedy, *Il pastor fido*, published in December 1589. The play's single speeches for the most part transitioned seamlessly from their theatrical contexts to the self-contained madrigal, where they prove largely indistinguishable from lyric poems (which is what some of them likely originally were). Yet, these extracted passages cannot be considered solely *in vacuo*, as autonomous poems, from the standpoint of readership, owing to their inherent interpretative ties to their dramatic source. As the studies of the musical works in later chapters will show, composers, indeed, heeded this distinction. For despite the texts' removal from the play and any modifications they underwent, composers often responded to them in ways that entertain both independent and intertextual readings by evoking aspects of the external plot, attributes of their speakers and other relevant personas, and veiled intentions that lie behind the speech in the play. The *Pastor fido* madrigal, as a documented close interpretative reading by its composer-author, then, is by nature discursive—with its textual source, with other madrigals within and between collections, and with its readers, taken at large to include performers, listeners, and readers of the page—and, hence, is invested with multiple layers of meaning and an extended capacity of referentiality and interpretative play. *Il pastor fido* and the madrigal, therefore, held a reciprocal, or mutualistic, relationship: while the play enriched the madrigal with the expanded backgrounds and scenarios of its speaking characters and verse, the madrigal, in turn, potentialized the speeches through its own non-verbal means of expressive reading.

The rendering of speeches from the play polyphonically in the madrigal foregrounds further these issues of voice, perspective, and poetic genre as the words of a single embodied character enacted onstage or imagined in a silent reading are sounded through multiple voices collectively in the intimate setting of a courtly chamber, intellectual *ridotto*, or private household. The difference, for example, is comparable to reading the well-known passage *Cruda Amarilli, che col nome ancora* as a generic complaint of unrequited love, and reading it through the lens of the protagonist Mirtillo (the “faithful shepherd”) in *Il pastor fido*, with knowledge of the dramatic irony that lies behind his beloved's spitefulness and the responsibility she bears in the context of the play.

The multi-voice madrigal, thus, presents the inherent incongruities that it is neither dramatic nor, as a component of this, verisimilar, by virtue of the fact that performing polyphony is a collaborative endeavor, as well as a cross-gendered one, and, hence, no individual “voice” (part) has exclusive claim to the singular first-person identity (*io*). This is not the concern of the madrigal. For, as contemporaneous accounts and modern-day performances attest, singers of madrigals do not only deliver the speaker's words; they also interact with one another vocally and aurally by coordinating tempo, rhythm, and intonation; semantically and grammatically by sharing, trading, and completing a common text; and visually and physically by

exchanging glances, facial expressions, and movements. In other words, they are acting, and interacting, as an ensemble of reader–reporters of the speaker’s words, rather than truly acting out individually and dramatically as the speaker. This mode of delivery is exemplified well in the opening of Arcadelt’s *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, where separate voices play distinct yet interdependent roles in voicing the text. This view contrasts with Mauro Calcagno’s assertion that madrigal “composers were able to empower performers to become in effect flesh-and-blood characters, not merely conveyors of ‘readings’ or ‘exegeses.’”⁴ It also vindicates the madrigal as a free-standing genre rather than as a harbinger of any musical drama to come, and it obviates the need (to return to McClary) to identify rational personas and irrational interiorities with musical settings that, instead, celebrate the act of reading.

The extension of this narrative (or diegetic) conception to a madrigal such as *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, for instance, would effectively hem the work in implied quotation marks, as if to include the caption, “He [the unnamed poet-lover] said: ‘Il bianco e dolce cigno...’”⁵ This view rationalizes the fact that, for example, the Basso and Canto both play prominent, but complementary roles in the opening passage: while the Basso’s entrance adds an effect of verisimilitude by evoking what McClary calls a “masculine Self,” the Canto’s rhythmic displacement conjures the speaker’s desolation at the hyperbolic end of his life while dismissing any designations of gender. The basic expression, therefore, becomes universal. Likewise, the transferal of Mirtillo’s widely set entrance monologue from Guarini’s play to five-voice madrigal would involve the implicit introduction: “Thus cried the faithful shepherd, ‘Cruda Amarilli, che col nome ancora...’” The madrigals present the words and passions of the characters, but they do not act their parts, as in the play.

As Arcadelt’s madrigal and the settings from *Il pastor fido* show, even at times when a single voice is highlighted or briefly alone, that voice, indeed, speaks *for* (not *as*) the speaker—i.e., relates his or her words—but also *for* the ensemble, as collective, underlying narrator. Thus, in *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, the swan sings (*cantando*); the lover weeps (*piangendo*); the performers narrating the lover sing about weeping, even as individual voices “step forward” in various ways (e.g., the Basso by entering and the Canto through rhythmic displacement). The same is true of settings of dialogues from *Il pastor fido* that preserve superficially the distinction between two characters (for example, by way of voice-groupings or of other textural means) but which remain grounded within a polyphonic ensemble. There is always a conceptual separation between singer(s) and speaker(s), even as the singers imitate the speaker’s words and affects. This means of realization is distinct from that of true drama, or *mimesis*, where the audience lets itself believe that the actor truly *is* the speaking persona. Even if one voice is singled out metrically, registrally, through dissonance, or by another means, it becomes more prominent in the madrigal’s expressive/rhetorical delivery, but it does not become *more* the speaker than any of the other voices. In this respect,

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all of the active voices are always participants, with some more conspicuous than others, yet without a separation between true (or truer) speaker and mere background support.

All of these strategies of distinguishing individual voices suggest that while verisimilitude can be invoked for semantic and expressive effect, true enactment or personification is not part of the madrigal's means. It could hardly be considered plausible, after all, that Mirtillo would apostrophize polyphonically, with the expressive and oratorical focus shifting from one voice to another. Instead, the madrigal presents its texts in ways that not only recount linear narratives, but prompt non-linear reflection on their emotional and other consequences; the aim is not so much to experience these consequences as to consider them in whatever ways the listener (and the performer) might prefer.

Whereas many recent studies have seemed intent on uncovering signs of soloistic, representational, or even operatic tendencies in the madrigal based on their texts, textual sources, musical texture, and the imminent rise of opera, the texts and paratexts of these *Pastor fido* settings contend otherwise: madrigal composers and performers do not create flesh-and-blood personas, but rather rendered these characters' words framed in narrative terms. Despite conflicting views even on the poetic mode of lyric poetry—pure narration according to Plato, pure *mimesis* to Aristotle, or a mix of both to Renaissance literary theorist Antonio Minturno, to list a few—it was, by function, poetry to be read or sung, as opposed to acted onstage. The examples here suggest that these madrigals—if not *the* madrigal—too, act as readings, not enactments, both in performance and in interpretation, whatever the genre and source of their texts.

The musical–textual and cross-generic tradition of the *Pastor fido* madrigal, therefore, in turn, was rooted not in enactment or in the polyphonic simulation of drama, but in adapting the pastoral's speeches to the intimate domains of aristocratic households and solitary readings as heightened retellings of the Arcadians' thoughts and orations, as depictions of their interior and external states, and as incisive interpretations of the poet's witty, sophisticated, and affecting verse. For performers and listeners alike, the madrigal allowed the vicarious and empathic experience of the subjectivities of the text, rather than immediate embodiments or representations as carried out on stage. This manner of presentation, in fact, suited Guarini's play distinctly well. For despite its label as a *tragicommedia pastorale*, from its earliest exposure in Guarini's spoken readings, *Il pastor fido* proved a work to be read more than staged. The madrigal continued this practice in music, as composers' readings of characters' speeches were conveyed through sung performance.

Pastoral Personas in a Tragicomic Plot

In the fourth scene of act 3 in *Il pastor fido*, the nymph Amarilli finds herself torn between her love for the shepherd Mirtillo and an obligation to marry the callous huntsman Silvio. Up to this point in the play, Amarilli had stood

firm in her obedience to patriarchal order, feigning an air of indifference and even cruelty toward Mirtillo. But after Mirtillo sneaks his way into a game of blind man's buff (*Il gioco della cieca*) between Amarilli and a band of nymphs and steals a kiss from his blindfolded beloved, Amarilli's front begins to crumble. She scornfully rejects Mirtillo, but once alone reveals the conflict she faces between love and law, between personal desire and civic duty. Her speech begins with the cry "O Mirtillo, Mirtillo anima mia" and the verses set by more than twenty composers, then continues with lines cited by critics of the play for their illustration of Amarilli's defiant inclinations and impractical capacity to reason:

Se 'l peccar è sì dolce,	If to sin is so sweet,
E'l non peccar sì necessario, o troppo	and not to sin so necessary: Oh, too
Imperfetta natura,	imperfect nature
Che repugni a la legge;	that opposes law;
O troppo dura legge,	Oh, too harsh law
Che la natura offendi. ⁶	that offends nature.

The responsibility that lies in Amarilli's hands, however, involves much more than her own well-being and the political and financial interests of an arranged marriage. Though set in the mythical pastoral land of Arcadia, typically seen as an idyllic home of shepherds and nymphs far removed from the clamor and depravity of the city, Guarini's Arcadia is threatened by a curse of the goddess Diana that requires either the marriage of two progeny of divine blood or the sacrifice of a chaste nymph in order to spare its citizens from severe misfortune. Thus, it has been arranged that Silvio, son of Montano and a descendant of Achilles who wants nothing to do with love, will marry Amarilli, daughter of Titiro and a descendant of Pan. All would be well and good for Silvio and Amarilli to wed, except that Mirtillo (an outsider to Arcadia) is determined to win Amarilli's heart and, unknowingly, has succeeded in doing so.⁷

But in spite of her intense love for Mirtillo, Amarilli remains steadfast in her role of dutiful daughter and citizen, acting bitterly toward Mirtillo so as not to compromise her betrothal to Silvio and, in turn, jeopardize the fate of Arcadia. Thus, with its impending curse, imposed marriage, and thwarted love, Guarini's Arcadia is hardly a refuge from the troubles of Renaissance life. Even more unsettling for some readers of the play was the notion that the fate of this imperiled Arcadia lay in the hands of a love-torn nymph, who weighs her own natural inclinations against social obligation and divine and patriarchal authority.⁸

Indeed, the image of Arcadia as sensual bliss and utopian freedom represents only half of the picture of the late-sixteenth-century pastoral. Instead, Arcadia is often portrayed as a land fallen from grace, whose inhabitants suffer of love-sorrow, unattainable desires, and the confines of social codes, and look back longingly to a past Golden Age. This is a far cry from simple rustic life, and as we shall see, the music inspired by the speeches of Arcadian inhabitants could be far from simplistic as well.⁹

8 Introduction

The play, like the madrigals derived from it, centers principally on the forbidden love between Mirtillo and Amarilli and the dichotomy of their predicaments—Mirtillo’s constancy in the face of despair and humiliation, and Amarilli’s struggle to conceal her passion with outward coldness—and secondarily on the innocent Dorinda’s love for the heartless Silvio, and her desperate (indeed, nearly fatal) efforts to open his eyes to love (Figure I.1). These alternating storylines remain largely separate in the play, but are connected crucially through the imposed vow between Amarilli and Silvio. While the devoted and desperate Mirtillo and Dorinda pursue their cruel beloveds, the tragic dimension (and ultimately resolution) of the plot arises from the devious Corisca’s hidden passion for Mirtillo, and her willingness to remove any obstacle that stands in her way—namely Amarilli. The duplicitous nymph is, in turn, supposedly sworn to the shepherd Coridone, while also sought by the lustful Satiro.

Over the course of act 3, Corisca takes advantage of Amarilli and Mirtillo when they are at their most vulnerable—after their distressing exchange following the *Gioco della cieca*—to set her machinations into motion. Whereas several fashionable madrigal texts came from the early expository acts of the play—including the elder Linco’s *Quell’augellin, che canta* (I,1), Mirtillo’s *Cruda Amarilli* (I,2), and Dorinda’s *O misera Dorinda* (II,2)—act 3 generated more musical settings than any other act in the play. The musical texts focus on six main episodes of scenes 1–4 and 6:

- 1 Mirtillo’s anxious monologue ahead of Amarilli’s arrival that makes up the whole of scene 1 (*O primavera, gioventù dell’anno*);
- 2 the *Gioco della cieca* in scene 2 with sung and danced choruses intermixed with dialogue from Mirtillo, Amarilli, and Corisca (*Ecco, la cieca...*);
- 3 Mirtillo’s tearful farewell following Amarilli’s humiliating rebuke in scene 3 (*Ah, dolente partita*);

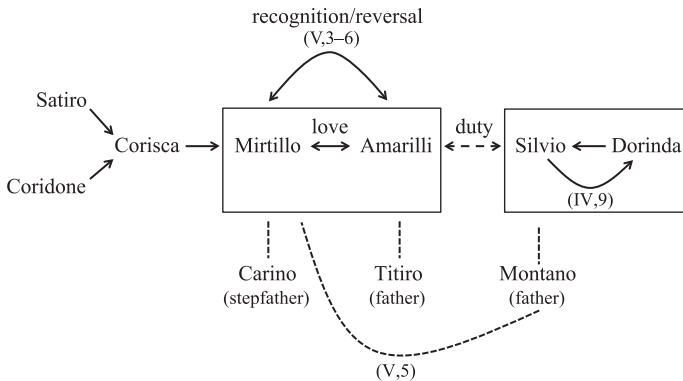


Figure I.1 *Pastor fido* Characters

- 4 Amarilli's private confession of her true love for Mirtillo in scene 4 (*O Mirtillo, Mirtillo anima mia*) that the eavesdropping Corisca overhears, before convincing Amarilli in scene 5 to follow the more ancient law of Venus, rather than restrictive one of Diana;
- 5 Mirtillo's apostrophe at the start of scene 6—also overheard by Corisca—bemoaning the perpetual torment of loving a cruel lady (*Udite, lagrimosi*); and
- 6 Corisca's futile effort through the remainder of the scene to tempt Mirtillo with the prospect of enjoying other affectionate lovers with the intent of winning him for herself, which only prompts the faithful shepherd to double down on his commitment to constancy (*M'è più dolce il penar per Amarilli* and other passages) and leads to Corisca's intricate scheme to dispose of her rival by framing Amarilli as unfaithful in her engagement to Silvio.

The last two acts proved the least fruitful in terms of madrigal texts, perhaps because they focus much more on dramatic action and development, rather than introspection and background. In act 4, Corisca's ploy goes seriously awry when the elders of Arcadia find Amarilli in a cave alone with Mirtillo instead of Coridone, as Corisca had designed. The oracle dictates that any adulterous woman must be sentenced to death, unless a faithful shepherd offers to die in her place. Thus, Amarilli faces the sacrificial altar, before Mirtillo insists on giving his own miserable life to spare hers.

This sudden shift toward a tragic scenario, however, is but the first of two dramatic reversals. For, in keeping with the tragicomic design, the second reversal leads to a narrow escape and a providential end. Carino, while passing by the temple, realizes that the unfortunate victim at the altar is not the usual virgin or perfidious nymph, but his son, Mirtillo. A moment before the priest (Montano) delivers the fatal blow, Carino begs to embrace Mirtillo one last time, which prompts the shepherd to speak, thus defiling the sacrifice and requiring that the preparations begin again. The delay allows for a conversation between Montano and Carino, in which the latter explains Mirtillo's backstory: how some twenty years ago after the great flood, Carino found him floating, like Moses, in a cradle in the river Alfeo, and named him Mirtillo. The tale ends in Montano's recognition of Mirtillo as his lost firstborn son, Silvio, whose name he then gave to his second son (the hunter betrothed to Amarilli). The priest now faces the grave task of executing his own child. All is finally resolved, however, when the prophet Tirenio points out that Mirtillo fulfills the same requirements as Silvio, being of divine lineage and having the birth name Silvio. Thus, the sequence of recognitions and reversals in act 5 incrementally divulges the true destiny of Amarilli and Mirtillo's love.

Meanwhile, as Amarilli, then Mirtillo, escape death at the altar, Dorinda likewise finds herself fighting for her life, as the inadvertent victim of Silvio's arrow. The distressing episode in act 4, scene 9 that shows Dorinda begging

for Silvio's blessing, and Silvio's reversal as his heart warms with pity, forms the basis of Monteverdi's lengthy dialogic madrigal, *Ecco, Silvio, colei che 'n odio hai tanto* (1605), discussed in Chapter 7. Like Amarilli and Mirtillo, Dorinda, too, evades death—in this case, by a medicinal herb for healing wounds known to Silvio. In the end, with Silvio transformed and replaced by Mirtillo as Amarilli's betrothed, all of the protagonists fulfill their longings, and the potential tragedies of the dual plot dissolve into a *lieto fine*—a distinguishing mark of Guarini's new hybrid genre. Corisca, too, repents and is fully forgiven by Amarilli and Mirtillo in the work's closing lines.

Guarini's ties to the Este court in Ferrara—a center famed for its activities in music, poetry, and theatrical entertainment—and his reputation as a poet of lyric verse suited to the polyphonic madrigal likely also contributed to the early acceptance of his pastoral tragicomedy as a source of musical texts. The attention that it garnered both in the theater and out of it—from literary critics and readers of the printed text—seems only further to have stoked this demand for musical treatments of its extracted passages. But whereas the pastoral play *Aminta* (1573) by fellow Ferrarese poet Torquato Tasso proved less difficult as a theatrical work and enjoyed comparable success as a printed text, its musical legacy was isolated and short-lived. Something, in short, set Guarini's work apart not only from Tasso's play, but also from all other plays of Renaissance Italy as a promising, plentiful, and inspiring source of madrigal texts. Indeed, in contrast to the simple, rustic characters and taut plots of conventional pastoral comedies, the individuals of Guarini's Arcadia are cultured and complex, and bring forth a range of dispositions and tragicomic scenarios with an exceptional number of divulging and impassioned soliloquies. The following chapters explore the play through these various dimensions of its history: as a developing text, in the theater, as a catalyst of controversy, and in musical setting, where the polyphonic madrigal served not only as annotated reading, but also, as we will see, as a means of discourse between text, composer, performers, and listeners, as well as between madrigals and the books in which they reside.

Notes

- 1 Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 63–64.
- 2 Mauro Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi's Staging of the Self* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 110.
- 3 Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera*, 112.
- 4 Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera*, 101.
- 5 While this framework conflicts with Calcagno's reading of the Basso as representing the first-person *io* of the poem, it does complement his later expansion of that voice's role to comprise "a conflation...of the *persona* of the composer...with the *persona* of the poet, coalescing into the actual singer at the moment in which he sings the word *io*."
- 6 Battista Guarini, *Il pastor fido* (Venice: Bonfadino, 1589 [dated 1590]).

- 7 This scenario reverses the customary male and female roles of earlier neo-Latin plays in the Renaissance, such as Tommaso Mezzo's *Epirota* (Venice, 1483), Giovanni Antonio Marso's *Stephanium* (Venice, n.d., written in 1502), and Bartolomeo Zamberti's *Dolotechnne* (Venice, 1504), wherein a daughter of noble standing, who has long been separated from her family, falls in love with a young aristocrat but is forbidden to marry him due to her lack of a dowry and her low social status. The opposition between patriarchal interests (for the groom's father to acquire a dowry and lucrative relations through the son's marriage) and love is resolved through the discovery of the young woman's father, who turns out to be a former, wealthy acquaintance of the groom's father.
- 8 As Joseph Addison wrote over a century after the play's publication:

In the *Pastor Fido*, a shepherdess reasons after an abstruse philosophical manner about the violence of love, and expostulates with the gods for making laws so rigorous to restrain us, and at the same time giving us invincible desires. Whoever can bear these, may be assured he hath no taste for pastoral.

The Guardian (no. 28, 13 April 1713), as cited in Nicolas Perella, "Amarilli's Dilemma: The *Pastor fido* and Some English Authors," *Comparative Literature* 12 (1960): 348–59, at 353.

- 9 On the double-sided nature of Arcadia and its function for Renaissance courtly society, see Giuseppe Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially 256–91.

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1 Reading the Madrigal

Mode, Structure, and the Analysis of Late-Renaissance Music

On Mode

The multivalent view of the madrigal as affective reading likewise requires an innovative approach to analysis that is at once informed by musical thinking of the time and forceful in handling both text and music. Analyses of late-Renaissance vocal polyphony in recent years have focused predominantly on surface- and phrase-level features of the music, such as texture, melodic contour, rhythmic character, motions between sonorities, dissonance, cadences, and so forth. Such foreground activity is, indeed, vital to the delivery and expression of the text, and to the delineation of its formal layout. Equally essential, however, is the consideration of how the individual passages and isolated details relate to one another and to the whole in a coherent and integrated way to create a work that has a discernible beginning, middle, and end. This conception of the “whole” in a composition is defined most fundamentally by the frameworks of mode and the poetic text.

According to Renaissance theorists, mode was not only indispensable, it was to be heeded and made apparent at all times in a composition. Pietro Pontio, a practicing composer and a student of Cipriano de Rore in Parma, writes in his *Dialogo, ove si tratta della theorica e prattica di musica* (1595) that “the mode must be observed above anything else in a composition; otherwise, the whole would be constructed haphazardly.”¹ Seven years earlier, in his *Ragionamento di musica*, Pontio stressed that in addition to knowing counterpoint, it is imperative that a composer also have a thorough comprehension of mode:

because, even if you understood consonances and dissonances...and you did not understand the modes, and consequently, their cadences, you would be like a blind man, who just goes around and has no guide and at last finds that he has lost the way; this, I say, would happen to you if you did not understand the modes.²

According to Gioseffo Zarlino, a student of Adrian Willaert and teacher of theorist Giovanni Maria Artusi (who will return later in the chapters on

Monteverdi's madrigals), not only did mode exist, but it played a discernible part in the overall process—"the whole form"—of a work. In his influential *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (1558), Zarlino writes:

It should be noted that the mode of a composition can be judged by two things: first by the form of the entire composition, and second, by the ending of the composition, namely, by its final note. Since it is form which gives being to a thing, I would consider it reasonable to determine the mode of a composition not merely by the final note, as some have wanted, but by the whole form contained in the composition.³

Zarlino continues by condoning the ending of a work on a pitch other than the final (namely the fifth), as long as the mode is clearly upheld in the overall form.⁴

While Renaissance theorists stand notoriously at odds about the affects of the modes, their proper cadence pitches, and (following the proposal of a twelve-mode theory in Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon* of 1547) their number, most do agree on the basic means by which to establish and identify mode. Beyond merely observing the starting and ending sonorities (which, theorists tell us, are not sufficient for judging the mode), there are four principal ways by which to determine a work's mode: the ambitus, or ranges, of the voices; the melodic outlining of the intervallic species of the mode; reciting pitch; and cadence plan.⁵

The ambitus of each voice generally centers on a principal octave, including its neighboring pitches above and below. Through melodic behavior, this octave should bear a distinct division into perfect fifth (*diapente*) and perfect fourth (*diatessaron*), the placement of which determines whether the mode is authentic or plagal (see Example 1.1). It is the intervallic makeup of the octave species and its component *diapente* and *diatessaron* that gives each mode its distinctive features. As Renaissance theorists explain, these basic species of perfect consonances—octave, fifth, and fourth—should be emphasized regularly across a piece as melodic boundaries and at the beginnings and endings of phrases, particularly in the voices regarded as the principal bearers of mode, the Tenore and (increasingly after the mid-sixteenth century) the Canto. Moreover, contemporary theorists identify the final of a mode as the lowest pitch of the modal *diapente*—not the base of an octave scale or the root of a sonority—and in turn consider the *diapente* "more noble" than the *diatessaron*.⁶

After ambitus and melodic character, a third means of delineating the mode is through the "reciting tone": the interval above the final that characteristically figures prominently as a melodic boundary and cadence goal of a given mode (marked "R" in Example 1.1).⁷ Finally, mode may be distinguished by the cadences deployed across a piece, and in particular, by the differentiation between the various cadential goals in terms of frequency and structural weight—the relative weight being influenced by factors such

Authentic (P5 + P4)

1. Dorian



3. Phrygian



5. Lydian



7. Mixolydian

**Plagal (P4 + P5)**

2. Hypodorian



4. Hypophrygian



6. Hypolydian



8. Hypomixolydian



F = Final

R = Reciting Tone

Slurs = Species of *diapente* (P5) and *diatessaron* (P4)*Example 1.1* The Modes and Their Interval Species

as voicing, the fruition of each individual cadential part, the duration of the preparation and conclusion, position in the tactus, and placement in the text (discussed below). Despite theorists' notorious disagreements over the principal cadence degrees and the hierarchy among them, in practice most modes favor cadences on the principal boundaries of the modal octave and its division—i.e., on the final, $\hat{1}$, and cofinal, $\hat{5}$ —as well on the reciting tone (when it differs from the cofinal).

Likewise, though not widely acknowledged in contemporary treatises, the music itself reveals that the modes may borrow features such as the reciting tone and principal cadences from their collateral forms. Thus, for example, it is not uncommon for G-mixolydian works to have a strong tendency toward C (the reciting pitch of the mode's plagal partner, G-hypomixolydian), and E-phrygian works, toward A (the reciting pitch of E-hypophrygian) as a cadence goal and melodic boundary.

Moreover, all of the eight modes may also appear in transposed form downward by fifth (using the flat system) or up a fifth. As early as 1476,

theorist Johannes Tinctoris, in fact, supports that the four modal finals may appear at any pitch-level through transposition:

Four places...are regularly attributed to our four tones [modes], hence when they finish on these they are called regular. However, these tones can finish in all places by other rules, coming about through true or *ficta* music, either within or without the [Guidonian] hand, and then they have been called irregular.⁸

Tinctoris then gives the example of transposing the F-lydian mode not only up a fifth to C, but also down a fifth to B \flat , although this is seldom seen in extant works.⁹ Hence, the seven octave species and their viable divisions (Example 1.2) include four modes with irregular finals (A and C), labeled in parentheses in Example 1.2, that result from transpositions of modes from their natural octaves. For instance, the C-lydian mode is a transposition of F-lydian down a fourth to the C octave. In the twelve-mode system, these transposed forms came to signify two new modal families: aeolian and ionian.

The image displays seven musical staves, each representing an octave species of a mode. The staves are numbered 1 through 7 and are arranged in two rows. Each staff shows a sequence of notes with a final note marked 'F'. The modes and their characteristics are as follows:

- 1. (A-Dorian) Hypodorian: Notes F, G, A, B, C, D, E, F. Final F is on the second line. A flat sign is placed below the first F.
- 2. Hypophrygian: Notes F, G, A, B, C, D, E, F. Final F is on the second line.
- 3. (C-Lydian) Hypolydian: Notes F, G, A, B, C, D, E, F. Final F is on the second line. A flat sign is placed below the fourth note (B).
- 4. Dorian Hypomixolydian: Notes F, G, A, B, C, D, E, F. Final F is on the second line. A flat sign is placed below the fifth note (C).
- 5. Phrygian (A-Hypodorian): Notes F, G, A, B, C, D, E, F. Final F is on the second line. A flat sign is placed below the first F.
- 6. Lydian (C-Hypolydian): Notes F, G, A, B, C, D, E, F. Final F is on the second line. A flat sign is placed below the fourth note (B).
- 7. Mixolydian: Notes F, G, A, B, C, D, E, F. Final F is on the second line.

Example 1.2 The Seven Octave Species (Eight-Mode System)

It is important to note also that while the species of octave, fifth, and fourth are elemental to modal identity, the D-dorian/hypodorian and F-lydian/hypolydian pairs often make widespread use of B \flat , notated either locally as an accidental or with a flat system (*cantus mollis*), as indicated in Examples 1.1 and 1.2 (and as seen in Arcadelt's *Il bianco e dolce cigno* in the Introduction). The transposed forms of these modes likewise maintain the use of $\flat 6$ (dorian/hypodorian) and $\flat 4$ —for instance, through notated E \flat in the *cantus-mollis* system for G-(hypo)dorian, or the inclusion of $\flat 4$ (F) through the *cantus-durus* system of C-(hypo)lydian. Defenders of the eight-mode theory found various ways to justify these inflections, in contrast to Glarean and later twelve-mode proponents, who dealt with them by

championing new aeolian and ionian modal pairs in the sixteenth century. In practice, however, the deployment and even predominance of B₁ in the D-dorian- and F-lydian-type modes (and of E₁ in the G-dorian modal pair) was widespread and, it seems, an inherent and long-standing convention of these modes. Theoretical justification for the use of the lowered $\hat{6}$ in Modes 1 and 2 and the lowered $\hat{4}$ in Modes 5 and 6, in turn, comes from as early a source as Marchetto da Padova's *Lucidarium* (c.1317).¹⁰

The devising of a new modal pair to accommodate D- and F-final works with B₁ under the twelve-mode system—namely the D-aeolian/hypoaolian and F-ionian/hypoionian modes—in effect rendered the designations “dorian” and “lydian” largely obsolete, for by the sixteenth century D- and F-final works in “pure” *cantus durus* (i.e., without “accidental” B₁) prove scarce. Hence, the two new modal pairs—aeolian and ionian—did little more than replace the traditional dorian and lydian modes used overwhelmingly in practice, which likely explains why both eight- and twelve-mode theories continued to coexist long after Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (1547): both systems were, in effect, eight-mode theories, only that the “twelve-mode” version effectively renamed the dorian and lydian types used in practice and relegated their traditional names to disuse. As Glarean himself remarks as early as 1547:

Certainly our time does not use the old fifth mode and also the old sixth mode as frequently as the present new fifth and sixth modes, namely, the eleventh and twelfth or Iastian [Ionian] and Hypoastian [Hypoionian].¹¹

In this study, I will adhere to the traditional eight-mode nomenclature, whereby dorian comprises what some would consider aeolian, and lydian encompasses what some would call ionian, as shown in Example 1.2.

The Contrapuntal Cadence as Syntactic Musical–Textual Marker

Despite the notorious disagreements among Renaissance theorists on the number and proper cadences of the modes, and the *ad hoc* and often anachronistic valuation of cadences in many modern analyses, contemporaneous sources prove remarkably consistent when it comes to the basic structure and formal–rhetorical roles of cadences. The cadence in pre-tonal polyphony is fundamentally a contrapuntal event formed by two voices moving stepwise in contrary motion toward a common pitch—either as a major sixth expanding to an octave (Example 1.3a), or its inverse, a minor third (or tenth) converging on a unison (or octave; Example 1.3b).¹² Bernhard Meier usefully termed these two integral components the *clausulae tenorizans* ($\hat{2}$ – $\hat{1}$) and *cantizans* ($\hat{7}$ – $\hat{8}$) after the voices in which they characteristically appear in medieval and early-Renaissance polyphony, although they may occur in any voice part. This basic two-part design may be enhanced in a number of ways rhythmically and contrapuntally, such as by incorporating a 7–6

(or 2–3) suspension in the *clausula cantizans* (Example 1.3c), or by adding other parts to the two-part structure (Examples 1.3d–f). By the sixteenth century, the support of a leap from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{1}$ in the lowest sounding voice (the *clausula basizans*) became standard for assertive cadences, particularly at the end of a work or at major sectional divisions. Though the formations for three or more voices resemble the common harmonic cadential patterns of tonal music—namely $\text{vii}^{\flat 6}\text{--I}$ and V--I —the cadence in late-Renaissance and early-Baroque polyphony remains essentially linear in conception. Voices added to the underlying motion from a major sixth to an octave (or its inversion)—including the $\hat{5}\text{--}\hat{1}$ bass—therefore act as subsidiary contrapuntal support to the cadence and hence affect its relative weight. Likewise, the common raising of the third above the cadential goal represents a transient, superficial inflection, similar to a “Picardy third,” and therefore does not signal a change of mode, as many studies have construed it.¹³ Composers could also weaken the conclusiveness of a cadence through various means of *fuggire la cadenza* (evading the cadence)—for instance, by diverting one of the component voices from the final (such as $\hat{2}\text{--}\hat{3}$, $\hat{2}\text{--}\hat{5}$, $\hat{5}\text{--}\hat{6}$, and so forth) or having a voice rest at the moment of resolution—by shortening the duration of the preparation or arrival, or by aligning the cadence with an inconclusive moment in the text.

a) M6–octave cadence b) m3–unision cadence c) *clausula formalis*
clausula cantizans *cl. tenorizans* (added suspension)

6 6 8 3 $\sharp 3$ 1 6 7 - 6 8

d) *Clausula simplex* (no sus.) with *cl. tenorizans* (2–1) in bass e) *Cl. basizans* (5–1) in bass f) Double-leading-tone

g) Evaded *cl. tenorizans*

Example 1.3 The Contrapuntal Cadence

Through the sixteenth century, both theory and practice showed a growing focus on a two-voice framework between soprano and bass in place of the traditional soprano–tenor skeleton, particularly in homophonic settings. In his *Antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555), Nicola Vicentino testifies to the privileging of the outer voices when it comes to recognizing the mode, revealing his own preference for the lowest voice when he writes:

When getting acquainted with a composition, many composers look at the soprano, from which part they cannot securely judge the mode of the work. Let students first rely on the bass, for in that part, there appear the fourths and fifths that form all the modes.¹⁴

The increasing emphasis on the bass over the tenor led not only to a more structural relationship between the outer voices, but also at times to the prioritizing at cadences of the integrity of the *clausulae cantizans* ($\hat{7}$ – $\hat{8}$) and *basizans* ($\hat{5}$ – $\hat{1}$) over that of the essential *clausula tenorizans* ($\hat{2}$ – $\hat{1}$), the latter often being implied but evaded in a closing $\hat{2}$ – $\hat{3}$ motion (Example 1.3g).¹⁵ The outer-voice framework gained supremacy through the seventeenth century and took shape elementally in accompanied solo song and in the advent of basso continuo around 1600.

The opening of Arcadelt's *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, shown in Example I.1 in the Introduction, demonstrates well the use of a range of cadence types as syntactical markers in coordination with the grammar and sense of the text, rather than with its line breaks. Following a three-part, “vii⁰⁶–I”-type arrival to F with sixth-to-octave motion in the Tenore and Alto in mm. 4–5 come two statements of “Et io / Piangendo giungo al fin del viver mio,” both based on the same Basso line and ending in F cadences with the same *clausula cantizans* (mm. 6–10 and 10–15). Arcadelt revoices and reworks these two cadences, however, so that the second carries more weight. The first shows the M6–octave formula again in the Tenore and Alto, now with 5–1 Basso, but the Alto evades the *tenorizans* by leading 2–3 (*g–a*), as in Example 1.3g. The restatement then transfers the 7–8 (*cantizans*) motion to the Canto, completes the *clausula tenorizans* (*g–f*) in the Tenore, and maintains the 5–1 *basizans* (Example 1.3e). While all three arrivals lead to the F final, the increasing finality of the cadences reserves the strongest for last, thereby marking both the end of the syntactical unit and the “fin del viver mio” (end of the speaker's life). This increase in cadential strength also helps explain why the Canto adopts the Tenore's line (from mm. 7–10) in mm. 12–15. All of these features of the cadence in terms of formation, voicing, and varying degrees of rhetorical and structural weight play an integral role as well in composer's renderings of Guarini's verse, and serve as the basis for individualized and sometimes strikingly idiosyncratic modifications of the basic cadential motion for text-expressive purposes.

Theorists maintain that cadences should be made predominantly on the pitches appropriate to each mode. The problem, however, is that they often

disagree about what these proper cadences are, thus demonstrating the difficulty of identifying a reliable hierarchy of cadence pitches for the modes, as well as deviations from standard practice. Zarlino, for example, is unusual in his strict, systematic derivation of a hierarchy of three regular cadence pitches for each mode: $\hat{1}$, $\hat{5}$, and $\hat{3}$. All other cadence degrees, Zarlino asserts, are irregular. The reasoning behind Zarlino's scheme is that regular cadences are formed only on "the true and natural initial tones" of a mode, which are "on the extreme notes of the *diapente* and *diatessaron*, and on the median note which divides the *diapente*."¹⁶ These pitches also happen to coincide with those pitches contained in a sonority built on the modal final. Many later theorists, including Seth Calvisius, Orazio Tigrini, Joachim Burmeister, and others, follow Zarlino's system, but tend to be more willing to admit exceptional cases.¹⁷ The hierarchies of cadence pitches proposed by Pietro Aron, by contrast, prove highly unsystematic and loosely defined, owing largely to his agenda of aligning them with the psalm tones and the variable endings (*differentiae*) thereof, and to his tortuous efforts to assign works in transposed modes to a mode on one of the four "regular" (untransposed) finals: D, E, F, and G. For the mixolydian mode, for example, Aron cites all five pitches in the modal *diapente*—G, A, B, C, and D—as appropriate cadences, yet he offers no further insight as to how they rank among themselves.¹⁸

In practice, the proper cadences of the modes often do fall on the modal $\hat{1}$, $\hat{5}$, and $\hat{3}$, but with two important exceptions that affect four of the eight modes. First, if the third or the fifth degree of a mode is *B-mi*, preference is given to the pitch a semitone above it, C, owing to the lack of a perfect fifth above *B-mi*.¹⁹ This situation applies to the phrygian and mixolydian modal pairs. Second, the anomalous phrygian-type modes have a distinctive inclination toward the fourth degree, A, over the third degree, G, as a cadence pitch, sonority, and melodic boundary, to the extent that A rivals the final in terms of salience, particularly toward the openings of works. In all, then, the mixolydian-type modes favor cadences on $\hat{1}$ (G), $\hat{4}$ (C), and $\hat{5}$ (D), and the phrygian-type, on $\hat{1}$ (E), $\hat{4}$ (A), and $\hat{6}$ (C), although arrivals on $\hat{3}$ (G) and $\hat{5}$ (*B-mi*) are neither uncommon nor disruptive in the latter.²⁰

These principal cadences of the modes observed in practice, however, can be accounted for straightforwardly by the fact that they correspond to a given mode's final plus the reciting tones of *both* the mode itself and its collateral (i.e., authentic/plagal partner). This general principle, thus, rationalizes the seeming inconsistencies in the primary cadences seen in practice for the phrygian pair ($\hat{1}$, $\hat{4}$, and $\hat{6}$) and the mixolydian pair ($\hat{1}$, $\hat{4}$, and $\hat{5}$), while the dorian and lydian pairs favor $\hat{1}$, $\hat{3}$, and $\hat{5}$. At the same time, theorists regard cadences on pitches other than these customary sites as foreign—*cadenze irregolari* (Zarlino), *peregrine* (Tigrini and Dressler), *per transito* (Pontio), and *affinales* (Burmeister)—thus underscoring the instability, or structural "dissonance," that such gestures introduce to a piece. Such effects of cadential disruption and conflict with the underlying mode, of course, also carry

expressive potential. Moreover, while foreign cadences may be localized in their effect and, thus, carry little structural weight, in other instances they may form part of a broader shift into an entirely new modal context and bring more integral and lasting consequences.

Modal Unity within Diversity: *Commixtio Tonorum*

While establishing and maintaining accountability to the underlying mode is of utmost importance in a composition, the introduction of other modal contexts in the course of a work likewise proves a key rhetorical–structural strategy. Changes of mode on a local level were by no means rare in Renaissance music, and theorists widely recognized and accepted the practice. Just as Zarlino describes that “dissonances are used incidentally and secondarily... [to] pass from one consonance to another,”²¹ so the underlying mode may give way in the course of a composition to a mode that is considered unstable and subsidiary. That is to say, the mode that governs the larger framework of the piece may at times be temporarily displaced by modes that are structurally foreign or dissonant. This process, referred to in sixteenth-century theory as *commixtio tonorum*, ranges from localized emphases of the *diapente* or *diatessaron* of a foreign mode to an extended portion of a work in which a new mode becomes fully operative. Such a departure from the fundamental mode generally occurs in the middle of a piece and often comes as a reflection of the text,²² yet certain theorists also admit that a long piece may use *commixtio* purely for the sake of variety.²³ In Renaissance polyphony, *commixtio tonorum* is manifest in the concerted emphasis in the full texture of a foreign mode through the delineation of its principal boundary pitches and species of perfect consonances (i.e., the modal octave plus its divisions into fifth/fourth) in melodic motion, cadential centrality, and the sonorities that figure prominently at phrase beginnings and endings and in duration.

In the works of composers such as Orlando di Lasso, Cipriano de Rore, Giaches de Wert, Luca Marenzio, and others in the second half of the sixteenth century, *commixtio tonorum* becomes increasingly prominent and distinct. Entire verses of the text are set apart modally by way of melodic behavior, cadential centrality, and ambitus. At times, a madrigal or motet might comprise an entire series of juxtaposed modal contexts, some so clearly articulated as to effect the full abandonment of one mode for another. Yet, while Renaissance theorists stress the need to distinguish hierarchically between these subsidiary, foreign modes and the true fundamental one, precisely how these differing modal contexts interrelate as components of an integrated, coordinated structure has remained open to question. This comes as little surprise, given the resistance that even the notion of large-scale unity in pre-tonal music has faced from some modern analysts.

Heinrich Schenker, for instance, throughout his writings makes clear his view of early music as “irrational.”²⁴ According to Schenker, the

shortcomings of early music stemmed above all from the inadequacies of the modal system, which Schenker describes as “often beset with unnatural, vexed, and tortuous features.”²⁵ In his *Counterpoint* of 1910, Schenker proposed that, “provided with only a small stock of technical devices... composers still meandered along the text from passage to passage and from cadence to cadence.”²⁶ The basic idea that early music lacks unity and integration is echoed in Don Harrán’s assertion that the madrigal specifically “is a form...without focus or orientation,” the phrases of which “follow cumulatively upon one another, too individualized to sustain a general mood or to impart a sense of direction.”²⁷

Nevertheless, numerous studies in more recent years have sought to demonstrate deeper-level structural processes in pre-tonal music, many making use of Schenkerian reductive techniques (some in more orthodox ways than others). Most of these analyses, however, have stopped short of explaining how more localized structures form part of any far-reaching, coherent process in a way that is at once sensitive to contemporary thinking and paradigmatic to music of the period.

Analytical Approaches to Late-Renaissance Polyphony

Many systems of analysis for pre-tonal music have appeared in recent scholarly literature, but few of these methods meet the challenge of providing a rigorous, systematic means of analysis while still remaining accountable to contemporaneous musical thinking. Numerous studies, for example, have applied tonal theory to medieval and Renaissance music, even reducing the music to a large-scale harmonic unfolding in traditional Schenkerian fashion devoid of any modal implications. Others have applied more historically informed ideas to the music with varying degrees of success in terms of achieving a normative and informative analytical model. Cristle Collins Judd, for example, has examined middleground melodic behavior in Josquin’s motets using what she terms “modal types”: melodic–contrapuntal paradigms based on three “tonalities”—*ut*, *re*, and *mi*—and characteristic intervallic patterns denoted by solmization syllables (e.g., *re-la* for D-final works with prominent D–A motion in the contrapuntal upper voice).²⁸ Although compelling in its application to Josquin’s sacred works and its grounding in practice as well as theory, the method has limited applicability outside the domain of sacred polyphony around 1500 and, thus, falls short of providing a paradigmatic analytical model for Renaissance music at the fundamental level. Moreover, Judd’s focus almost exclusively on melodic boundaries above the final neglects fundamental distinctions between the *diatessaron* of the modes. This oversight proves particularly consequential in the cases of the lydian and mixolydian modal pairs, all of which are reduced to a single tonality (*ut*), which, in turn, likewise overlooks the characteristic variability of the lydian modal $\hat{4}$ (B-*milfa*) and the mixolydian $\hat{7}$ (F#/ $\frac{7}{2}$).

The hexachords have also become the basis of an analytical system aimed at exploring harmonic and tonal behavior in Renaissance and early-Baroque music. The technique views the hexachordal degrees not only as pitches, but also, problematically, as chordal roots that together form a partial circle-of-fifths series reaching from *fa* on the flat (*mollis*) side to *mi* on the sharp (*durus*) side. Any harmonic movement beyond these boundaries brings a shift of hexachord and possibly a shift of system in the *mollis* or *durus* direction, similar to the way a foreign harmony in tonal music might effect a change of key. This kinship with tonal harmony is a central feature of the analytical model, as its earliest exponents (Carl Dahlhaus and Eric Chafe) applied it to illuminating tonal behavior in early music, centering on the works of Claudio Monteverdi.²⁹

Despite its integral use of hexachords, the method raises many discordances with pre-Baroque thought and practice. To begin, there is no evidence that musicians of the time perceived the hexachordal degrees as parts of a perfect-fifth series or as chordal roots. In fact, the very notion of “chords” did not exist until the seventeenth century. Rather, Renaissance musicians viewed vertical sonorities as products of the contrapuntal interactions of the voices. Further, the theory overlooks the fact that the hexachords represented a means of conceptualizing individual lines of a composition, so any “chord” would more appropriately comprise three separate syllables, each depending on the solmizations surrounding it, not a single syllable tied to the root pitch alone. Hexachordal analyses also tend to prioritize harmonic explanations of the music over contrapuntal considerations (such as *mi contra fa*). Lastly, the theory’s failure to distinguish systematically between hexachord, system, and mode seems to facilitate a noncommittal approach to mode, calling instead for designations by pitch-center and system (e.g., *G-mollis* instead of *G-dorian/hypodorian*) and for descriptions of shifts in a *mollis* or *durus* direction where, in fact, modal mixture might be at play. *Mollis/durus* shifts, in other words, are often products of modal mixture, not equivalent to it, as Dahlhaus and Chafe contend. These hexachord-driven readings by Dahlhaus and Chafe of certain *Pastor fido* madrigals will be addressed in the later discussion of Monteverdi.

Many studies have incorporated aspects of Renaissance theory and practice with Schenkerian-style reductive techniques, some with more accountability to the tenets of Renaissance thinking than others.³⁰ Along the more tonal end of this spectrum falls the work of Felix Salzer, William Mitchell, Peter Bergquist, and David Stern.³¹ Their analyses rely heavily on triadic readings of the music, and lead either to a quasi-tonal background or to piece-specific structures that seem to dispense with any aim at a normative background.

Other reductive-style approaches have remained more mindful of Renaissance precepts on the musical surface in their analyses, yet fall short of attaining what a true background model should define: a unified, stylistic paradigm that prevails in a given historical-cultural period and that

provides a touchstone by which to measure how pieces of the period uphold or deviate from convention.³² Some scholars, however, have indeed made considerable advances in the application of Schenkerian methods toward such an end, often adopting a structural model based on $\hat{5}-\hat{1}$ (*diapente*) descents or on stock bass or melodic patterns, such as the *romanesca*.

In her revealing study “The Transition from Modal to Tonal Organization in the Works of Monteverdi” (1976), for example, Susan McClary demonstrates the projection of mode through chains of upper-voice descents of a fifth, a pattern derived (along with their typically attendant bass progressions) from secular melodic prototypes, such as the *romanesca*, *passamezzo*, and *folia*.³³ With its focus on surface and middleground fifth descents, McClary’s analyses at times overlook other means of local expansion (some of which we will encounter below) and how these processes derive from a deeper-level structure (although her very useful notion of parenthetical expansion offers a glimpse of such a synthesis). Instead, structure is portrayed in McClary’s work as a series of descents, the hierarchical rankings of which are determined principally by placement—those at the beginning and, especially, the end typically carry the most weight—and frequency. In this respect, McClary’s theory refashions the troublesome attempts in Renaissance theory to explicate modal structure using cadential hierarchies, also allowing a means to identify and explain modal mixture (as subsidiary descents from individual notes within the background descent). Also with notable effectiveness, Geoffrey Chew similarly explicates the “prototonal” behavior (or “directedness”) of Monteverdi’s music as a system of interlocking descents of an octave, fifth, or fourth. Chew’s method, however, stops short of revealing a systematic means by which to differentiate structural weight among these various descents (other than by virtue of placement) and, hence, to distinguish middleground processes from a more fundamental, determining course.³⁴

The analytical method used here for the study of early settings of *Il pastor fido* aims to illustrate long-ranging structural processes in the music by incorporating aspects of a Schenkerian-style system of hierarchical levels (and the means of notating them) into a framework rooted in Renaissance contrapuntal and modal theory.³⁵ While utilizing the principles of voice-leading and contrapuntal diminution common to both Renaissance and Schenkerian theory, the technique could hardly be considered truly Schenkerian with its foregoing of the notion of a controlling background triad and tonal harmonic syntax in favor of a modal framework more relevant to this repertory.³⁶ This modal structure, at its most basic level, takes the form of a linear descent across a work through the steps of one of the mode-defining interval species, typically the species of fifth ($\hat{5}-\hat{1}$). This is, in essence, a monophonic structure, since it is the arrangement of tones and semitones within the fifth that defines the identity of the mode, and not the interval of the fifth itself or a triad built on its final. Nicola Vicentino describes the fundamental importance of the basic, mode-defining interval species—octave,

fifth, and fourth—with language that resonates strongly with Schenker’s later conception of a background structure realized through linear unfolding. Vicentino writes:

The most important foundation a composer must have in mind is this: he should consider what he plans to build his composition on, in keeping with the words, be they sacred or on another subject. The foundation of this building is the selection of a tone or mode suitable to the words or to another idea. On that foundation, then, he will use his judgment to measure well and to draw over this good foundation the lines of the fourths and fifths of the chosen mode, which lines are the columns that support the building of the composition and its boundaries, even though the fourths and fifths of other modes may be placed between them. These [other fourths and fifths] do no harm to this edifice when they are disposed and matched gracefully in a few locations in the middle of the work. It is with such architectural variety that composers adorn the building of their composition, as do good architects...³⁷

The crucial role of linear descents, particularly those of a perfect fifth, at various levels of structure in late-Renaissance polyphony has long been recognized in modern scholarship. An especially lucid example of the process can be seen in middleground structures based on strophic aria formulas, such as the *romanesca*, in which an upper-voice descent supported by a standard bass pattern serves as a basis for elaboration. Whereas scholars such as David Gagné and Susan McClary have explored the role of these formulas as outer-voice frameworks, Claude Palisca provides evidence that such arias were defined fundamentally by the progression of the upper voice alone, and, hence, not by the outer voices together, or by the bass or chord patterns, which became somewhat standardized only later and remained flexible.³⁸ Palisca’s finding is consistent with the model employed here of a basic upper-voice framework supported by a variable, structurally subordinate, and often disjunct lower voice (or voices). Moreover, as described above, while the Tenore and Canto maintained their status as the principal bearers of mode according to many contemporary theorists, the conception of the outer voices individually as modal determinants finds growing support through the sixteenth century.³⁹

Example 1.4 illustrates the possible means by which the G-dorian mode may be projected as a background across an entire work. The upper staff contains the fundamental stepwise descent through the G-dorian *diapente* from *d*’ to *g*’ in *cantus mollis*. The middle staff, labeled “Viable contrapuntal support,” shows all options for lower-voice consonant support of the large-scale structure. Accordingly, the lower voice buttresses the pitches of the upper voice at the intervals of octave, fifth, or third below. The definitive contrapuntal support may assert itself in a multitude of ways on the

surface of a composition: as cadential center, through relative salience (duration, rhythmic character, texture, register, etc.), by its association with the text or with a musical motive, and so forth. In practice, only a selection of these fundamental lower-voice pitches will be employed in a single composition, so long as each of the background pitches receives contrapuntal support. The final itself may appear as structural underpinning for three of the *diapente* pitches: $\hat{5}$, $\hat{3}$, and $\hat{1}$, respectively. The lower-voice support, in turn, might change while a given background pitch remains active in the upper voice. As the analyses here will show, the degrees of this background structure in any mode are typically articulated with an event of distinctive musical–textual salience and contextual support on the musical surface and maintained (prolonged) through modal and contrapuntal means, such as local modal context (including *commixtio tonorum*), cadential focus, intervallic boundaries in melodic motion, voice-leading, and contrapuntal diminution.

G-Dorian Diapente

The image shows three musical staves illustrating the G-Dorian Diapente. The top staff, labeled "Background modal structure," shows a descending melodic line with notes 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, connected by a long slur. The middle staff, labeled "Viable contrapuntal support," shows a bass line with notes that provide harmonic support for the upper voice. The bottom staff, labeled "Potential modal contexts," shows various chordal textures and voicings that can be used to support the background structure.

Example 1.4 Options for Supporting a G-Dorian Background

The lowest staff, “Potential modal contexts,” in Example 1.4 shows the possible means by which the upper-voice descent may be supported and delineated specifically by *commixtio tonorum*, by way of shifting the octave species and its division. The changing modal contexts allow for the correlation between operative modal/intervallic species and background structure, thereby allowing each fundamental pitch to appear within a region in which it is locally (modally) “consonant,” but that may conflict with the underlying mode and, hence, be “dissonant,” unstable, and yet subsidiary on the broader scale. Such internal modal contrasts play an important role not only in supporting and expanding the structural line and reflecting notions of conflict and instability in the text, but also in generating a sense of forward thrust and end-driven motion toward modal–structural resolution.

Like the “Viable contrapuntal support,” the “Potential modal contexts” of Example 1.4 are merely an illustration of the potential *options* available to a composer. In practice, only a limited number of modal contexts are typically used in any given composition, and in some instances, *commixtio*

plays no part at all, either in the long-range structure or at a local level. *Commixtio tonorum*, therefore, is not a requisite means of projecting the modal framework, but, rather, one of various potential means.

There are two notable features of the background of Example 1.4 that distinguish it from other models for tonal and early music. First is the manner by which the fundamental descent may be distributed across the piece through the use of *commixtio tonorum*. These changing modal contexts expand the basic framework by providing localized modal support for several individual pitches of the underlying diapente descent, each of which, in turn, is prolonged contrapuntally at more foreground levels.⁴⁰ This modal–structural partitioning, furthermore, tightly adheres to the formal, rhetorical, and expressive features of the text, thereby linking text and musical structure at the most basic level. Moreover, the distinct structural divisions created by the background motion are generally a direct consequence of the form of the text: the positions of prominent rhetorical pauses, verse structure, rhyme scheme, change of voice (speaker to imparted speech, for example), the interjection of an exclamation, and so forth. The influence of the text on the placement of the fundamental pitches reflects a concern for rhetorical presentation that characterizes this repertory as a whole, meaning that the spacing of the background may vary from work to work depending on both the disposition of the text and the composer’s interpretation of it.

The second notable feature of Example 1.4 is the notion that linear structures derive not from harmonic unfoldings and progressions as in tonal music, but exclusively through contrapuntal and modal means. As a result, the second degree of the background structure may be supported by a context other than the modal $\hat{5}$ —what we might consider the “dominant” in a tonal context. While such support is possible—and, indeed, common, given that it had by the late sixteenth century become a conventional part of the terminal cadential approach in non-phrygian works—it is not an essential structural feature of pre-tonal music. While often pointed out by analysts as evidence of emerging tonal functions, the dominant-to-tonic-type bass motion, as we have seen, played a subsidiary role in the Renaissance conception of cadence, which theorists defined invariably as a contrapuntal, and not a harmonic, procedure, even as the $\hat{5}$ – $\hat{1}$ motion gained importance as a marker of cadential finality.

The subsidiary status of the lower voice and its terminal $\hat{5}$ – $\hat{1}$ cadential motion extends as well to the status of the lower voice overall in the fundamental structure. As the basic framework derives essentially from the step-wise unfolding of a mode-defining interval in the structural upper voice, and not from the projection of a vertical, controlling triad as in tonal music, the lower voice in sixteenth-century music serves primarily as contrapuntal support to the directed course of the fundamental line and may therefore take a number of forms. This is certainly not to say that the lower voice is irrelevant or even unimportant, for it plays an integral role in defining modal boundaries, differentiating cadential weight, and providing a harmonic foundation to the contrapuntal fabric at more local levels.

As a systematic structural model for late-Renaissance polyphony, this approach provides a stylistic archetype for the basis of comparative studies of composer's individual strategies tailored to each text. Moreover, knowledge of such a model is crucial for identifying departures from contemporary norms and expectations, and, hence, how much subversions act as responses to the text. Factors such as the pacing of the background motion, the turbulence or stability of its unfolding, the positioning of structural events within the text, and the interplay between features on the musical surface and deeper-level processes that are generally overlooked by superficial analyses play a central part in composers' interpretative readings, particularly in conveying aspects of the speaker's affective state and intrinsic character and the rhetorical–expressive trajectory of the text.

Notes

- 1 Pietro Pontio, *Dialogo, ove si tratta della Theorica e Pratica di Musica* (Parma: Viotto, 1595), 25. This passage is translated in Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony, Described According to the Sources*, trans. Ellen Beebe (New York: Broude Brothers, 1988), 25.
- 2 Pontio, *Ragionamento di musica* (Parma: Viotto, 1588), 26; trans. in Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 94.
- 3 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche* (Venice: Pietro da Fino, 1558), Book 4, Chapter 30; trans by Vared Cohen as *On the Modes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 90.
- 4 “Hence I say that if I had to judge a composition by its form, that is, by its manner of proceeding, as should be done, I would not consider it amiss for a principal mode to end on the median note of its diapason, divided harmonically, and, in a similar way, for a collateral mode to end on the extreme notes of its diapason, divided arithmetically, the final note having been laid aside” (Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Book 4, Chapter 30; trans. in *On the Modes*, 90).
- 5 Heinrich Glarean writes:

For although some contend that they [the modes] are distinguished by the final key and others by different fifth-species, these are not satisfactory to the discerning reader. Indeed the final key was discovered later and has not always been preserved in the same way, as usage demonstrates... And the same final key of two modes as well as their common fifth refutes this.

Dodecachordon (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1547); trans. Clement Miller (Münster, Germany: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), Book II, Chapter 1, 103–104. Glarean's statement infers that the fifth-species (*diapente*) is insufficient only in determining the form, authentic or plagal, of a given mode. He argues instead that the entire octave-species and its constituent *diapente* and *diatessaron* are necessary to determine the mode.
- 6 In Book IV, Chapter 12 of *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Zarlino writes: “The modes of the first group [the authentic] were called principal, for honor and preeminence are always given to those things which are more noble” (*On the Modes*, 41). In Chapter 13, he writes: “Modern musicians take as the final note of each mode the lowest note of the diapente, and it makes no difference whether the diatessaron is placed above or below it” (43).

- 7 This tendency of the modes toward a secondary pitch, or “reciting tone,” may derive from their historical comingling with the psalm tones, whereby the prominent pitch used for reciting verses in a given psalm tone likewise took on a distinguishing and salient role in the most closely related mode. The locations of the reciting tones in these mode/psalm tone pairs, however, may themselves derive from the particular intervallic makeup of each pair, as seen, for example, in instances where the reciting tone lies a semitone above B-mi (i.e., phrygian and hypomixolydian). In a polyphonic context, particularly by the sixteenth century, the reciting tones of both members of an authentic/plagal modal pair generally play important structural roles in both modes—for example, A and F in both dorian and hypodorian, and A and C in phrygian and hypophrygian—as discussed below.
- 8 Johannes Tinctoris, *Liber de natura et proprietate tonarum* (1476), Chapter 45; translated by Albert Seay as *Concerning the Nature and Propriety of Modes* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1967), 41.
- 9 “The fifth tone and the sixth could finish irregularly within the hand on C *fa ut* through the natural and through the hard *quadro* and on B *fa quadro mi* acute through soft *fa* and through the natural and through the *coniuncta* E la mi acute, if it be necessary” (Tinctoris, *De natura et proprietate tonarum*, Chapter 48; trans. in *Concerning the Nature and Propriety of Modes*, 44). Similar descriptions of modal transposition appear throughout mid- to late-Renaissance theory. For example, Johannes (Turmair) Aventinus writes in 1516:

The first and second modes are commonly transposed to a la mi re and g sol re ut. The third and fourth modes are transposed to b mi and a la mi re. The fifth and sixth modes are transposed to c sol fa ut, and the seventh and eighth modes are transposed to d la sol re (however we rarely transpose the eighth).

(*Musicae Rudimenta*, trans. T. Herman Keahey [New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1971], 27)

- Also, Adrian Coclico shows all eight modes transposed up and down by fifth in his *Compendium musices* [1552], trans. Albert Seay (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1973), 12 (Coclico’s Examples 7 and 8).
- 10 See Marchetto Da Padova, *The Lucidarium of Marchetto da Padova: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, ed. and trans. Jan Herlinger (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 399–401.
- 11 Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, Bk. 2, Ch. 5; trans. in Miller, 111.
- 12 Many Renaissance treatises deal with the construction of cadences, some of which are summarized in Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 89–101. Stefano La Via also provides a detailed discussion of cadential structures in sixteenth-century theory and practice in “‘Natura delle cadenze’ e ‘Natura contraria delli modi’: Punti di convergenza fra teoria e prassi nel madrigale cinquecentesco,” *Saggiatore musicale* 4 (1997), 5–51. See also, for example, Giuseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Book 3, Ch. 53; trans. Guy Marco and Claude Palisca as *The Art of Counterpoint* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), 141–51 and Joachim Burmeister, *Musica poetica* (Rostock: Myliander, 1606), Chapter 5; trans. by Benito Rivera as *Musical Poetics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 107–21.
- 13 Such theoretically incongruous views of raised thirds in cadential sonorities (and elsewhere) occur throughout Susan McClary’s *Modal Subjectivities*, for example, where they are frequently construed in tonal terms as denoting “dominant” sonorities, even at points of resolution. In the first analysis of the book, of Monteverdi’s *Ah, dolente partita*, McClary goes so far as to assert that the terminal cadence on A “contains a C#, which can be—indeed, given the context

of this piece, *must* be—heard doubly: as the conventionally raised mediant in a final chord (the *tierce de Picardie*) or as the dominant of D,” which, in turn, “produces the musical equivalent of Mirtillo’s immortal undeath” (*Modal Subjectivities*, 35). For Gesualdo’s madrigals, McClary’s reading of a raised pitch as leading-tone is extended to any degree; hence, in the C#-major sonority that opens *Moro, lasso, al mio duolo*, “C# could only be a leading tone to D, G# only a leading tone to A, and E#...a leading tone to F#?” (165). Such readings overlook the clear and consistent principles of cadences in contemporary theory.

- 14 Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica* (Rome: Antonio Barre, 1555), fol. 48r; trans. By Maria Rika Maniates in *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 151.
- 15 In his analysis of Arcadelt’s madrigals of the 1530s, for example, Benito Rivera notes that “all the homophonic non-imitative sections of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals are built on a soprano–bass rather than soprano–tenor framework” (“The Two-Voice Framework and Its Harmonization in Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” *Music Analysis* 6 [1987]: 59–88, at 64). Rivera also cites numerous examples from contemporary theory supporting that, through the course of the sixteenth century, “the bass is gradually emancipated—in practice and in theory—from the crutch of the discant–tenor structure” (“Harmonic Theory in Musical Treatises of the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 1 [1979]: 80–95, at 81). Most theorists, however, maintain the primacy of the traditional mode-bearing voices, the discant and tenor, which lie within the principal range of the mode. See Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, esp. 56–60.
- 16 Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Book 3, Ch. 18; trans. *On the Modes*, 55. Zarlino continues:

The regular cadences are those which are always made on the extreme sounds or notes of the modes, and on the median note by which the diapason is mediated or divided harmonically or arithmetically. These are the extreme notes of the diapente and the diatessaron. The regular cadences are also made on the median note by which the diapente is divided into a ditone and a semiditone.

- 17 For a summary of the cadence-pitch hierarchies of Zarlino, Calvisius, Tigrini, and others, see Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 105–11.
- 18 Pietro Aron’s ranking of cadence pitches occurs in Chapters 9–12 of the *Trattato della natura et cognitione di tutti gli tuoni* (Venice: Bernardino de Vitali, 1525).
- 19 As Pontio writes: “talche il fine non sarebbe perfetto”—that is, it lacks a “perfect” cadence with 5–1 motion in the lowest voice (*Ragionamento di musica*, 107).
- 20 Zarlino, in fact, concedes that the phrygian-type and hypomixolydian modes are exceptions to his rigid cadential scheme. Rather than accepting their “aberrant” behaviors as innate characteristics of the modes themselves, he rationalizes them by invoking modal mixture: the phrygian-type modes, he explains, are typically mixed with A-aeolian and, therefore, cadence commonly on A, and G-hypomixolydian is generally mingled with C-ionian and gravitates toward C. This innate “mingling” of the G-mixolydian-type modes with C, in fact, becomes a crucial point of contention in the debate between Zarlino’s student, Artusi, and composer Claudio Monteverdi over one of the latter’s celebrated *Pastor fido* madrigals, *Cruda Amarilli* (see Chapter 7).
- 21 *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Book III, Ch. 27; trans. in *Art of Counterpoint*, 53. The title of the chapter is “Compositions Must Be Composed Primarily of Consonances and Only Incidentally of Dissonances.” This hierarchical conception parallels contemporary theorists’ assertions of the secondary status of foreign modes in relation to the underlying mode.

- 22 See, for example, Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 286–354. In 1476, Tinctoris advises taking caution when determining the mode of a work, for “there may be repeated in the course of this tone [i.e., mode] a type of diapente or diatessaron of one or more other tones frequently and more often than its own” (*Concerning the Nature and Propriety of Modes*, 18). Likewise, Zarlino states:

When in any of the modes set forth, whether authentic or plagal...a diapente or diatessaron used in another mode is repeated many times...the mode can be called mixed, because the diapente or the diatessaron of one mode becomes mixed with the melodic line of another.

(*On the Modes*, 46)

Similarly, Vicentino asserts that in secular music, “a composer may forsake the modal order in favor of another mode,” for in such works,

the composer’s sole obligation is to animate the words and, with harmony, to represent their passions—now harsh, now sweet, now cheerful, now sad—in accordance with their subject matter. This is why every bad leap and every poor consonance, depending on their effects, may be used to set the words. As a consequence, on such words you may write any sort of step or harmony, abandon the mode, and govern yourself by the subject matter of the vernacular words, as was said above.

(*Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, 149)

- 23 See, for example, the theory of Illuminato Aiguino (1581), discussed in Peter Schubert, “The Fourteen-Mode System of Illuminato Aiguino,” *Journal of Music Theory* 35 (1991): 174–210, especially 191–93.
- 24 See, for example, Heinrich Schenker, *Kontrapunkt. Neue musikalische Theorien und Phantasien II* (Vienna: Universal, 1910); trans. J. Rothgeb and J. Thym. as *Counterpoint* (New York: Schirmer, 1987), 21–22.
- 25 Schenker, *Harmonielehre: Neue Musikalische Theorien und Phantasien I* (Vienna: Universal, 1906); trans. E. Borgese as *Harmony*, ed. O. Jonas (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1954), 59.
- 26 Schenker, *Harmony*, 2. Pietro Pontio seems to have preemptively refuted Schenker’s denial of synthesis and direction in pre-tonal music in his *Ragionamento di musica* (1588):

Even if you understood consonances and dissonances...and you did not understand the modes, and consequently, their cadences, you would be like a blind man, who just goes around and has no guide and at last finds that he has lost the way; this, I say, would happen to you if you did not understand the modes.

(94)

Translated in Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 26.

- 27 Don Harrán, “‘Mannerism’ in the Cinquecento Madrigal?” *Musical Quarterly* 4 (1969): 521–44, at 539.
- 28 Cristle Collins Judd, “Modal Types and ‘Ut, Re, Mi’ Tonality: Tonal Coherence in Sacred Vocal Polyphony from about 1500,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 428–67 and “Aspects of Tonal Coherence in the Motets of Josquin,” Ph.D. diss., King’s College London, 1994. Judd derives the three basic “tonalities” from Glarean’s statement that “the same men teach in this way concerning the ending of songs in all modes: Every song ends either on *re* or on *mi* or on *ut*” (*Dodecachordon*, Book 1, Ch. 12; trans. Miller, I, 70).
- 29 Carl Dahlhaus introduced hexachordal analysis in his *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, trans. Robert Gjerdingen (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), which Eric Chafe developed further in *Monteverdi’s Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer, 1992).

- 30 David Stern examines many of the central issues concerning Schenkerian analysis of early music in his “Schenkerian Theory and the Analysis of Renaissance Music,” in Siegel Hedi, ed., *Schenker Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 45–59.
- 31 See Felix Salzer, *Structural Hearing: Tonal Coherence in Music* (New York: Boni, 1952); William Mitchell, “The Prologue to Orlando di Lasso’s *Prophetiae Sibyllarum*,” *The Music Forum* 2 (1970): 264–73; Peter Bergquist, “Mode and Polyphony around 1500: Theory and Practice,” *Music Forum* 1 (1967): 99–161; and David Stern, “Tonal Organization in Modal Polyphony,” *Theory and Practice* 6 (1981): 5–39.
- 32 See, for example, the piece-specific structures that result from Frederick Bashour’s analyses of Dufay in “Towards a More Rigorous Methodology for the Analysis of the Pre-Tonal Repertory,” *College Music Symposium* 19 (1979): 140–53.
- 33 Susan McClary, “The Transition from Modal to Tonal Organization in the Works of Monteverdi,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976.
- 34 Geoffrey Chew, “The Perfections of Modern Music: Consecutive Fifths and Tonal Coherence in Monteverdi,” *Music Analysis* 8/3 (1989): 247–73.
- 35 Literature on the applicability of Schenkerian analytical techniques to early music is vast. Many of the most imperative issues are summarized in David Stern, “Schenkerian Theory and the Analysis of Renaissance Music.” Examining primarily the music of Josquin of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, Stern cites “the absence of the second scale degree as a structural tone” in the upper voice, along with the lack of a possibility for substitution (owing to the $\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ residing characteristically in the tenor), as an obstacle to fundamental $\hat{5}-\hat{1}$ descents. Not only does this deficiency diminish through the first half of the sixteenth century through the growing prevalence of the three-part cadence and a soprano–bass contrapuntal framework, and through the dissociation of upper voice parts from their respective cadential roles, but substitution in cadential formulations does indeed seem to be operative, as the $\hat{7}-\hat{8}$ motion implies a complementary $\hat{2}-\hat{1}$ descent in the presence of the $\hat{5}-\hat{1}$ bass—witnessed most transparently in three-voice context—often allowing a terminal $\hat{2}-\hat{3}$ in the topmost voice, a construction common to late-Renaissance polyphony. On the changing conception of the voices in the sixteenth century and its implications on cadential structure, see Rivera, “Harmonic Theory.”
- 36 For a detailed description of this analytical model, its relationship to sixteenth-century theory, and a more thorough review of earlier studies applying Schenkerian analysis to early music, see also Coluzzi, “Structure and Interpretation in Luca Marenzio’s Settings of *Il pastor fido*,” Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (2007), especially Chapter 3, “The Analysis and Interpretation of Late-Renaissance Polyphony,” 119–202.
- 37 Vicentino, *L’antica musica*, Book 3, Ch. 15, fol. 47v; trans. in *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, 149. Vicentino continues by comparing the use of fourths and fifths from other (foreign) modes to architects who mix to good effect the Doric and Attic modes (for columns), or the Corinthian and the Ionian. Referring to the passage cited above, David Stern writes:

Vicentino expresses with exemplary clarity the concept that the modal species form a structural framework which serves as the basis for melodic diminutions and elaborations. While Vicentino’s modal framework is not the same as Schenker’s *Ursatz* or fundamental structure, the idea that music consists of the elaboration of an underlying structure is common to both theorists.

(“Schenkerian Theory,” 52)

- 38 David Gagné, “Monteverdi’s *Ohimè dov’è il mio ben* and the Romanesca,” *The Music Forum* 6 (1987): 61–91; McClary, “The Transition from Modal to Tonal Organization”; and Palisca, “Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between ‘Pseudo-Monody’ and Monody,” *Musical Quarterly* 46 (1960): 344–60. Palisca cites a variety of sixteenth and early seventeenth century sources to support the notion of *arie* as melodic formulas, including Petrucci’s Fourth Book of frottole (Venice, 1505), Baldassarre Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1528), Vincenzo Galilei’s *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence: Marescotti, 1581), and Giulio Caccini’s *Nuove musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601). Gagné’s study of the role of the *romanesca* as a contrapuntal framework in Monteverdi’s *Ohimè, dov’è il mio ben* (1619) many times asserts the support of $\hat{5}$ (D) with III (B \flat), even when support with G is quite evident. This is presumably not only to uphold the expected *romanesca* pattern, but also to avoid parallel fifths resulting from the support of $\hat{5}-\hat{4}$ (D–C) with $\hat{1}-\hat{7}$ (G–F). As Geoffrey Chew (“Perfections of Modern Music”) has shown, however, such motion by parallel perfect consonances between outer voices proves characteristic of deeper-level linear descents in Monteverdi’s music, which, even with the presence of a standard bass pattern, only underscores the essentially monophonic nature of such structures.
- 39 See above, note 15.
- 40 McClary (“The Transition from Modal to Tonal Organization”) observes the presence of subsidiary descents from the individual pitches of the primary descent, which may or may not entail an articulated shift in modal context. McClary identifies these subsidiary *diapente* descents with contemporary contrapuntal paradigms such as the *passamezzo* and *romanesca*, and recognizes the role of these paradigms in expanding the principal scale degrees above the modal final—namely $\hat{4}$ and $\hat{5}$ —but does not incorporate *commixtio tonorum* as an agent of middleground expansion in her model.

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2 The Play and Its Early Audiences

On the title page of a 1585 draft of *Il pastor fido*, the Ferrarese poet Battista Guarini scribbled out the conventional label “favola pastorale,” renaming it “tragicomedia pastorale.”¹ The poet would undoubtedly have been aware of the consequences of this change. For the following year, when the play was thrust into the center of intense critical debate, on the heels of the quarrels surrounding Dante’s *Divina commedia* and Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*, Guarini was well prepared to defend himself. Conservative critics condemned the play primarily for its mixing of the two classical genres of tragedy and comedy into a single genre not explicitly sanctioned by Aristotle, and even further for mixing this hybrid genre with the pastoral. They also faulted the play on numerous other fronts, including its excessive sensuality and length, its lyrical style, and the lack of verisimilitude in the sophisticated, philosophical discourse of Guarini’s shepherds and nymphs. Guarini’s defense was significant for its justification of the new genre based on the demands of the present: tragedy and comedy were no longer useful and desirable to modern audiences, and tragicomedy sought to please through delight. Much of this dispute had taken place by the year 1588, still over a year before the play would even go to print.

Alongside the literary debates that trailed the play well into the seventeenth century, *Il pastor fido* functioned prominently in three other realms in early modern Europe: theatre, literature, and music. While in the domains of music and literature the play’s fortunes proved generally much more favorable than its reception in critical spheres, its introduction to the stage from 1585 to 1598 has been widely recognized as another tumultuous story. This, however, is only part of the picture, a part focused chiefly on a handful of major cultural centers with which Guarini was directly involved—especially Mantua and Ferrara—that has been passed down through the past two centuries in the important work of Alessandro d’Ancona, Vittorio Rossi, Iain Fenlon, and others. But, as we will see, there are more sides to the play’s early history in the theater that reach further corners of the Italian peninsula, the traces of which survive through only the scantiest of known sources. Indeed, the poet himself, who was particularly sensitive when it came to the success of the work that had troubled him for nearly a decade, seemed content when he wrote to the Venetian ambassador of France,