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Contents

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Editorial

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As I write this, the current climate hardly gives one much cause for optimism. Beyond international events, the situation facing musicians, academic and/or practicing is fairly dire. Arts organisations are facing ever-growing cuts, and most recently Cardiff University has announced that they intend to axe their entire music department. This latest blow to musical academia in the UK is felt especially keenly, as it demonstrates how little the subject is actually understood with the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Wendy Larner, stating as tacit justification for the cuts that 'there are two music schools in Cardiff' and that 'in a context where resources are so constrained, the sector cannot afford to compete in the way it has historically.' In the first instance, that the difference between a university department and a conservatoire is clearly not understood is worrying in itself. However, I find myself most disturbed by the latter point.

I would hope that the largest degree of the readers here would agree that we are forever striving to open our performances or research to as wide an audience as possible, such that it might affect the greatest change. We thrive on our ability to work with others; music is inherently collaborative, and I would argue (especially when we discuss Early Music) that it is also inherently interdisciplinary. Thus, I believe that to define an argument for the closing of any music department (especially one consistently rated highly in all UK rankings) on the prevalence of competition is something of a fallacy. Whilst the quality of tertiary education must be ensured, the arts in general need more funding, not less. Moreso than this, to call it competition is perhaps the wrong way of looking at it altogether: variety is important, and we should strive to bring down barriers to wider engagement. Our field is vast (even within the realms of Early Music), and we must ensure that it can be explored by anyone who is interested, for as long as sound learning flourishes.

In July last year, I was particularly fortunate to be a co-organiser of a conference in London, titled Music & Majesty (two of the pieces to in the issue to follow stem from this event, so may this serve as an adequate declaration of my own interests). This event represented—I believe—the very best of what modern research and practice into Early Music can represent. Those speaking represented a truly diverse field, as well as branching into adjoining disciplines of history, architecture, art history, and more. As a part of the proceedings, we were able to conduct a service in HM Chapel Royal, St James's Palace – lending a tangible practical element to the two-day event. I feel privileged to have been a part of it and strive to promote further like activities in order to emphasise how the interplay of several fantastic institutions across the country (purely academic or otherwise). More recently, the Gibbons 400 celebrations in Oxford proved to be a resounding success, further proving the interest that these endeavours can generate; a report/reflection on these events will follow in the next issue.

We must also remember to consider the field beyond just the UK. As this issue of the journal demonstrates, there is much literature beyond the medium of English which is well worth consideration. Giulia Tettamanti's article, translated from her doctoral work written in

Portuguese, is an exceptional dive into the literature surrounding Silvestro Ganassi, and serves to compound the fact that we are not only part of a national community of musicians, but indeed an international one too.

The content in the issue which follows paints a far more optimistic view of our field than we must often confront. As we proceed, I hope to prolong this thread, capitalising on the collaborative and interdisciplinary spirit of music. There are some big plans ahead, as we continue to raise the profile of the journal to ensure that we can affect the greatest change possible through the work of our contributors. With the above, I know I have been preaching to the choir (or consort, depending on your instrumental persuasion), but I hope we can rely on your continued support as we move along that path.

Oxford, March 2025

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Barometers of Change: The Silencing and Reintroduction of Organs during the English 'Long Reformation'

Nicholas Thistlethwaite

This paper was read to 'Music and Majesty: Chapels Royal, Cathedrals, and Colleges, c.1485–1688' – The Linnean Society, Burlington House, London, 2 July 2024.

The fate of church organs during the English Reformation is one of the tributary narratives which feeds into any account of the social, political and religious upheavals of the years between 1530 and 1660. Reformers in other parts of northern Europe had their own debates about the use of organs in worship. Lutherans willingly adopted organs to provide congregational accompaniments and introductory preludes to the singing of chorales, and they became increasingly important features of Lutheran services; Calvinists remained suspicious, but many town councils tolerated the retention of organs in churches if put to secular use. English reformers were more ambivalent. Organs became lightening conductors for outbreaks of destructive iconoclasm or (later) campaigns to restore a more 'ceremonious' style of worship. The latter, of course, culminated in the parliamentary prohibition of the use of organs in worship and led to the destruction of the vast majority of church organs in the 1640s. 'Barometers of change', indeed.

Any account of the provision, use and ubiquity of organs on the eve of the Reformation has to be qualified by the random survival of sources: churchwardens' accounts, inventories, visitation reports, and so on. The loss of monastic archives is particularly significant, because some of the most ambitious instruments were commissioned by monastic communities: Abbot Wheathampstede's two organs for St Alban's Abbey, one costing more than £17 in 1428, and the second costing more than £50 in 1438—reputed to be the largest and finest in any monastery in the kingdom—hint at histories that are now irrecoverable.[1] We fare better in the cathedral archives, of course. For example, in 1513 Exeter Cathedral commissioned what must surely have been an exceptional instrument for the pulpitum from an organ-builder named Laurence Playssher.[2] It cost more than £164 at a time when an organ for a major parish church was seldom more than £12 or £15. What proportion of parish churches were equipped with organs is difficult to establish; a recent (incomplete) survey of churchwardens' accounts in Kent found 52 parishes maintaining organs on the eve of the Reformation,[3] but this is to take no account of places where records are lost. It may well be typical of other prosperous regions

[1] Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (republished, Buren: Frits Knuf, 1980), 211–12; Andrew Lucas, *The Organs and Musicians of St Albans Abbey* (St Albans: Friends of St Albans Abbey, 2009), 6.
[2] Malcolm Walker and David Davies, *Heavenly Harmony: Organs and Organists of Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter: Impress Books Ltd, 2014), 4–5.
[3] Research by Joan Jeffery communicated to the writer (incomplete).

including East Anglia, and certainly typical of London.

Monastic churches, secular cathedrals and collegiate churches often had several instruments. On the eve of the Dissolution, Waltham Abbey had 'a lytell payre of organes' in the Lady Chapel, and in the choir, 'a great larg payre' and 'a lesser payre'.[4] Durham, famously, had a hierarchy of three organs in the choir, used on occasions of differing solemnity, as well as other organs beside the Jesus altar in the nave and Our Lady's altar in the Gallilee chapel.[5] The development of enriched polyphony offered new opportunities for the use of organs, and it is probably no coincidence that responsibility for playing the organ was progressively divorced from the singers, and given to a specialist.

The increasing use of organs in alternatim performance was not uncontroversial, nor was the elaboration of polyphony. Some of the religious orders, including the Carthusians and, to a lesser extent, the Cistercians, were resistant. But the break with Rome released more widespread objections. In 1536, a Protestation against 'faults and abuses' in religion was submitted to the Lower House of Convocation, including a declaration that 'the singing or saying of Masse, Mattens or Even-song, is but a roreing, howling, whistleing, mumming ... and juggling: and the playing at the Organs [is] a foolish vanity'.[6] Fourteen years later, in February 1550, a first set of Royal Injunctions for St George's Chapel, Windsor, sounded a similar note:

> ... whereas heretofore, when descant, prick-song, and organs were too much used ... in the church, great search was made for cunning men in that faculty, among whom there were many that had joined with such cunning evil conditions, as pride, contention, railing, drunkenness, contempt of their superiors, or such-like vice; we now ... do enjoin that from henceforth when the room of any of the clerks shall be void ... the Dean shall make search for quiet and honest men, learned in the Latin tongue, which have competent voices and can sing ...[7]

In other words, organs and those who played them had got into bad company, and were consequently tainted by association. By October 1550, when the Windsor Injunctions were amplified and confirmed, it seems that the use of the organ had been discontinued, because provision was made for John Merbecke and George Thaxton, the organists, to receive their customary fees 'in as large and ample manner, as if organ playing had still continued in the Church'.[8]

It is around this time that there is evidence of a concerted effort on the part of at least some bishops, supported (no doubt) by Protector Northumberland, to silence organs in their cathedral churches. In 1552, Archbishop Robert Holgate made a visitation of York Minster. Two clauses of his subsequent injunctions concerned the organs and organist:

> We will and commaunde that there be no more playnge of the orgaynes either at the Mornynge prayour, the Communion, or the Evenynge prayour within the

[4] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 192–3.
[5] *Ibid.*, 187–9; *The Rites and Monuments of the Cathedral Church of Durham* (London: Surtees Society, 1844), 14.
[6] Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain* (London, 1655), 211.
[7] W.H. Frere and W.P.M. Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Reformation Period*, Alcuin Club Collections, XIV–XVI (1910), ii, 225.
[8] *Ibid.*, 258.

churche of Yorke, but that the said playnge do utterlie cease ...[9]

The second clause made provision for the displaced organist to receive a stipend for singing with the choir, as well as continuing to train the choristers.[10]

Holgate's attempt to silence the organs coincides with a similar order issued by the Bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley, to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's. This was apparently under the direction of Cranmer who was conducting a visitation in Cambridge.[11] This could be evidence of a more general attempt by the reformers to silence organs at the end of Edward VI's reign. If so, it was all part of the more far-reaching attempt by the Protestant party to radically reform the performance and style of church music by adopting vernacular texts, drastically simplifying the musical style, introducing congregational psalm-singing, and disbanding or reforming choral foundations, including that at King's College, Cambridge in 1549.[12]

The Marian reaction of 1553–8 offered a brief respite, with some evidence of organs that had been alienated being restored (for example, at St Andrew's, Holborn, where the parish paid £5 in 1553 to recover their organ) and repaired (for example, in St Michael's, Cornhill, where Thomas Howe was paid 'for mendinge of the greate orgaynes and the small paire being broken, in the takeinge downe', in 1554). They also resumed their former place in the celebration of the Church's festivals: in 1555, Howe was paid for 'new cleansynge of all the pypes against Witsontyde' at St Mary, Woolnoth, and in the following year, he received 2 shillings 'for mendyng of bothe the payres of organs against the [As]Sumpcion of our Ladye' at St Mary-at-Hill.[13] But this restoration was short-lived.

The advent of the Elizabethan regime in 1558 heralded a second dismantling of the apparatus of Catholic worship and the emergence of a new religious settlement which restored most of the provisions of the earlier Protestant settlement under Edward VI. Elizabeth, however, was too shrewd an operator to reveal her hand immediately, and she took the opportunity in the royal injunctions issued in the summer of 1559 to commend the use in collegiate and some parish churches of singing by choirs of men and children, stipulating the use of 'a modest distinct song, so used in all parts of the common prayers of the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing', and also permitted that at the beginning or end of common prayers 'there may be sung an Hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised'.[14] Nothing is said about the use of organs, but the practice of the Chapel Royal—which in the course of the reign became something of a template and source of repertoire for cathedrals and collegiate establishments—indicated quite unambiguously where the Queen's preferences lay, to the horror of the embryonic Puritan party. In 1562, a programme of reform was put before the Lower House of Convocation which included the abolition of 'all curious singing and playing of the organs'. It was defeated, but later in the year, a programme of reform including

[9] [James Raine (ed.)], *The Statutes, etc. of the Cathedral Church of York* (London, 1879), 77.
[10] *Idem.*
[11] Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 26.
[12] *Ibid.*, 24–5.
[13] Andrew Freeman, 'Records of British Organ-Builders', in *Dictionary of Organs and Organists* (London, 1921), 14–16.
[14] le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 33.

a simple proposal 'that the use of organs be removed' was defeated by a single vote.[15]

The relative stability of the Elizabethan regime provides an opportunity to track developments in the deployment of choirs and organs over an extended period of forty-five years. The Puritans were arguably most vocal in their objections during the early years of the reign, culminating in the disastrous falling-out between the Queen and Archbishop Edmund Grindal over 'prophesyings' in 1577, leading to Grindal's suspension. It was during this period that Bishop Sandys of Worcester ordered the demolishing of 'a great pair of organs, which cost £200 [in] the making, being one of the most solemn instruments of this realm' in his Cathedral; the pipes were allegedly 'molten into dishes' for the prebendaries wives, and the case made into bedsteads.[16] Meanwhile at Norwich in 1570, the prebendaries broke up the organ which had then to be replaced in 1578 when the Queen paid a visit,[17] and in 1571 Bishop Horne of Winchester issued injunctions to Winchester College, ordering that 'the organs be no more used in service time, and the stipend for the organ player ... [be] turned to some other godly and necessary purpose'.[18]

Others of the Calvinist party were less opposed to the cultivation of church music. William Whittingham, the Calvinist Dean of Durham from 1563, was said to be 'very carefull to provide the best songs and anthems that could be got out of the Queen's chapel, to furnish the quire with all, himself being skillful in music'.[19] A contemporary source confirms that one of the quire organs at Durham was played daily at services during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.[20] The reference to Whittingham sourcing new repertoire from the Chapel Royal is, of course, very significant. During the Elizabethan years (and indeed later), the Chapel became a nursery for singers, composers and players who would pioneer settings of the new vernacular texts, and develop a style of performance to replace the elaborate polyphonic textures and alternatim practice of the pre-Reformation years. Without the Queen's patronage and protection (for some of the most distinguished practitioners were, of course, closet Catholics) this would hardly have happened, and the great flowering of English choral music would (at best) have taken a different form. This was to have crucial consequences for the evolution of the organs built in the Jacobean and Caroline years.

The use of organs and other instruments in the royal chapel was interpreted as sanctioning their use in cathedrals and college chapels, and the records reveal that organs in many of these institutions were maintained, repaired and occasionally replaced during these years. There must have been much sucking of teeth in the Puritan camp when, in 1564-5, Archbishop Matthew Parker paid for a new organ in Canterbury Cathedral costing £56 4s 9d. Significantly, it was placed in a gallery on the north side of the quire where it was well-placed to accompany the singers – a location which was widely adopted in cathedrals. Regrettably, the organ was not a great success, but this did not stop the Dean and Chapter laying out a further £46 on its rebuilding ten years later.[21] There was also a second pair of 'little organs' in the quire, which

[15] Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 35–6.
[16] Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 141–2.
[17] Noel Boston, *The Musical History of Norwich Cathedral* (Norwich, 1963), 7.
[18] Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 141.
[19] le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England*, 39.
[20] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 213.
[21] Roger Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music' in Patrick Collinson, et al. (eds), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 434–5.

Roger Bowers has conjectured was used to accompany anthems and services in the new verse style.[22]

As for parish churches, the picture is far less clear, not least because of the patchy survival of records. We know of organs that were sold. At St Lawrence, Reading, for example, the 'lytell organs in St John's chauncell' remained until 1578, apparently unused, until it was agreed 'for that they should not be forfeited into the hands of the organ takers', they would be taken down and sold. The pipes were disposed of as scrap metal, and the wooden case was used to make seats for the mayor and aldermen.[23] An inventory of 1583 at Great St Mary's in Cambridge records 'an Orgaine Case with some pypes'; it was eventually disposed of for £1 in 1613–14.[24] Elsewhere, however, some parish organs were being used and maintained. In 1562, Henry Machyn reported that congregational psalm-singing at St Martin, Ludgate, was supported by 'the base of the organes',[25] and many years later in 1641, parishioners of St Wulfrum's, Grantham petitioned 'to have the organ continued and used in our church as it has been, viz. to accompany the singing of the psalms after the common and plain tunes appointed to be used in the church'.[26] That sounds like a long-established and valued custom.

Earlier historians have tended to assume, on limited evidence, that the disuse, and destruction or disposal of pre-Reformation parish organs was widespread during the Elizabethan period. No doubt there were regional variations, depending on the strength of local feeling, but more recent surveys by Jonathan Willis and Christopher Marsh have suggested that a significant number of organs were maintained and used, mainly (presumably) to support the new metrical psalmody.[27] Willis has also pointed to what he terms a 'skills vacuum' as contributing to the decline in the use of organs in London's churches. John Howe, the leading London organ-builder of the day, who seems to have maintained a 'virtual monopoly' in the City, died in 1571 and there may have been no one to replace him.[28] In other parts of the country, such as the south-west where the Chappington family was active, there is evidence of organs being maintained and new organs built – for example in the neighbouring and no doubt rival churches of St Edmund and St Thomas in Salisbury, where expensive organs each costing more than £35 were commissioned in, respectively, 1567 and 1569.[29] It must also be remembered that, even when organs were removed, it may have had as much to do with straitened parish finances as with religious radicalism.

I have said little so far about organs in the two universities. I will concentrate on Cambridge, partly because I have researched the archives of the various colleges more extensively, but also because the story that emerges neatly concludes the Elizabethan years and introduces us to the controversies of the next two reigns.

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[22] *Idem.*

[23] Andrew Freeman, 'A Short History of the Organs of the Church of St Lawrence at Reading', *The Organ* 1 (1921), 109.

[24] Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The Organs of Cambridge* (2nd edn; Oxford: Positif Press, 2008), 115.

[25] John Gough Nichols, ed. *The Diary of Henry Machyn* (London: Camden Society, 1848), 228.

[26] Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3, fn.7.

[27] Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 90–103; Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 394–405.

[28] Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 94–7.

[29] Freeman, *Records of British Organ-builders*, 33–4.

Cambridge, of course, was a stronghold of the Calvinist party for much of Elizabeth's reign. During those years, at least six colleges (Christ's, Jesus, Pembroke, Queens', Caius and St John's) removed organs from their chapels, and in 1570,[30] the royal commissioners led by Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, ordered Roger Goad, the new Calvinist Provost of King's, to remove the organs from the college chapel.[31]

By the 1590s, the mood music had changed, and Cambridge witnessed the first serious assaults on the Calvinist position in a sermon before the University in 1595 by William Barrett, and lectures by Peter Baro and John Overall in 1596 and 1599, respectively. In 1593, Dr Thomas Nevile was appointed Master of Trinity College. He proceeded to re-establish the choral foundation and commissioned the repair, or possibly replacement, of the chapel organ.[32] Four years later, Nevile became Dean of Canterbury and initiated a similar revival in the musical life of the Cathedral.[33] The Calvinist bishops and divines were no longer left unchallenged, and the ground was prepared for what became a proto-Arminian, and ultimately Laudian movement to restore 'the beauty of holiness' to the English Church in which music and organs would have a vital and legitimate place.

In the time remaining, we must focus on a few highlights of these developments. The commissioning of a new organ for King's College in 1605 was highly significant, not least because of the involvement of Robert Cecil, Chancellor of the University and the King's chief minister.[34] Provost Goad was still in post and was roundly condemned for failing to fulfil the requirements of the college statutes that an organ should be maintained. A new instrument was ordered from the organ-builder, Thomas Dallam. He and his son, Robert Dallam, were the principal beneficiaries of the movement to reintroduce organs which gathered pace over the next four decades, but we know little about their background. It is likely that the family came from Westmorland and were recusants, but where the elder Dallam learned his craft is unknown. He first appears in company with the Queen's clock-maker, Randolph Bull, delivering a large and elaborate mechanical organ-clock to the Sultan of Turkey in Constantinople in 1599.[35] It was a present from the Levant Company, on behalf of the Queen. Six years later he is in Cambridge, where he spends almost twelve months constructing the lavish new organ for King's at the cost of £371, about a third of which was to pay joiners, carvers and painters for the construction and embellishment of the case. The organ was installed at the east end of the chapel, probably on the platform where the pre-Reformation High Altar had stood. (The Elizabethan communion table was placed lengthwise between the stalls.) To any who were inclined to take offence at the use of organs in worship, this prominent position, coupled with the highly enriched case decoration, must have been a particular affront.

But perhaps most significantly, this was the first English organ that we know to have possessed two keyboards, the 'Greate Organ' and the 'Chayre Organ', the latter in its own case behind the player. This established the pattern for all the larger organs that the Dallams built over

[30] Thistlethwaite, *Organs of Cambridge*, passim.

[31] *Ibid.*, 58.

[32] Ian Payne, 'The Musical Establishment at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1546–1644', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* LXXIV (1985), 61.

[33] Roger Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral', in *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, 439–41.

[34] For this account of the King's College organ, see, Nicholas Thistlethwaite, 'The Organ of King's College, Cambridge, 1605–1802', *BIOS Journal*, 32 (2008), 4–42.

[35] Dominic Gwynn, 'Where did Thomas Dallam Learn how to Build Organs?', *BIOS Journal* 44 (2020), 10–20.

the next thirty years, including instruments for the cathedrals of Norwich (1608), Worcester (1613), Wells (1620), Durham (1621) and Bristol (1629), Magdalen College, Oxford (1631), York Minster (1634) and Gloucester Cathedral (1641).[36]

The question, of course, is why this disposition was chosen. The stop-list of the King's organ has not survived, but that for the Worcester organ of 1613 has.[37] It includes an 8-stop Great Organ with duplicated open diapasons, principals and fifteenths, and a 5-stop Chaire Organ with a stopped diapason and principal, a flute of 4' pitch, a fifteenth and a two-and-twentieth. Was this designed to cater for the accompanimental needs of the new verse anthems and settings, the Chaire Organ introducing and accompanying the solo verses, and the Greate supporting the full choir sections? It seems possible, at least, especially as some of the Chaire Organs included a flute stop actually described as a register 'to sing to'.[38]

In some instances, these 2-manual instruments were created by combining two existing organs. At Windsor in 1609, for example, Dallam was ordered to rebuild the two existing organs to create a 'whole Instrument Consistinge of a greate organ and a Chayre Portative'.[39] Roger Bowers conjectures that something similar happened at Canterbury in 1619,[40] while at Lichfield in 1634, following a visitation by Archbishop Laud, the Dean and Chapter were told to improve the 'organes', accompanied by advice 'that you putt them both into one, and make a chayre organ of them'.[41] There is evidence that steps were also taken to upgrade the organs in the royal chapels by incorporating Chair Organs in this period. An order was issued in 1637, 'for altering and Raparacons of the Organ in our Chappell of Hampton Courte, and for the making of a newe Chaire Organ theire conformable to those allreadie made in our Royall Chappell at Whitehall and Greenwich'. The organ at Richmond Palace was also rebuilt two years later, possibly with the same object in mind so that the choral service with its verse settings could be properly accompanied.[42]

Meanwhile in Cambridge other colleges acquired organs as the masterships fell to Laud's allies. The appointments of Benjamin Laney to Pembroke and Edward Martin to Queens' in 1630, of Richard Sterne to Jesus and William Beale to St John's in 1634, and finally of John Cosin to Peterhouse in 1635 were all followed by the reform of liturgical arrangements, including the installation of organs. Peterhouse, in particular, became a focus of anti-Calvinist approbation and Puritan censure for its wholehearted embrace of the Laudian project. Cosin had already encountered bitter criticism from his adversaries in Durham where he was a prebendary through the patronage of Bishop Neile. Peter Smart, another prebendary of the old puritanical school, levelled charges in 1628 against Cosin for changes made to the Cathedral services, turning the Sacrament into 'a theatrical stage play', and encouraging the playing of 'a pair of gorgeous organs, which have cost at least £700' (unlikely) during the daily early morn-

[36] Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 72–88. Bicknell's claim that Thomas Dallam was born near Warrington is now generally agreed to be mistaken.
[37] *Ibid.*, 77–8.
[38] York Minster, 1632–4; Lichfield Cathedral, 1639–40. See, Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 85–7.
[39] Sidney Campbell and W.L. Sumner, 'The Organs and Organists of St George's Chapel, Windsor', *The Organ* XLV (1966), 146–7.
[40] Bowers, 'The Liturgy of the Cathedral', 441.
[41] *Idem*; also, Herbert Snow, 'The Organs of Lichfield Cathedral', *The Organ* XII (1932), 98.
[42] Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 3. *1625–1649* (1991), 94.

ing service.[43] At Peterhouse, Cosin went further, installing an organ in 1637, establishing a choral foundation to sing the daily services, and recruiting an organist (Thomas Wilson) from Durham to compile an extensive repertoire of anthems and settings which survive in the Peterhouse part-books. For his enemies, this was simply more fuel to the fire.[44] It is therefore hardly surprising that when civil war finally erupted in 1642, organs were prime targets for outraged Puritans and unruly Parliamentarian soldiers. The records of the vandalism they caused have often been quoted. At Westminster, for example, they burned the altar, and then 'brake downe the Organs, and pawned the pipes at several ale-houses for pots of ale'. At Exeter, they again pulled down the organs, 'and taking two or three hundred pipes with them in a most scornful and contemptuous manner, went up and downe the streets piping with them'. At Chichester, they dashed the pipes with their pole-axes, 'scoffingly saying, "Harke how the organs goe" '.[45] Cambridge fared a little better, the colleges having stirred themselves to remove their organs to safety, but few reappeared in 1660, Peterhouse vainly endeavouring to reclaim Dr Cosin's organ which had meanwhile been sold to a London merchant.[46] And in case anyone was in any doubt about the fate of organs and organ-playing under the Parliamentary regime, the 1644 Ordinance of the Lords and Commons ordered 'the speedy demolishing of all organs, images and all matters of superstitious monuments in all Cathedrals, and Collegiate or Parish-Churches and Chapels, throughout the kingdom of England and the Dominion of Wales, the better to accomplish the blessed reformation so happily begun ...'.[47]

There is little reason to doubt that Parliament's instruction was widely followed, even if not every region had an agent as effective as William Dowsing in East Anglia.[48] Robert Dallam fled to Brittany on the outbreak of war, and, no doubt trading on his Catholic allegiances, turned himself into a successful French organ-builder. Other craftsmen remained in England, keeping their heads down, and maintained organs and other keyboard instruments in domestic and secular contexts.

Then in May 1660 the King returned. The Chapel Royal was re-established, Charles having promised that he would maintain 'the good old order of the church in which he had been bred', and the Book of Common Prayer, the royal ceremonies, and the singers and organists were also reinstated, albeit with some Gallic polish. As early as Sunday 17 June 1660 Samuel Pepys could report that 'This day the organs did begin to play at Whitehall before the King'. Two weeks later, Pepys attended the chapel, and recorded in his diary that it was 'the first time that ever I remember to have heard the Organs and singing-men in Surplices in my life'.[49] Robert Dallam, accompanied by other members of his extended family hastened back from Brittany, and were full of business, making new organs for churches, cathedrals, college chapels and (increasingly) for wealthy parish churches. Once again, the organ proved itself a barometer of change.

[43] le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 47–51.
[44] Nicholas Thistlethwaite, 'Peterhouse, Cambridge: The Documentation of a Lost Organ, 1635–1667', *BIOS Journal*, 46 (2022), 6–37.
[45] *Mercurius Rusticus; The Country's Complaint Recounting the Sadd Events of this Unparraleled Warr*, 1647.
[46] Thistlethwaite, 'Peterhouse, Cambridge', 27–9.
[47] Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, 90.
[48] Trevor Cooper, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001).
[49] Robert Latham, ed., *The Shorter Pepys* (London: Bell & Hyman Ltd, 1985), 55, 61.

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Silvestro Ganassi and the *Valente* Master (1542–43): Forging a Model of the Perfect Player

Giulia Tettamanti

Introduction

Silvestro Ganassi is widely recognized today for writing the most important book in the history of the recorder and the first treatise about diminutions, *Opera Intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535).[1] He also wrote a two-volume treatise on the viol, *Regola Rubertina* (1542) and *Lettione Seconda* (1543), the latter also containing information on the lute.[2] But Ganassi was far more than just a player, being known to his peers also as a good painter and a virtuous man with a 'divine' intellect. On the title page of *Lettione Seconda*, he promises besides several technical skills to reveal all the secrets that can make one into a *valente* master on the viol and lute. In this article, I explore the philosophical background of this promise, showing what *valente* implied as well as why and how he provides his own overview of the perfect player according to rhetorical ideals.

Ganassi the man

Silvestro Ganassi (1491/92–c.1572) was one of the most influential Venetian instrumentalists of his time.[3] At the end of the fifteenth century, his family came from the province of Bergamo, then part of the *terraferma* territories of the Venetian Republic, and settled in the *contrada* (parish) of San Silvestro in Venice, one of the principal areas where the many Bergamasque immigrants were concentrated, and itself part of the greater Rialto area, the city's main commercial and financial centre. Close to the church and facing the Grand Canal stood the Republic's main grain distribution warehouse, the Fontego della Farina, a building that also contained what today would be called a shopping arcade as well as flats for the merchants to live in.[4] Silvestro's father, Antonio Ganassi, had a barbershop at the sign of *Le tre teste* (The

This article is based on extracts from my forthcoming doctoral thesis in Portuguese. A shorter version was given as a talk at the conference organised by Dina Titan, Cultural Exchange, Interaction and Innovation in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice: The Interdisciplinary Artistic Milieu of Silvestro Ganassi, Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome, 5 May 2022. I would like to thank David Lasocki for helping me to present the material in English.

[1] For a comprehensive summary and assessment of *Fontegara*, see David Lasocki and Robert Ehrlich, *The Recorder* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 60–73.

[2] Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), chapters 8 and 9, presents a long summary of Ganassi's technical information on the viol, concluding that 'The message from Ganassi's tutor is clear: a proficient technique by itself was not enough for mid-16th-century audiences. Expressive and varied playing was all-important, and technical facility was of use only in so far as it contributed to this end,' (p.169). He does not address the philosophical background explored in the present article.

[3] The definitive biography of Ganassi is Marco di Pasquale, 'Silvestro Ganassi: A Documented Biography', *Recercare*, 31/1–2 (2019), 29–102, from which the information cited here is taken unless otherwise stated.

Three Heads) in this Fontego, and perhaps the whole family lived there.[5]

This is why they used the epithet 'dal Fontego' in their surname, to differentiate themselves from other branches of the family, such as that of Zacaria dal Trombone in Bologna. And from it also stemmed the name of Silvestro Ganassi's celebrated recorder treatise: *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, a work created by the man from the Fontego.

At that time, barbershops did much more than cut men's hair or perform minor surgeries. They were also places where men went to relax, chat, learn the news, gossip, and listen to music, so all barbers knew how to play musical instruments for the enjoyment of their customers. Of the four sons of Antonio, Silvestro and Girolamo became professional musicians working for the Republic and Giovanni was a part-time barber as well as musician. Collectively, they had their own group called *I sonadori del Fontego* (The Fontego Players), who were hired for celebrations of patron saints in churches and visits to the city by illustrious people.

In 1517, when Silvestro was around 25 years old, he was hired for the *contralto* part in the prestigious *piffari del Doge*, the official wind group of the Venetian Republic, made up of six players: three shawms and three trombones. His brother Girolamo had been one of its trombonists since at least 1504. On the *contralto* part, Silvestro would have played not only shawm but also cornetto, and the entire ensemble would have formed a consort of recorders on suitable occasions. At his side, playing the *soprano* part, was one of the most famous cornettists of the century, Giovanni Maria dal Cornetto (who served from 1502).

Ganassi was not only a musician. In 1543, the same year that on the title page of his *Lettione seconda* he calls himself *desideroso nella pictura* (passionate about painting), the famous writer Pietro Aretino published a *Dialogo ... nel quale si parla del gioco con moralità piacevole*, later known as *Le carte parlanti*, in which he calls Ganassi 'the Musician-Painter and most divine Philosopher'.[6] The satirical tone in which he speaks of Ganassi points to a close friendship with him, recalled in Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della pittura ... intitolato l'Aretino* (1557), when the interlocutor Fabrini refers to Ganassi in relation to Aretino as 'your virtuoso Silvestro, excellent musician and player of the *Doge*, who draws and paints commendably'.[7] In between these two works, Ganassi is mentioned in Paolo Pinto's *Dialogo di pittura* (1548) as having 'a divine intellect, elevated spirit, all virtue, and is a good painter'.[8]

Ganassi also became an outstanding music teacher, both in training professional wind musicians and in instructing gentlemen to play the viol (and probably also the recorder) – instruments suited to amateurs. We know from the prefaces of *Regola Rubertina* (1542) and *Lettione Seconda* (1543) that he taught Ruberto Strozzi and Neri Capponi, who were the dedicatees of these works and also his patrons from 1538 to the mid-1540s. Strozzi and Capponi were Florentines, who had been exiled for political reasons after the Medici returned to

[5] From documentation collected by Di Pasquale (docs 2, 13 and 24) it is not clear whether they lived in the Fontego or next to it, separately or together. The Fontego della Farina was in the form of a C and had an internal court which also served as a boundary with other properties. See *Fontego de la Farina*, Venezia Museo website; <veneziamuseo.it/TERRA/San_Polo/Silvestro/sil_font_farina.htm>.

[6] 'Il Musico Pittore, e Philosopho diviniſsimo', f.35^{r}. For more details, see Giulia da Rocha Tettamanti, 'Silvestro Ganassi and Pietro Aretino's Talking Cards: a New Reference on the *Fontegara's* Author', *Revista 4'33"*, 9/19 (December 2020), 116–26.

[7] 'vostro virtuoso Silvestro eccelente musico e sonatore del doge, il quale disegna e depinge lodevolmente'. Di Pasquale, 'Silvestro Ganassi', 74, 96.

[8] 'un intelletto divino, tutto elevato, tutto virtù, & è un buon pittore'. Di Pasquale, 'Silvestro Ganassi', 74, 91.

power.[9] Strozzi's father and uncle, Filippo and Lorenzo, had been extremely active figures in the political, literary and musical scene in Florence, being members of the circles involved in the creation of the madrigal – as in, for example, the discussions about ancient Rome in the gardens of the Rucellai family residence, where Niccolò Machiavelli, among others, read his works.[10] The revival of Classical Roman ideas and literature, especially the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian, was the perfect backdrop for the creation of this new musical genre, which started to distance itself from the institutional imitative counterpoint of the church towards a counterpoint that highlights the meaning the text, seeking the expression of its affect and bringing with it an understanding of the musician no longer as a mathematician, but rather as a communicator, an orator.

Filippo and Lorenzo Strozzi wrote several poems that were set to music by the first madrigalists. Ruberto, having grown up in this environment, acquired a great appreciation for music. Neri Capponi, Ruberto's cousin, worked for the Strozzi family bank. He spent the first part of his exile in Lyon, France, which housed a large community of Florentine exiles, among them the composer Francesco de Layolle (1492–1540), who acted as host to the new arrivals. There they had the custom of getting together to sing madrigals, either at the Strozzi residence or in the gardens of Layolle's residence, in clear nostalgia for the old days of meetings in the Rucellai gardens. Having moved on to Venice in 1538, Capponi kept a *ridotto* – a kind of private club typical of that city where a select group of gentlemen, led by a host, met periodically to discuss aspects of art and literature of interest to them, often graced by the presence of the most prominent artists and literati around. Capponi's interests being musical, his meetings were attended by a group of the best singers and instrumentalists in Venice under the direction of the celebrated chapel master of the Basilica of San Marco, Adrian Willaert (c.1490–1562).

Two testimonies to the excellence of this *ridotto* have survived. First, in the dedication letter of Ganassi's *Lettione Seconda*:

> To the illustrious Lord Neri Capponi, from his servant Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontego, instrumentalist of [Venice]....
>
> ... furthermore, you being a Parnassus, a Helicon, a Refuge of the virtuous, I judge there is no safer place that it [i.e. my work] could live than next to you. Because if it were accepted by your rare judgment and by that of the sacred and divine *collegio* [fellowship, i.e. the members of the *ridotto*] which with the immortal glory of this magnificent city nestles next to you, the chatter of others would never affect its esteem. Since the Prince of that [*collegio*] is the never-praisable-enough Mr. Adriano [Willaert], new Prometheus of celestial Harmony, humiliator of the past, glory of the present and master of the future century, without

[9] See Richard J. Agee, 'Filippo Strozzi and the Early Madrigal', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38 (1985), 227–37; Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Katelijne Schiltz, 'Mäzenatentum und Selbstdarstellung im Exil. Die Florentiner "fuorusciti" in Venedig (*ca.*1536–1546)', *Die Musikforschung*, 56 (2003), 46–53; and Anthony M. Cummings, *The Maecenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 2004).

[10] Cummings, *Maecenas*, chapter 1.

a doubt the universe will like what is praised by his divine judgment.[11]

Second, in the dedication of the tenor part-book of the *Dialogo della musica* (1544) by the Florentine writer Antonfrancesco Doni, from which we obtain a more detailed view. This part-book is dedicated to Annibale, Marquis Malvicino from the city of Piacenza:

> The music that is made in Your Lordship's house, of lutes, [keyboard] instruments, *pifferi* [i.e. shawms and trombones], recorders, [and] voices, and that in the house of the honourable Mr. Alessandro Colombo is very dignified. And that of viols of Mr. Guido della Porta, wonderful. But, if Your Lordship listened to the divinity that I tasted with the ear of the intellect here in Venice, you would be astonished. There is a gentle lady, Polissena Pecorina (wife of a citizen of my birthplace), so virtuous and gentle that I cannot find praise high enough to commend her. One night I heard a consort of viols and voices where she played and sang in the company of other excellent spirits. The perfect maestro of such music was Adriano Willaert, with that diligent invention of his, never before used by musicians, so unified, so sweet, so just, so wonderfully accommodated to the words, that I confessed I had never known what harmony was in all my days except that night. The person fervorous about this music, and in love with such divine composition, is a gentleman, a most excellent spirit, also a Florentine, called Mr. Neri Caponi. With whom, through Mr. Francesco Corboli, a regal man, I became friends. And, by his mercy, I took in, saw and heard such divinity. This Mr. Neri spends hundreds of ducats a year on such virtue. And he keeps it close to himself: not even if it were his father would he hand over a single song. So, since I cannot send you that [music], I will give you this, although it pains me not to be able to show my friendship by better means.[12]

[11] 'Allo Illustre Signor Neri Capon, Il suo Servo Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontego. S. D. [V.]... Oltra che essendo voi un Parnaso, un'Elicona, & uno Asillo di virtuosi, in loco niuno piu sicura non giudicai quella poter vivere, che appo voi. Perche se ella sia accettata dal vostro raro giudicio, & da quello sacro & divino collegio che appo voi con gloria immortale di questa alma Citate, si annida, nulla istimera ella i altrui trasparlamenti che essendovi Principe di quello il non mai a bastanza lodato messer Adriano nuovo Prometheo della celeste Armonia scorno del passato, gloria del presente, & maestro del futuro secolo, quello senza dubbio all'universo piacera che dal suo divino giudicio sia lodato.' All translations from Ganassi are my own.

[12] 'AL S. ANNIBALE MARCHESE MALVICINO. La Musica, che si fà in casa V. S. di Liuti, di stromenti, di pifferi, di flauti, di voci, et in casa dell'honorato M. Alessandro Colombo è dignissima, et quella de i violoni del S. Guido della Porta mirabile: mà se la S. V. udisse la divinità, ch'io ho gustato con l'orecchia dell'intelligenza qui in Vinegia stupirebbe. Ecci una gentil donna POLISENA Pecorina (consorte d'un cittadino della mia patria) tanto virtuosa, et gentile, che non trovo lode si alte, che la commendino. Io ho udito una sera un concento di violoni, et di voci, dove ella sonava, et cantava in compagnia di altri spiriti eccellenti: il maestro perfetto della qual musica era Adriano Villaert di quella sua diligente inventione non più usata da'i musici, si unita, si dolce, si giusta, si mirabilmente acconcie le parole; ch'io confessai non havere saputo, che cosa sia stata armonia nè miei giorni, salvo in quella sera. L'infervorato di questa musica, et l'innamorato di tanta divina compositione è un gentil'huomo, uno spirito eccellentissimo pur Fiorentino, detto M. Neri Caponi: al quale per mezzo di M. Francesco Corboli huomo Reale fui fatto amico: et mercè sua sentì, vidi, et udì tanta divinità. Questo M. Neri dispensa l'anno le centinaia de ducati in tal virtu; et la conserva appresso di sé; nè se fosse suo padre darebbe fuori un canto. Ora poi ch'io non vi posso mandar quella le dono questa. Ben mi duole non poterle mostrar con maggior mezzo, ch'io li sia amico.' *Dialogo della musica di M. Antonfrancesco Doni Fiorentino* (Venice, 1544), tenor part-book. My translation.

This work by Doni emulates a meeting of a musical *ridotto*. The soprano part-book comes with a dialogue among four interlocutors, who, from time to time, stop talking to sing a madrigal by a known composer, the music for which appears next in this part-book as well as in the other three.[13] (The dialogue appears only in the soprano.) These testimonies are essential background for Ganassi's viol treatises, to understand how select and erudite his readership in Venice was. When we analyse the depth of his complete oeuvre, we realize that his treatises are no mere tutors for teaching the basics of instruments, but true works of art, created to show the magnificence of his mind, his peers and his city, and to celebrate all of them.[14]

Ganassi's viol treatises are in truth a single work in two books: *Regola Rubertina* (1542) is a small introduction and preparation for the important and in-depth part that follows. So much so that, at the end of the *Regola*, he already announces the entire contents of *Lettione Seconda* (1543). This is the reason why the latter, called 'Second Lesson', has no opening engraving, only a frontispiece with a long title that takes up the whole page. Perhaps he was testing the waters before publishing the second book or simply divided the work into two parts to please his patrons. The distance of just one year between the two publications is in fact revealing: in his epilogue to *Lettione Seconda* he observes that it takes five or six or more years to write a book,[15] therefore that work was probably already planned and almost written when he published *Regola Rubertina*. The present article considers these books as a whole. Even though only the second shows clearly his intention to create a model for the player, the first presents in its discourse all the elements related to the model's philosophical background.

Valente and perfect

In the title of *Lettione Seconda*, after an extensive list of technical skills the book proposes to teach, there appears a curious promise: to reveal 'very useful secrets that are appropriate to act as a *valente* master of such an instrument or instruments', the plural being added because he also discusses the lute in this work.[16] *Valente* has the same Latin origin as the English 'valiant', meaning brave, courageous or bold. But in Italian brave was not, and is not, the primary meaning. The *Accademia della Crusca* dictionary, the first published one of the Tuscan language (1612), has the following definition for the term: 'someone who is worthy in his profession, courageous, excellent'.[17] The examples that follow the entry describe an excellent

[13] See <bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_B/B149/>.

[14] See Giulia da Rocha Tettamanti, 'Silvestro Ganassi: *Obra intitulada Fontegara*. Um estudo sistemático do tratado abordando aspectos da técnica da flauta doce e da música instrumental do século XVI' (master's diss., Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas–SP, 2010), 30–57; Tettamanti, 'A Fontegara de Silvestro Ganassi e a Teoria das Proporções na época de Andrea Gritti (1523–1538)', *Atas do IV Encontro de História da Arte – IFCH/Unicamp* (2008), 1163–72; Pedro Sousa Silva, 'Gammaut and *le sette voce di piu*', symposium paper, academia.edu; Di Pasquale, 'Silvestro Ganassi', 69–73; Dina Maria de Oliveira Titan, 'The Origins of Instrumental Diminution in Renaissance Venice: Ganassi's *Fontegara*' (doctoral thesis, Universiteit Utrecht, 2019), 293–98.

[15] '... le opere son fatte non con poca fatica e non basta la fatica diremo del star cinque o sei o di piu anni in concludere ditta opera....'

[16] 'utilissimi secreti a propositi nell'effetto dil valente di tal strumento e strumenti'. *Effetto* has caught out several modern translators who took it for a cognate. In fact, in this context, especially when associated with the verb *fare* (to make), it means action rather than effect. *Fare l'effetto del valente* means to do what he does that makes him excellent, or in other words, to act as.

[17] 'Che vale assai nella sua professione, prode, eccellente.' *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*; <lessicografia.it/ricerca_libera.jsp>.

doctor, an excellent man (i.e. sage and prudent), a man of great value, and a brave cavalier. In the modern *Treccani* dictionary of Italian, the first definition refers to someone who is 'good, skilful, and capable in his profession or art'[18]; the other meanings from *Crusca* are considered obsolete. Ganassi's *valente* master is therefore an excellent professional.

Achieving excellence as an objective was already prescribed in *Regola Rubertina* (chapter 15):

> Note that here ends the first rule, which taught you both the name of the strings and their number as well as how to tune such an instrument solo and in consort; with the way of holding the viol and how to carry the body, to practice the hand [i.e. to develop finger and bow technique] and other necessary things to reach excellence in playing such an instrument solo and in consort.[19]

Likewise in chapter 20: '... following you will find four ricercari in several modes, which will be very appropriate for you to become excellent on this instrument'.[20] But in the dedication of *Lettione Seconda*, Ganassi puts it a little differently:

> So having already finished my third effort [i.e. book] to teach what belongs to the perfect playing of the viol and the lute, and seeing it all rough and unornamented, I was thinking to whom I should send it, who with a liberal and joyful countenance would accept it as a duty.[21]

The adjective 'perfect' here is the clue to understand what lies behind Ganassi's pedagogical ideas: the oratory of Cicero (1st century AD). For the Renaissance, the famous Roman orator was the ultimate authority, the great classical model to be imitated, sometimes almost blindly (and therefore, there were also many discussions about the exaggerated use of his work as the only possible source on literary emulation).[22] So it is not surprising that Ganassi's treatises have a strong Ciceronian accent in many respects, which we have only enough space to discuss briefly here.[23] To start with, we need to pay attention to Cicero's short dialogue called *Orator*, the objective of which is to describe what a perfect orator would be like.[24] Transposing a perfect model based on this dialogue to other activities or professions was a favourite

[18] 'Bravo, esperto, abile, capace nella sua professione, arte, disciplina, o in qualche determinata attività.' *Treccani*, s.v. 'Valente.'

[19] 'Nota che qui finisse la prima regola laquale t'ha insignato: si lo nome delle corde & quantita come ancora l'acordar il ditto istromento solo, & accompagnato con il modo de tenir la viola, & portamento della persona, & praticar la mano, & altre cose necessarie per pervenir alla eccellentia in sonar ditto istromento solo, & accompagnato.'

[20] 'si che seguita che tu troverai quattro recercari di modi variati, che ti sera molto in proposito al pervenir eccellente in questo istromento'.

[21] 'La onde havendo io gia finita la mia terza fatica dell'insegnare quello che al perfettamente sonare di Viuola & di Liuto s'apperteneva, & vedendola tutta rozza & disornata, pensavo a cui ne la dovesse inviare che con liberale & lieto volto la fusse per dover accettare.'

[22] See for example, Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Ciceronianus* (1528) and discussions of it; also Tettamanti, 'Talking Cards', 120.

[23] It will be discussed at length in my forthcoming doctoral thesis.

[24] See Cicero, *Brutus; Orator*, trans. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

game of Renaissance literati, a commonplace in this culture. Several books that are still famous resulted from this practice: for example, *The Book of the Courtier* (1528) by Baltassare Castiglione and Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532). In music, we can recall the famous quotation from Gioseffo Zarlino's *Istitutione Harmoniche* (1558) about the perfect musician being capable of mastering both theory and practice in his art:

> The musician is the one who is expert [*perito*] in music and has the faculty of judging, not through the sound, but through the reason which is contained in this science. If he can also do the things that belong to practice, he would make his science more perfect: and then he can be called a perfect musician.[25]

Following his contemporaries and anticipating Zarlino, Ganassi presents here his own model of the perfect player of the viol and the lute, whom he calls 'the *valente* master of this and those instruments'.[26]

In the beginning of *Orator*, Cicero points out that he is not describing a real person, past or present, but rather, an idea of perfection that resides in the mind of the craftsman.[27] He gives the example of Phidias, the most famous of Greek sculptors, who, when making statues of Zeus [Jupiter] and Athena [Minerva], had his hand guided by a certain supreme idea of beauty in his mind, which he imprinted on the stone – not the copy of a living model before his eyes but an image superior to reality, created by reason, an image capable of representing what these gods would have been like if they had suddenly materialized in front of our eyes. In another dialogue, *De inventione*, Cicero compares the way he created his books on oratory to the pictorial art of Zeuxis, who, when painting the beautiful Helen of Troy, based her on the five most beautiful virgins of Cortona, taking from each one what was best, because in nature nothing is perfect in all parts.[28] He also remarks that, in other subjects, if people choose to take the best contributions of many authors instead of devoting themselves exclusively to one, they would avoid falling into arrogance.[29]

Ganassi—a product of this very Cicero-oriented culture, which includes exercising *humilitas* as a moral virtue—is not merely being humble when he states in chapter 1 of *Regola Rubertina*, after giving instructions on how to hold the instrument: 'and certainly I myself do not have the most pleasant and beautiful hold of such an instrument as is the way I have described to you'.[30] He is actually describing not himself, or any other specific musician, but an idea of perfection that was created in his mind, from his experience and observation of the best practices of his peers. In the same way, when Ganassi mentions the names of some famous players, he does not say that they are perfect in everything. Of the six instrumentalists mentioned in *Lettione Seconda*, two of them, Giuliano Tiburtino and Lodovico Lasagnino, are

[25] 'Musico esser colui, che nella Musica è perito, & hà facultà di giudicare, non per il suono: ma per ragione quello, che in tale scienza si contiene. Il quale se alle cose appartinenti alla prattica darà opera, farà la sua scienza più perfetta: & Musico perfetto si potrà chiamare.' Parte prima, cap. 11. My translation. The passage is longer than this and well worth reading in full.

[26] 'valente di tal strumento e strumenti'. Ganassi, *Lettione Seconda*, title.

[27] Cicero, *Orator*, book I, [7–9].

[28] Cicero, *De inventione*, book II, [1–5]; *De inventione; De optimo genere oratorum; Topica*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 168–69.

[29] Cicero, *De inventione*, book II, [4].

[30] 'e per certo non ho appresso di me il piu grato e bello tenir ditto stromento quanto e con il modo che v'ho descritto'.

used to embody the art of *cantare alla viola*; whereas the other four, the viol players Alfonso da Ferrara and Giovanni Battista Ciciliano, and the lutenists Francesco da Milano and Rubertino Mantovano, are exalted as experts in the art of playing diminutions using notes that go beyond the frets of the instrument.[31] It also worth mentioning the remarkable citation in *Regola Rubertina* of Emperor Charles V's Court composer Nicolas Gombert (c. 1495–c. 1560) – for Ganassi, the 'true chapel master'[32]—and his method of accommodating the music to the range of the available singers. Ganassi, then, created his works, like Cicero and Zeuxis, by collecting the best actions and ideas from the best masters around.

Erwin Panofsky explains that this Ciceronian view of the arts uses the Platonic concept of ideas to rescue the arts from the Platonic concept of art itself, since for Plato art had no value, being considered a mere copy of the visible world, imperfect and inferior to nature.[33] Cicero, then, makes use of the Platonic idea to aim for an art based on the craftsman's reason, superior to nature and capable of correcting its own imperfections. Ganassi shows himself aligned with this Ciceronian vision when he repeats, in no fewer than five places in his works, the motto *Dove manca la natura, che l'arte sia maestra* (Where nature fails, may art be master).[34]

In summarizing what the perfect orator should be like, in his other dialogues Cicero recalls Cato the Elder's maxim *Orator est vir bonus dicendi peritus* (The orator is a good man, expert in the art of speaking).[35] We need to take into account that rhetoric had been completely discredited by Plato in his *Gorgias* for having served unscrupulous purposes, later being rescued by Aristotle, who linked it to commitment to the truth; when the art arrived in Ancient Rome, it was already intrinsically bound to ethics.[36] A little later than Cicero, in the preface to his *Institutio oratoria* (c. AD 95), Quintilian confirms: 'We establish that only the good man can be the perfect orator; therefore, we require of him not only the exceptional ability to speak, but all the virtues of the spirit.'[37] He follows up by saying that orators are more suitable than philosophers to administer public and private affairs. Even though we rely on philosophers' books to learn about virtues (e.g. justice, courage and temperance), this subject belongs completely to the art of oratory. According to him, the virtues were enumerated by Cicero and connected by nature and practice in such a manner that orators could also be considered wise.[38]

In reading Ganassi's three works, we may observe there is a change in the writing style of *Regola Rubertina* and *Lettione Seconda* in relation *to Fontegara*: what seems to be a parallel discourse of a moral religious nature crops up and runs through almost every chapter. This peculiarity even made the translator of these treatises into French hypothesize that Ganassi was

[31] Chaps. 16 and 20.

[32] 'si come osserva il vero maestro di capella detto GOMBERTO'. *Regola Rubertina*, chap. 11.

[33] Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, trans. Joseph J. S. Peake (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), 13.

[34] *Fontegara*, chaps. 4 and 25; *Regola Rubertina*, chaps. 5 and 7; *Lettione Seconda*, chap. 4.

[35] Cicero, *Ad quintum*, book XII, 1, [1]; *De oratore*, book II, [85].

[36] See more in Cicero, *De inventione*, book I, [1–4].

[37] 'Oratorem autem instituimus illum perfectum, qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest; ideoque non dicendi modo eximiam in eo facultatem sed omnes animi virtutes exigimus.' Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, book 1, preface, [9]. My translation based on Quintiliano, *Instituição oratória*, tomo I, trans. Bruno Fregni Bassetto (Campinas, SP, Brazil, 2015), which has a closer relationship to the original text than the standard English translations do.

[38] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, book 1, preface, [10–13].

a cleric,[39] which was far from reality: he had a public job as a musician and was even married twice. The change of tone can also be credited to a measure of security against the increase in censorship caused by the Counter-Reformation in texts published in the 1540s, especially Venetian ones.[40] But when we look at these books through the lens of the 'perfect orator', we understand that this moral discourse is not in fact parallel but an intrinsic part of the whole, a part that cannot be ignored. If to be perfect the orator needs to be a good man (*vir bonus*), then the perfect viol player, the *valente* master, also needs to be a good man, so the moral discourse becomes necessary. If you want to achieve excellence, based on this model of perfection, you must learn not only what belongs to music and to instrumental technique, but also the virtues of ethics. This morality that Ganassi teaches is based on Aristotelian ethics, on Christian ethics from the medieval tradition, and above all on Ciceronian ethics.

The clue for this last is in a passage of *Regola Rubertina*'s dedication letter that has been misinterpreted by scholars. Ganassi starts it by quoting Socrates in capital letters and continues by associating him with the immortality of the soul and the music of the spheres:

> The most celebrated and revered proverb that exists in antiquity, almost given by the mouth of God, the illustrious Lord, is this: KNOW THYSELF; that is, the substance of thy soul. And because the soul is harmony, as the best philosophers like, it is the same to say 'Know thyself' as 'Know harmony', which, as a necessary thing, was even instituted by theologians in their temples and by philosophers in their Re.Pu., where they had as their first precept and main instruction that harmony is necessary and appropriate for all rational and proportionate men almost by natural instinct. This instinct was the reason why, in my early years, led by the beauty of harmony, I did nothing else than think about it, speak about it and practice it. But because I could not, from the mediocrity of my ingenuity and the paucity of my fortune, penetrate the inner beauty of that harmony which is in our soul [*musica humana*] and in all high and eternal things [*musica mundana*], I have spent time sketching this [other] harmony, image of that, which is more common to our senses and is in the proportion of voices and instruments [*musica instrumentalis*].[41]

[39] 'We put forward the hypothesis that he was a cleric.... Ganassi peppers his remarks with biblical quotations and references, and we see him constantly attached to the love of his neighbour, indications, for us, of a clerical position.' My translation. Silvestro Ganassi, *Œuvres complètes*, II, ed. Christine Vossart; intro, trans. & notes by Jean-Philippe Navarre (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 2004), Introduction, 11.

[40] See, for example, Christopher Cairns, *Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice: Research on Aretino and his Circle in Venice 1527–1556* (Florence: Olschki, 1985), 110–12; Titan, 'Origins of Instrumental Diminution', 176.

[41] 'Il piu celebrato & riverito proverbio, che habbia lantighita, & quasi dato dalla bocca di Dio illustre signor è questo CONOSCI TE MEDESIMO cioe la sostanza dell'anima tua: e perche l'anima è armonia, come piacque a miglior filosofi, tanto e a dire conosci te medesimo, quanto conosci l'armonia, la quale come cosa necessaria fu etiamdio instituita da teologi ne lor tempij, e da filosofi nelle lor Re.Pu. la dove essendo primo precetto e principale institution l'armonia è necessaria e debita ad ogni huomo ragionevole e proportionato quasi per instinto naturale: il quale instinto è stata cagione, che io da miei primi anni menato dalla vaghezza de l'armonia, non ho mai fatto altro, che pensar dessa, parlar dessa, & essercitarmi in essa: ma perche non ho potuto per la mediocrita del mio ingegno, e per la bassezza de la mia fortuna, penetrar alla bellezza interiore di quella armonia, che sta nell'anima nostra, & in tutte le cose alte & eterne, sono andato ad ombrando questa armonia, ch'è piu commune al senso nostro, & è imagine di quella, che sta nella proportione delle voci & delli istrumenti....'

Note he states that harmony was instituted as a necessary thing by philosophers in their *Res Publica* [*Re.Pu.*]. Perhaps because these two words were abbreviated, and therefore hard to understand, the first English translator, Richard Bodig, simply cut them out of the text.[42] Dina Titan, focusing on Plato's *Republic*, cites the passage as part of her argument that Ganassi's *Regola Rubertina* has 'Neoplatonic overtones'.[43] But the reference alludes to philosophers and the possessive pronoun for their works is in the plural. Jean-Philippe Navarre, the French translator, was more accurate in affirming that it refers to Plato and Aristotle's books about the organization of the city (i.e. Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*),[44] and indeed, in the 1540s,[45] a translation of Aristotle's *Politics* made by Antonio Brucioli (also from the Ruccellai circle in Florence) was published in Venice and dedicated to Ruberto Strozzi's brother Piero, under the title *Gli otto libri della Republica che chiamono Politica di Aristotile.* Brucioli himself in his *Dialogi* (Venice, 1526, ²1537) wrote a dialogue about the Republic that includes some Aristotelian ideas. It is important to note that these Florentine exiles, Ganassi's audience, were republicans as a way of opposing the Medici control of power.

A third fundamental *Republic* not yet mentioned by Ganassi scholars is that of Cicero, known in the Middle Ages and Renaissance only from its epilogue, which they called *The Dream of Scipio,* preserved thanks to Macrobius's commentary in the fourth century. *The Dream* was in fact the only extract from the *Republic* known until the nineteenth century. It was translated into Italian, also by Brucioli, before 1539.[46] The work is a short moral text, and the first source to link a reward after death to those who lived a virtuous life on earth; this content fits perfectly with the subject mentioned by Ganassi in his dedication letter, even including a passage about the music of the spheres. The connection of Socrates with the immortality of the soul (the main theme of *The Dream*) is made in two other texts from Cicero: *De senectude* [On Old Age] and *De amicitia* [On Friendship]. The latter two texts are included in a collection of Cicero's works that was printed in Venice no fewer than eight times between 1523 and 1564, *The Dream* being added to it in 1539.[47] The collection also included *De oficiis* [On Duties] and *Paradoxa stoicorum* [Stoic Paradoxes]. The two last editions, corrected by Lodovico Dolce, appeared under the more explicit title *Opere morali di Cicerone* [Moral works of Cicero]. Ganassi uses the content of all five of these works in his moral sermons in both *Regola Rubertina* and *Lettione Seconda.*[48]

[42] Richard D. Bodig, 'Ganassi's *Regola rubertina*', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 18 (1981), 14. It has since been published in book form: *Regola Rubertina and Lettione seconda: Venice 1542–1543*, trans. Richard Bodig (Australia: Saraband Music, 2002).

[43] Titan, 'Origins of Instrumental Diminution', 174–77.

[44] 'L'auteur vise d'abord Platon, puis sans doute Aristote, dans leurs ouvrages sur l'organisation de la Cité.' Ganassi, *Œuvres complètes*, II, trans. Navarre, 19, n. 4.

[45] The title page of the book gives the publication date as 1547, but the collophon at the end says 1542. It is possible that the V of the VII was omitted in error from the collophon. In any case, the book doubtless circulated in manuscript before it was published.

[46] *Il Sogno di Scipione di Marco Tullio Cicerone, cavato del libro della Republica*. The first edition bears no date, but the second was published in 1539. See *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XIV (1972), s.v. 'Brucioli, Antonio', by Robert N. Lear.

[47] *L'Opere di M. T. Cicerone* (Venice, 1523); *Di Marco Tullio Cicerone degl'Ufficj* (1528, 1536); *Opere di M. T. Cicerone* (1539); *Le Opere di M. T. Cicerone* (1540); *Opere di M. T. Cicerone* (1544); *Opere morali di M. T. Cicerone* (1563); *Opere morali* (1564).

[48] For details, see my forthcoming thesis.

According to David Lines, no serious scholar considers the Renaissance as the Age of Plato any longer.[49] Rather, there was an increase of interest in Aristotle's works, a mixing of the schools of thought of Plato, Aristotle and Stoicism, and also an attempt to reconcile them, as had been done in ancient Rome. In my understanding, the importance of Cicero to Renaissance culture was responsible for this tendency. Although Ganassi rarely cites names, in his treatises we find abundant references to both Aristotle and Cicero; all the Stoicism and Platonism in his thought comes from either Cicero or the church tradition.

Explaining ethics – 1. The good man

The concept of a good man, *vir bonus*, follows in its essence the Greek concept of *kalokagathia*, formed by combining the terms *kalós* and *agathós*, the beautiful and the good, where the beautiful is everything that is well proportioned and consistent with nature, and the good everything that performs its function fully. Such characteristics grant the citizen of the *polis* a nobility that depends more on character and practice than on birth, through an excellence that is not given but achieved and constructed.[50] In Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, good is related to how you perform your activities:

> If then the function of man is the active exercise of the soul's faculties in conformity with rational principle, or at all events not in dissociation from rational principle, and if we acknowledge the function of an individual and of a good individual of the same class (for instance, a harper and a good harper, and so generally with all classes) to be generically the same, the qualification of the latter's superiority in excellence being added to the function in his case (I mean that if the function of a harper is to play the harp, that of a good harper is to play the harp well): if this is so, and if we declare that the function of man is a certain form of life, and define that form of life as the exercise of the soul's faculties and activities in association with rational principle, and say that the function of a good man is to perform these activities well and rightly, and if a function is well performed when it is performed in accordance with its own proper excellence – from these premises it follows that the Good of man is the active exercise of his soul's faculties in conformity with excellence or virtue, or if there be several human excellences or virtues, in conformity with the best and most perfect among them.[51]

Ganassi, in accordance with this idea, has the following prologue in *Regola Rubertina:*

> Worthy reader, you must know that in all faculties it is proper to have beauty and goodness. The beauty in the player is recognized in holding his instrument with grace and in [having] the posture of the hands and the movement of the

[49] David Lines, introduction to Lines and Sabrina Ebbersmeyer, ed., *Rethinking Virtue, Reforming Society: New Directions in Renaissance Ethics, c.1350–c.1650* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 3–4.

[50] See Emilio Lledó Íñigo, introduction to Aristotle, *Ética nicomáquea – Ética eudemia* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1977), 27.

[51] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, book I, 7, 1098a [5–15], trans. H. Rackham, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), 33.

> body in such a balanced way that it induces the listeners to stay in silence, so that they come to taste goodness, which is food for the ear, just as beauty feeds the sight. And if beauty consists in holding the instrument and [playing] with proportionate movements, also goodness will be recognized in knowing how to form the species (or consonances) in their places (or compositions), and making diminutions (or *passaggi*) in such a way that it does not offend the art [with such things] as vices, errors in counterpoint, and forbidden compositional devices, as you will be taught about all these in the following.[52]

In other words, goodness here has nothing to do with generosity but with playing correctly, to perform your function as a musician well.

The first two chapters of *Regola Rubertina* deal with beauty. First, 'How to hold the viol',[53] where harmony of posture is valued, and strange and grotesque positions are avoided (he calls them *moresca* movements). Second, 'About the body's movement',[54] which seeks a balance between having to move 'so as not to appear to be made of stone'[55] and affectation. He gives as another reason for moving the body that 'music well-composed according to the words' requires it.[56] The objective is to imitate the nature of words, not only with the movements of the body but also the articulation of the bow. We should remember that the target audience of the treatises were avid consumers of the madrigal and participated in a *ridotto* under the musical direction of Willaert, recognized and celebrated for knowing better than anyone how to compose according to the words. The model to follow is the orator. Ganassi says: 'and this conversation of mine is as relevant and necessary as are for the orator audacity, exclamation [two rhetorical devices], gestures, movements, and sometimes imitating laughing and crying in accordance with the subject and other suitable things. And if you put your reason in order [i.e. think straight], you will not find that the orator laughs at words of crying....'[57]

The remaining content of *Regola Rubertina* deals with goodness, that is, how to tune and play well and correctly, both alone and in consort. In *Lettione Seconda*, Ganassi gives us a clear definition of the four elements that constitute goodness, through which we can practice acting as a *valente* master:

> First you must know this: that for the sufficient [i.e. competent] master of such an instrument, his sufficiency is caused by four actions that he takes, of which

[52] 'Degno lettor hai da saper come in ogni faculta se gli conviene bellezza e bonta, la bellezza nel sonator si conosce nel tenir il suo stromento con gratia & portamento della mano & motto di persona di tal equalita che induca gli audienti a prestarli silentio, accio venghino a gustar la bonta, la qual e cibo dellaudito, si come la bellezza ciba il vedere, e si la bellezza consiste nel tenir lo stromento e con movimenti proportionati, la bonta sera ancora essa conosciuta per lo saper formar le specie over consonantie ne gli suoi termini over componimenti & con il diminuire over passazi de maniera tale che non habbia di offendere l'arte. Come vitii, & errori nel contra ponto, & composition prohibiti come seguendo del tutto serai ammaestrato.'

[53] 'Modo de tenir la viola.'

[54] 'Del movimento de la persona.'

[55] 'per non parer essere di pietra'.

[56] 'per causa de la musica ben composta su le parole'.

[57] 'e questo mio raggionamento è in tanto proposito & necessario, quanto è ne l'oratore audatia esclamation gesti movimenti, & alle volte imitar il ridere, & il pianger per la conformita de la materia, & altre cose conveniente: e se tu poni la raggione in regola non trovarai che l'oratore rida per le parole del pianto....'

> four, two are masters and two are disciples. The main and master is to know from music its consonances (or species); the second part, as disciple, is to play the thing correctly – I mean, as it is composed. The third part, as master, is to know the rules of counterpoint; and the fourth part, as disciple of this counterpoint, is to make diminutions correctly, as is suitable in ornamenting compositions.[58]

Next he says that the two master parts can be learned through 'rules', that is, from books. This foreshadows Zarlino's 'perfect musician', whose perfection lies at the junction of theoretical and practical knowledge, or in Ciceronian terms, in a practice based on reason.

Returning to the perfect viol player, we have seen that he has to be good, and this includes not only fulfilling his function, his purpose, in a correct and balanced way (i.e. with beauty), but also being a good human being through the practice of virtues (or excellences).[59] For Aristotle, virtues are dispositions of the soul that are worthy of praise. He divides them into two categories: intellectual and moral. The intellectual virtues are wisdom, understanding and prudence (practical wisdom); they are produced and expanded by instruction and therefore require time and experience. The moral virtues (or virtues of character) are the product of habit and are related not to knowledge itself, but to moderation and sobriety.[60]

2. Moral virtues

Moral virtues are a mean between two vices, one caused by exaggeration and the other by lack. They include courage, the mean between cowardice and temerity; generosity, the mean between pettiness and prodigality; and magnanimity, the mean between vanity and smallness of soul, etc. The theme of temperance, the golden mean, between two extremes had been a favourite of Ganassi's since *Fontegara*: he refers to it numerous times,[61] as well as to Aristotelian mottos such as 'between two evils, choose the lesser'.[62]

[58] 'Per prima tu hai di saper questo ch'l sufficiente maestro di tal'istromento la sua sufficientia e causada da quattro parte di adottamento in lui & di queste quattro parte due son le maestre & due discipuli. La principal & maestra sie il saper della musica le sue consonantie over specie, & la seconda parte come discipola e il sonar la cosa positiva e dico come la e sta composta & la terza parte come maestra sie il saper le regole dil contraponto & la quarta parte come discipola di esso contraponto sie il diminuir la cosa positiva come conviensi ne l'ornamento alle composition.' Chap. 17.

[59] The Greek term *areté* was translated by Latin writers as *virtus*. Nowadays scholars prefer to use the English word *excellence* rather than *virtue*. See J. O. Urmson, *The Greek Philosophical Vocabulary* (London: Duckworth, 1990), 30–31.

[60] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, book I, 13, 1103a1 [5–10] and book II, 1, 1103a1 [15–20].

[61] See, e.g., *Fontegara*, chaps. 2, 5 and 24; *Regola Rubertina,* chaps. 2, 4, 9 and 11; and *Lettione Seconda,* chaps. 1–3 and 8; see also Lasocki and Ehrlich, *The Recorder*, 62–72; Silva, 'Gammaut'.

[62] 'di duoi mali elegersi il minore'; *Regola Rubertina,* chap. 11. 'ogni volta che havesti a elegere de dui mali uno de quelli sempre tu debbi a elegere il manco'; *Lettione Seconda,* chap. 8.

Table 1: The Seven Deadly Sins and Remedial Virtues

Seven Deadly Sins	**Seven Remedial Virtues**
Lust	Chastity
Envy	Charity/Love
Gluttony	Abstinence
Sloth	Diligence
Wrath	Patience
Greed	Benevolence
Pride	Humility

Table 2: Moral Virtues cited by Ganassi

Cardinal Virtues	**Virtues as Found in Ganassi**
Prudence	The aware master (LS)
Fortitude	Patience (RR/LS)
	Frequency [constancy] (RR/LS)
	Diligence (RR)
Temperance	Sobriety (RR)
	Abstinence (RR/LS)
Justice	Charity (RR/LS)
	Liberality (LS)
	Humility (RR/LS)
Remedial Virtues	Charity (RR/LS)
	Abstinence (RR/LS)
	Patience (RR/LS)
	Humility (RR/LS)
	Diligence (RR)
Theological Virtues	Faith (RR)
	Hope (RR)
	Charity (RR)

In addition to the Aristotelian concept, the medieval Christian tradition revived, through the work of Cicero (*De inventione*), Macrobio (*Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*) and others, the four virtues of the perfect *polis* of Plato's *Republic*—wise, courageous, temperate and just—adding to them the many other virtues as subcategories following a system that originated with Cicero and Macrobio. Plato's virtues were later known as the four cardinal virtues: prudence, fortitude, temperance and justice. To the cardinal virtues the church added three theological ones, extracted from the famous letter of Saint Paul to the Corinthians (1:13): faith, hope and charity, to form the seven Christian virtues. In their writings, theologians focused on virtues. In contrast, the pastoral literature of confession manuals, which had the

objective of converting people, emphasized their opposite, the seven capital vices (deadly sins), and created the seven remedial virtues to counteract them.[63]

Table 2 shows the moral virtues cited by Ganassi in *Regola Rubertina* (RR) and *Lettione Seconda* (LS), organized by me as subcategories of the four cardinal virtues as well as part of the remedial and theological virtues.

The epilogues of *Regola Rubertina* and *Lettione Seconda* give us a good taste of the fatherly way, as he puts it, in which Ganassi recommends the virtues to his readers:

> Now you listen to me.
>
> If you want to acquire many virtues in a short time, learn to learn; and wanting to know how to learn, it is necessary to use diligence along with its many necessary parts, especially the following three, that is: frequency, patience and abstinence – frequency for the time, patience for the tiredness, and abstinence for the inclination [i.e. the temptation to fall into vices].[64]
>
> ... you will deliberate [i.e. choose] to want to use patience with frequency and abstain from all impediments that would be contrary to your study, as was also given as a sentence at the end of *Rubertina*. And about this reminder of exhortation I will say no other word, except that I will humble myself to your grace, Wise Reader, [hoping] that you want to accept my effort, such as it is, as the father's advice given to his son, which I will certainly say because of the love and good will I have for you, most humanistic Reader....[65]

According to Cicero, diligence is divided into six parts: care, attention, reflection, awareness, constancy and effort.[66] Ganassi exhorts that, in order to be excellent, you need to use all the parts of diligence, but especially constancy (frequency, to keep going day after day), patience (to work through the tiredness), and abstinence (from anything that can distract you from your work).

[63] See István Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 233–39.

[64] 'Hora ascoltami. Se vuoi acquistar molte virtu in breve tempo, impara ad imparar, & volendo saper imparar è dibisogno usar la diligentia accompagnata tra le molte parti necessarie alla materia principalmente da queste tre, che è la frequentation, la patientia, & l'astinentia, la frequentation per il tempo, la patientia per la fatica, l'astinentia per la inclination.' See also *Regola Rubertina*, letter to readers and chap. 7, as wonderful examples of how Ganassi constructs a great mixture of moral virtues, theological virtues, vices, capital sins and remedial virtues as well as advice from *On Duties*, *On Old Age*, and *Stoic Paradoxes* (especially no. 6: only the wise man is rich).

[65] '... tu te deliberarai a voler usar la patientia con il frequentar & astenirti da tutti l'impedimenti che fusse contrarii al studio tuo, come e ancora ditto in sententia in fin della Rubertina, & di questo aricordo de esortation non ne faro altro moto salvo che me humiliaro alla tua gratia Sapiente Lettor che tal e qual mia fatica tu la vogli accettar come il conseglio del padre dato al figliolo che certamente diro quanto all'amor & bon voler mio verso dite humanissimo Lettor....'

[66] Cicero, *De oratore*, book II, [150].

3. Intellectual virtues and the aware master (the prudent)

Despite being part of the cardinal virtues, prudence is actually one of the Aristotelian intellectual virtues, which do not refer to character but represent parts of the rational side of reason (the impulses being the irrational side). This rational side can be developed through instruction and is divided into five parts: science, art, prudence, intellect and wisdom. 'Science' refers to what we know and can be demonstrated; 'art' belongs to an action that produces something; 'prudence' is the ability to deliberate about what is good or bad; 'intellect' is the capacity through which we know the truth; and 'wisdom' arises from the conjunction of intellect with science, that is, intelligence and knowledge.[67]

Of these virtues, prudence is of particular interest for our purposes. Aristotle states that the prudent person is 'capable of deliberating correctly about what is good and convenient for himself, not in a partial sense, for example, for health, for strength, but for living well in general.... it is a true and practical way of being rational about what is good and bad for man.'[68] Prudence is generally linked to moderation, since a man corrupted by pleasure or pain loses the ability to deliberate properly, because vices destroy the principle of all good action. It is therefore practical wisdom. Later, Aristotle mentions a second type of prudence, political, where the prudent person is capable of deliberating wisely what is good for both self and others; normally these people are politicians or administrators.[69] In Machiavelli's *The Prince*, prudence is the adjective par excellence of his model of perfection. For example: 'a prudent man should always enter upon the paths beaten by great men, and imitate those who have been most excellent'.[70] 'It is necessary for him [the prince] to be so prudent as to know how to avoid the infamy of those vices that would take his state from him'.[71] Earlier we mentioned the entry for *valente* in the first edition of the *Crusca* dictionary. In its second example, we find the following quotation from Boccaccio: '... and like a worthy gentleman [*valente huomo*] be satisfied to have taken thy revenge', with an addition by the authors of the dictionary between brackets, 'that is, sage and prudent'.[72] Here we see how they give the essence of an excellent man in these two intellectual virtues, one representing theoretical wisdom and the other practical.

Ganassi, in his model of a perfect player, does not use 'prudent' but another term that means the same thing: 'the aware master'.[73] The adjective he employs is *avertido*, derived from the verb *avvertire*, which means to become conscious of something, to realize something, and also in literature, to pay attention to something.[74] As an adjective it means aware (the quality of the master); and as a noun, *avertentia*, it means the cautions that the master needs to know in order to be aware. Then the aware master, like the prudent man, is the one who deliberates well about what is good and bad in his playing. In order to do this deliberation, he needs to know his art and all its tools very well, being sure to call on all the available ones, as we can

[67] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, book VI, 1–8, 1138b [20]–1142a [30].
[68] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, book VI, 5, 1140a [25] and 1140b.
[69] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, book VI, 8, 1141b [25]–1142a [30].
[70] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 22.
[71] Ibid., 62.
[72] 'Bocc. n. 77.37. E come a valente huomo, sieti assai l'esserti potuto vendicare [cioè savio e prudente].' Boccaccio, *Decameron*, 8th day, novel 7, [80].
[73] 'maestro avertido'.
[74] *Treccani*, s.v. 'Avvertire.'

learn, for example, from the next quotation.[75] Here Ganassi is explaining the importance of not changing strings so much in fast passages. If you do so, you will lose agility, the main quality that makes you be recognized as a master and not a student.

> Note that this caution [*avertentia*] among many is of great utility for being one of the legitimate ones that make you really have the action of the *valente* master, in the same way as the craftsman who, I tell you, makes the said instrument. Every time he does not have the awareness [*l'avertir*] to prepare his appropriate tool to make his thing, or work – a cornice, say – the action in shaping this said cornice will always be equal to the preparation of the tool or chisel. This example will be more intelligible through another: that is, the matter will always accept the print given by the form. And we could also say, in another kind of example, that the perception a man has of an object [is] in conformity with the impression that it makes on him.[76] Therefore, if the tool or chisel has been formed with the reason appropriate for the work, the work will also always be made with reason; but if the said chisel were not used with awareness [*avertido*] in its purpose, because of its action the work would also remain lacking in its appropriate action....[77]

After many examples he finally reveals in chapter 17 that all the elements of awareness in playing correspond to the 'secrets' of acting as a *valente* master that he had promised on the title page.

> Now, having finished the debt of [teaching you] the manner of playing two parts and singing the third, there will follow the rest of the promise: that is [to show you] some solo ricercari. But [first] I will talk about some cautions [*avertentie*], I mean secrets, very useful in achieving the action of the true connoisseur in this practice.... As in *Fontegara* you have both the theory and practice of making diminutions, but concerning the practice of the instrument [viol or lute] in playing diminutions is not in any rule [i.e. book].... therefore, about those cautions

[75] See also chap. 10 about using all the necessary things for the work (*le cose bisognose nella opera*).

[76] Literally: 'the impression of the man [is] in conformity with the case caused on him'. Ganassi seems to be using the doctrine of Saint Thomas Aquinas called *species impressa*. When someone is confronted with an object, the object first makes an impression on the mind, then the cognitive processes of the mind come to bear on the impression [*species expressa*]. The mind creates a concept of the object that is not the object *per se* but intrinsically connected to it. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. 'Species.'

[77] 'Nota che tal avertentia tra le molte questa e id [sic] grande utilita per essere de le legittime che fa raf [sic] l'effetto in fatto da valente maestro si come ancora l'artifice che facia diro il ditto Stromento ogni volta chel non havesse l'avertir in prepararsi col ferro suo appropiado in tirar la cosa over opera sua diro una cornice sempre l'effetto suo in terminar ditta cornice sera tal e qual ne la prontation che sera nel ditto ferro over misterio come ancora tal essempio si fa piu intelligibile per questo altro essempio, che e che sempre la materia acetera lo impronto che li dara la forma & el si potria dir ancora in questo altro modo di essempio che e questo la impression de l'homo conforme al caso per esso causada pero siando il ferro over misterio formato con rason conveniente a l'opera sempre l'opera sera fatta con rason ancora & quando che il ditto misterio non fusse avertido nel suo proposito ancora per il suo effetto l'opera seguiteria essere mancatrice ne l'effetto suo a proposito....' *Lettione Seconda*, chap. 19. This is also a fine example of how Ganassi in his treatises uses Aristotelian thought, in this case about matter and form.

> [*avertentie*] or, better said, secrets, now in this work of mine I will provide their rules....[78]

Because Ganassi's books are pedagogical, he is not limited to describing what the perfect viol player should be like; instead, he is teaching how to become as close as possible to one. Ganassi's works have not yet been explored at length, because of the difficulty of comprehending his language, and we still lack good translations. For this reason, I now give some highlights of what he expects musically from the *valente* master, not only having skill but also being prepared and resourceful.

The dynamics of the bow should follow the affect of the music, with the orator as the model (RR ch2). Test out different timbres by using the bow closer to the fingerboard (a sad affect) or the bridge (a crude sound) (RR ch4). Not only begin phrases with down bows, but be prepared to use up bows (as in his style of diminutions, which may contain odd numbers of notes) (RR ch6). Learn to read music as well as tablature (RR ch12–14, 19).

Tune the lowest string of the bass as low as possible within the tension of the strings, and if necessary, the bridge of the viol can be moved to lower its pitch even more. He observes how the taste of his period is against singers singing in too high a register, and gives as a solution for this problem a system used by Gombert in his chapel (RR ch11). Those tips also work for dealing with times when you have to play with instruments that are badly designed and therefore slightly away from the pitch standards (see RR ch7 for a colourful description of his strong opinions about bad makers). Learn all the several tunings for the viol consort, made up of three sizes of viol: bass, tenor/alto and soprano (RR ch9–18).[79] Still about tuning, he explains how to use barre chords to transpose half a tone or a tone to play with instruments at other pitch standards (LS ch20).

Know how to mark the frets on the instrument yourself with a pair of compasses, regardless of what the maker has done (LS ch4). After that, adjust the frets by ear: 'And this way will make you do the action with all excellence, because the thing created by reason and practice will be more perfect than that produced only by practice or only by reason' (LS ch5).[80] In doing so, he created a personal temperament which differs from those of other musicians of the time.[81]

In choosing strings to buy, learn to recognize the good string (*giusta*), which creates a

[78] 'Hor espedito il debito dil modo de sonar due parte e cantar la terza si seguitera il resto della promessa che e de alcuni ricercari a sola voce pero te rasonaro de alcune avertentie e dico secreti de molto proposito per il pervenir a l'effetto del vero sciente in tal prattica.... Come nella Fontegara havete ancora la theorica & prattica del diminuir, ma di quanto la prattica dell'Istromento in far le diminution non e regola niuna .... per tanto tale avertentie o voglia dir secreti al presente in questa mia opera ti sera regolado....' *Lettione Seconda*, chap. 17.

[79] First *incordatura*: D–G–D; second: D–A–D; third: D–G–C, which can also be done a tone higher as E–A–D; fourth, using the first but playing everything a fourth higher on the fingerboard.

[80] '& tal ordine ti fara far l'effetto in ogni eccellentia perche la cosa formata dalla rason & prattica sera piu perfetta che quella che fusse proceduta dalla sola prattica ancora dalla sola rason'.

[81] Adam Wead, 'Lute Tuning and Temperament in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (DMus document, Indiana University, 2014), 55–61, points out that on the lute Ganassi starts with the Pythagorean system of tuning and then adjusts it by ear to create a mixed system, half Pythagorean and half tempered, but in a unique temperament 'that combines different types of semitones from different temperaments', unlike the practice of other sixteenth-century musicians such as Hans Gerle and John Dowland.

single firm wave when you pluck it, the bad (*falsa*), which 'trembles like a paralytic',[82] and the in-between (*media*), which makes more than one wave but still firm. In-between strings are important because it is difficult, expensive and an endless process to string a viol, and even worse a lute, only with good strings, which are rare in any case. This is a good example of his discourse on the temperance of two extremes (Aristotelian moral virtues) (LS ch1–3).

He compares articulation on the lute to the diction of speech. He criticizes what he calls the common way of playing, the well-established Renaissance technique of alternating thumb and index finger; rather, he insists on using four fingers (thumb down; index, middle and ring up), the little finger keeping its role of anchoring the hand. This idea anticipates by more than 50 years a development in lute technique considered to have started only at the end of the century.[83] In discussing the madrigal that he gives as an example in the treatise,[84] he advises to first practice it in the common way (thumb and index alternation), then in the way he notes in his tablature: this trains your brain to identify difference. (LS ch21)

He indicates three types of action for the right hand on the lute: *picigo* (plucking 'consonances', or chords), *squarzo* (strumming them with the thumb down) and playing single notes in succession (LS ch8). Later, he explains why he considers the common way an incautious (*non avertido*) way of proceeding and affirms that the *valente* master must distribute the effort among the four fingers. The fingers are here for your convenience, like the necessary tools for creating a work, and whoever does not use everything available has a dubious intention (is foolish). (LS ch10) The different types of articulation are used not only for distributing the effort among the fingers but to provide some variation of affect. Many things are left to be practiced because people have no idea how much can be done on the instrument; if they did, they would practice even more. Investigate many things, so you can discover many secrets. (LS ch14)

For bowing on the viol, he gives some advice on how to play more than one note in the same bow, not legato, but marking each note with a little accent (LS ch15). He teaches the practice of *cantare alla viola*, an emulation of *cantare al liuto*, saying that on the viol it is possible to play two voices and sing the third. If you want to play one more voice, you can use a bigger bow. To help you hold the strings on the chords, he advises using a small piece of wood (LS ch16). To make diminutions in the aware manner, you must master all the fingerings and changes of position, of which he gives several examples of what is efficient or not (LS ch17); as already mentioned above, do not change strings all the time during fast passages; it is better to finish a cadential trill on the fifth fret instead of the open string (LS ch19); and learn how to make diminutions above the frets, like the great masters (LS ch20). The final goal is to play diminutions with 'agility that is the cause of affect without affectation, which is proper of the master, not of the student' (LS ch17 and 19).[85] In chapter 21, he gives two ricercari to prac-

[82] 'ma sera tremante simile al paralitico'. *Lettione Seconda*, chap. 2.

[83] 'In Richard Allison's *The Psalms of David in Meter* (1599), the second and ring finger are given extraordinarily active roles; the middle finger is often used instead of the thumb on the treble strings, not necessarily only in diminutions, and the ring finger is used in a variety of contexts which, earlier in the century, invariably would have been notated for either thumb or for index finger.' Paul Beier, 'Right Hand Position in Renaissance Lute Technique', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 12 (1979), 17.

[84] Identified by Dina Titan as 'Io penso' by Ian Ghero.

[85] 'far le diminution oltra le altre cose con la agelita laqual e quella che causa affetto non affettado come e da maestro e non da scolaro'. 'con quella agelita che fusse intesa per il modo da maestro & non da scolaro'.

tice all these things related to diminutions. I would like to highlight the importance of solo ricercari, for Ganassi and the whole Italian sixteenth-century culture, as a fundamental tool for acquiring and developing technique – not only to play them from treatises but also learn to improvise them. He finishes the book by teaching how to play with three and four lower strings, a very useful thing because they last longer and are more available than the upper two strings, which are hard to find and break often (LS ch22–23).

Vir bonus, peritus in playing

We have learned the philosophical background of Ganassi's conception of what the goal of an instrumentalist should be. He expects not only great technical ability on the instrument, but an attitude to learning with focus, perseverance and moderation. He aims for an art created by reason and a knowledge acquired through the conjunction of theory with practice (which, with experience, will take you towards wisdom and prudence). It is necessary to be good in both senses of the word: being a good, honest person and performing your activity well. The secrets of the *valente* master can be summarized as mastering the art by: gaining awareness; having knowledge of the tools and using all the available ones; deliberating and choosing those tools with reason; playing with promptitude and agility in order to perform with 'affect without affectation, which is proper of the master'; and, above all, being open to investigate, experiment and learn new skills and different ways of doing, which will create a close and individual relationship with your instrument. In times like ours, where standardisation is prevalent, to see how in Renaissance culture there was space for individuality to shine is a good prompt for us to go deeper in finding our own freedom of expression.

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Report

Music and Majesty: Chapels Royal, Cathedrals, and Colleges, c.1485–1688, 1–2 July 2024, The Linnean Society, Burlington House, London.

Michael Winter
Newcastle University

Music and Majesty, organised by Katie Bank, Oscar Patton, and Samuel Teague, was an organisational and academic triumph. The conference gathered musicologists, historians, and scholars working on various aspects of musical foundations and institutions. The time period covered ranged from Henry Tudor's usurpation to the Glorious Revolution, addressing an era in which musical and liturgical fashions were in constant flux. This event revealed the depth of scholarship in this area, exhibiting the work of both seasoned and more junior researchers.

The conference opened with a panel titled 'Projecting Majesty' in which all presenters focused on landmark moments of change in the seventeenth century. William Hunt spoke on the politically charged musical borrowing in Edmund Hooper's verse-anthem *O God of Gods* dedicated to James I. Hooper's quotation of Byrd appears to have sparked a small musical tradition, with a simple four-note figure on the text 'who peace and joy' recurring in works by Gibbons, Tomkins, and Ward. This may provide evidence that composers of the era set the texts of their verse-anthems with either their own or their patrons' political desires in mind. Kenneth Fincham then spoke about the impact of the Caroline settlement, highlighting how Charles II, used it as a forum to express his liturgical preferences. Owen Rees concluded the session by discussing the influence of Catherine of Braganza, Charles II's Portuguese consort, and the role of Portuguese sacred music at the Restoration court. Building on a lifetime of research into Portuguese polyphony, Rees addressed Samuel Pepys's changing opinions on the music of Catherine's chapel, as recorded in his famous diaries.

The second panel of the day focused on music for special occasions. Matthais Range presented a paper on the role of the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, created during the Henrician Reformation, and its evolution throughout the rest of the so-called 'Long Reformation' (c. 1540s-1700). Range's paper studied observable trends through the lens of music for special occasions. Alexandra Siso delivered an intriguing paper on musical settings of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* and the Royal Maundy, during which Elizabeth I washed the feet of poor women in imitation of Christ at the Last Supper, portraying herself as a princess of Jerusalem. Further research is needed on settings of the *Lamentations* by English composers. While Siso's presentation rightly focused on Tallis's famous setting, other composers set different portions of the text. For example, the text of John Mundy's setting is a patchwork, combining the original incipit, Hebrew letters, Psalm 121 (Vulgate), and prayers against schism. Consequently, a variety of allegorical interpretations can be drawn from different settings of the *Lamentations*. Anthony Musson presented the first of two papers on the AHRC-funded project *Henry VIII on Tour*, examining the institutional and personal networks formed and

their reputational impact while "on tour."

This panel was followed by a session examining physical spaces, with two of the papers focusing on the Scottish Chapels Royal. Charlie Spragg spoke about the newly-constructed chapel of James VI at Stirling Castle, the first purpose-built Reformed church in Scotland. Spragg highlighted how the architect of the chapel, William Schaw, drew direct proportional parallels to King Solomon's temple, invoking desirable allegorical associations. David Coney discussed the liturgical and musical revival at the Scottish Chapel Royal. The Calvinist influence manifested primarily in hostility towards imagery, less so towards architecture, vestments, and music. A limited musical revival began in the 1580s, though most appointees to the Chapel were courtiers, leading to a potential variability in its musical competency. Mark Kirby took a broader view, examining different ranks of chapels (royal, aristocratic, collegiate, parish) and the intellectual processes underpinning these distinctions. Kirby particularly focused on how the concept of 'decorum' in architecture and how this realised the ideals of the Early Modern chapel, many of which were described as "comely" and "decent."

After a wine and canapé reception, a special service was held at St James's Palace, the formal base of the Royal Court, with a program covering the entire gamut of the conference. The ambitious repertoire was sung by the choir of HM Chapel Royal, St James's Palace, providing an enduring link between the institution studied at the conference and the modern incarnation.

The second day commenced with a panel examining sources, their use, and pedagogy. Daniel Koplitz discussed the challenges faced by those studying the repertoire of the Tudor Chapel Royal due to the paucity of sixteenth century sources. Their paper examined the repertoire and activity of St Laurence's church, Ludlow. Despite the distance of Ludlow from the centres of royal musicking (chiefly London), the Ludlow Partbooks are one of several surviving sets of music from the Welsh Marches, including the Chirk Castle Partbooks (near Oswestry) and the Drexel Partbooks (likely from Gloucestershire). Katie McKeogh examined the survival of liturgical books in England's universities. Books in libraries were treated differently from those in chapels, and ownership did not necessarily imply agreement. McKeogh considered these factors and explored what these survivals reveal about the aural landscape and liturgical change. In particularly focusing on the meanings these books acquired once removed from chapels and placed in college libraries. Katherine Butler concluded the session with a paper on the use of catches, rounds, and canons in chorister education. Much like in primary music education today, such songs were used to teach young children to sing. For Renaissance choristers, these songs also taught composition and how to form cadences. So important were catches and rounds to chorister pedagogy that they were one of the first skills taught after solmization.

The penultimate panel examined the impact of ideological preferences on the music and worship of the Chapel Royal. Jonathan Arnold discussed Humanist critiques of music and musicians, noting how Humanist scholars viewed music as a powerful rhetorical tool to convey the meaning of sung texts and enhance listeners' understanding of these texts. However, these ideals sometimes manifested as hostility towards polyphonic singing. Arnold cited Desiderius Erasmus's famous complaint that English monks spent too much time learning to sing, their singing could not be understood, and the singers could not contemplate what they were singing. This problem, as Erasmus saw it, was perhaps a long ailment for English choristers: Geoffrey Chaucer, writing over a century previous in *The Prioresses Tale*, describes a seven year old boy who despite knowing 'the firste vers koude al by rote [The first verse en-

tirely by heart]', 'Noght wiste he what this Latyn was to seye' [He knew not what this Latin meant]. Andrew Foster then spoke about the musical preferences and investments of Archbishop Richard Neile, whose fifty-year career included the Deanery of Westminster and six bishoprics, including the archbishopric of York. Neile, Foster noted, would have been popular with modern church musicians - he raised choir wages, improved food quality, and helped provide new organs for the Chapel of Henry VII, Westminster Abbey, and the cathedrals of Durham and York. Nicholas Thistlethwaite closed the panel with a fascinating paper proposing that the provisions made for organs, and the varying fates of these instruments in churches, chapels, and cathedrals reflected broader societal changes (or a 'barometer of change') during the Reformation(s).

The final session focused on the mobility of musicians and the Chapel Royal. Magnus Williamson presented preliminary findings from the *Henry VIII on Tour* project, highlighting pre-Reformation musical foundations along the River Nene and how town-music relationships required strong musical institutions. Williamson also discussed how royal progresses facilitated musical dissemination and the logistical expenses of taking the royal chapel 'on tour'. Lucy Munro examined the interrelationship between the Chapel Royal and the theatre, discussing the system of deputies appointed by William Hunnis and Nathaniel Giles to manage choristers' musical tuition and play performances. Kerry McCarthy concluded the conference with a paper on how Chapel Royal musicians travelled. McCarthy shared how in 1544, 'Gentleman Singers' were provided with an 'allowance of a cart for the carriage of their stuff'. The singers likely carried considerable "stuff" with them including musical instruments, clothing, and manuscripts (all of which are heavy!).

The conference concluded with remarks by Peter McCullough, who reflected on several recurring themes. These included the contrast between what was *supposed* to be, and what actually occurred, as well as the extensive musical provisions made for noble and royal households beyond the monarchy. McCullough dramatically presented an extraordinary archival discovery, which greatly excited the conference delegates and will no doubt be fully explored in due course.

The conference organisers deserve commendation for their efforts. *Music and Majesty* demonstrated the vitality of research on all aspects of musical institutions in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The cross-disciplinary nature of the event was particularly pleasing. I eagerly anticipate any outputs that result from this conference.

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Review

Peter Croton, *A Method for the Baroque Lute based on Historical Sources* (Le Luth Doré, Paris, 2022.). xiii + 337pp. ISMN: 377-0-0017-8840-1.

Martyn Hodgson

Instruction books for modern musical instruments often reflect the views of the author's teacher as well as their own experiences of playing in modern orchestras/ensembles. Since these instruments are, by definition, still in present day use there is general consensus (or near) on the appropriate playing techniques and such a personal approach is therefore usually acceptable. Perhaps not so understandable is for authors of modern tutors for early (period) instruments to adopt a similar approach based on their own experiences and those of their teacher with relatively little reference to historical evidence. This is especially a concern for those instruments which do not have an unbroken playing tradition down to modern times – such as the lute. And, indeed, some modern lute methods can merely present the personal views of an individual player also regurgitating other modern players' questionable practices, rather than historical evidence. It is partly this lacuna which Peter Croton aims to address in this new lute tutor specifically for the later baroque period instrument and the attempt is to be much applauded. It offers a practical (if rather wordy) guide on holding, fingering and plucking the instrument with appropriate musical examples from early sources. But also, and this is where his tutor is different to most others, a long discursion on background matters (including rhetoric, musical style, anatomy) and the presentation of certain historical evidence. Indeed, Croton says he finds such general background material 'useful for understanding rhetorically-expressive playing and healthy, balanced body use'. But, recognising that this may not suit all students, he goes on to say that 'knowledgeable or impatient readers may, however, wish to skip to Part IV, the actual baroque lute method.....'.

This new publication by the specialist French publishing house, Le Luth Doré, is presented in a music page size (9x12in/230 x 310mm) suitable for most stands and has a very substantial 337 pages. At €108 (about £90) the price is pretty steep although, perhaps, not too high in view of the size of the tome and the insights into some historical aspects of playing this type of lute. The space devoted to general background matters and to some selected historical evidence fills almost the entire first half of the book before the first piece of musical (tablature) notation appears in Chapter 4. Croton is rightly uneasy at calling the instrument a 'baroque lute', since this is a modern term, but chooses to employ it for convenience rather than a descriptor such as '11+ course lute'. As an aside, and not mentioned by Croton, is that the term 'baroque lute' could also equally as well refer to the theorboed lute (*liuto attiorbato*) used in Italy through the 17th into the late 18th century and to the six/seven course *mandora/gallichon* mostly found in German speaking lands throughout the same period).

The work is divided into 7 chapters ('Parts') prefaced by acknowledgements and detailed contents, followed by an extensive (10 sides) bibliography of primary and secondary sources.

The first chapters cover:
• *Tools of rhetorical expression* (historically inspired, rhetorical performance, consonance /dissonance, phrasing/articulation, dynamics, movement, ornamentation etc);
• *Introduction to relevant anatomy & biomechanics* (movements of the body, arm and fingers as they relate to lute playing);
• *Preparing to play* (mental/psychological and physical preparation for playing);

These are followed by chapters on the actual technique of how to play the instrument:
• *Stage 1* preparatory exercises and suggestions for fingering and expression (tuning, stringing and fretting; tablature; holding the lute; right hand position and use of fingers; left hand; ornamentation; various progressive technical exercises, practising),
• *Stage 2* (body movement; more complex pieces and chords; raking/brushing play);
• *Stage 3* (even more advanced works);
• *Introduction to basso continuo* (style; voice leading; realisation of figured bass, rule of the octave; specimen realisations).

Despite detailed descriptions of many aspects of lute playing, some crucial areas of technique are not comprehensively explored. For example: the important instructions for the new (from the late 16th century) right hand technique could have benefited from a fuller and separate dedicated section rather than being spread over various dispersed and loosely connected paragraphs. It would have also been helpful to include original period illustrations showing lute players' hand posture in this period. Nevertheless, Croton is to applauded by being one of few to also describe and advocate the clearly documented plucking hand positioned close to or even on the bridge. This produces a brilliant and articulate sound, as then preferred by lutenists in the baroque period, rather than the earlier close to the rose position adopted by many modern players for the entire lute repertoire and which gives a soft, mellow homogeneous tone.

Croton also points out that the new 'thumb-out' plucking manner became increasingly employed from the later 16th century and that by the 1620s it was the default plucking technique. Sadly, the anachronistic employment of the earlier 'thumb-under' technique for the later lute repertoire is nowadays growing in popularity and even becoming the fashionable choice (perhaps to further distinguish for audiences the noble lute from its abhorred relative - the modern classical guitar - which was, ironically, the first instrument of many modern lutenists). In fact, 'thumb-out' plucking remained the general technique for the rest of the historical lute's existence. However, it is precisely this clearly documented and historically preferred playing style which is nowadays frequently denied by many lutenists performing works from the early baroque period onwards. Indeed, despite published papers pointing out the 'fakery' of the 'thumb-under' technique for much of the lute repertoire, its use persists and even grows.[1]

Regarding holding the lute, the tutor recommends using a strap around the shoulders but early depictions often do not show such a support. Moreover, many extant lutes have two buttons on the back of the instrument - one by the neck joint and one at the base - and an early practice was to tie a cord between the two which is hooked around a button on the player's coat.

[1] Jeremy Montagu and Martyn Hodgson, 'More on Fakery in Period Performance', *Early Music Performer* 51 (2022).

In fact, such cord loops have even survived on some extant instruments (eg Stautinger 1773, Castle Museum,York): this historical method of supporting the instrument is not mentioned in the tutor. Unusually the book also advocates playing the later (11+ course) lute standing up, but there is very little early evidence to support this position. In fact most depictions show the 17th/18th century instrument being played seated with the instrument resting on the right thigh (and not down in the lap as Croton demonstrates). It would have been helpful to have good reproductions of early illustrations (paintings/engravings) showing the lute being played during this period (such as the informative 1690 depiction of Charles Mouton).

Whilst a few modern lutenists make use of 'raking and brushing' play (*tirer et rebattre),* which was *de rigeur* in the earlier/mid 17th century especially for the French repertoire, the tutor only briefly mentions the technique linked to chord arpeggiation, but without describing the light down and up strumming refined style of play required. The graded examples and pieces selected from a wide repertoire are good for learners and I especially welcome the use of fret symbols placed on the tablature line (the general historical manner and easiest to read) rather than between the lines as found in some modern editions of lute music. However, despite covering a much wider range of topics than do most modern lute tutors, the book overlooks some other important areas, including: different sizes of 'baroque' lutes and increasing string length into the eighteenth century; early pitches; types of strings employed on lutes of the period; string tension based on historical evidence; 'sharp' tunings (ie not just the Dm tuning) even in this later period; development of the 12 and 13 course lute and the later German 'theorboed' version.

The author's approach is laudable in many ways, not the least by making modern lute players aware of some historical evidence, but it is rather wordy and much of the rambling text could have done with the attentions of a good editor. Nevertheless, the work goes towards filling various gaps in lute instruction books currently available and Croton is to be thanked for this. His books for the earlier('renaissance') lute, guitar and theorbo have also been published and the first 'background' chapters of this latest work repeats much of what has already appeared in these.

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Review

Jennifer Thorp, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master: Mr Isaac and the English Royal Court from Charles II to Queen Anne* (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Press, 2024). 256pp. ISBN: 978-1-63-804095-8.

Peter Holman

Jennifer Thorp is one of the most foremost scholars working on the dancing masters of Restoration and early eighteenth-century England, and the dances they devised and taught. Her articles on the subject have included the valuable surveys ' "Borrowed Grandeur and Affected Grace": Perceptions of the Dancing Master in Early Eighteenth-Century England' (*Music in Art* 36 (Spring-Fall 2011), 9–27) and 'Dance in Opera, 1673–1685' (*Dance Research* 33 (Winter 2015), 93–123), as well as two preliminary articles devoted to the Restoration court dancing master that is the subject of this book: 'Mr. Isaac, Dancing Master' (*Dance Research* 24 (Winter 2006), 117–37) and ' "So Great a Master as Mr Isaac": An Exemplary Dancing-Master of Late Stuart London' (*Early Music* 35 (2007), 435–46).

The Gentleman Dancing-Master consists of three sections. Part 1 is made up of five chapters, providing a detailed account of the ancestry, life and work of her subject, the dancing master known at the time just as 'Mr. Isaac'. She withdraws a suggestion made in her 2007 *Early Music* article that Isaac the dancing master was related to the three musicians from a Windsor family with the surname Isaack: the brothers William (1652–1703), Peter (*c.*1655–94) and Bartholomew (1661–1709). Instead, she provides an impressive amount of documentation to reveal that the mysterious 'Mr. Isaac' was actually Francis Thorpe (*c.*1650–1720/1), a member of an extended family of musicians and dancing masters that included his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, who were all called Isaac Thorpe – hence Francis's use of 'Mr. Isaac' as a professional name. In addition, the dancing masters Jerome Gohory and Anthony L'Abbé were apparently relatives by marriage, and Charles Burney claimed that the violinist and composer Matthew Dubourg was his illegitimate son.

Jennifer Thorp goes on to reconstruct her namesake's career. She suggests that Francis Thorpe trained in France with his father or Jerome Gohory, and shows that after his return to England he danced in several court entertainments, including the masque *Calisto* in 1675, for which the Master of the Music Nicholas Staggins provided the music. In the 1680s he became a prominent dancing master in London, including Princess Anne (the future queen) among his pupils, and subsequently ran a dancing school in St Martin's Lane. Mr. Isaac's connection with Anne was to produce his lasting memorial: the series of dances specially devised for her birthday, 6 February, and apparently performed at the court balls held to celebrate the occasion. They are a lasting memorial because notated versions of 22 of them were published, mostly by John Walsh and his associates, using the Beauchamp-Feuillet system of dance notation; Isaac may have been the first dancing master working in London to use the system. Part 2 of the book is concerned with various aspects of these 22 dances, including the context of the first performances, their publishing history and the nature of their choreography and music.

Part 3 (taking up more than half the book) consists of a catalogue of the dances and their sources, followed by a complete facsimile edition of the publications with dance notation – a most valuable resource, bringing together and making available these fascinating pieces for the first time.

Anyone interested in the Restoration court and its culture will derive a lot of benefit from reading this book, but those studying the music of the period will find the relationship between Isaac and the wind player, bass violinist and composer James Paisible (*c.*1656–1721) particularly interesting. As Jennifer Thorp points out, Isaac and Paisible were near contemporaries; were both Catholics; and were both members of Princess Anne's household in the 1690s. Paisible is credited, mostly on the title-pages of the publications, with composing the music for 19 of Isaac's 22 surviving dances, ranging in date from *The Princess* of 1699 to *The Godolphin* of 1714, the last of the sequence of dances composed for Queen Anne's birthday; his tunes for the dances are included in the publications, running across the top of each page above the dance notation. Jennifer Thorp does not discuss how Paisible's dances might have been accompanied, but it is likely that, as with the odes specially composed for Queen Anne's birthday mostly by John Eccles and performed on the same day, they would have been played by the complete royal band, with Eccles leading the orchestra as Master of the Music.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that no four-part consort versions of these dances have yet come to light. As already mentioned, the publications with dance notation include the tunes as a running header at the top of each page, so that the phrases of the music are aligned with the sections of the dances. In two cases, *The Saltarella* (1708) and *The Royal Portuguez* (1709), two-part versions, tune and bass, were included on an extra engraved sheet in the editions, and are included in the facsimiles in this book. In addition, Thorp lists concordances in printed musical sources, which reveal that two-part versions survive of *The Favorite* (apparently the earliest of Isaac's dances, the music first published in 1688), *The Gloucester*, *The Northumberland* and *The Princess*. In addition, she points out that simple keyboard settings of *The Marlborough*, *The Royall* and *The Spanheim* were printed in John Walsh's *Second Book of the Ladys Banquet* (1706).

However, she does not list concordances with the manuscript musical sources; a full list of these would be a useful future project. To set that ball rolling: there are two-part versions (tantalisingly laid out in four-part score with the inner parts left blank) of *The Gloucester* and *The Princess* in GB-Lcm, MS 1172, ff. 45 and 46, the large anthology of theatre music, all in G minor, compiled by the prolific copyist Purcell scholars call London A. Furthermore, I am grateful to Andrew Woolley for pointing out that Charles Babel's large anthology of two-part pieces, formerly owned by Christopher Hogwood and now GB-Lbl, MS Mus. 1852/5, contains treble and bass versions of *The Princess*, *The Favourite*, *The Northumberland*, *The Richmond* and *The Rondeau*; Andrew's study of this source, 'Charles Babel's "Concerts a deux" (1702)', will appear in *Les copistes en musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: travaux, ateliers, institutions*, ed. P. Denécheau and L. Guillo (Turnhout, forthcoming). Andrew also informs me that there is a simple tune-and-bass keyboard setting of *The Princess* in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 52363, pp. 12–14.

I hope that complete four-part versions of these fascinating pieces will come to light when the sources of Paisible's ensemble music are investigated more fully, or that someone will reconstruct them so that they can be performed in a manner that recreates the original circumstances of Queen Anne's birthday celebrations at St James's Palace. Jennifer Thorpe's descrip-

tions of the intricate dance patterns certainly whet the appetite. As with dances for earlier court masques and for the Restoration theatre, the music mostly consists of passages related to the social dances of the day, but often grouped into sequences of contrasted rhythms and tempi, akin to the suites of branles used in Restoration court balls. *The Britannia*, for instance, starts with a repeated minuet-like strain, followed by a repeated strain labelled 'Boree' and then a multi-section section labelled 'Minuet', while *The Gloucester* (one of the most popular, to judge from the number of musical sources) consists of four strains, two in bourée-like duple time and two in 6/4 jig-like rhythms. This pattern, using two contrasted dance rhythms, is found in a number of Isaac's dances, though some of them, such as *The Richmond* (in 3/2 with hornpipe-like musical gestures) and *The Rigadoon Royal* and *The Rigadoone* (both in duple time), remain in a single rhythm throughout.

As a musician rather than a dancer or dance historian (though with experience of providing music for historical dancers on and off throughout my career), I learned a lot from this book and can thoroughly recommend it to anyone with an interest in the Restoration court and its culture, and in the relationship between dance and music at the time. It is impressively well researched, is well thought out and easy to read, and is nicely produced in hardback, with the facsimiles of the 22 dances clearly reproduced. However, I have a couple of reservations – apart from the steep price, £115 (still £99.52 with Amazon's discount). The first is that the music was rather carelessly engraved on the original plates of the dance editions, with obvious wrong notes, missing accidentals and faulty rhythms. A few spot checks revealed that the texts in the musical concordances are rather more accurate, so it would have been useful had the reader been alerted to this problem, with an errata list provided.

More important, I was left wanting to know more about the relationship Isaac and Paisible might have had when creating these dances. Did the dancing master dictate to the composer exactly what dance patterns and rhythmic gestures he needed? Or was he presented with fully formed musical pieces to which he matched dance patterns? Or, most likely, was it a two-way collaborative process, one that might suggest a close relationship between them? This is perhaps indicated by the unusual and often complex nature of some of Paisible's tunes. *The Richmond*, for instance, plays about with small-scale hornpipe gestures in an almost obsessive way, presumably in an attempt to match the dance patterns. These are, of course, questions that anyone will have encountered who has been involved with a historically informed production of one of Purcell's major theatre works, though without the benefit of the original notated dances. I would love to see historically informed recreations of the Isaac-Paisible dances, but what would we give, for instance, to have notated versions of the original choreographies Josias Priest must have devised for the 17 dances in *Dido and Aeneas*, as performed at Chelsea in 1688?

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Review

Russell Gilmour, *'Just' Natural Trumpet* (Russell Gilmour, 2024.). 268pp. ISBN: 978-1-73-971592-2.

Crispian Steele-Perkins

Russell Gilmour's new treatise explores the evolution of musical performance from the Renaissance until the Age of Enlightenment, when the adoption of Equal Temperament in the tuning of instruments necessitated mechanical devices to give satisfactory intonation on the Trumpet. As early as 1448 the Trumpet Corps of King Christian 1st of Denmark played as an ensemble and by 1607 Claudio Monteverdi was employing 3 trumpeters to open his Opera 'Orpheo'. By the middle of the eighteenth century an astonishing degree of virtuosity was being achieved to be featured in the works of Bach, Handel, Telemann and innumerable others playing upon 'Natural' trumpets which are basically lengths of tubing with a mouthpiece into which to propel vibrating air at one end, and a 'bell' at the other, where the tube expands in order to amplify the resultant sounds.

This book is full of instructional material from the intervening centuries and good, practical advice as to how these materials can be beneficial to students at the present time. A nice touch is that he includes facsimiles of the original manuscripts as well as corresponding examples in clear modern notation. There are also many visual delights in the reproduction of historic paintings and portraits with commentaries and anecdotes from contemporary colleagues, critics, and admirers. Particularly striking for me is the photograph of a sumptuously ornate silver trumpet with solid gold garnishes made in 1581 by Anton Schnitzer of Nuremberg which appears on the opening pages. Also featured is a depiction (tapestry?) of a royal event in 1511 where amongst several trumpeters John Blanke, a black player is seen. He served both king Henry VII and Henry VIII between 1507 and 1512 and must have been valued because at one time his salary was doubled! There is potential for an interesting investigation focusing on John Grano, who first performed Handel's *Water Music* on the Thames in 1717. Whilst interned in the Marshalsea Prison for debt in 1728/9, he discusses in his diary which being visited by 3 black pupils, one of whom—William Douglas, a freed slave from Barbados—was then supplanting him as London's foremost trumpeter. Douglas was evidently strikingly handsome because the 'Ladies of Quality' apparently swooned when he appeared at music festivals, such as Tunbridge Wells.

Another well-known portrait painting, attributed to the artist Michael Dahl, thought to be of another Handelian trumpeter, Valentine Snow, is reproduced; since this book went to press, a sketch has appeared of Purcell's celebrated player John Shore, and this is so strikingly like the individual in this painting that this long-standing attribution may need to be reassessed. In approaching the practicalities of recreating the sound and style of bygone times, a very sensible and mature philosophy is adopted in the opening chapter. The fact of the matter is that, however interesting it is to be 'historically aware', the general public are unlikely to accept untempered intonation any more than the 6 year old Mozart did when his father

blew a (natural) trumpet at him. It was for this reason that in the 1960s, Walter Holy, the trumpet professor in Cologne, developed a venting system with 3 small anti-nodal holes in the tubing to correct the problematic harmonics of the 'natural' scale.

Having been involved in the exciting, somewhat experimental early years of the Early Music movement, working with David Munrow, Christopher Hogwood, Peter Seymour, Peter Holman, and Andrew Parrott, there was a distinct pioneering spirit as we reassessed and rediscovered music of the Baroque era and before – most particularly concerning the speeds and volume of those days, before large symphony orchestras got their hands it. The theatres and Opera houses of Handel's day were quite large with unreverberant acoustics, but it was with musical spectacles such as the *Music for the Royal Fireworks*, and choruses of hundreds in Westminster Abbey for Messiah in the mid- and late-eighteenth century that the volume notch was turned up. Also around this time, the concept of Equal Temperament was adopted; wherein each semitone of the chromatic scale was equally spaced. J.S. Bach published his 48 Preludes and Fugues as the 'Well Tempered Clavier' between 1722 and 1742, which demonstrated that with this equal spacing of notes you could now play satisfactorily in all major and minor keys. Once out of the bottle, this genie was never replaced in it.

In Purcell's time, concerts usually occurred in a more intimate setting, with the trumpet accompanying a solo singer with just continuo in support, indicating that the instrument was then played with great delicacy. Similarly in Leipzig, Gottfied Reiche, Bach's great trumpeter surely played in a manner that blended with the flutes and oboes rather than overwhelming them. This was the art of 'Clarino'.

In the late-1970s and early-1980s we had to do something that Reiche in Germany and John Shore in England did not have to do: play demanding music over and over again with 100% accuracy for the recording industry. Additionally, our audiences—not to mention the critics—could not contend with what sounded 'out of tune' playing. My great friend and colleague Micheal Laird went to study with Walter Holy, and upon return worked to adapt and improve his system. The arguable drawback with vented trumpets is that they mostly work better with modern mouthpieces, and since all any trumpet does is to amplify the sound (generated by lip vibration) put into it, a player can, and often does, produce the strident frequencies and overtones of a shorter modern trumpet at symphony volume; the deeper, wider mouthpieces of previous times eliminate these high frequencies and are much less strident.

Russell Gilmour looks into every aspect of this lost art in great detail with a multitude of fascinating illustrations. He also confronts pedagogical aspects of his subject starting with the well-known treatises of Caesare Bendinelli and Girolamo Fantini, pointing out the fact that there is a 150 year gap before anything comparable was produced by J.E. Altenburg in 1795. The treatises mostly refer to the articulation of military signals which were a vital ingredient for controlling troop movements on the battlefield, but instruction is also given towards the artistic use of the instrument. During these 150 intervening years there are many references in literature and diaries with cogent observations made by the likes of Samuel Pepys, Johann Matheson, Roger North and James Talbot - all fully quoted in this book.

Fulsome reference is also made to modern pedagogy, in particular the work of Kristian Steenstrup, trumpet professor at Denmark's Royal Academy of Music. Being of the outdated 'just pick it up and blow it' school, I found this interesting but slightly mystifying, as is much of the teaching encountered in my many visits to music universities and faculties in the USA. A more scientific approach to playing exists since I was a student and teacher, but if this helps

young enthusiasts, then so be it.

This excellent book will serve several generations of trumpeters, I hope; it may be for this reason that current practitioners performing on real Natural Trumpets are not mentioned. I never thought I should live to hear the music of Bach and Telemann performed as authentically and accurately as by Jean-Francois Madeuf or Julian Zimmermann. Playing alongside other trumpeters and instrumentalists is vital to prepare for life in the profession. Possibly young players might also find it useful to play along with recordings; it is very important to be able to play not only the solo parts but those of an orchestral section, even the basic trumpet parts in the Symphonies of Mozart and Haydn require skill and musicianship to play well and make very satisfying and excellent training.

I see myself returning to reread this time and time again. Please buy, read, study and cherish this marvellous book.

Cover Image: Silvestro Ganassi
Lettione Seconda pur della Prattica de Sonare il Violone d'Arco da Tasti
(Venice, 1543), 63.
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