

Venetian Instrumental Music in the Sixteenth Century

Venice was at the vortex of a revolution in the production of instrumental music during the sixteenth century. The recent development of music printing played a significant role in this revolution. The 'Venetia' imprimatur prompted the later belief that most music published in Venice was composed and performed there, but this was mistaken. Some composers whose music was published in Venice came from as far away as Sicily. 'Venetia' could also refer to the whole of the Venetian Republic, which stretched from the Alps to the Po, from Bergamo through Udine, to the Adriatic coast, and the array of Venetian holdings that stretched into the Aegean. Because of its political stature in the sixteenth century, Venice was a Mecca for musicians. Musicians arrived under the sponsorship of noted patrons—bishops, ambassadors, and noblemen, who were often the dedicatees of printed music.

The Social and Intellectual Framework of Instrumental Music

Printers and Patrons, Performers and Listeners

Much published music involved both voices and instruments. The role of instruments was at first limited to short pieces, often for lute, and then to ensemble transcriptions of chansons. Among alternative venues for printing, Nuremberg was the first one of significance (from the 1540s). There was a surprising degree of similarity between the repertoires printed in each. Overall the lute received even more attention in Germany (where a somewhat different tablature was employed) and sacred vocal music less. Music published in Venice was normally presented in mensural notation in a series of part-books. A single typesetter could set, on average, two pages of moveable type a day. Few Venetians worked as many days as would be customary today, because so many feasts dotted the calendar. Additionally, tasks involving reading and writing were heavily dependent on daylight, which was far more plentiful in summer than in winter, when the expenses of candle wax and lamp oil reduced the numbering of working hours. The great benefit of printing was that the creators of music now had the rudiments of an industrial-strength production system through which their music could become known to a broader audience and performed in a variety of ways.

Venetians were surrounded by music throughout their lives. They heard it in churches, *campi*, *palazzi*, *scuole grandi*, salons, *ospedali*, in gondolas, and at any open window. There was no such thing as a non-musical space in Venice. Because of Venice's vigorous trade with the Levant, there could be overlays of more eastern sounds. Trade with the transalpine Continent delivered a substantial presence of instrument makers near the Rialto. String instrument makers came especially from southern Bavaria and the Inn River valley in Austria. For musical staffs in ducal service, the procurators often relied on the

recommendations of regents and ambassadors. A number of important instrumentalists came from the Bresciano and Veronese. Singers might come from almost anywhere. Wind and brass instruments were cultivated within family dynasties, and whom the Dalla Casa, from Udine, and the Bassano (originally from the like-named town) were especially noted. Most of the Bassano were transplanted to the court of Henry VIII in England, where they served as musicians for three generations before going in separate directions.

Musicians in the service of the doge (which included those employed at St. Mark's) devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the doge and his immediate retinue, among whom the French ambassador and the Receiver of Malta (representing Venice's most important allies in the Fourth Crusade of 1204) were the most important. Appeals to its glorious past were thought to enhance Venice's image. The sixteenth century was the most unruffled one in the Republic history, being bracketed by the battle of Agnadello (1509), which brought *terraferma* to its maximum extent, and the victory at Lepanto (1571), which filled the Holy League with self-satisfaction.

Script, Transcription, Embellishment, and Improvisation

The phrase *per ogni sorte di stromento*, so prevalent in music prints from the sixteenth century, suggests a generic product intended to accommodate anyone. While this flexibility must be borne in mind, there was a general inclination over time towards specialization. However, movement towards it was not uniform. Diverse threads of musical development yielded not only the fully scripted score but also selective embellishments, diminutions, and a wide array of transcriptions and arrangements. Some of the most influential innovations of the century arose from these processes of differentiation. If instrumentation was ever more clearly specified, the authority of a text was progressively liberated. The balance between these factors was constantly varying.

Much of the lute and keyboard repertory suggests an improvised practice (prior to 1600) in which the performer invented as he/she performed. The possibility of a growing interchange between what was written and what was performed should be entertained in solo repertories. In polyphonic pieces the dynamics again vary with the context and the period. On balance the direction was from a meandering kind of improvisation to highly articulate methods of embellishment. By the end of the century deviation from the script would itself be scripted by rules rather than by printed texts—whether the music was texted; whether an individual part moved in minims, crotchets, or quavers; whether it progressed by step or by leap. This amazing series of advances within the last three quarters of the century attests to the highly analytical minds that were honed by the intellectual intensity of the time.

Genre

The ricercar

The ricercar existed first as a genre for lute, in which it might be said to consist of musings on some kind of initial phrase. Within a generation it moved to the organ and became more elaborate, with greater imitation between voices and a tendency to open with a dotted figure (e.g. a dotted semibreve followed by a crochet). The ground underneath the ricercar shifted constantly, however, and individual approaches predominate over a standard model. All approaches held in common an exploration of imitative techniques. By the start of the seventeenth century, a prospective organist's audition at St. Mark's consisted of (a) writing new pieces on a *cantus firmus* selected by the *maestro di cappella* and then, for those who jumped that hurdle, (b) playing before the procurators, who made the final choice. We do not know what the procurators valued most, but hints of skill at improvised counterpoint surface from time to time. The earliest printed music associated with an organist active in Venice is Marc'Antonio Cavazzoni's *Recerchari, motetti, canzoni* of 1523. Cavazzoni (c. 1490-c. 1560), a Bolognese, provides the eight earliest ricercars for organ. Cavazzoni's son Girolamo (1525-aft 1577) followed the father's example two decades later with a volume of *Ricercari, canzoni, himni* (1543) which are noted for a certain austerity but also bring continuity to the still little known repertory.

A truly accomplished master of the keyboard ricercar was Jacques (Jachet) Buus (c.1500-65), a Fleming who served as organist at St. Mark's (1541-51). During his Venetian tenure he produced two volumes of canzoni (1543, 1550) and two of ricercars (1547, 1549). His ricercars offer a useful basis for comparison of multiple approaches to the genre, as they are variously monothematic; polythematic with a succession of points of imitation; and polythematic with some recapitulation of early points towards the end of the work. The two latter approaches demonstrate a thorough mastery of Flemish counterpoint. Buus's works are noted for their exceptional length.

In the hands of less systematic composers, the complementarity between instrumental and vocal pieces was often apparent. Cavazzoni, Adriano Willaert (c. 1490-1562), and Cipriano di Rore (c. 1516-65) are all represented in the Gardano anthology of *Fantasia, ricercari, contrapunti* (1551). (The fantasia may have been derived from the ricercar but became subsumed by abstract titles into the orbit of solmization.) Rore was a pupil of Willaert, whose *Musica nova* (1541) had been a seminal work. Three volumes of Rore's ricercars were published in the 1540s.

Four-voice ricercars gravitate towards the bolder ensembles of the later sixteenth century. The first book of ricercars (1556) by Annibale Padovano (1527-75), who worked intermittently in Graz, is a good example. Willaert and Rore figure again in Girolamo Scotto's anthology of three-voice pieces, *Fantasia et recerchari ... accomodate da cantare et*

sonare per ogni instrumento (1549). The fantasia, which can be considered a species of *ricercar*, is discussed under 'Virtual Institutions.'

The canzone

The *ricercar* and *canzone* dominated the ensemble repertory in later decades of the century. A slight difficulty in following and differentiating their histories arises from the fact while Venetian printers' anthologies were very popular in the mid-sixteenth century, the composers and arrangers of such collections often came from outside the Veneto. Ioan Maria's *Intavolature de lauto di ricercari, canzon francese, motetti, madrigali, padoane, e saltarelli* (1546) is a pertinent example. As the century progressed, a core repertory of favorite pieces emerged from these anthologies and became 'must learn' pieces. This suited the *canzone* for instrumental ensemble, which had its origins in the transcriptions of French chansons. Starting from a strict transfer from vocal parts to instrumental ones in the 1530s, the *canzone* soon enjoyed an ever-growing freedom that enabled its migration from organ to ensemble and back. Because of the growing importance of diminution and ornamentation the *canzone* eventually became a platform for experimentation.

Like *ricercars*, *canzones* came in several varieties, but their categories were more obvious. (1) As ensemble pieces they could be polychoral works for two, three, or four groups of instruments. Each group could be composed of different timbres and/or be playing in contrasting ranges (the terms *grave* and *acuto* might distinguish them). (2) They could, alternatively, be four-voice (non-polychoral) works or organ works, in which case they leaned away from homophonic textures towards imitative ones. (3) As a platform for elaboration, it was the *canzone* that usually provided the basis for the functional distinction of individual voices, that is, for different levels of elaboration from voice to voice.

The toccata

The *toccata* was exclusively a work for organ or lute. They [the subject in the opening sentence is in singular] rarely had titles other than the generic naming of the work's mode. Venetians did not produce a lot of *toccatas*, at least not on paper. Some of what survives is preserved in German organ tablatures, leaving open the question of whether the demand for them was greater in south German court chapels than in Venetian churches. This is true not only for the *Gabrielis*, who spent time at the Bavarian court, but also for *Claudio Merulo*, who is not known to have set foot north of the Alps. (*Merulo*, however, was an adventurer of a different kind: he operated his own print shop from 1566 to 1561.)

Balli

Tracing the history of dance music in sixteenth-century suffers from a lack of musical evidence. Surviving keyboard instruments give witness to a strong presence. Venetian academicians had learned debates about tuning systems that continued to the early nineteenth century, with relatively even contributions from each century. Proficient

builders of *cembali* were also long remembered. Period accounts mention numerous balli in private palaces and courtyards for weddings, inaugurations, and the last days of Carnival. When it comes to music, though, the surviving contributions amount to Marco Facoli's *Intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (1588) and Gio. Maria Radino's similarly titled volume of 1592. Facoli (whose first volume of *balli* is lost) rightly **emphazes** on 'ogni sorte di rima' because the works clearly arise from arias and the context of *commedia*. He offers what otherwise seems a predictable collection of saltarellos and pavanés after an initial *passemazzo* 'in six modes' coupled with a pavane in four modes. Radino, a Paduan church organist, acknowledges a German patron in his much slimmer volume.

Rudiments of Instrumental Pedagogy

An important contribution to the development of instrumental music in Venice came from diligent pedagogy, codified in a series of important manuals. Composition *per se*, particularly in one of the learned imitative styles, was only as important as the creator's ability to demonstrate his musical 'idea.' Silvestro Ganassi (1492-**aft 1543**) was a pedagogical pioneer. He apparently played the recorder and various string instruments, the use of which he explains in two books of pedagogy—*La Fontegara* (1535) for winds and [La] *Regola Rubertina* (1542), with its *Letzione seconda* (1543), for bowed strings. From 1517 he was a *piffaro* (and contralto) in ducal service.

La Fontegara was something entirely new: a manual with many fingering charts to demonstrate 'how to play the flute [*flauto dolce*] and any other instrument, especially with diminutions ...' Two *cornetti*, three viols, and a lute are shown on the title page. Ganassi was the archetypal player of 'all kinds of instruments' to which so much instrumental music of the time appealed. The notation in musical examples is crude, with beams that zigzag from note to note. However, Ganassi is systematic in his instruction, showing a short note sequence (seconds ascending, seconds descending), then showing its elaboration through prescribed means. He considers thirds, turning figures, and leaps by turns. In comparison to counterpoint teaching, passing tones were produced in great profusion as a byproduct of the diminution process.

The *Regola Rubertino* concentrates on tuning systems and modes as understood by a viol player (frets are visible in the cover illustration). Alternative instrumentation in tablature is given in some cases. In the *Letzione seconda* Ganassi shows in proper Renaissance form the numerical ratios that result from the careful placement of frets across the neck of the instrument (thus underpinning tuning) and offers instruction on bowing and fingering. In both volumes he offers a few *ricercars* more to show the applicability of his advice than to recommend the pieces themselves.

Instruments and their repertoires

Each major **feasts** had its own flavor and particular requirements. All that was new in Venetian instrumental music had to operate within the context of rituals that were old. At

St. Mark's (discussed further down) instrumental ensembles were required on several feasts; they performed at particular inflection points of Mass and Vespers services. Their performances were carefully prescribed. Rigid forms of observance may have stimulated the increasing emphasis on improvisatory skill.

The lute

Even the lute was used in St. Mark's, although its main role was in private and academic music-making, and particularly (at first) in self-accompaniment by singers. One early impact of printing was to greatly increase the amount of lute music in circulation in the first decades of the century. Francesco Speracino's *Intabulatura de lauto* (1507) is not so much a new departure as a review of national and regional styles. It employs the practice, in vogue until the early seventeenth century, of entitling works with personal names (sometimes thought to be of specific women but in many instances derived from the surnames of noble families): 'La Mora,' 'La Bernardina,' and so forth, although the works are mainly arrangements of pre-existing works by noted masters of polyphony. A striking work is the 'Recercare de tutti li Toni,' which may be the earliest conscious example of a cycle through the full roster of modes then in use. The seventeen ricercars in Spinacino's volume establish a baseline for a genre that persisted throughout the century, though its characteristics changed from generation to generation. Other notable contributions to the lute literature included the works of Joan Ambrosio Dalza (1508), which emphasized pavanés and *saltarelli*. Works for solo lute often appeared at the end of publications consisting mainly of texted songs.

More than the importance of Venetian exemplars, early music printing demonstrated an reciprocal influences from place to place that suggest a quest for international exposure. Luis da Milan's collection for vihuela (from Portugal, xx) included pavanés and villancicos together with *fantasie* on the church modes and Italian sonnets set to music. Efforts to internationalize the repertory through the assembly of generic collections were also conspicuous in Germany. Hans Newsielder's *Neugeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1536) was an extensive collection (73 pieces in the first volume, 47 more in the second) that appeared in the same year as Milan's. In France Philippe Verdelot intabulated madrigals (1536) for a single voice accompanied by lute.

The lute repertory was largely aimed as well-off gentlemen. As other kinds of instrumental music were developed, the role of lute gradually declined, but there would be no way to get a sense of the aesthetics of instrumental music in Northern Italy in the early decades of the century without acknowledging the important role of the lute. Its playing—marked by a probing attitude towards melodic line and a delicate ear for articulation among others—was undoubtedly a stimulus to much that followed in other repertories.

The Organ and Harpsichord

Italian organs of the sixteenth century were single-manual instruments, usually with eight or fewer registers, but the array of timbres and dynamic range they could produce far exceeded what their modest description suggests. (Dalla Libera documented 143 Venetian organs a half century ago.) The modest physical scope of period instruments may explain why printed notation seems modest and pieces short. In contrast to the lute, which was a chamber instrument *par excellence*, the roles the organ played in churches and convents were clearly defined and, given the strictures of the Council Trent, purposely restrained (at least on paper).

The supposed distinction between the *primo* and *secondo organi* at St. Mark's was by the later sixteenth century somewhat misleading. It dates back to a fourteenth-century distinction an *organum magnum* and an *organum parvum*. After the establishment of an instrumental ensemble (1568) this distinction came to correspond to a difference in musical function but not necessarily to a major difference in the sizes or capabilities of the instruments. The first organist was now responsible for the *coro*, which was viewed as the mainstay of the cappella's music. He worked closely with the *maestro di cappella*. The most notable first organists were Annibale Padovano (1552-65), Claudio Merulo (1565-84), and Paolo Giusto (1591-c. 1624). Merulo exemplifies the most sophisticated of the breed: he served for two decades, was a prolific composer, and most closely emulated the intellectual passions of the time. He exhibited great clarity of mind both in his compositions and in his pedagogy. He was a valued teacher whose influence spread far and wide. Throughout his tenure the *maestro di cappella* was the greatly respected Gioseffe Zarlino (1565-90), a mathematician and astronomer as well as a musician and composer.

The Instrumental Ensemble

The duty of the *second* organist was to direct the instrumental ensemble, a prospect that proved to be enormous stimulus to the instrumental imagination (discussed below). In the context of solo performance there was much for an organist to master since even at the first organ a working knowledge of ornamentation was expected. He worked directly with the *maestro de' concerti*, the leader of the band of instrumentalists. The scope of these differences can be readily appreciated by comparing the first two second organists—Andrea (1566-86) and Giovanni Gabrieli (1586-1612)—with Claudio Merulo. The Gabrielis returned from Bavaria with full ability to score for brasses and woodwinds. The fledgling orchestra—consisting of players of *cornetto*, trombones in multiple sizes, *violone*, and dulcian—was established. Treble instruments including violin accrued from 1603 but were in use earlier, although occasionally, at the Scuola di San Rocco. The substantial trombone section began to diminish only after the plague of 1630-31.

The position of *maestro di concerti* was initially filled by two figures who were enormously influential as pedagogues—Girolamo Dalla Casa (1568-1601) and Giovanni

Bassano (1601-17). Where Merulo had taken a systematic approach not unlike Ganassi's, showing short passages before and after elaboration, Dalla Casa and Bassano elaborated entire compositions (see Ensemble Pedagogy).

Winds, brasses, and tamburi

The growing importance of wind instruments is clearly documented by the large amount of pedagogical material that cites them, but the umbrella term “ogni sorte di stromento” hides their identities. Marin Sanudo's *Diarii* give detailed accounts (1496-1533) of a wide range of social activities—variously diplomatic, social, and political—that included instrumental numbers. **Andrea Calmo Lettere** from later in the century focus less on society at large but more on musical components of academic gatherings. Woodwinds were clearly in use in many private entertainments even before the start of the sixteenth century, but details of what they played are elusive. Viol and woodwind combinations **are can** found in substantial quality through iconographical sources.

The Gabriellis and several other instrumentalists later active in Venice had been with Orlando di Lasso in Munich for the wedding of Wilhelm IV, duke of Bavaria, to Renate of Lorraine in the spring of 1568. The Gabriellis seem to have remained there for a number of years. Their stay in Munich surely contributed to Giovanni's indulgence of brass instruments, although in Venice had multiple companies of *piffari* earlier. The difference was again one of musical function. Three kinds of groups could be cited as *piffari*. The officially appointed ducal *piffari* we see in Gentile Bellini's “Procession of the Relic of the True Cross” outside St. Mark's (1496) is the one usually referenced. Groups of more heterogeneous composition and less formality are also cited in documentation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They could include tamburi, shawms, and a modest number of bowed strings (adapted for processions by the addition of a shoulder strap). Tamburi and instruments of a miscellaneous nature could also play on *campi* for feasts, but they were required to finish playing by nightfall.

Venues

St. Mark's

The introduction of a regular group to play in the *cappella* on selected feasts but also at ducal banquets (which were prescribed several times a year) occurred in 1568. Knowing that they **played** wind instruments does not enable us to say exactly what they **played**. The unnamed predecessors who had **played** on special occasions earlier in the century may not have been significantly different from those that performed at courts in other parts of Italy. They would have **played** on families of instruments of varying sizes, but it is unclear whether trombones were used inside the church before 1568.

Most accounts of Venetian music focus on music of the ducal chapel, St. Mark's. Glorification of Venice's patron saint was a form of political promotion as much as it was a

sign of religious observation. The basilica (as it came to be called in later times) had its own rites, and the kinds of instrumental music heard within it were very closely prescribed. Sacred music published in Venice in the sixteenth-century was overwhelmingly associated with leading musicians at St. Mark's. The feasts that were most lavishly celebrated from a musical perspective were those of St. Mark (25 April), those that fell on a date commemorating a famous Venetian battle (there were several of these), and feasts recognizing Venetian martyrs. A comprehensive list of fixed feasts on which all orchestral instrumentalists were expected to perform included the Annunciation (25 March), St. Mark (25 April), St. Anthony of Padua (13 June), Assumption (15 August), Christmas Eve, Christmas, and Easter. Masses for the coronation of a doge and for an anniversary of a coronation also called for a full complement of musicians. On feasts of intermediate stature **half and** orchestra and one choir sufficed. On most days of the year no music apart from chant was heard.

Some of the most special music in St. Mark's was performed after the reading of the Epistle on feasts for which the mass was performed *a cappella*—Epiphany (6 January), Purification (2 February), St. Isidore (16 April), the Apparition of St. Mark (25 June), All Saints' (1 November), and Corpus Domini (moveable). (The first four were historical commemorations.) After the Epistle a canzone (by organ with or without instruments, depending on the occasion) was the usual choice in the sixteenth century. A ricercar was preferred for the Offertory. Most surviving Venetian masses lack musical settings of the Sanctus and Benedictus. Various theories of instrumental substitution have been proposed but ambiguities and inconsistencies in documentation can only be fully resolved in the seventeenth century, when a violin solo was used for the Elevation.

Other physical institutions

Over recent decades our knowledge of the musical practices and personalities in other Venetian institutions has been greatly extended. This is especially true for the four *ospedali* (the Derelitti, Incurabili, Mendicanti, and Pietà), although in the sixteenth century the organ seems to have been the only instrument regularly used. In contrast, the *scuole grandi* were very active. They were funded by wealthy merchants, and Venice had an abundant supply of them. Many were German, Dutch, or Flemish and this dynamic introduces interesting possibilities for the less well documented musical practices of Venice. The *fabbrica* (*fontego* in Venetian dialect) of the German merchants near the Rialto was close to the shops of the best known German instrument makers (Tieffenbrucker et al.). The Scuola di San Rocco, near the Franciscan monastery of the Frari, became famous for its great *salone*, the walls of which were covered with Tintoretto's cycle on the life of Christ. San Rocco attracted many of the best chamber instrumentalists of the end of the century—Giovanni Gabrieli among them. Gabrieli's famous 'Sonata pian' e forte' was performed at San Rocco prior to its publication (1597).

Music of significant extent was rarer in the *scuole piccole*, of which hundreds are described by **Vio**. These *scuole* represented Venice's guilds. Each guild had a shrine in one of Venice's churches. On the annual feast of the church's patron saint (or in some cases the patron of a chapel within the church), the allied guild made provision for the celebration. For instrumental musicians the guild shrine was at the church of San Silvestro. However, few records survive from before 1660.

Virtual Institutions

Virtual institutions consisted of groups of amorphous composition that convened for particular occasions but not necessarily in a fixed location. They included academies, gentlemen's clubs (such as the *calze*), and networks of patrons with specific interests. They often had obvious links to particular kinds of music.

Among these academies (collectively) **were the longest sustained it was rare for any specific academy to endure for more than one generation**. Music of any kind was incidental to a wider array of interests pursued with presentations by individual members and sometime by invited guests. They reflected the high intellectual callings of the Renaissance, extending to enquiries in mathematics, poetry and drama, and most of all **debate** on a specified subject. Some of the leading musical figures were undoubtedly invited to academies from time to time. The Accademia Venier, which in c. 1550 counted the organist Girolamo Parabosco among its members, and the Accademia della Fama, which was headed by Bernardo Tasso (1557-61), the father of the later famous poet Torquato, were the best known in the sixteenth century.

While there is no genre that is predominately associated with academies, instances within most genres occur where an academic settings seems to be indicated. The *ricercar* was migratory in its social attachments. Ensemble canzonas, although absorbed into the St. Mark's repertory towards the end of the century, were often composed with other, more secular venues in mind. Learned allusions, such as the solmized titles of fantasias and ornamented versions of madrigals whose texts came from respected poets, are suggestive of performance in academies. This practice was prevalent at midcentury. In the Scotto anthology of 1549, for example, we find such subjects as 'Ut re mi fa sol la,' 'La sol fa mi fa re la,' 'Re ut fa re fa sol la' and so forth. Instances continue into the next century.

We find an early instance of the instrumental *battaglia* (a stylized reminiscence of battle inspired by Clément Janequin's 'Le guerre') in Francesco da Milano's *Intabolatura* (1536), but this subgenre is more directly associated with the Gabriellis. Their *Concerti* (1587), collected by Giovanni and published with a dedication to Hans Fugger, included both a *battaglia a 8* and a *ricercar a 8* by the recently deceased Andrea. Giovanni's dedication leaves no doubt of the enormous esteem in which he held his nominal uncle. He lists as Andrea's strengths his 'rare inventions,' 'new manners,' and his understanding of the 'true movement of the affects'; he then notes that Andrea was 'singular in imitation' and

in capturing the meaning of words in texted music. Other settings can be found throughout Europe, for which reason the *battaglia* seems to have no fixed social context.

Clubs for gentlemen (differentiated by the patterns of their stockings, whence comes the nickname *calze*), cultivated group interests in drama, poetry, and festivity at certain prescribed times of year. The *calze* played an important role in festivities occasioned by weddings, Carnival, and political rites of passage. They also engaged in sports from time to time. Otherwise young gentlemen were encouraged (with varying support from government bodies) to learn fencing and social dancing (the latter consisting mainly of precise choreographies for groups rather couples).

Elsewhere in the Veneto

Venetian instrumental music benefitted enormously from the talents of musicians trained on the mainland. Among the provincial capitals (Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Udine as well as Dubrovnic and Split) Brescia was the most influential because of its prominent role in the development of string instruments. Baroncini has traced instruments called *violons* (in Savoy) and *violini* (in Vercelli, Turin, Brescia, Milan, and Mantua) as far back as 1523. Extensive information on three centuries of Brescian string-instrument makers can be found at Ugo Ravasio's website. Among early violinists from Brescia the first one known as a composer was Biagio Marini (1594-1663), who was the first violinist to be regularly employed by the St. Mark's orchestra (1617). Bergamo, to the northwest of Brescia, was associated with cornettists, some of whom emigrated to Germany towards the end of the century. (Marini remained at St. Mark's for only six years.) Brescia's golden period as a center for bowed strings endured until the plague of 1630-31, after which Cremona became the center of violin-making.

The art of organ-building was equally well developed in Brescia, where the monastic church of San Giuseppe houses a restored instrument made by Graziado Antegnati (1525-after 1590), whose son Costanzo (1549-1624) was the author of the organ manual *L'Antegnata: Intavolatura de ricercari d'organo* (1608). (The senior Antegnati also built no longer extant organs at Santa Barbara in Mantua and Santo Spirito, Bergamo.) Ongaro has detailed an agreement whereby Marc'Antonio Cavazzoni was given the rent from the *constabelleria* of the Porta S. Alessandro in Brescia as a supplement to his pay from St. Mark's (1524-69), suggesting that the organist-composer had previous ties to Brescia. Pietro Lappi, *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria delle Grazie, composed the first *Canzoni da sonar (a 4)* to be published in Venice (1584). Floriano Canal served as a priest and organist at San Giovanni Evangelista (1581-1603), which was located in a neighborhood of violin makers. He brought out a like-named volume for 4-8 instruments in 1600.

Verona was a crossroad between German and Austrian traffic from the north and the east-west flow through the Veneto. Its most important contribution to the development of instrumental music was the fostering of its celebrated Accademia Filarmonica (1543). The

academicians collected wind and string instruments of every description. They also sponsored the painting of murals showing details of instruments presumed today to have been in use in the sixteenth century. A recurring calendar of events from 1604 provided for public concerts every Wednesday. *Balli* in February were sponsored in the later sixteenth, when it retained an organist, lutenist, and violinist.

Palladio's Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza, opened in 1585, had no match in Venice, although it found many imitations in the villas that sprang up nearby in the next century. In Vicenza and Padua, plus the hills that lay between them, learned academies flourished throughout the sixteenth century. One suspects a stimulating cross-conversation between these academies and the villas' ephemeral residents occurred throughout the surrounding countryside. Among several notable restorations of recent years, Vincenzo Colombi's organ (f523-33) in the cathedral of Valvasone (north of Pordenone) may come closest to the kind of organ that Merulo and the Gabriellis would have played at St. Mark's.

Ensemble Pedagogy

The first organ/second organ bifurcation at St. Mark's engendered a slight division of instrumental subcultures. Those aiming to be organists had to master diverse imitative practices. The rise of instrumental pedagogues later in the sixteenth century gave rise to specialization by instrument and paved the way to virtuosity. By the 1620s this led to the rise of the sonata, which could be for any number of instruments, with basso continuo. It highlighted solo episodes, which are not evident on paper in the sixteenth century. Otherwise discerning the features that differentiated a late canzone from an early sonata could be elusive. This bifurcation is less evident on pedagogical writings than published pieces, but the combined impact of differentiation and detailed pedagogy was profound. The dominating figures for ensemble instruments were Girolamo Dalla Casa (1584), who considered the cornetto 'the most perfect instrument after the human voice,' and Giovanni Bassano (1585). Girolamo Diruta (1597) was the leading spokesman for the organ culture.

Dalla Casa

That Dalla Casa enjoyed the respect of all the *capella's* musicians is easily understood. He saw **as the main virtue of the cornetto as being** that it was the instrument that sounded most like a human voice. The first volume of his *Il vero modo di diminuir per ogni sorte di stromento* (1584) was valuable to wind players, for it dealt with tonguing and the ornamentation of *passaggi* and cadences. The player was instructed to learn such tonguing patterns as *le-re le-re le-re, te-re te-re te-re, te-che te-che te-che*, and *de-re de-re de-re*. He inserted these mnemonics as lyrics into his musical examples to show how they were to be applied to musical patterns. In his Second Book (same year) he saw the mastery of diminutions (in four species—crotchets, quavers, semiquavers, and demisemiquavers) as one that required the further step of rendering what were then unfamiliar passages *a tempo*. 'Everyone should beat the tempo when practicing,' he wrote. 'If you do not do this

every time your practice,' he continued, 'you will not have a good result' (*Il vero modo*, vol. 2, 'Alli lettori,' unnumbered page facing p. 1).

Bassano

At **San Marco** one good deed often begat another. Giovanni Bassano sent to press his own *Ricercate, passaggi, et cadentie* in 1585, perhaps in anticipation of Dalla Casa's departure. Because the publication was dedicated to "an excellent orator," Luigi Balbi, we can be sure that Bassano viewed music as a close ally of grammar. Some of his raw *passaggi* include leaps and dotted figures. His distinction between *passaggi* and cadences was also notable. For both Dalla Casa and Bassano wind instruments could appropriately be accompanied by *viole* (Dalla Casa calls for a *viola bastarda* in a few places).

Bassano's contribution in this area continued with his *Motetti, madrigali, et canzoni francese ... diminuiti per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti...* (1591). We see as much in Bassano's works as in Dalla Casa's that the art of diminution was developed on a secure grammatical foundation. Both place equal weight on madrigals and chansons as models for diminution, not only in their commentary but also in the musical examples they select. Dalla Casa stresses regularity in his elaborations: given a series of minims, the performer should substitute running quavers; given crotchets, he would choose semiquavers, and so forth. Bassano's diminutions tended to flow in long sweeps up or down. Where Dalla Casa's figures could be mechanical, with mordent-like turning shapes on every minim, Bassano's contain variety from beat to beat, with intermittent dotted notes occurring from time to time (Figure 1).

<insert Figure 1>

Figure 1. **Onening** passage from diminutions on the madrigal "Io canterei d'amor" by **Cipriano de Rore** by **Girolamo Della Casa** (*Il vero modo di diminuir, con tutte le sorti di stromenti*, 1584, p. 7) and by Giovanni Bassano (*Motetti, madrigali, et canzoni francese ... diminuiti per son con ogni sorte di stromenti*, 1591, p. 6).

Although Dalla Casa gets high marks for demonstrating continuous elaboration, he still subscribed to the categorical retention of one rhythmic value throughout long phrases (all quavers, all semiquavers etc.). Bassano displayed a more flexible approach and when using vocal models takes a madrigalesque approach to elaboration by highlighting particular words with florid runs of semiquavers or with dotted patterns within *passaggi*. The *passaggi* that the player is instructed to study offer detailed sequences for simple, short, and otherwise non-descript melodic segments that were common in vocal repertoires of

the time. Both allow that these modes of ornamentation can be used by vocalists as well as instrumentalists.

Diruta

Girolamo Diruta (c. 1554-1610) studied in the early 1580s with Zarlino, Merulo, and Costanza Porta. He became organist of the cathedral in Chioggia (Zarlino's hometown). His fame rests on two works. The first was the *Dialoghi musicali*, an anthology of instrumental pieces for 7-12 instruments (1592) with contributions by the Gabrieli, Merulo, and Padovano. The second was *Il transilvano: Il vero modo di sonar organi e istromenti da penna* (1597); the title honored the dedicatee, a Transylvanian. *Il transilvano*, the first comprehensive manual on organ playing, is cast as a dialogue between teacher and pupil. *Il transilvano* demonstrates not Diruta's comprehensive knowledge of organ playing in northern Italy. It contains generous explanations of ornamented cadences, examples of tremolos, and attempts to transcribe that what different masters actually played at the keyboard. Diruta (among others) shows that new mannerisms associated with the early seventeenth century were already well known and apparently widely used.

Diruta's virtual dialogue (a popular rhetorical approach at the time) was founded on a gradually unfolding grammar of procedures and their applications. The enquiring scholar goads the learned teacher into giving long expositions of rules and principles. In his presentation of the *tremolo* and *tremoletto* Diruta discusses their application to passages in minims and crochets in a systematic way that builds on the approach established by his Venetian predecessors. According to Diruta, Merulo recommended *tremoletti* when the model descended by step:

<Figure 2a>

<Figure 2b>

Figure 2. Girolamo Diruta's differentiation between standard *tremoletti* and Merulo's more carefully articulated ones, from *Il transilvano* (1593), p. 20.

Merulo, according to Diruta, allowed invertibility (upper-lower vs. lower-upper figurations) in his formulae for substitution for minims and crochets. The dialogue in which these examples are embedded continues in this manner:

Student: These *tremoletti* seem more difficult than the first ones.

Master: You speak the truth ... [and] since we are speaking of *tremoletti*, in particular those of Claudio Merulo in his *canzoni alla francese*, which will seem very difficult at first, but if you follow the rules for *tremolo*, you will find them very easy.

Bovicelli

Although **he** was not connected to the Venetian school, the *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigal, et motetti passeggiati* (1594) is essential reading on diminutions and *passaggi* because of its integral approach. Bovicelli tells us that he is from Assisi and works as a musician in the Milan cathedral. He gives numerous examples of fully elaborated pieces by a range of masters of the time. (A modern, more extensive set of elaborations can be found in *Italienische Diminutionen* **is** Richard Erig's comparative edition of 1976.)

Bovicelli first demonstrates the application of his techniques to short phrases of texted works, then moved on to "Diversi modi di diminuir" and then to fully re-composed pieces by Palestrina, Rore, Merulo, and others. Like **both** Dalla Casa he organizes his instructions by upward or downward motion and by intervallic size. Like Bassano he shows mixed rhythmic values and also indicates by a carat sign (reproduced in Figure 3) where the repetition of a pitch invited a *tremolo*.

<Figure 3>

Figure 3. Gio. Battista Bovicelli: passage showing the articulation of a passage of descending minims (*Regole, passaggi di musica*, 1594, p. 13). Bovicelli's note reads "Tremolo formato sopra alle due note segnate" ("the tremolo occurs on the two marked notes"). The two final notes of the diminution are in black notation but are not marked for the tremolo that would otherwise apply (according to his instructions) to successive notes on the same pitch.

Bovicelli distinguishes between the separate articulation of each note in a series and a smooth glissando, which he states should be used only in specific textual and musical contexts. Leaps belonged to the province of instrumental music.

From Old Values to New

The defining value of instrumental music in sixteenth-century Venice was its malleability. Irrespective of descriptive information in title-pages, almost any piece of music could be transformed into a work suited to a different situation. The issues engendered by such mutability are obvious. As deduced from performance a stylistic idiom could not be clearly attributed to a composer, a patron, or a venue, though all of them contributed to the achievements of the time.

The practice of elaboration encountered one stumbling block: in performing imitative works it was impractical to ornament all voices to the same degree, and one voice (usually the treble) eventually came to serve as the voice to be used as a foundation for highly ornamented passagework. The *viola bastarda* took a lower voice as its model. The lute could wander between voices in an independent manner. In practice, and in opposition to what we may see on the page, it was inevitable that as the treble grew in prominence, the mid-range voices receded in importance. This was not evident until the seventeenth century, when what appeared to be new approaches rapidly came to the fore.

This approaching change can be inferred from small clues in title-pages, prefaces, advice from authors, and general cues in organ part-books. H. M. Brown compiled a listing of works (1575-1600) that contained such cues. As the new century approached performers came to differentiate between music that was exclusively tended for playing (i.e. Giovanni Gabrieli's 'Sonata pian' e forte' and 'Sonata octavi toni' in the *Sacrae Symphoniae* (1597) and that for singing (i.e. the cantata, from 1621 onward). In these works a growing divide separated ensemble players from "foundation" players such as organists.

One tangent of musical development completely obscured by this growing absorption in refining instrumental music was the modular approach of polychoral pieces. Without the Gabrieli the Venetian contribution would have been far smaller than it is, and despite the seeming ubiquity of their music today, a few little known works of massive proportions are known from manuscripts rather than prints. In addition to the *Concerti* (1587) and the *Sacrae Symphoniae*, the posthumous collection of his *Canzoni e sonate* for 3 to 22 instruments (1615) testifies to the continuing expansion of the genre. In his works sonorities were often contrasted by timbre (string vs wind) or by range (*acuto* vs *grave*). The organists accompanying these groups (which included portative players if there were more than two groups of instrumentalists) normally found only the lowest voice of a *coro* transcribed in the *organo* part-book. Cues to gross differences of timbre or range occasionally included modular indications (cues for Coro 1, Coro 2 et al.).

In instrumental contexts, polychoral practice contributed one little mentioned feature to later Venetian instrumental music. This was the echo effect, which gained traction during Monteverdi's era but was an inherent possibility in the robust pieces of Gabrieli's. To get from a simple polychoral idea to a substantial musical piece, it was necessary only to conjugate a polyphonic phrase through all its permutations—by exact repetition, repetition with contrast between registers, repetition with contrast between timbres, and so forth. Differentiated repetition was slowly mutated into paraphrases and extensions, forming the principle elements of the musical grammar of antecedents and consequents. Through the combination of this evolving grammar with contrasts of texture and timbre, the vocabulary of the early concerto was in gestation.

Meanwhile the fledgling violinists (for whom Gabrieli also composed) and other strings players were steeped in the present—in the kind of minutiae Diruta addressed but also in techniques of tonguing and bowing capable of producing subtle differences of articulation. They were architects of sound, not (like some organists) of the correctness of signs on a page. Broadly considered, the details of virtuosic content were not typically specified in print until the 1620s, when Dario Castello filled page after page with long runs of *tremoletti* and other acrobatic devices in *passaggi*. A wind player himself, Castello is likely to have emerged from the wind community of Venice in the 1580s and have been cognizant of the examples of Dalla Casa and Bassano's books. Yet, in parallel to Gabrieli, he demonstrated to an unprecedented degree the ways in which soloists within the group could enhance the music with almost unbridled abandon. Meanwhile it is likely to have been Bassano who paved the way from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth during his 16-year tenure *are maestro de' concerti* at St. Mark's (1601-17).

Bibliography

Baroncini, Rodolfo. 'Giovan Battista Fontana "dal violino": nuove acquisizioni biografiche?' *Recercare* 2 (1990), 213-224.

Baroncini, Rodolfo. 'Il complesso di "violini": Diffusione, funzioni, struttura e "fortuna" di una assieme cinquecentesco poco noto.' *Revista di Musicologia* 16/6 (1993), 3369-88.

Baroncini, Rodolfo. 'Contributo alla storia del violino nel sedicesimo secolo: i "sonadori di violini" della Scuola Grande di San Rocco a Venezia.' *Recercare* 6 (1994), 61-190.

Bovicelli, Gio. Battista. *Regole, passaggi di musica: madrigali, e motetti passeggiati* (Venice, 1594), facs. edn. with notes by Nanie Bridgman. Kassel and Basel, 1957.

Brown, Howard Mayer. *Instrumental music printed before 1600; a bibliography*. Cambridge, MA, 1965.

Brown, Howard Mayer. 'Embellishment in sixteenth-century Italian intabulations.' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 100 (1973-4), 49-83.

Bryant, David. 'Giovanni Gabrieli.' *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 31 July 2014.

Calmo, Andrea. *Delle lettere di M. Andrea Calmo*, 4 vols. Venice, 1581.

Dalla Libera, Sandro. *L'arte degli organi a Venezia*. Venice, 1962.

Degrada, Francesco (ed.). *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*. Florence, 1985.

Diarii di Marin Sanudo (1496-1533), 58 vols. Venice, 1879-1903 (R/Bologna, 1979-80).

Edwards, Rebecca. 'Claudio Merulo: Servant of the state and musical entrepreneur in sixteenth-century Venice.' Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1990.

Edwards, Rebecca. 'Becoming Magnificent: Giovanni Gabrieli from his *Annus horribilus* to his death in 1612.' *Musica Disciplina* 56 (2011), 335-418.

Erig, Richard with Veronika Guttmann. *Italienische Diminutionen: die zwischen 1553 und 1638 mehrmals bearbeiteten Sätze*. Zürich, 1979.

Fischer, Klaus. 'The Accademia Filarmonica in Verona in the first third of the seventeenth century.' *Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium* (2004), 145-154.

Glixon, Jonathan. *Honoring God and the city: Music at the Venetian confraternities (1260-1807)*. Oxford, 2003.

Kämper, Dietrich. *Studien zur instrumental Ensemblesmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien*. Cologne, 1970.

Ongaro, Giulio. 'Sixteenth-century wind instrument makers and their clients.' *Early Music* 13/3 (1985), 391-97.

Ongaro, Giulio. 'Sixteenth-century patronage at St. Mark's Venice.' *Early Music History* 8 (1988), 81-115.

Pressacco, Gilberto. 'La tradizione liturgico-musicale di Aquileia.' *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia*. Bologna, 1987: *Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, vol. 2, 119-29. Bologna, 1990.

Quaranta, Elena. *Oltre San Marco: Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento*. Florence, 1998.

Ravasio, Ugo. *Liuteria bresciana*. <<http://www.liuteriabresciana.it>>

Sartori, Claudio. *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampato in Italia fino al 1700*, 2 vols. Florence, 1952, 1958.

Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. 'Bassano and the St. Mark's Orchestra.' *Early Music* (1976), 152-58.

Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. 'Gabrieli and the Organ.' *Organ Yearbook* 8 (1977), 2-19.

Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. 'Canzona vs Sonata: Some Differences in Social Identity.' *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 9 (1978), 111-19.

Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*. Oxford and New York, 1974/ rev. Mineola, 1994.

Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. *Song and Season: Science, Culture, and Theatrical Time in Early Modern Venice*. Stanford, 2007.

Van der Meer, Henry and Rainer Weber. 'Catalogo degli strumenti musicali dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona.' *Gli strumenti dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona attraverso i secoli*, ed. Enrico Paganuzzi. Verona, 1982.

Vio, Gastone. *Le scuole piccolo nella Venezia dei dogi: Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane*. Vicenza, 2004.