

THE INFLUENCE OF THE
MADRIGALI MODERNI
ON JOHANN JACOB FROBERGER'S
KEYBOARD MUSIC

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A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor Philosophiae (Musicae), in the Faculty of the Humanities, Department of Music, at the University of the Free State, South Africa.

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Dedication

To my husband, Adri, the love of my life.

For all the years of support and friendship.

Statement of Originality

I declare that the thesis “The Influence of the *Madrigali Moderni* on Johann Jacob Froberger’s Keyboard Music”, hereby handed in for the qualification Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work and that I have not previously submitted the same work for a qualification at another University.

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Abstract

English Abstract

The research is based upon the hypothesis that the keyboard music of Johann Jacob Froberger (1616-1667) was significantly influenced by the music of the Italian secular madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, madrigal composers were at the forefront of musical development and it is plausible that their innovations should have had a significant influence on Froberger, contributing to the development of his expressive keyboard style. The madrigal composers used various new compositional techniques, many of them aimed at expressing emotions. Characteristics of the style of the *madrigali moderni* (a term used by Frescobaldi in the 1637 preface to *Toccate e Partite, Libro Primo*) include the variation of tempo for expressive purposes, word painting, new types of ornamentation, adventurous harmony, chromaticism and dissonance and quickly changing rhythmic and textural features. The aim of this thesis is to show how Froberger adapted these techniques for use in his keyboard style.

In order to test the hypothesis, I researched the musical characteristics of the Italian secular madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Some Italian vocal music other than secular madrigals was analyzed and some madrigals and other vocal music from a little earlier or a little later were also consulted. However, the vast majority of the examples that I have used to illustrate my findings come from Italian secular madrigals composed (or at least published) in the late 16th and early 17th century when the composition of madrigals was at its peak in both volume and brilliance. A detailed style-critical study of the entire keyboard oeuvre of Froberger was undertaken to determine if the various characteristics of this vocal music could be found in his music. Some of Froberger's (Italian) predecessors on the keyboard, such as de Macque, Mayone, Trabaci, Frescobaldi and Michelangelo Rossi seem also to have been influenced by the Italian madrigalists and where appropriate, I have included examples from the works of these composers.

Before the main body of the research, I have included a chapter on Froberger's life and travels; a comprehensive collection of the information that is currently known. In recent years, some fascinating research has been undertaken that has thrown light on Froberger's life and travels, but all the information has not previously been presented in a chronological format.

The main body of the research is divided into four sections, each of which discusses a particular musical aspect of the madrigals and shows similar usage in Froberger's works. The first of these sections discusses the use of "madrigalisms" for expressive ends. This chapter analyses some of the more commonly used word painting devices and shows their use in madrigals and in Froberger's music. The second of these sections discusses *sprezzatura* in the wider meaning given to it by Caccini in his *Nuove Musiche* (1601/2), where it encompasses not only rhapsodic tempo fluctuations but also the use of dissonance for expressive purposes. The third section discusses the use of ornaments in the madrigals and shows how Froberger used a variety of specifically Italian vocal ornaments in his music, as well as the more standard range of ornaments used by keyboard composers. The fourth section describes the continuous invention and diversity present in the madrigals and in Froberger's music. This invention manifests itself in, amongst other things, the use of a wide variety of rhythms and textures to portray the agitation of the passions and a delight in complexity.

Within these sections, the theories of the time are discussed, examples are given from the madrigals and parallel examples are drawn from Froberger's music. At the end of the thesis four case studies are presented to show how the hypothesis fits entire works by Froberger. Froberger's oeuvre can arguably be divided into laments (and similar forms), *partitas*, contrapuntal works and *toccatas*. The case studies are intended to represent one of each of these forms. In each of the studies, certain aspects of the music are compared to the madrigals and parallels are drawn to extra-musical events or phenomena in order to place the particular composition in its historical and social context.

Afrikaans Abstract

Hierdie navorsing is gebaseer op die hipotese dat die klawerbordmusiek van Johann Jacob Froberger (1616-1667) beduidend deur die musiek van die sekulêre madrigale van die laat sestiende en vroeë sewentiende eeu in Italië beïnvloed is.

In die laat sestiende en vroeë sewentiende eeu was madrigaalkomponiste aan die voorpunt van musikale ontwikkeling, en daar kan aanvaar word dat hulle vernuwings 'n beduidende invloed op Froberger moes gehad het, wat bygedra het tot die ontwikkeling van sy ekspressiewe klawerbordstyl. Die madrigaalkomponiste het verskeie nuwe komposisietegnieke gebruik, waarvan baie gepoog het om emosies uit te druk. Eienskappe van die *madrigali moderni*-styl ('n term wat Frescobaldi gebruik het in die voorwoord tot sy *Toccate e Partite, Libro Primo* van 1637) sluit tempowisseling vir ekspressiewe doeleindes in, woordskildering, nuwe soorte ornamentering, avontuurlike harmonisering, chromatiek en dissonansie, asook vinnig veranderende ritmiese en teksturele eienskappe. Die doel van hierdie proefskrif is om aan te toon hoe Froberger hierdie tegnieke aangepas het vir gebruik in sy klawerbordstyl.

Om die gestelde hipotese te kan toets, het ek die musikale eienskappe van die Italiaanse sekulêre madrigale van die laat sestiende en vroeë sewentiende eeu ondersoek. Behalwe die sekulêre madrigale is ook ander Italiaanse vokale musiek ontleed, en sommige madrigale en ander vokale musiek van effens vroeër of later is ook geraadpleeg. Die grootste gros van die voorbeelde wat ek gebruik het om my bevindinge te illustreer kom egter uit die Italiaanse sekulêre madrigale wat in die laat sestiende en vroeë sewentiende eeu gekomponeer (of ten minste toe publiseer) is, toe die komponeer van madrigale 'n toppunt in volume en glans bereik het. 'n Gedetailleerde stylkritiese studie van die hele klawerbord-oeuvre van Froberger is gedoen om te bepaal of die verskillende eienskappe van hierdie vokale musiek in sy werke gevind kan word. Party van Froberger se (Italiaanse) voorgangers op die klawerbord, soos de Macque, Mayone, Trabaci, Frescobaldi en Michelangelo Rossi blyk ook deur die Italiaanse madrigaliste beïnvloed te wees, en waar toepaslik, het ek voorbeelde van hierdie komponiste se werke ingesluit.

Voorafgaande aan die hoofdeel van hierdie navorsing het ek 'n hoofstuk oor Froberger se lewe en reise ingesluit; 'n omvattende byeenbring van die inligting wat tans bekend is. In meer onlangse jare is boeiende navorsing gedoen wat die lig gewerp het op Froberger se lewe en reise, maar hierdie inligting is nog nie vantevore in chronologiese formaat op skrif gestel nie.

Die hoofdeel van die navorsing is in vier afdelings ingedeel wat elkeen 'n spesifieke musikale aspek van die madrigale bespreek, en ooreenstemmende gebruik in Froberger se werke aantoon. Die eerste van hierdie afdelings bespreek die gebruik van "madrigalisms" vir ekspressiewe doeleindes. Hierdie hoofstuk ontleed sommige van die meer gebruiklike woordskilderingstegnieke en toon hulle gebruik in madrigale en in Froberger se musiek aan. Die tweede afdeling bespreek *sprezzatura* in die wyer betekenis wat Caccini daaraan gegee het in sy *Nuove Musiche* (1601/2), waar dit nie net om rapsodiese tempowisselinge gaan nie, maar ook om die gebruik van dissonansie vir ekspressiewe doeleindes. Die derde afdeling bespreek die gebruik van ornamentering in die madrigale en toon aan hoe Froberger 'n verskeidenheid spesifiek Italiaanse vokale versierings in sy musiek gebruik het, asook die meer standaard reeks versierings wat deur klawerbordkomponiste gebruik is. Die vierde afdeling beskryf die voortdurende uitvindings en verskeidenheid wat in die madrigale en in Froberger se werk teenwoordig is. Hierdie uitvindings word gemanifesteer in onder andere die gebruik van 'n wye verskeidenheid ritmes en teksture om die agitasie van die passies en 'n behae in kompleksiteit uit te beeld.

In hierdie afdelings word teorieë uit die tyd bespreek, en voorbeelde word gegee uit die madrigale met parallelle voorbeelde uit Froberger se musiek. Aan die einde van die proefskrif word vier gevallestudies aangebied om aan te toon hoe die hipotese op hele werke van Froberger van toepassing is. Froberger se oeuvre kan moontlik verdeel word in klaagliedere (en soortgelyke vorme), *partitas*, kontrapuntale werke en *toccatas*. Die gevallestudies poog om een van elk van hierdie vorme voor te stel. In elk van hierdie studies word sekere aspekte van die musiek met die madrigale vergelyk, en parallelle word getrek na buite-musikale gebeure of verskynsels om die betrokke komposisie binne 'n historiese of sosiale konteks te plaas.

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Firstly, I would like to thank Johann Jacob Froberger. His wonderful music has filled me with awe and admiration for many years.

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I owe a debt of gratitude to John Reid Coulter which can probably never be repaid. He was my harpsichord teacher for many years and introduced me to the music of Froberger, amongst many other remarkable composers. Under his expert guidance, I learned to love Early Music.

My grateful thanks go also to Dr Naomi Barker of Open University for sharing her vast knowledge about early keyboard music and to John Lucas who spent days proof-reading, patiently correcting any spelling and grammatical blunders. It goes without saying that any mistakes still in this document are all mine.

The painstaking research published by many brilliant scholars has provided the springboard for this thesis. In particular, I would like to mention Siegbert Rampe, whose edition of Froberger's works has been my constant companion for the duration of my research. Also, Bob van Asperen, David Schulenberg, Simon Maguire, Willi Apel, Maria Maniates, Claude Palisca, Rudolf Rasch, Peter Wollny and Alexander Silbiger. There are several websites without which this thesis would not have been possible and the most important of these are Grove Music online, IMSLP and Choralwiki. Details of the publications and the websites that I have consulted are contained in the bibliography at the end of this thesis.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THIS RESEARCH

1. 1 The Aim of this Research

The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that the keyboard music of Johann Jacob Froberger (1616-1667) was significantly influenced by the Italian secular madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. *I madrigali moderni* (the modern madrigals) was a term used by Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643) to describe these madrigals in the revised edition of his *Toccate e Partite, Libro Primo* (1637).

Primieramente, che non dee questo modo di sonare stare soggetto à battuta, come veggiamo usarsi ne i madrigali moderni, i quali quantunque difficili si ageuolano per mezzo della battuta portandola hor languida, hor veloce, è sostenendola etianadio in aria secondo i loro afetti, ò senso delle parole (Frescobaldi: 1637).

Firstly, this style of playing must not be held to a strict beat, but rather as with the modern style of madrigals, where the difficulties are reduced by taking the beat slowly at some times and fast at others, and even pausing sometimes as suggested by the emotions (*afetti*) or the meaning of the words.

Although Frescobaldi's exact meaning is open to debate, it seems clear that he was referring to madrigals in which the meaning of the text was paramount and deviations from hitherto accepted practice (such as tempo fluctuations) were acceptable, and required, in order to enhance the meaning of the words. He was referring to the madrigals of the *seconda pratica*. The terms *madrigali moderni* and *seconda pratica* are discussed further in section 1.6.

Although Northern Italy is generally associated with the rise of the *seconda pratica*, the style was adopted in other Italian centres and spread rapidly to other courts in Europe. One of these was

Vienna, where Froberger lived and worked for several years. Another was Rome, where Froberger studied with Frescobaldi from 1637-1641. The Habsburg dynasty in Vienna had strong family ties with Mantua, one of the main centres of madrigal composition, and, in the early part of the 17th century, Rome became increasingly important in the history of the madrigal because of the multitude of wealthy patrons, which included the Pope, cardinals, local nobility and influential foreigners such as ambassadors (Mabbett 1989:116). In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, madrigal composers were at the forefront of musical development and it is plausible that their innovations should have had a significant influence on Froberger, contributing to the development of his expressive keyboard style. The madrigal composers used various new compositional techniques, many of them aimed at expressing emotions. As will be shown in the research, characteristics of the style of the *madrigali moderni* include the variation of tempo for expressive purposes, word painting, new types of ornamentation, adventurous chromaticism and dissonance and quickly changing rhythmic and textural features. The aim of this thesis is to show how Froberger adapted these techniques for use in his keyboard style. Throughout, the emphasis is on the use of these various musical means for expressive purposes. Where appropriate, I have also drawn links between Froberger and his Italian keyboard predecessors, in particular Frescobaldi and the composers of the Early Neapolitan Keyboard School, many of whom also wrote madrigals. In addition to being influenced by the more famous madrigalists, these earlier keyboard composers may well have had a reciprocal influence on vocal music. Certainly there are some interesting links between Naples and various hotspots of madrigal composition, notably Ferrara.

It may be argued that Froberger, as an influential and modern composer of his times, was merely using the common musical language of his peers. Whereas this comment is partly true, Froberger adapted the musical language of the madrigalists to the keyboard in ways that went far beyond the musical language used by his keyboard predecessors and contemporaries. It might also be argued that there is no direct link between Froberger and the madrigals and that Froberger assimilated madrigalist influences via Frescobaldi. It is undoubtedly true that Froberger's music owes a great deal to his famous teacher, but his use of word painting, vocal ornaments and rhapsodic playing is much more extreme than Frescobaldi's, as will be shown in the following chapters. Frescobaldi's "madrigalisms" are to be found mainly in his *toccatas*, whereas Froberger's "madrigalisms" are present in his *toccatas*, *canzons*, *fantasias*, *capriccios*, *partitas*, *tombeaux* and *lamentations*. Froberger's many programmatic pieces provide a direct link with the spoken word via a description

of the events or feelings that he intended to portray; this makes it easier to identify word painting devices in his music. Frescobaldi did not write overtly programmatic pieces or provide such descriptions.

In adapting the language of the madrigalists to the keyboard, Froberger was provided with constraints that are not present in vocal music and opportunities to expand the musical offering to levels that are not achievable by the voice. His wide travels within Europe exposed him to a variety of other musical styles that he added to the mix and his own inventive genius provided the final touch. The result was that he brought the language of the keyboard to new heights of expression and in doing so became justly famous for his ability to portray emotions and to tell entire stories at the keyboard.

It may also be argued that, by the time Froberger was compositionally active (late 1630s? until his death in 1667), the polyphonic madrigal was largely a thing of the past. It had been replaced by the concerted madrigal and even this form was in its last flowering. However, it would be a mistake to think that the madrigal, in any of its forms, was no longer influential. In her doctoral thesis, Margaret Mabbett effectively debunked the myth that the madrigal was only a late Renaissance and early Baroque phenomenon.

While the madrigal suffered a severe blow in the 1650s when Magni and Vincenti, its two major publishers, ceased their madrigal production, it soon recovered sufficiently to find its way into a host of different social situations and musical contexts. References to the death or decline of the madrigal are therefore out of place: it may have withdrawn from the limelight, but it remained a useful forum for the development of ideas and techniques and continued to make its influence felt for many decades to come (Mabbett 1989:268).

Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), for instance, published his eighth book of madrigals in 1638, when Froberger was 22 years old and his ninth was published, posthumously, in 1651 (Froberger

was 35). It is worth noting that Monteverdi, like Froberger, had significant links with the Habsburg Court, via the Emperor's strong family ties with the Gonzagas of Mantua who continued to give Monteverdi commissions long after he officially left their employment. When Eleonora Gonzaga married Ferdinand II in 1622, Monteverdi supplied the *intermedi* for the wedding (Carter and Chew: 2012). Later, Monteverdi dedicated his eighth book of madrigals to Ferdinand III. Thus, in Froberger's lifetime, the madrigal was still a force to be reckoned with. In discussing the polyphonic madrigal in particular, Newcomb (Fischer et al: 2011) elaborates on this as follows:

The polyphonic madrigal without independent instrumental bass was by no means ignored by composers after 1600, however. A particularly vigorous school centering on Naples continued well into the century (Larson, 1985), producing dozens of published madrigal books, some following the style of Gesualdo's last books (1611 and 1626¹), some in less extreme styles. Important and productive schools of polyphonic madrigal composition in the early 17th century also existed in Rome (including Felice Anerio, Cifra, Frescobaldi, Mazzocchi and G.B. Nanino), in Tuscany (Bati, Marco da Gagliano, Del Turco, Fontanelli and Pecci), in the Este and Gonzaga domains (Monteverdi in books 4 through 6, Pallavicino, Salamone Rossi and Orazio Vecchi) and in Venice (especially among the cisalpine students of Giovanni Gabrieli such as Schütz, Pederson and Grabbe) (Küster, 1995). The published output of especially the first two groups still awaits careful study. One of the most outstanding composers of the late polyphonic madrigal, Sigismondo D'India, seems to have worked and resided in all of these places (with the possible exception of Venice) at some time in his career, though his longest permanence (1611–23) was in the Savoy court in Turin. Some important examples of the late polyphonic madrigal survive only in manuscript, such as those by Michelangelo Rossi, Alessandro Scarlatti and Lotti. The last two also testify to the survival of the genre late into the century.

¹ The 1626 edition was a posthumous publication of his madrigals for 6 voices. Gesualdo died in 1613.

Froberger had ample opportunity to listen to both polyphonic and concerted madrigals in his formative years. Until he went to Vienna at the age of eighteen, Froberger lived in Württemberg, (Stuttgart) where his father, Basilius, was Kapellmeister. According to Rampe (Froberger: 1995:XXI) the Stuttgart Court Chapel had access to “an amazing number of international musicians”. In his youth, Froberger would also have had access to a substantial library of music. In 1639, copies of 103 volumes in Basilius’s music library were sold to the Court by his sons Isaac and Johann Georg, who kept the originals (Siedentopf. 1977:26ff). Amongst these volumes were several books of madrigals by Italian composers. Once Froberger went to the spectacular Viennese court at the age of eighteen (1634), his musical horizons would have been opened even further. He studied with Frescobaldi in Rome for three and a half years (1637-41), and during that time it is probable that he would have been further exposed to the work of Italian madrigal composers (of whom Frescobaldi himself was one).

In describing what this study encompasses, it is perhaps suitable to state what it does not encompass. It is not my intention to trace any links between Froberger and his Northern European predecessors such as Sweelinck, Scheidt, Schein or Scheidemann. There is no doubt that Froberger was influenced by the French lutenists and clavecinists. In return he seems to have had a significant influence on the French as well. However, it is not the purpose of this study to delve into this aspect of his music in any depth, although I could not entirely avoid the subject, particularly as some of Froberger’s music was composed in Paris and commemorates events that took place whilst he was there. His influence on the young Louis Couperin (1626-1661) was pronounced and several examples of this influence are given in the thesis where they are relevant to the Italian madrigals.

It has been argued that the format of many compositions of the era follow the format of classical rhetoric, using *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* for example (Carter and Butt 2005:848; Wilson 2010; Buelow 2010). Although we have very little information about Froberger’s early years, his easy acceptance by various members of the nobility and his undoubted command of several languages seems to indicate that he was well-educated. The education of the times would have involved a thorough grounding in the art of rhetoric and it is reasonable to suppose that Froberger would have had such an education. However, it is not the purpose of this study to determine whether or not

Froberger used the principles of classical rhetoric as a logical framework for some of his compositions.

The style of the Italian madrigalists was widely admired and it spread not only throughout Italy but into other centres in Europe as well. It is not the purpose of this study to determine if non-Italian composers of vocal music might have had an influence on Froberger. The French composers of the *Airs de Cour* would be a case in point and would provide an interesting topic for further research.

In addition to the numerous keyboard works, I know of three other works by Froberger: two motets and an instrumental ensemble. Volume VII of the new edition of Froberger's works edited by Rampe (not yet published) contains "vocal and instrumental works" so there may be other non-keyboard works by Froberger of which I am unaware. As the thesis is about Froberger's keyboard music, these other works do not feature in the research at all.

In summary, this research intends to demonstrate the influence that the Italian madrigals had on Froberger's keyboard style. The links between Froberger and the madrigalists will probably come as no great surprise to many Early Music enthusiasts and several experts on Early Music have alluded to such connections in various articles. The inspiration for the subject of this thesis actually came from a comment made by David Schulenberg:

Much of Froberger's keyboard music, like that of his teacher Frescobaldi, was vocally inspired, and therefore it is not surprising to encounter, especially in his *toccatas* and laments, the elements of vocal performance that were presumably used in what Frescobaldi called *madrigali moderni* (Schulenberg 2008).

However, an in-depth study of the effect of the madrigalists on Froberger has not previously been undertaken and, in doing the research, I must confess to having been surprised at the extent of the influence on Froberger and delighted by the wealth of proof.

1. 2 The Structure of the Thesis

After the Introduction, the thesis begins with a chapter on Froberger's life and travels; a comprehensive collection of the information that is currently known together with some new interpretations. In undertaking the research needed for this thesis, I was continuously frustrated at the piecemeal nature of the information about Froberger's life. In recent years, some fascinating studies have thrown light on Froberger's life and travels, but the entire body of information has not previously been presented in a chronological format. Thereafter, the research is divided into four main chapters, each of which discusses a particular aspect of the madrigals and the influence on Froberger in depth.

These four chapters are:

Word Painting: The use of "Madrigalisms" for expressive ends. Madrigal composers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries strove to move the *affetti* (emotions or passions) in their music by expressing emotions related to the text, such as despair, love, anger and jealousy, via word painting devices. Although not all "madrigalisms" portray melancholy words, most do, and the introspection and anguish that characterises most of the madrigals is a feature of many of Froberger's works. This chapter analyses some of the more commonly used word painting devices and shows their use in madrigals and in Froberger's keyboard music.

Sprezzatura: Sprezzatura was a word coined by Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) to mean an aristocratic demeanour whereby whatever is said or done seems effortless (Castiglioni 1528:35). The word was appropriated by Giulio Caccini (1551-1618) and applied to music to mean an aristocratic nonchalance with regard to tempo. (Caccini. Preface to *Euridice*: 1601). At the beginning of the 17th century, composers of vocal music expected performers to change the tempo of the music to fit the meaning of the words. To depict the emotions, slow passages alternated with fast passages and individual words or phrases were sung without necessarily adhering strictly to the beat. Froberger's use of the words *avec* (or *à la*) *discretion* (with discretion) seem to indicate a

flexible approach to tempo. In *Le Nuove Musiche* (1601/2)² and *Le Nuove Musiche e Nuova Maniera di Scriverle* (1614) Caccini broadened the meaning of *Sprezzatura* to include not only a rhapsodic approach, but also the introduction of unorthodox dissonances for expressive purposes.

Vocal Ornaments: The use of ornamentation by the composer for expressive purposes was one of the fundamental elements of the late 16th century and early-to-mid 17th century style. New technically demanding ornaments were introduced (Kreitner et al 2010) and performers were expected to be able to add ornaments where appropriate. This inevitably led to the insertion of numerous, often lengthy, ornaments at inappropriate places (Caccini 1614: preface) and composers started to write the ornaments into the music to limit this practice. The research will show how Froberger used a variety of specifically vocal ornaments in his music, as well as the more standard range of ornaments used by keyboard composers.

Meraviglia: Late 16th century and early 17th century madrigals are characterised by their continuous invention and diversity. Composers used a wide variety of rhythms and textures to portray the volatility of the passions, resulting in music characterised by an unremitting restlessness: an agitation which is yet further intensified by the uneasy fusion of the modal and the tonal systems. Contrast seems to be an essential element and a continuous stream of invention was called for to provide musical interest and evoke a sense of *meraviglia* (amazement) in the audiences. A related aspect is the delight in complexity: the emphasis was on virtuoso display and, with few exceptions, the music is only playable or singable by performers with a high degree of technical skill. Deliberate flaunting of the traditional rules of dissonance added to the bold, modern style. Froberger's keyboard music adapts these elements to the keyboard, providing an endless stream of invention and a delight in complexity.

On many occasions a particular aspect of Froberger's music could fit comfortably into more than one of these four chapters. In a sense, the three later chapters are all sub-sections of the chapter on word painting. Tempo fluctuations, ornamentation, rhythmic changes and dissonance were all used

² The front page of *Le Nuove Musiche* is dated 1601, the back page, 1602. Caccini's publication was delayed because of the death of his publisher Giorgio Marescotti. (Carter 1984:208.)

for musical word painting and the depiction of emotions. However, in order to break the research down into manageable sections, I have introduced some artificial boundaries and partitioned the information into chapters. In reality, as in music and indeed as in life, the boundaries are fluid. One part influences the next and each is a subsection of the other. For example, the *tirata*, which is an ornament, has been included in the section on Word Painting because it was so commonly used to illustrate extreme distress. Similarly, the use of dissonance could be included under *Sprezzatura*, but I decided to include it in the chapter on *Meraviglia*, because it illustrates the daring, almost iconoclastic, style of the madrigalists.

Within these chapters, the theories of the time are discussed, examples given from the madrigals and equivalent examples shown in Froberger's oeuvre. Most of the examples are from the most famous of the madrigalists, such as Monteverdi, Caccini, Luca Marenzio (c.1553-1599) and Carlo Gesualdo (1566-1613) although examples from lesser-known composers have been used as well. Where relevant, examples of keyboard music from Froberger's Italian predecessors are also given. Throughout, parallels are drawn to examples of authenticated works by Froberger that are either present in one of the four existing autographs or that have been convincingly identified, by Rampe, Adler, Silbiger, Schulenberg, Wollny, Schott, Rasch, Dirksen and others, as being part of his oeuvre.

After these four main sections, four case-studies are presented to show how Froberger used the various techniques of the madrigalists in entire compositions. Froberger's oeuvre can arguably be divided into laments (and similar forms), *partitas* (dance suites), contrapuntal works and *toccatas*. The case studies are intended to represent one of each of these forms. In each of the studies, certain aspects of the music are compared to the madrigals and parallels are drawn to extra-musical events or phenomena in order to place the particular composition in its historical and social context. These case studies examine:

- the famous *Tombeau* for Froberger's lutenist friend, Blancrocher,
- the *Meditation* on his own death (an *allemande*) and the *gigue* from the same *partita*,
- *Capriccio FbWV 517* from his *Libro Quarto* and
- *Toccatà FbWV 102* from his *Libro Secondo*.

Following the case studies are the Conclusions and the Bibliography.

1.3 The Methodology

In order to test the hypothesis, I researched the musical characteristics of the Italian secular madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Some Italian vocal music other than secular madrigals was analysed and some madrigals and other vocal music from a little earlier or a little later were also consulted. However, the vast majority of the examples that I have used to illustrate my findings come from Italian secular madrigals composed (or at least published) in the late 16th and early 17th centuries when the composition of madrigals was at its peak in both volume and brilliance. Many significant composers published books of madrigals, often set to poems by well-respected poets. Monteverdi published nine such books, Gesualdo published seven and Marenzio published eighteen books of secular madrigals. In addition to these three, composers such as Claudio Saracini (1586-1630), Giaches de Wert (1535-1596), Giacomo Carissimi (1605-1674), Luzzasco Luzzaschi (c.1545-1607), Sigismondo D'India (c.1582-c.1629), Achille Falcone (c.1570/5-1600), Marco da Gagliano (1582-1643), Barbara Strozzi (1619-1677), Orazio Vecchi (1550-1605), Cipriano de Rore (1515/16-1565), Piero Benedetti (c.1585-c.1649), Giulio Caccini (1551-1618), Jacopo Peri (1561-1633) and Giovanni Rovetta (1595/7-1668) were studied, amongst others.

A detailed style-critical study of the entire keyboard oeuvre of Froberger was undertaken to determine if the various characteristics of this vocal music could be found in his music. Some of Froberger's (Italian) predecessors on the keyboard, such as Giovanni de Macque (c.1548/50-1614), Asconio Mayone (c.1565-1627), Giovanni Maria Trabaci (c.1575-1647), Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643) and Michelangelo Rossi (c. 1602-1656), produced keyboard works that seem also to have been influenced by the secular madrigals, and, where appropriate, I have included examples from the works of these composers (who, incidentally, were also all madrigal composers). I apologise for the inferior quality of some of the examples from ancient manuscripts that I have used in the thesis. I thought it better to include examples of the original works where they were both available and legible, even if they were not perfect.

In addition, wherever they were available to me, I consulted facsimiles of 16th century and 17th century documents on musical philosophy and treatises on ornamentation and other aspects of music. Theorists of the time such as Giovanni Maria Artusi (c.1540-1613), Francesco Rognoni (fl.

early 17th century), Nicolo Vicentino (1511-1575), Girolamo Diruta (c.1554-after 25 March 1610) and Vincenzo Galilei (late 1520s-1591) were referenced. Prefaces to contemporary works were studied, such as Frescobaldi's prefaces on how to play his music and Caccini's introduction to *Le Nuove Musiche*. I read the original correspondence concerning Froberger by Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) and the original entries concerning Froberger in *Musurgia Universalis* by Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) in addition to various other old books, dictionaries and treatises.

My secondary research included the consultation of a great variety of scholarly publications and books, articles published on the Internet (duly filtered) and articles published by Grove Music Online. Modern investigations of the epoch, its key musical, political, artistic and literary figures and their works were studied in order to be able to place the music of the times in perspective and to determine the effect of significant non-musical events on the compositions. In addition, specific events in the life of Froberger were studied for the same reason. A full bibliography is available at the end of the thesis.

1. 4 The Sources of Froberger's Works

The sources of Froberger's keyboard compositions can be divided into two groups: those based on autographs and those based on contemporary copies. The copies can be divided into handwritten manuscripts and printed editions. Two of the printed editions that have survived, those of 1650 and 1660 (each of which includes only one work by Froberger), were probably prepared with Froberger's permission. The other printed editions of 1693, 1696 and 1698 were printed after his death (which occurred in 1667). At the time, it was very unusual for a printed edition of a composer's works to be issued after the composer's death and these posthumous editions are significant marks of the esteem in which Froberger was held and the enduring legacy of his music.

The autograph volumes consist of:

- *Libro Secondo* 1649. This libro consists of six *toccatas*, six *fantasias*, six *canzons* and six *partitas*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, Mus. Hs 18706. (Froberger 1993:89.)
- *Libro Quarto* 1656. This consists of six *toccatas*, six *ricercars*, six *capriccios* and six *partitas*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, Mus. Hs 18707. (Froberger 1995:116.)
- *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati* c. 1658. This consists of six *capriccios* and six *ricercars*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, Mus. Hs 16560. (Froberger 1995:116.)
- A newly discovered autograph dating from Froberger's later years, auctioned by Sotheby's in 2006 for GBP 310400 (henceforth referred to as the Sotheby's autograph). It is thought to have been written in Héricourt and to date from c. 1665-1667. (Maguire. 2006:3.) The current owner is unknown, and unfortunately the autograph is not available for inspection. It contains six *fantasies*, six *caprices*, five *partitas*, two *meditations* and two *tombeaux*. Eighteen of the thirty-five pieces were previously unknown. The first twelve pieces (the *fantasies* and the *caprices*) are new as well as one *partita*, a *meditation* and a *tombeau*. Also new are the titles attached to some of the previously known pieces and descriptions that shed further light on Froberger's last years. (Maguire 2006:10ff.) The autograph carries a misleading title in a different hand *Livre premiere. Des Fantasies, Caprices,*

Allemandes, Giges, Courantes, Sarabandes, Meditation. Composées par Jean Jacques Froberger. Organist de la chamber de la Majeste Imperiale. (First book. Fantasies, Caprices, Allemandes, Giges, Courantes, Sarabandes, Meditation. Composed by Jean Jacques Froberger. Organist of the chamber of his Imperial Majesty.) This title was presumably added later: it is not Froberger's missing *Libro Primo*, which must have been written before 1649, as it contains works that refer to events that date from much later; and at the time Froberger was not the Emperor's organist.

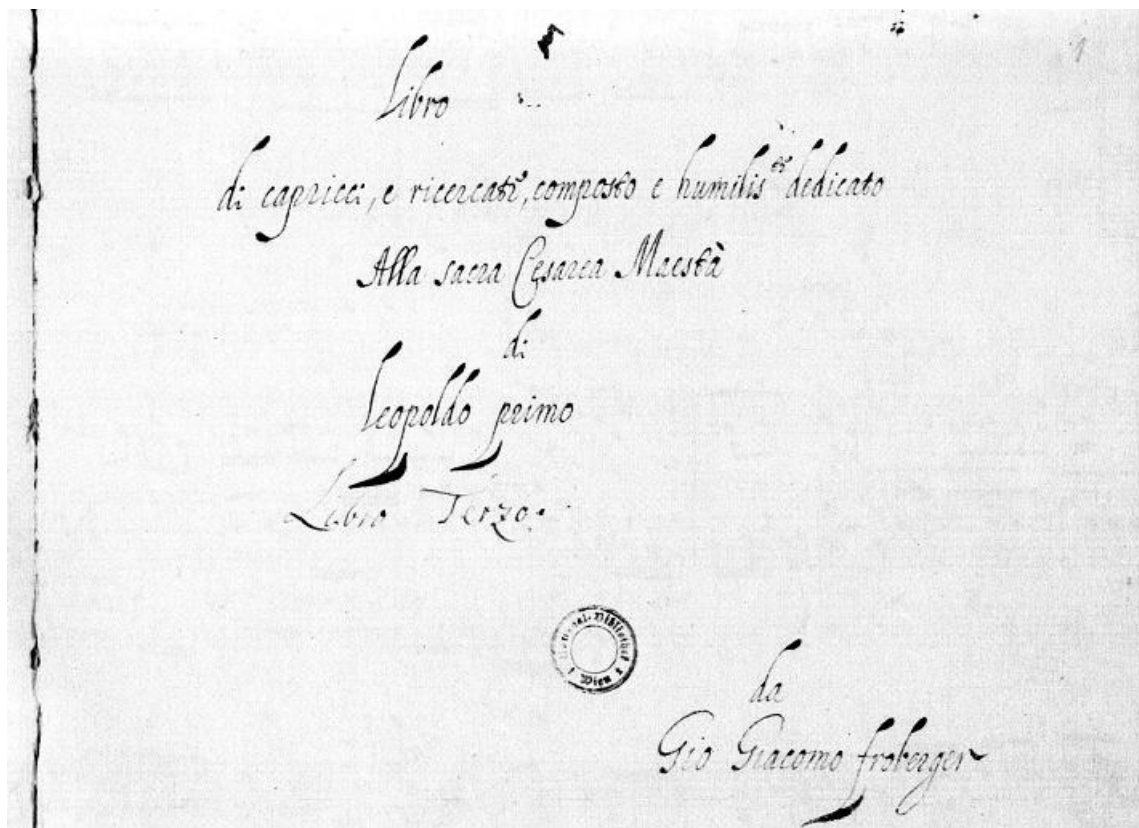
As implied, these works are all in Froberger's own hand. *Libri Secondo* and *Quarto*, are dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand III (1608-1657) of the Habsburg Empire: Froberger's employer, admirer and benefactor. Unfortunately, *Libro Primo* and *Libro Terzo*, and possibly others, have not yet come to light but the two *libri* that have survived are exquisitely crafted and beautifully illustrated volumes in excellent condition.



The title page to Froberger's Libro Quarto, dedicated to Ferdinand III, illustrated by Sautter.

(Froberger: 1995.)

Froberger dedicated the *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati*, also in excellent condition but a little less beautiful, to Ferdinand's successor, Leopold I, who fired him. The newly discovered autograph from Froberger's later years was probably preserved by Duchess Sibylla of Württemberg and Montbéliard (1620-1707), Froberger's benefactress at the end of his life. All the surviving autograph books were carefully notated presentation copies rather than working manuscripts, hence their pristine condition and lack of errors.



The title page to Froberger's Libro di Capricci e Ricercati, written by Froberger. (Froberger: 1995.)

The presentation of Froberger's autographs is interesting in that the composer used different notational styles for different types of music. His *toccatas* are in the Italian style, with six lines in the upper system and seven in the lower. This system of notation, unlike the other notations used by Froberger, show the exact distribution of the notes between the hands. His polyphonic works (*fantasias, canzons, ricercars* and *capriccios*) are on four systems of five lines each (*partitura*), each system representing one "voice". The *partitas* are in French notation, two systems of five lines each, like modern keyboard practice. The composer's musical notation is quite beautiful. It is easy to read,

precise and artistic, completely free of any corrections and with page turns at appropriate moments. Although these autographs were presentation copies, the fact that they were written so beautifully by Froberger himself gives an insight into his character, of which we know very little. If character traits may be read from handwriting then his autographs must surely give us an indication that he had a meticulous and exact nature and an artistic flair.



Froberger's handwriting. Allemanda from Partita FbWV 602 in French notation. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)



Froberger's handwriting. Extract from the Sotheby's autograph (a fantasia?) on four systems of five lines each. (Maguire: 2006.)



Froberger's handwriting. Toccata FbWV 102 in Italian style. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Below is a list of the non-autograph sources of Froberger's keyboard works in alphabetical order, plus a short description of each. These sources are mostly from the 17th century, with a few from the early years of the 18th century. I am indebted to Siegbert Rampe's painstaking research in the *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Clavier-und Orgelwerke*, Bärenreiter 1993-2011, for much of this information.

- Babell 1702**
British Library, London.
Mss 39569.
(Froberger. 2005:56.)
Clavier book of William Babell (c1690-1723) written by his father Charles Babell (d. before 1720). One of the largest collections of French and English keyboard music. Contains *Gigue* FbWV 607c and an ornamented version of FbWV 607a (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LII).
- Bauyn MS c 1676**
Bibliothèque Nationale,
Paris, Rés. Vm 674-675.
(Tilney. 1991:10.)
By an anonymous scribe. Probably Paris. It contains 23 works by Froberger in the third volume. Moroney discusses the likelihood that the scribe was Louis Couperin's brother, Francois (c.1631-c.1710, the uncle of Francois Couperin "le Grand") and that the works were copied from autographs belonging to Louis Couperin (Couperin. 1985:6ff). The Bauyn MS was written on paper that has been dated to 1676 (Fuller 2011, article on Chambonnières). This finding dates the MS to earlier than the date of 1690, which was previously accepted.
- Bulyowsky 1675**
Sächsische
Landesbibliothek, Dresden
Mus.1-T-595
(Froberger. 2005:56.)
Clavier book written by Michael Bulyowsky de Dulic (c1650-1712), probably from Strasbourg. It contains 13 of Froberger's *partitas* and one anonymous *partita*, now attributed to Froberger. The book claims to have copied FbWV 619 and 615a *Ex autografo*. FbWV 615a is ornamented. There are several programmatic annotations that survive only in this source (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LII). In some sources this is referred to as the "Dresden MS".
- Chigi Q.IV.25.**
Biblioteca Apostolica
Vaticana.
(Froberger. 2010:XIII.)
This MS belonged to Fabio Chigi (1599-1667) who became Pope Alexander VII in 1655. It contains works by Frescobaldi and three *toccatas* attributed to Froberger. The three scribes of the MS have been identified by Claudio Annibaldi as Nicolo Borbone, the engraver of Frescobaldi's books of *toccatas*, Frescobaldi's son, Domenico and Frescobaldi himself. (Froberger 2011:XIII.)

- Düben MS. 1641** This MS belonged to Gustav Düben (c.1628-1690). Stockholm. Written by Caspar Zengel (1620-?) and three other scribes. The MS contains Dutch, German and English keyboard music, two Italian madrigal intabulations and two works by Froberger: *Toccatà FbWV 114* and a “*Ricercare*”, actually *Fantasia FbWV 207*. (Froberger. 2011: XIII.)
- Upsala University Library.
Instr.mus.hs 408.
(Froberger. 2011: XIII.)
- E 1650** Kircher’s *Musurgia Universalis*. It contains the *Hexachord Fantasia*, FbWV 201, on Ut Re Me Fa Sol La, which Kircher used as a “perfect” example of the *stylus phantasticus* (Froberger. 1993:XXVIII). “E” in this and subsequent entries refers to a printed edition.
- Niedersächsische
Landesbibliothek Hanover.
K-A 7025.
(Froberger. 1993:89.)
- E 1660** *Fugues, et Caprices, a Quatre Parties Mises en Partition pour l’Orgue*. A publication by Francois Roberday in Paris which includes a “Fugue” by Froberger; in effect a version of his *Ricercar FbWV 407* (Froberger. 1995: Vol II:XXVIII).
- Bibliothèque Sainte-
Geneviève, Paris. Vm 127.
(Froberger. 1995:116.)
- E 1693** (reprinted 1695 and 1699) The first printed anthology of Froberger’s works. It contains eight *toccatas*, two *fantasias*, a *ricercar* and two *capriccios*, prepared from an autograph model, plus a *toccatà* by Kerll. Printed by the Mainz publisher Bourgeat in 1693 and reprinted in 1695 and 1699. (Froberger. 1993: XXIX).
- Library of King’s College,
Cambridge. (Froberger.
1993:89.)
- E 1696** A later anthology by Bourgeat. It contains five additional works, two *canzons* and three *capriccios*, of which two are complete versions of the previously shortened versions in E 1693 (Froberger. 1993: XXIX).
- British Library, London.
(Froberger. 1993:89.)
- E Amsterdam c.1698** 10 *partitas* found also in E Roger and E Mortier. See E Roger and E Mortier for more details (Froberger. 1995: Vol II:XXIX).
- Bibliothèque Nationale,
Paris.
(Froberger. 1995:116.)
- E Mortier. 1709/10** 10 *Suittes de Clavessin composées par Monsieur Giacomo Frobergue*. Amsterdam 1709/10. A pirated edition of E Roger, issued by Pierre Mortier. This is an inferior source as it is full of editorial changes (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XX).
- Bibliothèque Nationale,
Paris. Rés. 443.
(Froberger. 2005:57.)

- E Roger c.1698** *10 Suites de Clavessin composées par Mon^{sr} Giacomo Frobergue.*
British Library, London. Amsterdam 1698, issued by Estienne Roger (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XVIII).
(Froberger. 2005:57.)
- Eckelt. 1692** Tablature book once belonging to the organist Johann Valentin Eckelt (1673-1732) of Thuringia. Written by Eckelt and his teacher, Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706) in Erfurt. The MS contains works by mainly Pachelbel and Froberger as well as some works by other composers.
Biblioteka Jagiello Ska, Kraków.
(Froberger 2011:XIV.)
- Edgeworth. After 1697** Clavier book belonging to Elizabeth Edgeworth (?-1719) dated 1719 most likely written by her and her father, the composer John Blow (1649-1708). London after 1697. It contains one *partita*, two *fantasias*, one *ricercar*, two *capriccios* and seven *toccatas* by Froberger. All were previously published in E 1693, the Mainz first edition of Froberger's works (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1:XXIV).
Bibliotheek Koninklijk Conservatorium, Brussels, Ms. 15.418.
(Froberger. 2003:50.)
- Egerton c.1700** Clavier book, allegedly in the hand of the composer William Croft (1678-1727). Probably London c. 1700. It contains one *partita* by Froberger (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1:XXV).
British Library, London. Ms. Egerton 2959.
(Froberger. 2003:50.)
- Grimm 1698/99** Tablature book written by C Grimm, from the greater area of Hanover. It contains eleven *partitas* attributed to Froberger and six which may be by Froberger. These six works reveal experimental traits and may be works that Froberger had not set aside for dissemination (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LIV).
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, Mus. Hs. 16.798
(Froberger. 2005:57.)
- Hamburg 3209. 1738.** Clavier book written by Johann Anton Graf (1711-1791). Dated 1738. Mattsee/Salzburg. (Froberger 2011: XIV.)
Carl von Ossietzky State and University Library, Hamburg. ND VI 3209.
(Froberger 2011: XIV.)

Hintze MS c.1653?

Yale Music School,
Connecticut. Ma.21. H59.
(Froberger. 1995:116.)

A collection of essays on the French style with clavier pieces by various composers. The main scribe was Matthias Weckmann (c.1616-1674). Dresden. It contains copies of two autograph pieces by Froberger: *Meditation sur ma morte future* and the *courante* from *Partita FbWV 611* (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XXI). Rampe dates the MS to c.1653. The inclusion of the *Meditation*, which bears the date of 1660 in the Sing-Akademie MS, makes 1653 open to question.

Ihre 1679

Universitetsbiblioteket,
Uppsala. Ms Ihre 285.
(Froberger. 2005:57.)

Tablature book of Thomas Nilsson Ihre (1659-1720), written by Ihre himself and C Smit, probably from NE Germany. It contains six *partitas* by Froberger and a fragment of one *partita* (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LVII).

Innsbruck. After 1702.

Private collection,
Innsbruck.

Organ book written by "Essack" possibly Elias da Silva (c.1665-1732), a pupil of Johann Jacob Walther (c. 1658-1706), the keyboard composer and organist at Brixen Cathedral (not to be confused with the violin composer of the same name).

**Kloekhoff 1695 &
1695/6**

Archive of the Bosch van
Rosenthal family in the
Gelders Archief, Arnhem.
0724: 956 and 960
(Froberger. 2003:XIV.)

An amateur collection by two scribes. Two manuscripts contain the theme of FbWV 606 (*Auff die Mayerin*) and one previously unknown *partita*, FbWV 652, which is not included in Rampe's edition, possibly because, at the time of Rampe's publication, it was also being prepared for publication by D Lijmes (*De Kloekhoff-handschriften*). The error-free copy of FbWV 606 suggests that the works were transcribed from autographs. (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.2:XIV).

Leipzig 1681

Städtische Bibliotheken
Leipzig, Ms. II.6.19.
(Froberger. 2005:118.)

A tablature book by two anonymous scribes (possibly Anna and Georg Caspar Wecker). Probably Nuremberg. It contains two *partitas* of uncertain authorship. (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XXI).

Leipzig II.2.51. c. 1695

Städtische Bibliotheken
Leipzig, Ms. II.2.51.
(Froberger. 2005:57.)

The third part of a four-part manuscript volume in tablature by five anonymous scribes, probably central Germany, end 17th century. It contains five works by Froberger (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LVIII).

- LuRB KN 149. c.1667-70s.** A clavier book, written by two or three anonymous scribes. Perhaps central Germany, second half 17th century. It contains an *allemande* plus *double* and a *courante* plus *double* (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XXIII).
Rätsbücherei Lüneburg.
Mus.ant.pract.KN 149
(Froberger. 2005:118.)
- MH (Möller MS). 1703-8.** A clavier book belonging to Johann Christoph Bach (1671-1721) written by JC Bach, JS Bach and two unknown scribes. Ohrdruf (Thuringia). It is one of the principal sources for the early music of JS Bach. It contains FbWV 631 (by one of the unknown scribes) probably copied from an autograph. (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1:XXVI).
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.
Mus. Ms. 40644.
(Froberger: 2003:51.)
- Muffat.** A clavier book written by Gottlieb Muffat (1690-1770), Imperial Court Organist in Vienna 1717-c.1763. It contains 11 *toccatas* and 12 contrapuntal works by Froberger. Muffat probably had access to autographs, perhaps even the lost *Libri Primo* and *Terzo*.
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.
Mus. Ms. 6712.
(Froberger: 2010:XVI.)
- München 1503. c. 1660.** A clavier book, by an anonymous French scribe. France or Germany c.1660. It contains one *allemande* by Froberger (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1:XXIV).
München: Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek. Ms. 1503!
(Froberger: 2003:VI.)
- Neresheim 1661-82** A clavier book by three anonymous scribes. Neresheim Monastery, dated 1661-82. It contains one "cique" by Froberger. The MS is a principle source for Kerll's works (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XXIII).
Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek, München,
Mus.Mss.5368.
(Froberger. 2005:118.)
- OB 1695** The clavier book of Father Honorat Reich (1677-1732), probably written by him in Ottobeuren Monastery. It contains five *partitas*, one *courante* and one *gigue* by Froberger (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LXI).
Benediktinerabtei
Ottobeuren, Ms MO 1037.
(Froberger. 2005:57.)
- Parville** A clavier book by nine anonymous scribes and Monsieur de la Barre, organist. Paris, probably end 17th century. It contains one work by Froberger: *Gigue* FbWV 607a (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LX).
University of California,
Berkeley. Music Library MS
778 (Tilney 1991:10).

- Sainte Geneviève** A clavier book by five anonymous scribes. Probably Paris, end 17th century. It contains a *sarabande* and *double* by Froberger in addition to works by Chambonnières, L Couperin, Lully, Pinel and Richard (Froberger. 2005:118.)
- Sandberger** A clavier book, now lost. It probably contained one *partita* by Froberger which was included in Seifert's edition of Pachelbel's music in 1901 (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1:XXVIII).
Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern II/1.
(Froberger: 2003:51.)
- Schwerin. 1680s-90s** A clavier book by an anonymous scribe. Probably NE Germany, end 17th century. It contains four *partitas* by Froberger plus another of doubtful authenticity (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LXII).
Landesbibliothek, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Schwerin. Mus.Hs. 617.
(Froberger. 2005:57.)
- Sing Akademie: SA 4450** A manuscript of great importance by an anonymous scribe; after 1660. It was re-discovered in 1999 in Kiev, where it had been taken during WWII for safekeeping. It was returned to Berlin in 2001. It contains 6 *toccatas*, 13 *partitas*, a *tombeau* and a *lamentation*. Wollny suggests (Froberger 2006: XVIII) that it might be a copy of the (now missing) autograph that Mattheson owned (Froberger. 2006:XVII). An argument in favour of this theory is that the ornamentation of the gigue from *Partita FbWV 609* is very similar to the ornamentation of the courante from *Partita FbWV 611* in the Hintze MS. However, I agree with Rampe that SA 4450 is unlikely to be a copy of Mattheson's autograph (Froberger 2010:XV), as Mattheson's MS seems to be in a similar format to the other autographs that have survived. He mentions *capriccios* and *fugues* (probably *ricercars*), which the Sing-Akademie MS does not contain. Also, the courante from *Partita FbWV 611* which is ornamented in the Hintze MS, is not ornamented in the same way in SA 4450. The Sing-Akademie MS seems to be compiled from various autograph sources of which Mattheson's MS might have been one. This MS is called the "Berlin MS" by some authors.
Sing Akademie Archive, Berlin. SA 4450.
(Froberger. 2006:VIII.)

Sing Akademie: SA 4442, 4443, 4444 and 4445.

Sing Akademie Archive,
Berlin.

(Froberger. 2010:XVI.)

These manuscripts are written by Johann Peter Lehmann (?-1772), organist at the Nikolaikirche in Berlin. They contain *Partitas FbWV 653, 654, 655* and *656* each preceded by a prelude, attributed to Froberger by Lehmann. Wollny (Froberger 2006:XVII) states that these pieces are of “doubtful authenticity” and he has not included them in his edition of the Sing-Akademie MS. Whereas Rampe agrees that the preludes are not by Froberger, he feels that the *partitas* exhibit stylistic features that are typically Frobergerian; he states that the works are probably early compositions. I find that the works are unlikely to be by Froberger: they are tonal and the style is much simpler than Froberger’s. The lack of rhythmic variety, together with the untypical cadential formulae, modern key signatures and the lack of dissonance, suggest a later Germanic composer. Schulenberg (2008) likens the style to Kuhnau and dates the compositions to around 1700, a date that I find quite plausible. I find it unlikely that these works are by Froberger and I have therefore not included them in this research.

Sing Akademie: SA 4447 and 4448.

Sing Akademie Archive,
Berlin.

(Froberger. 2010:XVI.)

These manuscripts are in an unknown hand and contain a variant of *FbWV 616* (Froberger. 2010: XVI).

Stoos c. 1670s-80s.

Bibliothèque Nationale,
Paris. Rés. Vm⁷ 1818.

(Froberger. 2005:57.)

A manuscript with clavier, vocal and instrumental music, by Johann Jacob Stoos and two anonymous scribes. Düsseldorf, end 17th century. It contains six *partitas* by Froberger and an *allemande* (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LXIII).

Tappert c 1660-70

Bibliotheka Jagiellonska
Krakau.

(Froberger. 2005:57.)

Tablature book by 3 anonymous scribes, probably Nuremberg c. 1660-70. It contains 18 *partita* movements from the Froberger canon and one attributed *partita*, FbWV 635. The music may have been brought to Nuremberg by Froberger in 1653 or by his Nuremberg pupil, the organist Johann Drechsel (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LXV).

Van Eyl 1671

Toonkunst-Bibliotheek,
Amsterdam.

(Froberger. 2005:118.)

The clavier book of Anna Maria van Eyl (1656-?) written by Gisbert Steenwick (?-1679), the local organist. Arnhem. It contains an *allemande* with 'var'[iatio] and a *sarabande*. The MS stops abruptly and it is possible that this could have been caused by the siege of Arnhem in 1672 or by Steenwick's appointment as organist in Kampen in 1675. The Froberger music is of excellent quality and may have derived from Froberger's journey to the Netherlands in 1650 or from the court circles in Brussels (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XXIV).

W Min 725

Minoritenkonvent, Vienna.
Ms. XIV 725.

(Froberger. 2005:118.)

Clavier book of Father Vincentius Höggmayr (1684-1740) and Father Alexander Giessel (1694-1766). It was written by two anonymous scribes. Vienna, probably mid 17th century. It contains one *capriccio*, the ending of another, "Fuga" (*Canzon*) *FbWV 309*, abridged versions of two *toccatas* and a *gigue*. The scribes probably made use of master copies from Viennese court circles, possibly handed down by the court organist, Ebner (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XXV).

W Min 731

Minoritenkonvent, Vienna.
Ms. XIV 731.

(Froberger. 2005:57.)

Clavier book of Father Venantius Stanteysky (1671-1729) written by an anonymous scribe. Vienna, beginning 18th century. It contains one *gigue*, the *Aria FbWV 636* and most of *Partita FbWV 620*. Probably the scribe had access to master copies from Viennese court circles (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.2:XXV).

W Min 743. 1708-9

Minoritenkonvent, Vienna.
Ms. XIV 743.

(Froberger. 2005:57.)

A clavier book by three anonymous scribes. It contains nine *partitas*, various *partita* movements, parts of *Capriccio FbWV 509* and *Toccata FbWV 102*. It also contains two works of uncertain authorship. There are unique Latin annotations to *FbWV 630*, *632* and *633*. The scribes probably had access to master copies from Viennese court circles (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LXVII).

Wagener. 1690s

Bibliotheek Koninklijk
Conservatorium, Brussels,
Ms. 26.374.

(Froberger. 2005:57.)

Three parts of a four part volume, in tablature, by four anonymous scribes. Greater area of Hanover/Brunswick, end 17th century. It contains four *partitas* and a *sarabande* by Froberger plus one *partita* and a fragmentary *partita* of doubtful authenticity (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1:LXVI).

1. 5 Editions and Examples used in this Thesis

Wherever possible, I have used facsimile copies of manuscripts and old printed editions. Modern transcriptions have been used where I did not have access to old editions/manuscripts or in order to provide a more readable and more easily understandable version of the old documents. By far the majority of the modern transcriptions that I have used are by well-respected musicologists such as (but not limited to) Rampe on Froberger, Moroney on Couperin and Pidoux on Frescobaldi. Where the examples are from less well-known sources, wherever possible, I have checked each of them against an original edition or manuscript.

Throughout this study I have used, as the modern edition of the works of Froberger, the Bärenreiter edition by Siegbert Rampe and, in some instances, the modern edition of the Sing-Akademie MS by Peter Wollny. Only three “complete” editions of Froberger’s works have ever been attempted. The first was by Adler in 1897. Although this is a remarkably accurate edition, modern research has turned up additional works by Froberger and mistakes in Adler’s edition have been pointed out as well as the inclusion by Adler of works that are not by Froberger. The second attempt to provide a complete edition was by Howard Schott in 1979. However, Schott omitted several important authenticated copied works, which Adler had included. Rampe’s edition is much more comprehensive, although another volume of contrapuntal keyboard works is still awaited. The Sotheby’s autograph is, unfortunately, still not available, either as a modern edition or as a facsimile.

The Rampe edition has been severely criticised because it presents several versions of the same works in an essentially uninterpreted format and because it contains numerous alternative renderings of certain passages which clutter the score and, in some cases, make the reading of the music difficult. However, whereas Rampe’s approach would not suit many, it provides an ideal resource for the serious scholar. The inclusion of several versions of the same piece is particularly relevant, as it is likely that Froberger revised his own works on occasion and, in other instances, wrote down prior-composed works from memory. This means that in some cases there are several *authentic* versions of the same piece (Froberger. 2005:Vol III.1: LXIX). Rampe has also provided a systematic catalogue of Froberger’s works using the prefix FbWV. This cataloguing system is not based on a chronological ordering, because most of Froberger’s works cannot be accurately dated,

but upon works of the same compositional type. Thus, the *toccatas* begin with the numbering FbWV 101 and the *fantasias*, FbWV 201 etc. The references to Froberger's works in this thesis use this cataloguing system, except where I have referred to works that I have sourced from the Wollny edition of the Sing-Akademie MS or the brochure published by Sotheby's. Of particular note, are *Toccatas XIII, XIV, XV* and *XVIII* from the Sing Akademie MS and the previously unknown pieces from the Sotheby's autograph. Unfortunately, Rampe has included not only authenticated works, but also some dubious works in the FbWV numbering system, including the works attributed to Froberger (wrongly in my opinion) from the minor Sing-Akademie manuscripts SA 4442-5. However, despite the flaws, I find that the Rampe edition is by far the best on the market and one would go far to beat the diligent research that Rampe and his colleagues have undertaken.

Several of the examples of Froberger's works in this thesis are taken from the facsimile of the Sing-Akademie MS, SA 4445 (Froberger: 2006, Wollny edition). This MS is a particularly good source of Froberger's music as a comparison of the works in this MS that are also to be found in autograph originals show very few discrepancies. In addition it contains a large number of Froberger's works. The Sing-Akademie MS seems to be a copy of original Froberger autographs, even to the extent of copying the idiosyncratic eye-shaped fermatas that were a hallmark of Froberger's handwriting and his diagonal ending flourish. In Froberger's autographs the flourish leads to the word *pria* (from the Latin *manu propria fecit* meaning made or done by his own hand) followed by the signs + *f* +. Presumably the *f* stands for Froberger.



Froberger's eye-shaped fermata and ending flourish in his own handwriting. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

The copyist of the Sing-Akademie MS has, quite properly, omitted *pria + f +* but copied the squiggly flourish and the eye-shaped fermatas:



The eye-shaped fermata and ending flourish from the Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger 2006.)

Old printed editions. I have tried to use copies of first editions for the madrigals. Failing this, I have tried to use later prints, published in the composer's lifetime and therefore probably (or in many cases definitely) authorized by the composer. There are some exceptions to this, notably the Molinaro edition of Gesualdo's six books of five-part madrigals published in the same year as Gesualdo's death. Because I have used the Molinaro edition extensively, I feel that some further justification is necessary.

The Molinaro edition is in score format (not in part books) and is very likely based upon a copy in score format that Gesualdo was known to have carried around with him. The fact that Gesualdo had such a copy is attested to in a letter dated 18 February 1594 to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara by Count Alfonso Fontanelli (1557-1622), a madrigal composer in his own right, who travelled part of the way with Gesualdo in 1594 when Gesualdo was en route to Ferrara for his second marriage. Watkins speculates that Molinaro might have had access to Gesualdo's personal copy of his madrigals in score format. (Watkins. 1991:45.) Molinaro's edition is dated 1613, but we do not know if it was published before or after Gesualdo's death. Watkins (1991:169) thinks that it is unlikely that Gesualdo authorised this publication of his madrigals by Molinaro, but in my opinion it is quite possible. To gain access to the relevant works after Gesualdo's death in Avellino (near Naples) on 8 September 1613, prepare them for engraving, check them and have them printed in Genoa before 31 December 1613 would be quite an extraordinary achievement, especially as, according to Watkins (1991:87) it took more than two years to clear up Gesualdo's estate. I think

that it is more likely that Gesualdo authorised the publication of his five-part madrigals and gave Molinaro both the score and the permission to print them when Molinaro visited Naples from November 1609 to April 1610. (Dates from Watkins and Fabris: 2011).

The choice of composers. Most of the vocal examples that I have chosen are from the most famous and most influential madrigal composers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Composers such as Monteverdi, Marenzio and Gesualdo have been quoted frequently because they were widely copied by other composers and because they had a significant impact upon the music of the time. If Froberger knew the music of madrigalists, then he probably knew the music of the most famous of them. If, as I hope this thesis proves, Froberger was influenced by the madrigals, then it is likely that he would have assimilated various “madrigalisms” into his music either directly, from listening to or studying these madrigals, or indirectly, through exposure to the music of other composers who were influenced by them. Less well-known madrigalists have been quoted as well, in order to show that identified characteristics were not limited to the particular style of a particular composer.

The keyboard examples that I have quoted are, for the most part, Italian and, in most cases, written specifically for the harpsichord as opposed to being written for the organ. Composers of the Early Neapolitan School are particularly relevant to the study as they not only pre-dated Froberger and wrote almost exclusively for the harpsichord, but were also clearly influenced by the madrigalists (as the research will show). In fact, several of them wrote madrigals themselves. Frescobaldi is quoted on many occasions because he had such a formative influence on Froberger’s style and because Frescobaldi’s style also owes much to the influence of the *Madrigali Moderni*.

1. 6 Discussion of Terms.

This thesis is about Froberger's assimilation of characteristics of the Italian secular madrigals written (or published) in the late 16th and early 17th century: the *madrigali moderni* of Frescobaldi. Several terms need further discussion in order to provide clarity on the scope of this thesis: *madrigali moderni*; the *seconda pratica*, Italian and secular. The time period encompasses what is variously referred to as the late Renaissance and the early Baroque, or alternatively, the Mannerist period and the early Baroque. As Mannerism is such a hotly debated term when it comes to music, it is also discussed further in this section.

1.6.1 Seconda Pratica

This was a term used in the debate between Monteverdi and Artusi about the new style of madrigals and in particular, the treatment of dissonance. The practice of rising after a flattened note and descending after a sharpened one, as well as the free introduction of dissonances, mixing modes, the "incorrect" use of time signatures and other compositional irregularities was criticised by Artusi in *L'Artusi, overo della imperfettioni della moderna musica* (1600) and again in his *Seconda parte dell'Artusi* (1603) in which publication the term *Seconda Pratica* first appears in writing (Palisca 2010 article on *Prima Pratica*). In using the term, Artusi was referring to the contents of a letter signed *L'Ottuso Academica* (the obtuse academic) which was probably written about 1601. In his condemnation of the "modern" practices, Artusi criticised the licences taken by an unnamed composer (identifiable as Monteverdi). To illustrate his points, Artusi cited seven examples from *Cruda Amarilli, che col nome ancora* (later published in *Quinto Libro* 1605), and one each from *Anima mia, perdona* and *Che se tu se'il cor mio*, (both later published in *Quarto Libro* 1603). He also mentioned *O Mirtillo anima mia* (later published in *Quinto Libro*). Although none of these madrigals had been published at the time of Artusi's complaints, they had been performed in Ferrara on 16 November 1998 at the private house of the musician Antonio Goretti (Fabbri 1994:34) where "Luca" one of the protagonists of Artusi's publications had heard them performed.

Although there appears to have been some private correspondence on the matter, Monteverdi (who might have been the mysterious *L'Ottuso Academica*) only replied once publically. In an appendix to

Quinto Libro (1605) he announced his intention of publishing a treatise to be called *Seconda Pratica, overo Perfettione della moderna musica* (Second practice or the perfection of the modern music). His short response in the *Quinto Libro* mentions that he did not want the term *Seconda Pratica* to be appropriated by others. This seems to imply that he had coined the phrase himself, or if he did not, that he was seizing it for the style that his music represented.

In fact, twenty eight years later in 1633 (Fabbri 1994:48) the promised treatise had still not materialised. A letter (according to Fabbri probably to Giovan Battista Doni), dated 12 October 1633 mentions that he was writing a book called *Melodia overo seconda pratica musicale*. In this letter Monteverdi states that he intends dividing the book into three parts: word setting, harmony and rhythm (Fabbri 1994:49). He died without publishing the book, so unfortunately the comments made by his brother Giulio Cesare Monteverdi in his defence in *Scherzi Musicali* (1607) constitute the only other (presumably authorised) response to Artusi.

Giulio Cesare states that the *Prima Pratica* turns on the perfection of the harmony as described by Zarlino. He lists “Occhegem, Iosquin de Pres, Pietro della Rue, Iovan Motton, Crequillon, Clemens non Papa, Gombert and Master Adriano [Willaert]” as worthy exponents of this first practice (Fabbri 1994:50). According to Giulio Cesare, proponents of the *Seconda Pratica* included de Rore, Ingegneri, Marenzio, Wert, Luzzasco, Peri, Caccini, Gesualdo, de Cavagliere, Fontanelli, Branchiforte, del Turco and Pecci. (Fabbri 1994:51.) To this list Monteverdi must of course be added. Giulio Cesare says that in the music of the *seconda pratica*, the words are the mistress (as opposed to the servant) of the harmony (Fabbri 1994:50). He stated that if the text demands certain crudities of harmony and melody or irregularities of rhythm, these departures from the *prima pratica* are justified for the sake of expressing the meaning of the words. (Palisca 2010, article on *Prima Pratica*.) Artusi replied to these counter-attacks in 1608 in *Discorso secondo musicale di Antonio Braccino da Todi per la dichiarazione della lettera posta ne' Scherzi musicali del sig. Claudio Monteverdi*. Palisca states that his most interesting retort is that it is not the text that should be mistress of the harmony and rhythm, but that rhythm ought to be the master of the other two (Palisca 2010, article on Artusi). It is also interesting to note that in his defence of his brother's music, Giulio Cesare credits Cipriano de Rore with reviving the ancient Greek practice of using music to express the meaning of the text, without undue regard for the niceties of traditional *Prima*

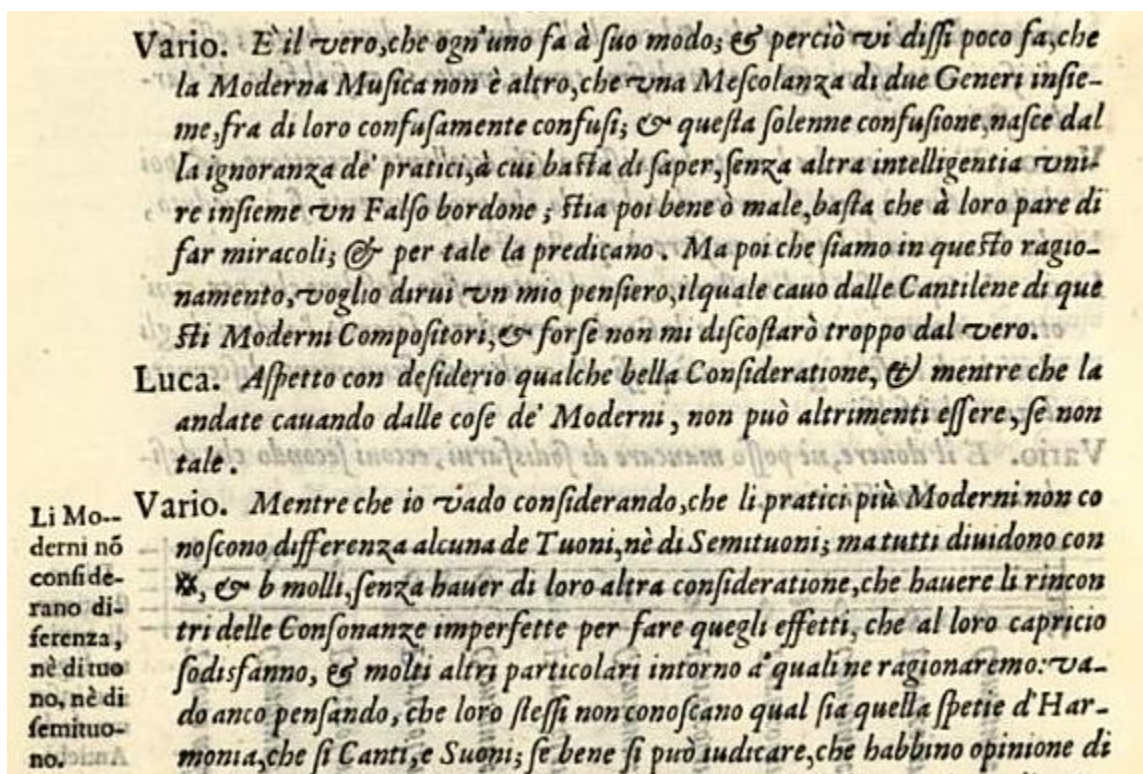
Pratica conventions. Cipriano de Rore, who wrote polyphonic madrigals for mainly five voices, died in 1565, long before Girolamo Mei (1519-1594) or Galilei were expounding their theories. Vicentino, who advocated jettisoning the traditional rules of composition where necessary in order to express the meaning of the words was a contemporary of de Rore at the Ferrarese court and his major treatise dates from 1555: *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica*. This indicates that the *seconda pratica* was alive long before the turn of the century and certainly relates to polyphonic madrigals.

1.6.2 The Madrigali Moderni

The madrigal form of poetry is an irregular poem of up to 14 lines of 7 or 11 syllables with no fixed scheme of metre or rhyme. This is a poor definition, but the form itself is elusive, as it has been the subject of so many variations. However, the music that is termed “madrigal” is even less easy to define. Often it is a madrigal poem set to music, but sometimes it is music set to poetry of a different form. The common denominators are that the musical madrigals are through-composed, short forms, written to poetry, rather than to text (as parts of operas were), and that the composer called them by the name “madrigal” – even if this was technically not correct. In addition, they are, almost to the point of boredom, about unrequited love and a great many include references to the sexual act. However, there are plenty of exceptions. Some “madrigals” include repetition, some are not short, some are not even called madrigals and a few are not about love. Some books of “madrigals” include music that even the composer called something else, such as *lamento* or *lettera amorosa*. Most of the vocal examples that I have used in this thesis are from works that the composer has included in a book of madrigals. It seems that the composers themselves interpreted the word to mean “art song” and I therefore feel justified in including a few examples of other vocal music where appropriate.

In the debate about the merits/demerits of the *seconda pratica*, both Monteverdi and Artusi used the word “modern” in referring to both the music of the madrigalists around the turn of the century and to the madrigal composers themselves. The debate was famous and I would imagine that Frescobaldi was well aware of it. It is possible that he used the term *madrigali moderni* knowing

that his readers would associate it with the debate and thus know exactly what he meant. In addition, Vicentino's famous treatise *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica* (1555) compares old music to the "modern practice" of composing (madrigals in particular).



Artusi. Extract from *L'Artusi overo delle imperfettione della moderna musica* showing the author's use of the words "Moderni Musici" and "Moderni" (Modern Musicians and the Moderns). (Artusi 1600:20b.)

Frescobaldi's comment about *i madrigali moderni* dates from 1637, in the preface to the revised edition of his *Libro Primo*. He might have been referring to only the more recent madrigals that were written for solo voice and accompaniment. Alternatively he might have meant any madrigals, whether polyphonic or accompanied and for various combinations of voices, that were written in the modern style of the *seconda pratica*. The music that he was trying to explain (and which he attempted to explain in the first edition as well, although less thoroughly) was first published in 1615. It seems likely that Frescobaldi was referring to madrigals that were "modern" in 1615 rather than in 1637 (or, possibly, "modern" at both dates). In 1615, this would certainly have included polyphonic madrigals as well as accompanied madrigals: Monteverdi only published his first book

of accompanied madrigals four years later (*Settimo Libro* of 1619). For the first two decades of the 17th century, monodies were written by composers largely associated with Florence (for example, Caccini, Peri, da Gagliano, D'India and Saracini). Although he must have been aware of developments elsewhere, Frescobaldi lived, worked, and published his *libro primo*, in Rome. It could also be argued that because Frescobaldi specifically mentions tempo changes, he was only referring to monodic madrigals for a solo voice plus accompaniment. However, as will be demonstrated, these tempo changes, although easier to accomplish if only one voice is singing, were used in polyphonic madrigals as well. Such singers would have to abide by what Wistreich refers to as “ensemble etiquette” (Wistreich 2007: 146).

Silbiger (1996:405) writes:

Today the *seconda prattica* is associated with those aspects of 17th-century composition that proved most significant from our own historical vantage point: the new concerted style and monody, freer dissonance treatment and heightened chromaticism and the replacement of modal polyphony by chordal harmony...Monteverdi takes pains to show that...the *seconda prattica* was practiced by a long line of distinguished predecessors...Evidently Monteverdi saw the embodiment of the second practice as much in the polyphonic madrigals by these composers as in the new monodies; in fact, we do not know whether Monteverdi had written any monodies when he published the historic Lettera in his fifth book of madrigals (1605).

He certainly had not published any, as his first book of accompanied madrigals, *Settimo Libro*, was published in 1619. It seems that the term *seconda prattica*, as intended by Monteverdi, referred initially mainly to polyphonic madrigals written around the turn of the century. As Monteverdi was still writing his treatise about the *seconda prattica* in 1633 when concerted madrigals were more common, his use of the term could arguably be expanded to include the later madrigals as well.

Therefore, in this thesis, the term *madrigali moderni* refers to either concerted or polyphonic, Italian, secular madrigals written (or at least published) in the late 16th and early 17th century, although a few examples are taken from earlier or later than this.

1.6.3 Mannerism

The label “Mannerism” was first popularized by art historians and was used to describe a particular style of art, particularly painting, in Italy in the mid 16th century.



*Angelo Bronzino: Allegoria del trionfo di Venere, 1540-1545.
(Bronzino. Wikimedia Commons 2008.)
One of the most famous of the Mannerist paintings. National Gallery, London.*

The styles of painters such as Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, from Parma, known by the nickname Parmigianino (1503-1540) and the Florentine, Agnolo di Cosimo (1503-1572), known as Bronzino, are typical of Mannerism: elongated forms, theatrical lighting, aloof expressions, distortions and exaggerated twisting limbs. Works such as these were a reaction against the harmonious, rational classicism of the Renaissance; they stressed intellectuality, showing the artists' command of form, colour and perspective in a style that was deliberately and cleverly unnatural (Maniates. 1979: 10ff).

Whereas the term "Mannerism" has had wide acceptance in describing art, it has been applied, with much controversy, to other disciplines, such as the metaphysical poetry of the mid to late 16th century and to music, especially to the Italian madrigals written towards the end of the century. In Italian poetry, Mannerism manifested itself in unusual similes, extravagant puns, intellectual word play and affected "conceits" (complicated metaphors), often of a sexual nature.

Mannerism is particularly associated with the madrigals of Gesualdo, probably because "many of the currents normally associated with that movement are so clearly recognizable in his writing" (Watkins 1991:106). He is famous not only for his music, but also for having committed what are probably the most notorious murders in musical history. In 1590, having discovered his wife and her lover *in flagrante delicto*, he murdered them and left their mutilated bodies outside his palace for all to see. In 1594, he went to Ferrara, where he studied with Luzzaschi and where he married his (brave) second wife, Eleonora, the sister of Duke Alfonso's heir, Cesare d'Este. His tortured music expresses his own troubled personality and he indulged in extreme chromaticism, extreme melancholy and extreme dissonance. However, his six volumes of five-voice madrigals were published between 1594 and 1611, and his madrigals for six voices were published posthumously in 1626, considerably later than the most famous of the Mannerist paintings, Parmigianino's *Madonna dal Collo Lungo* (1534-40). This time lapse has led some historians to doubt the relevance of the term Mannerism to music. However, if one is going to use the traditional pigeon-holes for music, such as Renaissance, Baroque etc, it is worth noting that the music that these terms describe always seems to date from a significantly later period than the paintings.

Another problem in applying the term “Mannerist” to the madrigals is that many of the characteristics that define Mannerism are also present in the madrigals of the first half of the 17th century; madrigals that are usually labelled “Baroque”. The later madrigals were just as extravagantly ornamented as their Mannerist predecessors were and equally full of word painting devices. *Sprezzatura* (referring to tempo fluctuations in music) was used long before Caccini first gave it a name in *Euridice* (1601) and long afterwards. “Baroque” madrigals were just as introspective and melancholy as “Mannerist” ones. These issues are discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

The style of the madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries may be regarded as Mannerist; alternatively it may be regarded as an early manifestation of the Baroque or a late manifestation of the Renaissance. However controversial the term, the Italian art, poetry and music of the time have certain elements in common. Maniates (1979:4) says of Mannerism:

Mannerist artworks flaunt formal complexities and through them exhibit deliberate intellectualism...each creator strives for his own solution, a strictly personal utterance.

The style, whether one calls it Mannerist or not, is deliberately intellectual, self-conscious, extreme, elegant, inventive and individual. It is also particularly Italian. Although the style spread to other parts of Europe - the Fontainebleau school of painting in France; the English metaphysical poets; and composers who wrote Italian style madrigals, such as Orlando de Lassus (c. 1532-1594) in Munich, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (c.1562-1621) in Amsterdam, Philippe de Monte (1521-1603) in Vienna and Thomas Morley (c.1557/8-1602) in London - most of the works created in this style in the rest of Europe were either strongly influenced by, or copies of, Italian models.

On occasion, I have therefore found it relevant to refer to certain madrigals as “Late Renaissance” “Mannerist” or “Baroque” in this thesis. However, in general I have preferred not only to avoid the controversy but also to avoid pigeonholing, by describing the examples that I use by their dates of publication (or composition).

1.6.4 Italian

It may seem strange to talk about Italy and Italian in the late 16th and early 17th centuries when the country was only unified in the 19th century. In the period under discussion, it was composed of numerous principalities and dukedoms, the Papal States, the Republic of Venice and the kingdoms of Naples, Sardinia and Sicily, which, it could be argued, were Spanish and not Italian at all. There appears to have been little sense of a common nationality in those days, despite the fact that the common language was already Italian (except in Sardinia where it was Spanish). In referring to the vocal music of “Italy” of the 17th century, I am therefore applying the established convention of using the modern day geographical boundaries. Today we think of Monteverdi and Gesualdo as being “Italian”. I doubt that they would have thought of themselves this way. Similarly, we think of Froberger as being “German” because he was born in Stuttgart, which is part of modern-day Germany. West Germany was only unified in the late 19th century, being, like Italy, a conglomeration of numerous principalities in earlier centuries. (Of course the whole of modern Germany, East and West, was only unified in the late 20th century.)

How Froberger thought of himself is anyone’s guess. Apparently, the Stuttgart baptismal record reads “Joannes Jacob” (van Asperen 2008:19) but in later life he was known as Giovanni Giacomo (on the title pages of his autograph works presented to members of the Habsburg dynasty and in the Bauyn MS) as Jean Jacque (in the recently discovered autograph auctioned in 2006 by Sotheby’s) and as Hanß Jacob Froberger in the only three autograph signatures that have survived.

1.6.5 Secular

I have used this word to distinguish the vocal music that I have investigated from the “sacred” vocal music of the time. The secular vocal music of the times was less restricted by established musical conventions and less bound by the perceptions of what was appropriate for religious occasions. As a result, the composers of the secular madrigals were able to be more adventurous in their composing methods and they were in the vanguard of musical development.

1.7 Conventions and Abbreviations

- I have used the Helmholtz system of pitch notation.
- In keeping with the practice of the late 16th and early-to-mid 17th centuries, accidentals apply only to the note immediately following, with the exception of repeated notes. This notational system applies to the facsimile examples of all compositions, to all examples from the modern Rampe edition of Froberger's works and to the Pidoux edition of Frescobaldi's works. Modern notation, where the accidentals are valid for an entire bar, applies to other modern transcriptions of music, including Wollny's edition of the Sing-Akademie MS.
- Key dates of composers (and other important people) are given in brackets the first time that the individual is mentioned.
- As per the University's requirements, the modern Harvard referencing system has been used throughout. This has given problems in the short in-text citations for certain web-sites, such as Grove Music Online, where the web-site usually does not indicate the date that an article was written. In such cases, the citations within the text of this document refer to the author and to the year that I accessed the information, rather than to the year that the article was written.
- The spelling of types of pieces (eg *toccata, allemande*) in the period under consideration is inconsistent. Thus one finds, within Froberger's own autographs, *Allemand, Allemanda* and *Allemande*. Similarly, one finds both *Ricercari* and *Ricercati* as plurals of *Ricercar*. Other composers spelled the same pieces in yet other ways. Where a specific work or collection is mentioned, I have kept the original spelling, even if it was not the usual spelling or even if it was incorrect, such as Trabaci's *Toccate di Durezza e Legature (ligature)*. In referring to non-specific instances, I have, in most cases, used the commonly accepted Anglicised versions of the spellings. Thus: *capriccio/capriccios* rather than *capriccio/capricci*; but *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati*. Similarly, *toccata/toccatas* (not *toccate*); *partita/partitas* (not *partite*); *fantasia/fantasias* (not *fantasie*, where this spelling of the plural can be confused with the French spelling of the singular) and *allemande/allemandes* (not *allemand/allemande* or *allemanda/allemande*). There are two exceptions to this. I chose the spelling *ricercar/ricercars* and *canzon/canzons* for Froberger's works rather than the more widely accepted *ricercare/ricercares* and *canzona/canzonas* because Froberger (consistently!) spelled the singulars *ricercar* and *canzon*.

- Throughout I have spelled “*pratica*” (as in *prima pratica* and *seconda pratica*) with one t, as this is the correct modern Italian spelling. It was also the spelling used by Monteverdi in his proposed treatise *Seconda Pratica, overo Perfettione della moderna musica* mentioned in the preface to *Quinto Libro* and in the proposed treatise *Melodia overo seconda pratica musicale* that he wrote about to Doni in 1633 (please see section 1.6 for more information on this). I have kept the spelling with two t’s, *prattica*, where the word forms part of a quote or part of a title of a work. In the early part of the seventeenth century both spellings were used and I notice that several modern authors spell the word with two t’s as well. Where I have quoted these authors, I have kept their spelling.
- I have chosen to use the word *partita* to describe Froberger’s dance suites rather than the word *suite*. Froberger did not use either word to describe his collections of *Allemande-Gigue-Courante-Sarabande*. The title page of his *Libro Secondo* reads *Libro Secondo di Toccate, Fantasia, Canzone, Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Gigue, et altre Partite*. His use of the word *partite* in this context probably refers to the set of variations *Auff die Mayerin*, which consists of six variations (each of which he called a *partita*) plus a *courant sopra Mayrin*, a *double* and a *sarabande sopra Mayrin*.
- I have translated texts and titles where an understanding of the words is essential. Thus, I have translated the titles of Froberger’s works, any substantial texts and selected individual words of madrigals. In most cases, I have not translated the titles of madrigals because these “titles” are invariably the first few words of the first line, and translated into English these few words are usually meaningless. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.
- MS = Manuscript; E = printed edition; FbWV = the cataloguing system given to Froberger’s works by Siegbert Rampe.

CHAPTER TWO: FROBERGER'S LIFE AND TRAVELS

Introduction

Johann Jacob Froberger stands at a pivotal point in Western music history. His highly individual style was a product of the many musical influences in his life; influences that he was exposed to as a result of his extensive travels within Western Europe. The cosmopolitan character of his life is reflected in his music, which is a synthesis of various developments in Europe, particularly Germany, Italy and France. He chronicled important parts of his life via his music, dedicating certain works to his benefactors, writing *lamentations* and *tombeaux* to commemorate the deaths of people who meant a great deal to him, and composing *allemandes*, *meditations* and *plaintes* to describe events. Froberger's journeys brought him into contact with many celebrated musical figures of the age, including Frescobaldi with whom he certainly studied and Carissimi, with whom he may have studied. In addition, he knew Johann Caspar Kerll (1627-1693), Mathias Weckmann, Louis Couperin, the Gaultier family of lutenists, and (probably) Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (c.1601/2-1672) amongst many others. He met, and later corresponded with, the famous polymath Athanasius Kircher and the poet, musician and statesman, Constantijn Huygens. He performed concerts for (probably) four Holy Roman Emperors (Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III, Ferdinand IV and Leopold I), the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, various Italian and south German Princes and, possibly, the English King, Charles II. His music records great historical moments, including the election, coronation and death of Emperors, the coronation of an Empress, the birth of a Princess and the return of the remarkable politician, Cardinal Mazarin, to Paris.

Many composers were influenced by his cosmopolitan style. Copies of his music were made by Mathias Weckmann, Gottlieb Muffat (1690- 1770), John Blow, William Croft, Johann Christoph Bach, George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) and JP Kirnberger (1721-1783). In a letter to Forkel, JS Bach's first biographer, CPE Bach recorded that his father, JS Bach, "loved and studied" Froberger's works and Mozart started an arrangement for string quartet of his *Hexachord Fantasia* (Maguire 2006:13). It is possible that the Bauyn MS, which, amongst other pieces, contains 23 works by Froberger, was prepared from copies owned by Louis Couperin. Moroney (Couperin. 1985:6ff) mentions the likelihood that the scribe of the Bauyn MS was Louis Couperin's brother, Francois (the uncle of Francois Couperin "le Grand") and that the works in the Bauyn MS were copied directly from

autographs belonging to Louis Couperin. This possibility is borne out by the account of the older Francois by Tilton de Tillet (*le Parnasse Francois*, 1732) who described him as an excellent teacher: thus he might have copied out the works for teaching purposes (Fuller et al: 2011, article on Couperin).

The influence of Froberger's style of playing is plain to see in the works of some of his contemporaries, notably Louis Couperin. Bob van Asperen aptly describes Froberger as "the first expressive keyboard virtuoso/composer, directly influencing the *suite* and *toccata* styles of composers such as Bohm, Reinken, Weckmann, Buxtehude, Pachelbel and JS Bach" (van Asperen 2008: 1.1).

He was recognised as a remarkable keyboard player and composer in his own lifetime and was fortunate to have a patron, the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand III, who was not only wealthy but who also encouraged, and paid for, Froberger's studies and his itinerant life-style. Ferdinand, in turn, was rewarded with (probably) four autograph volumes of keyboard music. Fortunately, two of these have survived, together with another that was presented to Leopold I and a late autograph that was probably kept by Duchess Sibylla of Württemberg and Montbéliard (henceforth "Sibylla"), Froberger's benefactress at the end of his life.

Unfortunately, there is a dismal lack of information about Froberger's life and to some extent this impacts upon our knowledge of his music. Facts about his early life are particularly scarce and his early musical education can only be guessed at. In the following description of his life and travels, reliable dates are shown in bold type at the beginnings of paragraphs. Possible dates are also given in bold with the words (possible date/s) inserted thereafter.

May 18 1616. Johann Jacob Froberger was born in Stuttgart on May 18, 1616 and christened one day later (Froberger. 1995:XXI). He was the youngest son of eleven children, six boys and five girls, born to Basilius (c.1575-1637) and Anna (1577-1637, née Schmid) Froberger. There are a few records of Basilius and five of his sons, all of whom earned their living as musicians. Basilius started

his musical career as a tenor in the Württemberg ducal chapel in 1599; he was named Inspector of the Pages in 1608 and promoted to Kapellmeister of the Court at Württemberg in 1621 (Froberger. 1995:XXI). Basilius Froberger directed the Hofkapelle through the many reversals of the terrible Thirty Years War (1618–1648) until his death (Stiefel: 2010). In 1637, when Johann Jacob was twenty-one and the war was still raging, Basilius, Anna and one daughter died of the plague (Schott:2010).

At least four of Johann Jacob's older brothers were employed by the Stuttgart Court of Musicians. Isaac Froberger (1605-1655) was a bass singer and lutenist; Johann Georg Froberger (1606-1640) was an instrumentalist, becoming vice-Kapellmeister in 1633 and Kapellmeister (replacing his father) in 1639. Johann Christoph (1608-1648) and August Melchior (1614-?) were both tenors (Froberger. 1995:XI).

We have no evidence of Johann Jacob's early musical training, but it is probably a safe bet that he was educated musically by his father and his three oldest brothers, who were eleven, ten and eight years older than Johann Jacob. The Stuttgart Court Chapel attracted many musicians. The leading Italian violin virtuoso and Kapellmeister of the House of Wittelsbach, Biagio Marini, visited the court at Stuttgart in 1625 as did the notable composer (and pupil of Sweelinck) Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654) in 1627 (Froberger. 2005:XLVI). At the time, Scheidt was Kapellmeister at Halle although he was not being paid for the job because of financial constraints caused by the Thirty Years War (Snyder et al: 2011). Johann Ulrich Steigleder (1593-1635), an excellent organist, was employed at the Stiftskirche in Stuttgart from 1619 and was engaged as court organist from 1627 (Sharp et al: 2011). It is possible that Johann Jacob studied under Steigleder. Some of Johann Jacob's *ricercars* contain thematic and tonal references to Steigleder's *ricercars* published in 1624 (Froberger. 1993:XXIII). As Walker points out, the diversity of Stuttgart's musical life rivalled any of the most prestigious German courts (Capricornus 1997:viii). Large scale theatrical and musical productions were mounted in its "Pleasure Palace" (*Lusthaus*) built in the 1580s and a separate body of chamber musicians was added to the Ducal Hofkapelle by the end of the 16th century. Between 1609 and 1628 it included an *Engelländische compagnia* (Stiefel: 2010) which had the cornettist John Price (fl. c.1605 d.1641) and the lutenists George Vichet, David and John Morrell,

John Dixon and Andrew Borell amongst its members. The latter was employed to give lessons to one of Basilius's sons (Schott: 2010), probably Isaac Froberger.

From research conducted by Siedentopf (1977:25ff) we know that the inventory of the music sold by Basilius's sons to the Court in 1639 totalled over one hundred volumes, including almost all the works published by that time by Johann Staden (1581-1634), Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), Johann Hermann Schein (1586-1630) and Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654). Forty nine of these volumes were by Italian composers, several of whom were madrigal composers: Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634), Dario Castello (fl. first half of 17th century), Andrea Falconieri (1585/6-1656), Carlo Farina (c.1604-1639), Biagio Marini (1594-1663), Alessandro Grandi (1586-1630), Francesco Turini (c. 1589-1656), Giovanni Valentini (1582/3-1649) and Lodovico Viadana (c.1560-1627). The inventory also included works by Josquin des Prez (c.1450/55-1521), Hieronymus Praetorius (1560-1629), Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), Michael Altenburg (1584-1640) and two collections of instrumental works by Thomas Simpson (1582-before 1628). In addition, there was one treatise: *Il Transilvano*, the famous pedagogical work by Girolamo Diruta (Siedentopf. 1977:25ff). This is a vast amount of music and presumably the young Johann Jacob had access to it for studying and must have heard much of it played by the Court musicians.

1634. According to Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) in his *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740:87), Johann Jacob (henceforth "Froberger") travelled to Vienna around 1634 together with the entourage of a Swedish diplomat. Sadie (1998:251) states that his musical talent came to the attention of the Swedish Ambassador to Vienna, who took him there from Stuttgart. Rampe speculates (Froberger. 1995:XXVI) that Froberger, together with Johann Friedrich Sautter (who later provided the decorative calligraphy for Froberger's *Libro Secondo* and *Libro Quarto*), received a scholarship from the Church or from the Court of Württemberg. Sautter certainly received a *subsidium* from the *Stuttgarter Kirchkasten* (Froberger. 1995:XXVI). In any event, according to Walker (Capricornus. 1997:viii) the Württemberg Court's ability to maintain any sort of musical establishment was seriously curtailed after the Battle of Nördlingen in 1634. After this battle, during which the Catholic army of the Holy Roman Empire defeated the Protestant armies of Sweden and their German allies, Württemberg was subject to a massive invasion of foreign troops and the court was forced to flee to Stuttgart. It is therefore not unlikely that Froberger was obliged

to find work elsewhere. However, the story is strange. It would have taken place during the Thirty Years War when Vienna, as part of the Holy Roman Empire, and Württemberg were on opposite sides and Sweden was allied to Lutheran Württemberg against the Catholic forces of the Emperor (Schott: 2010). However, if the story is true, then, as these were violent days, it can be assumed that Froberger and Sautter travelled together with the Swedish diplomat for reasons of safety. In 1634, Froberger would have been eighteen years old.

1 January 1637. We have no record of the years between 1634 and 1 January 1637, when Froberger's name first appears in the court account books in Vienna, as an organist in the Imperial Chapel. His monthly salary of 24 gulden was considerably below the 60 gulden paid to the organist Wolfgang Ebner (1612-1665) so it is probable that he was in a junior position (Froberger. 2005: XLVI). Siedentopf (1977:14) has speculated that he was offered a position at the Viennese court upon the recommendation of his father. Despite the financial restrictions which occurred as a result of the Thirty Years War, Ferdinand II, who was the reigning Holy Roman Emperor, increased the number of musicians in his employ. The membership of his Chapel increased from 53 to 68 musicians during his reign, which ended with his death in February 1637 (Seifert. 2005:45). Ferdinand III succeeded his father, taking over almost all his father's staff, including Giovanni Valentini as Maestro di Cappella (Seifert. 2005:45) and the young Froberger.

30 October 1637. Froberger's name appears in the court account books until 30 October 1637, thus only 10 months in total (Schott: 2010). After one failed petition, the Habsburg Emperor, Ferdinand III, granted Froberger a stipend of 200 gulden and sent him off to study with Girolamo Frescobaldi in Rome (Froberger. 2005:XLVI). Ferdinand himself was a keen composer in the Italian style and his generosity may have been partly inspired by his own love of Italian music. His surviving works include a four-voice madrigal, *Chi volge nella mente*. A document held in the Vienna State Archives is a report by the Obersthofmeister (Head Steward) of Ferdinand III, dated 22 June 1637 (Annibaldi. 1998:42). It describes Froberger's desire to study with Frescobaldi in Rome and the Obersthofmeister's request to Johannes Gans, (Ferdinand's Jesuit confessor), to solicit the conversion of Froberger to Catholicism. It also documents his (the steward's) questions to Duc Federico Savelli (who replaced Prince Gonzaga as the Imperial (Viennese) ambassador to the Papal Court) on the practical problems of how Frescobaldi would be compensated and where Froberger

would stay in Rome. Claudio Annibaldi (1998:43) remarks that presumably Froberger was motivated to put some concentrated effort into his conversion, as it must have been complete before the autumn of 1637 when he finally received his scholarship to go to Rome. In Rome, he lived on the Piazza Navona in the Palace of Scipion Gonzaga (1595-1670), Prince of Bozzolo, the previous Imperial ambassador to Pope Urban VIII, Barbarini (Annibaldi 1998:42). Unfortunately nothing is known about Froberger's actual training with Frescobaldi, although it is possible that *Toccatas FbWV 127, 128 and 129* from the Chigi MS date from this time and were composed under Frescobaldi's tutorship (Froberger 2011:XVII).

1 April 1641. Rampe mentions (Froberger. 2005:XLVI) that Froberger's name appears once more in the Court records at Vienna between 1 April 1641 and 31 October 1645 as "third chamber organist to his Roman-Imperial Majesty". The first and second organists were Ebner and Carlo Ferdinando Simonelli (active 1617-1653). During these years, Froberger probably composed his *Libro Primo*, which has since been lost.

1645. In 1645 Ferdinand III dismissed or retired at least eleven musicians because of financial constraints caused by the ongoing war (Siefert 2005:45). Whether or not Froberger was one of these casualties is not clear. In any event, in 1645 Froberger re-visited Rome. Frescobaldi had died in 1643, so obviously it was not for further study with his old teacher. During this second visit, or perhaps even during his first visit to Rome in 1637, Froberger must have met the remarkable polymath Athanasius Kircher, a professor at the Collegio Romano, with whom he later corresponded. Two of Froberger's letters to Kircher have survived, and in one of them, dated 18 September 1649, Froberger mentions that he had composed a psalm for three voices, and asked Kircher to submit it to the "maestro" in the hope that it would be performed at Sant'Apollinare. This "maestro" must have been Giacomo Carissimi, and from this reference, it has long been assumed that Froberger studied with Carissimi whilst he was in Rome (Gorman. 2003). Carissimi was engaged as *Maestro di Capella* at Sant'Apollinare which belonged to the Collegium Germanicum, the school of the German Jesuits in Rome. Part of Froberger's letter to Kircher states that he (Froberger) has taken care not to write the psalm in his normal handwriting because otherwise one would know that it had been written by him. It asks Kircher to say that he (Kircher) had written it. From this comment one might deduce that Froberger had studied with Carissimi. Annibaldi

(1998:50) however feels that this hypothesis can be discounted, and that Froberger's comment can be explained by his trying out Kircher's method of canonic writing and wanting Kircher's opinion on how successfully it had turned out. According to Annibaldi, Froberger's request to have the music performed at the Church of Sant'Apollinare was because this church was close to the Collegium Germanicum, where Kircher worked. From this letter, Annibaldi deduces that Froberger probably studied contrapuntal works in the style of the *Prima Pratica* with Kircher, (Annibaldi 1998:47) and at the same time learned how to operate Kircher's composing machines, the *arca musurgica* and the *arca musarithmica*.

During this time in Rome, Froberger gave Kircher a copy of his *Hexachord Fantasia FbWV 201*, which Kircher used as a "perfect" example of the *stylus phantasticus* in his learned work, *Musurgia Universalis*, published in Rome in 1650 in two thick tomes. The first print run of this work was 1500 and it found its way across Europe, being much admired in the process. A letter from Father Johannes Gans to Kircher dated February 1649 confirms that Froberger must have been in Rome at this time. In this letter, Gans asks Kircher to send his composing machine to the Emperor, via the intermediation of Froberger (Kircher correspondence PUG 561 f133v).

1648 (possible date). Rampe (Froberger. 1995:XXII) speculates that Froberger spent some time, possibly as early as 1648, travelling in the entourage of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (the youngest brother of Ferdinand III and by this time the only surviving brother). If this is correct, then Froberger might have been in the company of the younger composer Johann Caspar Kerll, who was also in the entourage of the Archduke, employed as his organist. Alternatively, perhaps Froberger temporarily replaced Kerll who was sent to Rome to study with Carissimi in the late 1640s and early 1650s (Harris and Giebler: 2011).

After the peace of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years War in Germany and the Eighty Years War between the Netherlands and Spain, Ferdinand III started to increase his chapel considerably, initially with instrumentalists and later with Italian singers for the increasingly popular Opera (Seifert. 2005:45). Perhaps this had something to do with Froberger's return to Vienna.

1649. From his letter to Kircher, dated 18 September 1649 (Annibaldi. 1998:48), we know that Froberger returned to Vienna in the summer of 1649, having stopped en route in Florence and Mantua, where Emperor Ferdinand had close family ties. His letter to Kircher describes the hospitality he received in Florence from Cardinal Grand Duke Leopoldo de' Medici and in Mantua from Duke Carlo II Gonzaga (Rasch 2003:20). Froberger also mentions how pleased Emperor Ferdinand and the young Empress Maria Leopoldine were with the composing machine, the *arca musurgica*, a more complex machine than the *arca musarithmica* that Kircher had described in his *Musurgia Universalis*. The *arca musurgica* had been presented to the royal couple on Kircher's behalf by Father Johannes Gans and they sent for Froberger to have the machine explained. The Emperor had composed something which was tried out by him and Froberger in a session lasting two hours. Froberger was asked to come back the next day, but by then the Empress had died in childbirth (Rasch. 2003:20). This dates Froberger's session with the Emperor to 6 August 1649. Another letter from Gans to Kircher survives, dated 7 August 1649, which confirms that Froberger had a long audience with the Emperor on 6 August during which he demonstrated Kircher's machine (Annibaldi. 1998:47).

The seventeen year old Empress, Maria Leopoldine, who had married Ferdinand the previous year on 2 July 1648, died giving birth to her first son on 7 August 1649. During the subsequent mourning period, Froberger met William Swann, an English officer in the Dutch army, who was off-duty because of the recently signed Peace of Westphalia (1648). Swann was on a diplomatic mission for the exiled King of England, Charles II (Rasch. 2003:19). He promised to send Froberger works by Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, the famous French clavecinist, and sent works by Froberger to his personal secretary, Constantijn Huygens in the Netherlands. This contact was pivotal in Froberger's development. It introduced Froberger to a great French composer and started introducing Froberger's music to rest of Europe. Swann, who wrote in French to Huygens on 15 September 1649, praised Froberger as *un homme très-rare sur les espinettes* – an exceptional harpsichordist (Huygens: 2010). Huygens was a composer, lutenist and harpsichordist in his own right and had established contact with musicians such as Chambonnières and the Gaultier family (lutenists in Paris), as well as with theoreticians such as Marin Mersenne and René Descartes (Rasch: 2011). This was the beginning of a life-long friendship between Huygens and Froberger, although they only seem to have actually met in person once: at Mainz in 1665 (Schott: 2010).

Despite the official state of mourning, Froberger played for Emperor Ferdinand in September 1649 and his *Libro Secondo*, dedicated to his Imperial Majesty, is dated 29 September 1649. However, Froberger did not spend long in Vienna. After these few months had passed he travelled to the Electoral Court of Dresden in the autumn or early winter of 1649 (Froberger. 1995:XXIII) and, according to Mattheson (1740:88) he presented the Elector, Johann Georg II, with a letter of recommendation from the Emperor. At this time, the Elector was Johann Georg I, so Mattheson must have meant either the reigning Elector, or his son who only became Johann Georg II after the death of his father in late 1656 (Clayton and Russell. 2001:227). At this court he met Matthias Weckmann and probably Heinrich Schütz and Christoph Bernhard (1628-1692) and, according to Mattheson, engaged in a friendly competition with Weckmann at the request of the Saxony Electorate. He was rewarded with a gold chain (Schott: 2010). This competition, once again according to Mattheson, led to regular correspondence between Weckmann and Froberger and an exchange of works. At Dresden, Mattheson (1740: 88) says that Froberger performed a variety of pieces (“6 Toccaten, 8 Caprici, 2 Ricercaten und 2 Suiten”) which he had copied very neatly into a beautifully bound book. He presented the book to the Electorate as a gift. Unfortunately this book has been lost.

Upon leaving Dresden, according to Mattheson (Mattheson. 1740:396) in the company of Kerll, Froberger travelled to Brussels. Rampe states that, in Brussels, Froberger went to the (belated) celebrations of the royal wedding of the Spanish King, Philip IV to Maria Anna (known as Mariana) of Habsburg, a daughter of Ferdinand and his first wife, Maria Anna of Spain (Froberger. 2005:LVII). The wedding took place by proxy in Vienna on 8 November 1648 when the young Mariana was only thirteen (Gosman 2003:284) and the actual wedding occurred a year later on 18 November 1649 in Novalcarnero in Spain. Both Froberger and Kerll played at a musical event that was central to the festivities (Froberger. 1995:XXIII). During this musical event an opera, *Ulisse* by Gioseffo Zamponi (before 1610-1662) was performed on 24 February 1650 (Lederer:2011).

11 March 1650. Froberger is mentioned on 11 March 1650 in the personal accounts of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (Ferdinand’s brother), who had been Governor of the Spanish Netherlands and resident in Brussels since 1647. According to Rasch (2003:22 and 32) the entry (in the accounts of Leopold Wilhelm of Austria 1647-1653. MS 1374, fol. 126r, National Archives Brussels) says that he

ordered his treasurer to pay 100 patacons to his Maestro de la Musica, Guiseppe Zamponi, so that the latter could give the money to “Joan Jacobo Organista Extr.” (Johann Jacob, Organist Extraordinary). The text continues:

Leopoldo Guillermo &c: Julian Dellano Velasco, mi Thesorero y Maestro de la Camera &c. A Jusepe Zamponi Maestro de la Musica de mi Camera cien patacones de a 48 placas (que hazen dozientos y quaranta florenos de a xx places) para que por humano se entreguen a Jua Jacobo, Organista de la Magestad Cesarea del Emperor mi hermano, y se le dan gratis para proseguir su viage. Y tomareis carta de pago de le ho Jusepe Zamponi onque declare las monedas y precios quelos recibe, que con ella y esta siendo tomada la razon por Pedro Martinez de Paz mi Greffier se os pasaran en cuenta los dichos cien patacones del dicho valor sin otra formalidad nun requisito alguno. Dato en Brusselas a onze de Marzo de mil y seiscentos y cinquenta anos. Leopoldo Guillermo – Tomo la razon Pedro Martinez de Paz (followed by Martinez’s paraph). (Rasch. 2003:22 and 32)

Leopold Wilhelm etc: Julian Dellano Velasco, my Treasurer and Master of the Chamber etc. To Guiseppe Zamponi, Master of the Music of the Chamber, one hundred patacons of 48 stivers each (which make 240 guilders of 20 stivers) so that they be handed in person to Johann Jacob [Froberger], Organist of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor, my brother, and be given to him for nothing so that he may continue his journey. And you must receive a receipt from him or from Guiseppe Zamponi in which he declares the money and the values which he receives, so that with that [receipt] and after the invoice has been accepted by Pedro Martinez de Paz, my Registrar, the aforesaid one hundred patacons of the aforesaid value will be given to you on your account, without further formalities or any requirement. Given in Brussels 11 March 1650. Leopold Wilhelm – I accept the invoice Pedro Martinez de Paz (followed by Martinez’s paraph). (Rasch: 2003:22 and 32)

In the Bauyn MS (Froberger. 1993:XXI), *Toccata FbWV 102* carries the annotation *fatto a Bruxellis anno 1650* (composed at Brussels in the year 1650), which is a further indication that Froberger was in Brussels at this time. However, the *toccata* appears in the 1649 *Libro Secondo*, which indicates either that the Bauyn copyist was incorrect as to the date, or that Froberger wrote down another copy of the *toccata* whilst he was in Brussels.

Froberger then travelled extensively throughout Western Europe. It is thought that he may have travelled in a diplomatic capacity, possibly clandestinely, in the service of the Archduke who had been Governor of the Spanish Netherlands since 1647 (Maguire. 2006:15). If this assumption is correct, it would explain Froberger's presence in certain countries during times of political unrest. For example, his trip to Paris during the Fronde uprisings and his sojourn in London (see below for details) at the height of the Protestant Commonwealth when music was at an all-time low in England and many musicians were unemployed. As a Catholic, he took a chance going to London, where he seems to have arrived without any obvious musical reason. Maguire states:

In this respect he may be compared to Rubens, who also acted as a diplomat for the Habsburgs (Maguire 2006:15).

A letter dated 15 February 1655 written by Balthasar Erben (1626-1686), mentions that Froberger had advised Erben about 1653 to visit Nuremberg, Würzburg, Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Bonn, Cologne, Düsseldorf, the United Netherlands and the Spanish Netherlands, including Zeeland, Brabant, Antwerp and Brussels and from there to go to England, France and finally Italy (Froberger. 2005: XLVII). This gives us a good idea of the places that Froberger visited himself in his own years of travel between 1649 and 1653. Rampe speculates that he travelled with the Archduke for part of the time, visiting the lands that made up the Spanish Netherlands (today Belgium, Luxembourg and the southern part of Holland), which were governed by the Habsburgs (Froberger. 1995:XXIII).

19 May 1650. According to Rasch (2003:24 and 34), Froberger was in Utrecht on 19 May 1650 when *Er. Hans Jacob Froberger organist bij Keijserl. Majesteijt* (Mr Hans Jacob Froberger, organist to

His Imperial Majesty) witnessed a legal document that authorised a notary to collect rents. The reason for his presence in the United Provinces can only be guessed at, but Leopold Wilhelm, as Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, was in the process of negotiating treaties with both the United Netherlands and France, so it is likely that Froberger accompanied him as part of his retinue to the court of Willem II of Orange.

The *allemande* from *Partita FbWV 614* may have been written around this time.³ It has the text *Lamentation sur ce, que j'ay été volé. Et se joue à la discretion, et encore mieux que les soldats m'ont traicté* (Lamentation on my being robbed. To be played with discretion and much better than the way the soldiers treated me). A Latin postscript in the source WMin 743 states that it was composed after an incident that occurred between Brussels and Leuven during the Fronde uprisings⁴. The postscript reads:

Cum D[ominus] Froberger Bruxellis Lovanium iter faciens a militibus Lotharingis, tunc grassantibus verberibus male tractatus fuisset, imo quamvis ceteroquin Patentes caesareas respexissent spoliatus saucius tandem dimissus: hanc Lamentationem pro animi afflictio solatio composuit.

While Monsieur Froberger was travelling from Brussels to Leuven he was beaten by soldiers from Lorraine who belaboured him with whips even though they had inspected his imperial travel documents, they even robbed him and left him behind in a wounded condition. He composed this Lamentation in order to comfort his humiliated spirit.

He travelled through Zeeland, Brabant, the northern part of Belgium, Antwerp and arrived in Paris by the autumn of 1650 (Froberger. 2005:XLVII).

³ Froberger is known to have been in Brussels in 1650, but he was also paid an amount of money in December 1652 by the Brussels treasury. The lamentation may thus have been written in 1652 rather than in 1650.

⁴The Fronde (1648-1653) was a civil war in France that occurred directly after the Thirty Years War and which started out as a protest by the nobility against taxes imposed by Mazarin. Under the command of aristocratic leaders, armed bands of ex-soldiers, hardened by continuous war in Germany, terrorised parts of France and surrounding lands.

Autumn 1650. In Paris he met the lutenists Denis Gaultier (1597 or 1603-1672), other members of the Gaultier family, Francois Dufaut (before 1604 - before 1672) and Charles Fleury, Sieur de Blancrocher (c.1605-1652). He also met Francois Roberday (1624-1680) who later published a “fugue” FbWV 407a (actually a *ricercar*) by Froberger in 1660. He probably met Chambonnières and definitely knew Louis Couperin who had recently come to Paris to study with Chambonnières. Rampe speculates that he was a guest performer at the private concerts organised by Chambonnières (Froberger. 2005:XLVII), called the *Assemblée des Honestes Curieux* (Assembly of Enquiring Gentlemen).

According to David Ledbetter, *gigues* appear in lute sources only after 1650 (Ledbetter 1987:49). The French lutenist Jean Jacques Gaultier, who for 30 years worked as court lutenist in London, is credited with having introduced some form of the jig into his native country when he returned there (Little 2010). As he was listed in the English Court records up until 1649, he probably went to France around 1650. The dates correspond nicely. Like Froberger, Jean Jacques Gaultier was also a correspondent of Constantijn Huygens (Rollin 2010). This provides yet another link between Froberger and the Parisian lutenists. It seems probable that Froberger, through introductions provided by Huygens, found himself in the hub of musical creativity when he arrived in Paris in the autumn of 1650. It is difficult to know who influenced whom the most but in any event, round about this time, Froberger started to introduce the *gigue* into his *partitas* as a standard dance, as did the French lutenists. Only one of Froberger’s previous *partitas* (in the 1649 *Libro Secondo*) contains a *gigue*. The other *partitas* in this volume consist of only three dances: *allemande-courante-sarabande*.

24 December 1651. A further indication that Froberger was in Paris around this time is the descriptive title given to the *allemande* of *Partita FbWV 613* and especially to the *gigue* of this *partita*. The *allemande*, according to the Sing-Akademie MS, was written for the Marquis de Termes to thank him for the “favours and good deeds received in Paris” (*faite pour remercier Monsieur le Marquis de Termes des favours et bien faits de luy receus à Paris*). This was the same Monsieur de Termes to whom the dying Blancrocher later entrusted his son (see below, November 1652). César Auguste de Pardaillan de Gondrin, Marquis de Termes, was first gentleman of the chamber of Monsieur (Gaston, duc d’Orléans), the uncle of the (thirteen year old) Louis XIV. One cannot help

wondering what kind of company Froberger kept in Paris. The Marquis de Termes was apparently “...engaged in the intrigues of the Fronde. He was handsome, well-made, a man of wit, very lively, very mischievous and of a very bad character” (Sévigné 1677:18). Elsewhere (Bussy-Rabutin 1754:370) he is described as *très malin et non moins débauché* (very malicious and just as debauched). Catherine Massip relates a complaint by a M. Charles Richard, the son of the organist Pierre Richard, about the Marquis in 1649, that the Marquis owed him money for harpsichord lessons (Massip 1998:71). Schulenberg concludes that in Paris “Froberger was in the company of a colourful, free-spending crowd” (Schulenberg 2008:42).

However, it is the *gigue* of this same *Partita* FbWV 613, which allows us to date Froberger’s sojourn in Paris. In various sources (the Minoriten MS, the Sing-Akademie MS and the Bulyowsky MS) the *gigue* is entitled *nommée la rusée Mazarinique* (called Mazarin’s trick). The Bulyowsky MS provides a further description: *lament et à discretion, comme la retour de Mons. Le Cardinal Mazarin à Paris* (lament [probably meaning ‘slowly’ from the French word *lentement*] and with discretion, like the return of Cardinal Mazarin to Paris). The Sing-Akademie MS confirms this with a similar description *lentement et avec discretion comme le retour de Mr le Cardinal Mazarin à Paris*. During the Fronde wars, Mazarin was in self-imposed exile, returning to Paris twice – the first time with a small army on Christmas Eve 1651, at the end of what historians term his first exile (Schulenberg 2008:17) and the second time on 3 February 1653. His return was long awaited by the Parisians who had expected him back quite some time before he actually arrived. The title of the piece shows that Froberger, of whose character we know so little, must have had a sense of humour.

David Schulenberg concludes that the title of the *gigue* refers to Cardinal Mazarin’s surreptitious return to France on Christmas Eve 1651 (Schulenberg 2008:17), whereas Peter Wollny states that the piece must have been composed in the latter half of 1652 (Froberger 2006:XX), Siegbert Rampe finds that the piece was not finished before February 1653 (Froberger. 2005:LXIII) and van Asperen dates it to the summer of 1654 (van Asperen 2008:16). Whichever date is correct, the real significance of the discussion is that the title of the *gigue* allows us to date the time that Froberger started to change the order of his *partitas* from *allemande-courante-sarabande-gigue*, to *allemande-gigue-courante-sarabande*. The latter order was used in the *partita* containing the *Gigue nommée la ruse Mazarinique*. In changing the order of the dances, he was probably influenced by the French

lutenists that he associated with. According to Rampe (Froberger 1993:XXXII), *partitas* following this order are known by the lutenists Francois Dufaut and Denis Gaultier, both of whom moved in the same circle as Blancrocher (Rollin 2010), whose death (in 1652) was commemorated by both Dufaut and Gaultier in *tombeaux* for the lute (Dugot and Ledbetter: 2010) and by Froberger and Louis Couperin in *tombeaux* for the harpsichord.

My own opinion is that Schulenberg is probably correct and that Froberger wrote the piece to commemorate Mazarin's first return to Paris on Christmas Eve 1651 rather than on any of the later dates. My reasons for this are as follows:

- Froberger was not in Paris in 1653 when Mazarin returned for the second time. Shortly after Blancrocher's death in November 1652, he left to go to Brussels and thereafter travelled through various towns to Regensburg. See below for more information on this part of his life. It is possible that he wrote the piece retrospectively, but I find this a less likely scenario.
- The Bauyn MS contains the same *partita* (FbWV 613) and the *allemande* from the *partita* bears the inscription *fait à Paris* (composed in Paris). This indicates that the title of the *gigue* must refer to the earlier return of Mazarin when Froberger was actually in Paris.
- The title and the added descriptions in the Bulyowsky and the Sing-Akademie manuscripts imply a certain surreptitiousness in Mazarin's return. This would accord with his first, almost half-hearted, attempt to return rather than with his second successful attempt.
- In the Sing-Akademie MS the *gigue* is part of a *partita* which contains the *Allemande faite pour remercier M le Marquis de Termes des faveurs et bien faits de luy recus a Paris* (composed for the Marquis de Termes for favours and good deeds received from him in Paris). It seems logical that Froberger would have presented the *partita* (or at least the *allemande*) to the Marquis before he left Paris – which he certainly did long before Mazarin's second return.

The comment in the Hintze MS confirms the new order of the dances:

Hierauff Auch die Gigue hernach Covrant Undt Sarab[and]...Zu letzt gespielt. Und so Setzt er [Froberger] Nun fast Alle seine Sachen in Solcher Ordnung

At this point comes the *Gigue*, followed by the *Courante* and *Sarabande* played last. [Froberger] now puts almost all his pieces in this order.

As mentioned above, in the 1649 autograph (*Libro Secondo*), with the exception of one *partita*, FbWV 602, which contains a *gigue* in last position, Froberger's *partitas* have only three dances: *allemande-courante-sarabande*. Sometime after this, probably during his first trip to Paris in 1650, he started adding the *gigue* as the last dance and we now know that he changed the order of the four dances probably around late 1651/early 1652. *Partitas* in his autograph of 1656 (*Libro Quarto*) follows the (by-then) established Frobergerian order of *allemande-gigue-courante-sarabande*. Rampe mentions that "the possibility cannot be discounted that some of the ... works were only put into the new order at a later date by the composer, i.e. they originally ended with the *gigue* and may therefore be performed in that order!" (Froberger. 2005:LXXIV).

Early 1652. (Possible date). Researchers are divided on whether Froberger left Paris to go to England after this first trip to Paris or whether he went after his second trip to Paris (he was in Paris late 1652 – see below). In any event, he stayed in London where he wrote his lament entitled *Plainte faite à Londres pour passer la Mélancholie* (Lament composed in London to drive away melancholy). In Froberger's letter to Kircher of 9 February 1654 (Annibaldi 1998:55) Froberger mentions that he had been asked about the *Musurgia Universalis* whilst he was in England and it is this statement that confirms that he went to England and must have been there prior to 1 April 1653 (when his name is mentioned again in the Emperor's account books as "organist"). If either of these dates are correct, Froberger would have been in England during the Commonwealth years when there was a depressing dearth of musical activity.

A Latin postscript to the *Plainte* in WMin 743 (Froberger 2003:15) describes the incidents that befell Froberger at the hands of highwaymen and pirates between Paris and Calais and between Calais and England.

D[ominus] Froberger volens Parisiis in Anglicam abire, intra Parisios et Cales et Douer in mari adeo spoliatus e[st], ut in caverna piscatoria sine nuomo Anglicam appulit; ac Londinum venit. Ubi cum interesset Societati, et musicam audire vellet; monitus e[st] levare folles: id quod fecit. Sed ex melancholia oblitus semel levare, ab organoedo pede per portam extrusus fuit. Super quo casu hanc Lamentationem [com]posit.

As Mr Froberger was travelling from Paris to England, he was robbed at sea between Paris and Calais and Dover, landing in England in a fishing boat without a penny to his name. Having arrived, he then set out for London. When he joined a group of people to listen to music, he was asked to operate the bellows [of the organ], which he did as asked. But, in his melancholy, he forgot to operate them, and he was kicked out of the door by the organist. He composed this Lamentation about this incident.

Mattheson (1740:89) confirms this story, and the Sing-Akademie MS adds some further elaborations to it, such as Froberger arriving in London in cast-off seaman's clothing, thrown to him out of pity by the sailors who robbed him. This source also makes it clear that poor Froberger was robbed not once but twice on the same trip: once between Paris and Calais and the other time at sea between Calais and England (Froberger 2006:XXI).

However, Mattheson dates the episode later, stating that the *Lamentation* was composed in 1662 (Mattheson 1740: 89), after Charles II was re-instated - a date that is disputed by most modern scholars as being too late. According to Mattheson, Froberger played before Charles II. During a break in the music making, Froberger resolved a dissonant chord in an ingenious way, and was recognized by a foreign lady who had studied with him. Charles II was informed of his presence and Froberger was asked to play, duly astonishing the listeners.

26 September 1652. From London, he seems to have returned to Paris, where a concert was held in his honour at the *Eglise des Jacobins* in Paris on Thursday 26 September 1652. This is testified to by Jean Loret in his weekly gazette of Sunday 29 September 1652, *La Muze Historique*, which

describes a vast ensemble of singers and musicians who performed *un concert angelique* the previous Thursday (Loret 1857: 291ff). To Loret’s amazement, it was not performed for the Gods, not even for Kings or Queens, but in honour of a certain *pifre d’Alemand* (extremely fat person from Germany), *tres-mediocre personnage* (a very insignificant person). The word *pifre* does not seem to be in current French usage, but I have found one 17th century translation of the word “*piffre*”, spelled with two Fs. The author of the French/English Dictionary *The Royal Dictionary* (1699), Abel Boyer, translates it as “a fat guts, a slouch”. The cross sign before the word is defined at the beginning of the dictionary as signalling a term which is vulgar.

· † **Piffre**, S. M. Piffreffe, S. F.
a fat guts, a slouch.

Boyer: *The Royal Dictionary*, 1699.

Froberger was not identified by name but described as Organist to the Emperor and what is more, a paid employee of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, whom he had served for some time (Loret 1857: 291ff). Loret’s rather snobbish comments indicate the thinking of the times: a paid employee was in the lower ranks of society, whether or not he was a brilliant musician. A few extracts from his newsletter (which is all in rhyming couplets) are worth quoting:

<i>Je trouvois un peu ridicule</i>	I found it a little ridiculous
<i>Que ces accords mélodieux</i>	That these melodious harmonies
<i>Ne se fissent point pour les dieux.....</i>	Were not indeed for the gods...
<i>Mais pour regales seulement</i>	But for the sole delight
<i>Un certain pifre d’Alemand</i>	Of a certain fat pig from Germany
<i>Très-mediocre personnage.....</i>	A very insignificant person...
<i>...Organiste de l’Empereur</i>	...Organist to the Emperor
<i>Et, pour le plus, homme de solde</i>	And, what is more, a paid employee
<i>Du sieur archi-duc Léopolde</i>	Of Archduke Leopold
<i>Que depuis quelque-temps il sert.</i>	Whom he has served for some time.

November 1652. Another testimony to Froberger's presence in Paris in late 1652 is his *Tombeau fait á Paris sur la Mort de Monsieur Blancheroche*. Froberger's lutenist friend, Charles Fleury, Sieur de Blancrocher, died after falling down a flight of steps in November that year. The incident took place after a dinner held by Madame de St Thomas that they both attended. The Latin postscript in the Viennese source WMin 743 provides an account of the circumstances (Froberger. 2003:23). Madame de St Thomas was a singer (Sabatier 1998:315 and Delmasse 1859:151).

This account is described in detail in the first case-study of chapter 7.

19 December 1652. After Blancrocher's death, Froberger left Paris to go to Brussels. There is a record of a payment of 144 gulden to Froberger by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm on 19 December 1652 for having performed for the Archduke several times (Rasch 2003:34).

1 April 1653. Froberger's name appears in the Imperial court account books from 1 April 1653 to 30 June 1657, once again as "third chamber organist" to the Emperor (Froberger. 2005: XLVI).

1653. In the spring of 1653 Froberger probably travelled to the Imperial Diet (the parliament of the various estates of which the Holy Roman Empire was composed), which opened on 1 July 1653 at Regensburg and remained in session until 17 May 1654 (Whaley 2011:20). If Froberger was in Brussels on 19 December 1652, then he was not part of the gigantic retinue that accompanied Ferdinand III to Regensburg, arriving in Regensburg on 12 December 1652. Ferdinand made a triumphant entrance with a company of three thousand, including some fifty princes and counts, sixty musicians, three court jesters and three dwarfs (Whaley 2001:19). Rasch (2003:29) suggests that another descriptive composition, the *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin, dans un barque, en grand peril* (*Allemande* composed in crossing the Rhine, in a barge, in great danger) may have been composed around the middle of 1653, although Wollny (Froberger. 2006:XI) dates it one year later to June 1654. Rampe, like Rasch, dates it to 1653, and suggests that it was written after Froberger's return from France (Rampe 2010: Vol VI.1: XIX).

I disagree with both the dates of 1653 and 1654. According to the Sing-Akademie MS, the events associated with the *Allemande* took place on 24 June at St Goar, although the year is, frustratingly,

not given. If Froberger experienced these events on the way to the Diet in 1653 then he would have missed both the election of Ferdinand IV (Ferdinand III's eldest son and successor), which took place in Augsburg on 31 May 1653 (Whaley 2011:20) and the coronation of Ferdinand IV which took place on June 18 1653 in Regensburg (Whaley 2011:20). An inscription at the beginning of the *Allemande* of *Partita FbWV 611* in the Sing-Akademie MS commemorates both the election and the coronation, implying that he attended both. The Diet was officially over on 17 May 1654 and it seems that Froberger went back to Vienna: he seems to have been at court when Ferdinand IV died of smallpox on 9 July 1654. He wrote the *Lamento sopra la dolorosa perdita della Real M.^{sta} Ferdinando IV. Rè de Romani &*. (Lamentation on the sad loss of his Royal Majesty, Ferdinand IV. King of the Romans etc) to mourn his death. It seems unlikely that the events at St Goar happened shortly after the Diet was over, especially as the Sing-Akademie MS states that they occurred en route from Cologne to Mainz, thus travelling south from Cologne. Thus, in my opinion, the rather slapstick events associated with the *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin* must have taken place at some other time in Froberger's life. The debacle is described in detail in Chapter 3.2.

31 May 1653. Ferdinand III's eldest son was elected his successor in Augsburg on 31 May 1653 (Whaley 2011:20). The *Allemande* from *Partita FbWV 611* in the Sing-Akademie MS reads: *faite sur l'Election et Couronnement de sa Majesté Ferdinand [sic] le Quatrième* (composed on the election and crowning of his majesty Ferdinand IV). It seems likely that Froberger, together with other musicians from Ferdinand's retinue, performed at both of the ceremonies and the celebrations thereafter.

18 June 1653 Ferdinand III's eldest son was crowned Ferdinand IV, King of the Romans (Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire) on June 18 1653 in Regensburg (Whaley 2011:20). This made Ferdinand IV the successor to Ferdinand III in the event of the latter's death. The Diet was only officially opened on 1 July 1653 due to various political delays and because of Ferdinand's desire to have his son elected and crowned before the opening (Whaley 2011:20ff). The Düben MS contains versions of *Toccatà FbWV 114* and *Fantasia FbWV 207* together with the date 1653 (Froberger 2011:XIII). As the Düben MS hails from Stockholm, it is possible that Froberger gave these compositions to one of the Swedish delegation to the Diet. (Sweden was part of the Reichstag.)

4 August 1653. Empress Eleonora was crowned at Regensburg (Whaley 2011:23). Eleonora Gonzaga of Mantua (1630-1686) was Ferdinand's third wife, the great-niece of her namesake, the second wife of Ferdinand II and step mother to Ferdinand III. Froberger commemorated the event in the *Sarabande* from *Partita FbWV 611: faite sur le couronnement de sa Majesté Imperiale l'Imperatrice Eleonore*.

9 February 1654. Froberger's second surviving letter to Kircher is dated February 9 1654, from Regensburg. He might have completed his *Libro Terzo* in Regensburg, but unfortunately, this book is still missing. Whilst he was in Regensburg he met Balthasar Erben (Clausing 2011), and probably taught him. Erben later became Kapelmeister in Danzig (Gdansk).

17 May 1654. The Imperial Diet had remained in session until this time. When it was over, Froberger most likely returned to Vienna with the rest of the Emperor's retinue.

9 July 1654. Ferdinand IV died of smallpox (Ingrao 2000:54 and Vehse 1865:468). Froberger's *Lamentation* FbWV 612 was written round about this time. The inscription reads: *Lamento sopra la dolorosa perdita della Real M.^{sta} Ferdinando IV. Rè de Romani &* (Lamentation on the sad loss of his Royal Majesty, Ferdinand IV. King of the Romans etc). In WMin743, the title is in French and the piece has been dated. *Lamentation faite sur la tres douloureuse mort de sa majesté Ferdinand le quatrieme Roy de Romanis; et se joue lentement avec discretion. An 1654.* (Lamentation written on the very sad death of his majesty, Ferdinand the fourth, King of the Romans; to be played slowly with discretion. 1654.)

1656. During these years in Vienna Froberger completed his *Libro Quarto*, which contains various keyboard works dedicated to Ferdinand III, dated 1656. The volume contains both the *Lamentation* and *Partita FbWV 611* mentioned above. The *Partita* has been decorated (see overleaf) with various emblems that seem to relate to the Habsburg royalty (the Imperial crown, orb, sword and sceptre). As mentioned above, the Sing-Akademie MS contains the same *partita* with annotations to each of the dances except the *gigue*. In the Sing-Akademie MS, the *allemande* from this *partita* is associated

with the election of Ferdinand IV as King of the Romans (Emperor Elect), *faite sur l' Election et Couronnement de sa Majesté Ferdinant [sic] le Quatrième* (composed on the election and crowning of his majesty Ferdinand IV). The *courante* of the same *partita* was *faite au jour de naissance de la Jeune Princesse Imperiale*, (composed on the day of the birth of the young imperial princess), probably Eleonora Maria Josefa (1653-1697) whose birthday was 13 May and who later became Queen of Poland. The *sarabande* was composed on the crowning of the Empress, *faite sur le couronnement de sa Majesté Imperiale l'Imperatrice Eleonore*, (mother of the above mentioned princess).



Froberger: openings of each of the dances from Partita FbWV 611, showing the emblems relating to the Habsburgs. Libro Quarto 1656. (Schulenberg 2006.)

The princess was born on 13 May 1653; Ferdinand IV was elected on 31 May 1653 and crowned on 18 June 1653; Eleonora was crowned on 4 August 1653. The *Lamento* refers to the death of Ferdinand IV on 9 July 1654. This seems to indicate that *Libro Quarto* (1656) was compiled from pieces written over several years, at least 1653-1656. Froberger mentions in his dedication of the *Libro Quarto* to Ferdinand III that the pieces in the fourth part of the book (the *partitas*):

...secondate per il piu dall'humore, che ha cagionato in me la Varieta degl'accidenti del tempo...

...derive from emotions that the vicissitudes of time have occasioned in me...
(translation: Schulenberg 2006: 4).

The decorative wording in the courtly Italian of the time is difficult to understand, but it seems to imply that the pieces were written at various times or possibly even inspired by events in the past.

2 April 1657. Ferdinand III died suddenly at the age of 48, according to Vehse (1865:468) from the effects of a bad fright. A fire had broken out in the Emperor's apartments and a halberdier of the guard tried to save the Emperor's youngest son, an infant of only a few months. He dropped the cradle, which broke without injuring the child, but the Emperor, already in ill-health, died three hours later. (The child, Ferdinand Josef Alois, died a year later on 16 June 1658.) Froberger's *Lamentation faite sur la mort tres douloureuse de sa majesté Imperiale Ferdinand le troisieme* (Lamentation composed upon the very sorrowful death of his majesty Emperor Ferdinand the third) is dated 1657 in WMin 743, and was presumably written shortly after Ferdinand's death. A colleague of Froberger's, Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c1620-23-1680) wrote a lament for Ferdinand as well: the trio sonata entitled *Lamento sopra la morte de Ferdinando III* (Lamentation on the death of Ferdinand III). After the death of his son, Ferdinand IV, in July 1654, Ferdinand III had not been successful in having his second son, Archduke Leopold VI, elected Emperor before his own death in April 1657. The main reason for this was that Leopold had not reached the age of 18, the minimum age required to be elected as Emperor (Ingrao 2000:54). After Ferdinand III's death, this created a power struggle between the young Archduke Leopold VI, his uncle Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (Ferdinand III's brother) and various other contenders such as Ferdinand Maria, Elector of Bavaria. The French King, Louis XIV, was outspoken in his desire to break the Habsburg succession

and his opposition to Ferdinand's son, Archduke Leopold VI, was supported by several of his allied Rhenish princes, including the influential Elector-Archbishop of Mainz and the Jesuit order of Catholic priests (Schott: 2010). Unfortunately for Froberger, his links with Kircher (part of the Jesuit community) and with the court of Johann Philipp von Schönborn, the Elector-Archbishop of Mainz, were noted. In addition, Froberger was Leopold Wilhelm's erstwhile employee and probably seen to be his supporter. Archduke Leopold VI was ultimately successful and became Emperor Leopold I. This had unfortunate consequences for Froberger.

30 June 1657. After the official period of mourning for Ferdinand, Froberger received his last salary as Court Organist on 30 June 1657 (Schott 2010). It is not clear whether or not Froberger was actually dismissed at this date, because according to Rampe, (Froberger 2005: XLVIII) Froberger remained in office until July 1658 during the dispute over the succession. He applied, unsuccessfully, for a position under Leopold I, using a collection of 6 *capriccios* and 6 *ricercars*, a volume which has, fortunately, survived in excellent condition. Howard Schott speculates (Schott: 2010) that this volume may have been produced in haste, as, unlike the volumes dedicated to Ferdinand III, it did not contain Sautter's painstaking decoration. It presents some interesting problems in dating. It is dedicated to his Imperial Majesty, Leopold I. On the one hand, Leopold was only officially elected Emperor in July 1658, more than a year after the death of Ferdinand III, but Froberger seems to have been unpaid since the previous year in June 1657. Either Froberger was waiting to see who would actually be elected in which case the date of the *Libro* would be after the election was certain, or, alternatively, perhaps he presented the volume around the time he received his last salary, sycophantically referring to Leopold by his forthcoming title before he was elected. Leopold was acting-Emperor after his father's death, in the fifteen months prior to his succession. In any event, Froberger was not successful in his ploy to retain or regain his position at court.

Perhaps a deciding factor in Froberger's dismissal was the fact that Emperor Leopold I was less interested in keyboard music, preferring dramatic sung music. He wrote a staggering thirteen operas and nine oratorios himself, in addition to a vast amount of other sacred music (Froberger. 1995:XXVI). However, the most probable reason for Froberger's dismissal was his political affiliation as discussed above. Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748) in his *Musicalisches Lexicon*

(Leipzig 1732:264) ascribes his dismissal to *Kaiserl. Ungnade* (royal disfavour). The political aspect of his dismissal is supported by the fact that Ebner remained in office as Court Organist (Arnn and Schröder:2011).

1 August 1658. His dismissal did not prevent Froberger from writing an *allemande* for the coronation of Leopold. The Sotheby's autograph contains an *Allemande faite sur le Couronnement de Sa Majesté Imperiale a Franckfurt* (Maguire 2006:11). The coronation of Leopold I took place in Frankfurt, on 1 August 1658. However, the meaning of the title is not clear. Is Froberger saying that he was actually at Frankfurt, or merely that the coronation took place at Frankfurt?

Froberger's destination after he left Vienna (or Frankfurt, if he went to the Coronation) remains obscure. Rampe suggests (Froberger. 1993:XXV) that Froberger again entered the service of Leopold Wilhelm, who was Archbishop of Strasbourg in addition to his other titles, and who now resided in Saverne. Van Asperen (2008:10.1) speculates that Froberger may have gone to Paris after leaving Vienna in 1658 to look up his former benefactor. During his first trip to Paris, Froberger had been supported by the Marquis de Termes, as is evidenced by the dedication to the Marquis in the *Partita FbWV 613*. The Marquis lived in the *Hotel Salé*, the magnificent palace owned by Pierre Aubert de Fontenay, a rich salt-tax collector whom Andrew Trout (1996:102) describes as "an obnoxious character". *Salé* is a multiple pun meaning salted, dirty and extravagant (Trout 1996:102). Once again it seems that Froberger was in exalted, but not particularly nice, company. It is tempting to imagine him playing to the rich and famous in the salons of this remarkable building which today houses the Picasso museum. It is thus quite possible, that after leaving Vienna, the itinerant composer went to Frankfurt and from there to Paris, arriving there, at the latest, in the autumn of 1659. In addition, van Asperen argues that Sibylla's brother Ulrich (who had been in the service of Louis XIV since 1658) and her cousin George (both of whom Froberger presumably knew) were both in Paris in 1659⁵.

⁵ Van Asperen refers to the *Recueil mémorable de Hugues Bois de Chesne* (Bäcker, »Chronique 1443-1665«, *Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation de Montbéliard*, 1856, Vol. 5, S. 85-91), »Chronique de Jean-Georges Perdrix (conseiller du comte Georges, Chronique 1659-1689«, *Mémoires*, 1857, Vol. 6, S. 115-127).

Alternatively, he may have gone to Montbéliard. The presence of the *Partita FbWV 618* in the Bauyn MS (Paris) indicates that he may have established contact with Sibylla at her residence in Montbéliard before May 1660, because he seems to have been in Paris on 1 May 1660 (see below), at the latest. This particular *partita* contains an *allemande*, which, in the Sotheby's autograph, is entitled *Allemande faict à Montbéliard à l'honneur de son Altress Serenissime Madame Sybille Duchesse de Wirtemberg, Princesse de Montbéliard* (*Allemande composed at Montbéliard in honour of her Most Serene Highness, Madame Sibylla, Duchess of Wurtemberg*) and a *Gigue nommé la Philette* (*Gigue called la Philette*). In the Bulyowsky MS these pieces have similar titles, the *gigue* being spelled *Philotte*. Rudolf Rasch and Pieter Dirksen have suggested that the word *Philotte* is a diminutive of Sophia Louisa, after Sophia Louisa of Württemberg, a younger cousin of Sibylla. Sophia was an accomplished lutenist (Dirksen and Rasch. 2001:133ff). Rampe (Froberger 2005: XXVII) finds this unlikely as *Philotte* is more appropriately a diminutive of Sophia Charlotte and, in any event Sophie Louisa lived in Stuttgart, not Montbéliard.

1 May 1660. The Sing-Akademie MS contains an annotation to the *Méditation faist sur ma morte future* (*Meditation composed on my future death*), FbWV 620, which reads *à Paris 1 May Anno 1660*, indicating that Froberger was in France at this time. It is possible that he was trying to get work in Paris prior to Louis XIV's marriage to Maria Theresa of Spain which took place on June 9 1660 in St Jean de Luz near the Spanish/French border and which was followed by a series of magnificent festivities in Paris. Froberger also probably gave Roberday a *Ricercar*, FbWV 407a, for inclusion in his printed anthology *Fugues et Caprices à quatre partier miser en partition pour l'orgue* which was published in Paris on 14 August 1660.

1662 (possible date). As previously mentioned, Mattheson states that Froberger went to England again in 1662. This has been discredited by Rampe (Froberger. 2003:XXXVII) but van Asperen has suggested that Mattheson may be correct after all (van Asperen April 2004: 27-30). In any event, Mattheson's comments upon Froberger's visit to England are worth mentioning. If Mattheson was correct (Mattheson 1740:88/89), then Froberger played before the newly re-instated King of England, Charles II in 1662 and impressed the courtiers to such an extent that their eyes and mouths were wide open, causing the King to apologise to Froberger for the behaviour of his subjects. This colourful anecdote is regarded as spurious because no other source backs it up. However, it is quite possible, in my opinion, that Froberger did make a second trip to England,

especially in view of the fact that Mattheson was, in other respects, mostly accurate about Froberger's life. Froberger was, after all, an inveterate traveller and his last four-year sojourn at the Viennese court may well have left him with itchy feet. If Mattheson is to be believed, then Froberger's *Plainte faite à Londres pour passer la melancholie* (*Plaint composed in London to drive away melancholy*) can possibly be dated to 1662, rather than the earlier date of 1651-2 that is now more commonly accepted.

1662. Around this time, Froberger re-established contact with Sibylla, who, after the death of her husband, Duke Leopold Friedrich of Württemberg on 15 June 1662, retired to her estate, Héricourt, in the Württemberg enclave of Montbéliard (today Haute-Savoie in France) on 31 July 1663 (Ruggieri 1998:24). It is interesting to note that Sibylla was, like Froberger, born at Stuttgart and they probably knew each other from this time (Ruggieri 1998:24). She was slightly younger than Froberger, being born on 4 December 1620, which makes her 42 years old in 1662 - Froberger would have been 46. Van Asperen states that her father, the Duke of Württemberg was godfather to one of Froberger's brothers (van Asperen April 2004:27-30). The Sotheby's autograph contains a *tombeau* for Duke Leopold Friedrich, which implies that he must have had contact with Sibylla at least as early as mid-1662, if not before. It also contains two *allemandes* dedicated to Sibylla, one of which is titled *Afligée, la quelle se joue lentement avec discretion, faict à Montbéliard pour Son Altesse Serenissime Madame Sibylle...* The word "afligée" (*affligée* in modern French) means "afflicted" and seems to be used as a noun rather than as a past participle, with the same type of meaning as *lamentation, plainte* or *meditation*. The title may thus be interpreted as meaning "Affliction, which is to be played slowly with discretion, composed at Montbéliard for her Most Serene Highness Madame Sibylla".

We can thus assume that Froberger was in the Württemberg area at the latest in June 1662, probably having arrived there from Paris, or possibly from England. If he came from Paris, he may have left the city because his finances (from the Marquis de Termes) dried up. In September 1661, Louis XIV had his Minister of Finance, Nicolas Fouquet, arrested on grounds of embezzlement and many financiers went down with him. One of these was Pierre Aubert de Fontenay, who was fined 3.6 million Livres (Trout.1996:133) and in whose mansion the Marquis de Termes lived. This was a vast amount of money, roughly equivalent to 12 million GBP (134.5 million ZAR) in today's money

(Hilton 2002:312), although the exact amount is difficult to pin down as the Livre fluctuated in value considerably during Louis XIV's reign, as does modern currency. The fact that financiers such as Aubert could actually pay up, indicates the scale of the embezzlement that was taking place by Fouquet and his like. Perhaps a shortage of money encouraged Froberger to leave Paris and to seek employment in Württemberg.

20 September 1664. On 20 September 1664, Froberger was given an audience with Georg II (Sibylla's brother-in-law) in Montbéliard. This fact can be ascertained from an entry in Georg's journal, discovered by Jean-Marc Debard (1991:341ff). The audience probably allowed Froberger to settle on (Lutheran) Württembergian territory despite his Catholic faith. He gave lessons to Sibylla during the last years of his life and was given an apartment in the castle of Héricourt. There appears to have been mutual respect and admiration between Sibylla and Froberger. She referred to him as "my honest and diligent teacher who took so much trouble to teach me something of his art" in a letter to Huygens dated 25 June 1667 (Huygens: 2010) and mentioned that people loved him for his good sense of humour and his modesty (Froberger. 2005:LVIII). She was a gifted keyboard player and, according to Huygens, Froberger himself said that she played his compositions as well as he did himself (Huygens: 2010. Letter from Huygens to Sibylla dated 29 August 1667, *Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis*). However, it seems that he was never formally employed at Héricourt and he continued to travel on a regular basis.

Between 29 August and 7 September 1665. A letter from Huygens in English to Ultricia Ogle Swann of 29 December 1666 confirms that Huygens had heard Froberger perform at the Electoral-Archiepiscopal court in Mainz the previous year. He commented:

nothing pleased me so much as to heare that excellent Frobergher his rare improvements [improvisations?] and to see him take the patience to heare me with some indifferent satisfaction (Huygens: 2010).

Van Asperen (2008:21) deduces that this meeting between Huygens and Froberger took place on 16 September 1665, but according to my calculations it must have been a little before that. Huygens was in Besancon on 29 August (Huygens:2010. Letter to the Princess de Lislebonne 29 August 1665, *Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis*) and in Frankfurt on 7 September 1665, as part of his travels along the Rhine (Huygens. Letter to Karl Ludwig, Elector Palatine 7-17 September 1665). He would thus have been in Mainz sometime in between these two dates.

During his sojourn in Mainz, Froberger probably wrote a collection of his compositions for presentation purposes (Froberger. 1995:XXX). Rampe speculates that this missing collection formed the basis for the two printed anthologies of his music by the Mainz book merchant and publisher Ludwig Bourgeat (d.1714), the first editions of which were published in 1693 and 1696.

April 1666 (possible date). The Sotheby's autograph also contains a work which is inscribed by Froberger: *Meditation, la quelle se joue lentement avec discretion, faict à Madrid sur la Mort future de ...Sibylle, Duchess de Wirtemberg, Princesse de Montbéliard...* (*Meditation, which should be played slowly with discretion, composed at Madrid on the future death of Sibylla, Duchess of Württemberg, Princess of Montbéliard*). This means that Froberger was in Madrid towards the end of his life. It also underscores the personal relationship that he had with Sibylla. Like the *Meditation* on his own death, this one for Sibylla includes an inscription at the end *NB Memento Mori Sibylla?* (NB Are you mindful of death, Sibylla?). The *Meditation* on his own death is inscribed *NB Memento Mori Froberger?* This journey to Madrid, perhaps made together with Sibylla and her entourage, may have occurred when Margarita Teresa of Spain was married by proxy to Leopold I in Madrid, April 1666 (Schulenberg 2008:8).

1 September 1666. By September 1666 at the latest, Froberger was back in Héricourt. A letter from Froberger to Huygens dated 1 September 1666 seems to have mentioned that he had plans to return to the court at Vienna – possibly alluding to the organist's position that had become vacant following the death of Ebner on 11 or 12 February 1665. Froberger's letter is missing, but Huygens's reply to this letter, dated 8 October, reads:

Adesso che per l'ultima sua scritta in Héricourt il primo di Settembre vedo che VS sta per tornarsi in breve alla corte Cesarea... (Huygens: 2010).

As far as the last, written on September 1, Héricourt, I see that you are shortly to return to the Court of the Emperor...

The Sotheby's autograph might be a dedication copy of his works that he was preparing for the Emperor. The binding of the autograph bears the arms of Leopold I on both covers, although the volume is not dedicated to the Emperor. Froberger is given the title *Organist de la chamber de la Majeste Imperiale* on the title page, but this was added by a different hand probably at a later date. It might have been either ignorance on the part of the unknown scribe or, if the inscription was authorised by Froberger (unlikely), just wishful thinking. He was still at Héricourt the following year.

6 or 7 May 1667. Froberger died suddenly during a Vespers service at the castle in Héricourt on 6 or 7 May 1667. Sibylla's doctor, Dr Jean-Nicholas Binniger, recounted in his memoirs that he had been summoned to attend Froberger, but had arrived after he had died (Ruggieri 1998:27). Sibylla's letter to Huygens mentions that he died of *Schlagflus* and Binniger, who issued the death certificate, wrote that he died of *Apoplecticum* (Ruggieri 1998:36). This is probably translatable in today's medical terminology as a stroke or a cerebral aneurism. At his own request Froberger was buried in the Catholic church of Bavilliers between Héricourt and Belfort on 10 May 1667 (Huygens: 2010. Letter from Sibylla to Huygens 25 June 1667, *Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis*), his eyes directed towards the crucifix on the altar.

Sibylla arranged for an impressive funeral and donated a tombstone (Huygens: 2010. Letters from Sibylla to Huygens 25 June and 23 October 1667 *Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis*), but unfortunately neither the grave nor the tombstone has survived. Froberger had apparently sensed that he was about to die and had given Sibylla a gold coin the day before to pay for a grave, alms for the poor and gratuities for the servants at the castle.

Sibylla inherited his music, which she stubbornly refused to part with. The letter from Sibylla to Huygens dated 23 October 1667 mentions that Froberger had organised his music into volumes, probably into the various types of pieces that make up the volumes that have survived: *toccatas*, *ricercars*, *capriccios*, *fantasias*, *canzons*, *partitas*. The recently discovered autograph that was auctioned by Sotheby's is probably one of these volumes. In the same letter she explained her reluctance to let Huygens have Froberger's music.

Seine edle Compositiones habe ich so lieb und wehrt, das ich sie so lang ich lebe nit kan oder begehre aus handen zu lassen, dan ich s ihme auch so oft und viel auf sien begehren versprochen, niemanden nichts zu geben. (Huygens. Letter from Sibylla to Huygens 23 October 1667. Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis 2010).

I love and cherish his noble compositions so much that I cannot and do not want to let them out of my hands so long as I live. For I promised him so very often, as was his stated wish, not to give any of them to anyone.

However, in the same letter, she did offer to have copies made of some compositions and send them to Huygens, on the understanding that Huygens did not allow them to be published as Froberger was so against this. She also offered to play the *Meditation* on Froberger's death for Huygens and said that she was still very upset by his death and would dearly love to talk about him with Huygens. This is a further indication that the Sotheby's autograph, which contains a copy of this *Meditation*, might have been in her possession.

A letter dated 4 August 1668, again from Huygens to Sibylla, affirms that Huygens had managed to collect a large quantity of Froberger's works (Rasch 2003:31):

Car pour des productions de cest excellent auteur, j'en suis si amplement pourveu qui'il faudroit bien du papier pour marquer peu de mesures de chasque pièce que je possède.

For as far as the compositions of this excellent composer (Froberger) are concerned, I am provided with them so abundantly that it would need a lot of paper simply to write down a few bars of every piece that I possess.

A letter from Huygens to Lady Ulticia Swann in English dated 29 December 1666 (thus before Froberger's death) mentions that Froberger had sent him "a good deale" of compositions whilst Huygens had been on a trip down the Rhine.

Lately I fell upon Froberghers compositions, of which he sent me a good deale since last yeare, coming downe the Rhine. (Huygens: 2010).

Rampe (Froberger. 2005:XLVIII) mentions that Froberger's pupils included Ferdinand III, Sibylla, Balthasar Erben (Kapellmeister in Danzig), Franz Franken (an instrumentalist and later a singer at the Danish Court), Caspar Grieffgens (organist at Cathedral of Cologne), and, possibly, Alessandro Poglietti (early 17th century-1683, Imperial Chamber Organist in Vienna). Mattheson also lists Johann Drechsel (?1629-1705, teacher of Johann Philipp Krieger) and Ewaldt Hinsch (Organist at St. Mary's in Danzig). It is more than likely that he also taught Louis Couperin and Kerll. It is possible that Franken was the German virtuoso "Francesco" that Huygens referred to in his correspondence with Sibylla, who served together with Froberger at the Emperor's court and who played Froberger's music so beautifully (Huygens: 2010. Letter to Sibylla 4 August 1668, *Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis*).

Closing remarks

Despite our lack of knowledge about Froberger's character, certain things can be surmised. Clearly he was well educated and well versed in court etiquette. This can be deduced from his easy acceptance into aristocratic circles in several countries, his ability to speak and write several languages (at least French, Italian and German), his correspondence with Kircher and the high regard in which he was held by other intellectuals and composers (Huygens and Louis Couperin for example). In a letter to Sibylla Huygens writes:

...le mérite de son rare esprit et de ceste merveilleuse science, à laquelle il n'en reste plus guerre de comparable au monde...

...the worthiness of his exceptional mind and of his marvellous ability, to which no-one in the world can be compared... (Huygens: 2010. 29 August 1667. *Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis*).

He inspired affection in his employers: both Ferdinand and Sibylla seem to have been fond of him. Sibylla mentions that people loved him for his good sense of humour and the *gigue* from FbWV 613, with its amusing comments on the return of Mazarin to Paris, shows that he had a sense of fun.

His music reveals a mind that is both complex and inventive and a nature that is passionate and emotional. However, despite the fact that he was an intellectual, associating with diplomats and aristocrats, he did not lack the common touch. According to the account of his death by the physician Jean-Nicholas Binninger in *Observationum et Curationum* (Montbéliard 1673), he enjoyed playing cards with the servants at Montbéliard (Ruggeri 1998:27). He was certainly not averse to carousing. It is probably a safe bet that Blancrocher fell down the stairs after drinking too much at dinner and it seems that Froberger was not averse to a bit of a wild party (see the drunken shenanigans relating to the *Wasserfall Allemande* in Section 3.2).

By anyone's standards, he was well-travelled. He went to the great European capitals for study, performances and, possibly, diplomatic missions. It has even been surmised that he was a sort of spy for the Habsburg Empire. If he was, it would certainly explain his presence in some of the European capitals in times of political unrest (Maguire: 2006:15). He was in Paris at the time of the Frondes civil wars, just prior to the return of Mazarin and in London during Cromwell's regime.

Although we have no proof, the little we know about Froberger points to a complex, intelligent, adventurous and probably very charming personality.

CHAPTER THREE: WORD PAINTING.

3.1 Introduction

Many of the madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries are characterised by their introverted, intense melancholy. Not only is this a feature of the music, but it seems to have been representative of the *Zeitgeist* of the times. The dark colours, extremes of light and shade (*chiaroscuro*), tortured shapes and despair, typical of painters like Caravaggio (1573-1610), are mirrored in the depressed poetry of the time with its convoluted metaphors, extremes of emotion and its emphasis on death.



*Caravaggio: La Flagellazione di Cristo, 1607, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.
(Caravaggio. Wikimedia Commons 2010.)*

The melancholy poetry of the time contained frequent references to death, which were often *double entendres* alluding to the sexual act, such as the poem *Tirsi morir volea* by Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538-1612). Guarini was employed at the Ferarese court and was the father of Anna Guarini (1563-1598), one of the famous sopranos of the *Concerto delle Donne* at Ferrara. According to Einstein (1929: vol II: 542), his poems were more often set to music than any other poet, even those of Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), who came a close second. *Tirsi morir volea* was set by Gesualdo, Marenzio, Andrea Gabrieli, Giaches de Wert, Camillo Zanotti (c.1545-1591), Pallavicino, Biagio Tomasi (c.1585-1640), Lelio Bertani (1553/4-1612) and Giovanni Croce (c.1557-1609) amongst several others. Marenzio's setting was also arranged as a set of variations for the virginal by Peter Phillips (1560/1-1628) and forms part of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book collection.

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Tirsi morir volea,</i> <i>Gl'occhi mirando di colei ch'adora,</i> <i>Quand'ella, che di lui non men ardea,</i> <i>Gli disse: "Oime, ben mio,</i> <i>Deh, non morir ancora,</i> <i>Che teco bramo di morir anch'io."</i> <i>Frenò Tirsi il desio,</i> <i>C'hebbe di pur sua vita all'hor finire;</i> <i>Ma sentia morte in non poter morire.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>E mentre'l guardo pur fisso tenea</i> <i>Ne' begl'occhi divini</i> <i>E'l nettare amoroso indi bevea,</i> <i>La bella Ninfa sua, che già vicini</i> <i>Sentia i messi d' Amore,</i> <i>Disse con occhi languidi e tremanti:</i> <i>"Mori, cor mio, ch' io moro."</i> <i>Cui rispose il Pastore:</i> <i>"Et io, mia vita, moro."</i> <i>Così moriro i fortunati amanti</i> <i>Di morte sì soave e sì gradita,</i> <i>Che per anco morir tornaro in vita.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Tirsi wanted to die, His eyes gazing on his beloved, When she, who burned no less than he, Said to him, "Ah me, my love, Pray do not die yet, For I too want to die with you" Tirsi restrained his desire To die then, But he felt death in not being able to die.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">And while he kept his gaze fixed On her divine eyes And drank therefrom amorous nectar, His lovely nymph, who felt Already near the messengers of Love, Said, with languid and trembling eyes, "Die, my love, for I am dying." To which the shepherd answered "And I, my life, am dying." Thus the fortunate lovers died A death so sweet and so pleasing That, in order to die again, they returned to life.</p>
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Guarini: Tirsi morir volea. (Luzzaschi 2007.)

When such poetry was set to music, often immortalising the verse, composers used a variety of musical techniques to capture the meaning of the words and the mood of the poetry, resulting in highly expressive compositions that find their keyboard equivalent in Froberger's music, in particular in the various *lamentations, plaintes* and *meditations* that he wrote.

3.2 Froberger's Descriptive Works

One of the most striking features of Froberger's music is the fact that quite a large part of it is overtly descriptive: it attempts to represent extra-musical concepts, described in most cases only by a short title. He used the keyboard to depict events that were important to him, to commemorate the passing away of people that he loved, or to describe his moods. In the Oxford Companion to Music "Programme Music" is defined as

Music that expresses an extra-musical idea, whether of mood, narrative, or pictorial image. Strictly speaking, programme music should be constructed with reference to a textual plan, and the term 'programme' was defined by Liszt as 'any preface in intelligible language added to a piece of instrumental music, by means of which the composer intends to guard the listener against a wrong poetical interpretation, and to direct his attention to the poetical idea of the whole or to a particular part of it'. (Tuckers and Chalmers 2011.)

Under such a definition, many of Froberger's works can be regarded as Programme Music, as many of them contain such a preface which directs the performer/listener to the "poetical idea". However, the term was coined by Liszt in the nineteenth century, so it does seem anachronistic to label Froberger's works "programme music".

Pieces with titles include:

- Four stand-alone works: the *Tombeau* (also called *Afligée*) for Blancrocher, the *Lamentation* (also called *Tombeau*) for Ferdinand III, the *Tombeau* for Duc Leopold Friderich and the *Meditation* on Sibylla's future death.
- Thirteen pieces that form the beginning of *partitas*, variously called *allemande*, *lamento*, *lamentation*, *meditation*, *plaincte* (sic), and *afligée*, one of which (*Allemande BF*) is of uncertain authorship.
- Four other dances: two *gigues*, one *courante* and one *sarabande*.
- A set of variations, *Auff die Mayerin*, and the *Partita Dolorosa*, the latter of which is of uncertain authorship.
- Two *fantasias* on themes and three *toccatas da sonarsi alla leuatione*.

- There are also four *partitas*, *FBWV 653-656*, from the Sing-Akademie manuscripts 4441-5 ascribed to Froberger, which carry descriptive titles in German for each of the entire *partitas* (as opposed to titles for individual dances). However, as mentioned in section 1.4, I find that these pieces are probably not by Froberger.

This use of such programmatic (descriptive) elements is unusual in keyboard music of the times. Keyboard composers who had an influence on Froberger, or who might have influenced him, did not use programmatic elements in their keyboard music to the same extent. This is not to say that other keyboard composers did not express feelings or emotions in their music. For example, there are numerous *toccatas* written for the Elevation of the Host during the Catholic Mass that are full of suspensions and dissonances to express the pain and suffering of Christ and which are intended to induce a contemplative frame of mind in the listener. The mercurial changes of tempo, texture and harmony in Frescobaldi's keyboard music are intended to depict emotions. But even Frescobaldi, whose influence is so clear to see in some aspects of Froberger's music, did not set out to "recount entire stories at the keyboard" (Mattheson 1739:130, describing Froberger's music).

Although other keyboard composers did not attempt to portray events in their music, there are some links in Froberger's music to the lute repertoire, which included *tombeaux*. This relationship to Froberger's music is discussed in more detail in the first case study of Chapter Seven, the *Tombeau* for M. Blancrocher. There are also some possible links to descriptive music written by younger composers upon whom Froberger probably exerted an influence: notably Louis Couperin and Alessandro Poglietti who was appointed Court Organist in Vienna after Froberger had left.

Many of Froberger's descriptive pieces seem to be intended to portray the feelings behind the events rather than to be an exact musical representation of the events themselves. For example, the *Plaincte... pour passer la melancholi* and the *Afligée* to comfort Sibylla are melancholy, reflective pieces. Similarly, the Lamentation on Ferdinand III's death portrays Froberger's sadness and distress at the passing away of his friend and benefactor. However, other pieces appear to recount a story. The *Tombeau* for M. Blancrocher seems to portray the fall down the stairs and the actual moment of his friend's death. Similarly, the *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin dans une barque en grand peril*, contains a lengthy written description of the events that took place.

This *Allemande* is unique in Froberger's oeuvre because it appears to give a "blow by blow" account of the events that took place. The *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin* is more closely linked to a text than any another piece by Froberger and from that standpoint, the link to vocal music is very close indeed. However, as Schulenberg points out (2010: 288) "when we read the latter [descriptions] carefully we find that they correspond with the music only sometimes...". This may indicate that the words were inserted by someone after the music was written, to try to explain the story.

In any event, the piece successfully re-creates the atmosphere surrounding the events via numerous word painting devices, some of which are covered in the following sections. The music reflects the events in a mere 16 bars. Mattheson (1740:89) describes an *allemande* in his possession as having the title *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin, dans un barque, en grand peril* (*Allemande* composed in crossing the Rhine, in a barge, in great danger). With the discovery of the Sing-Akademie MS this *allemande* has been positively identified as belonging to FbWV 627. The piece describes the near-drowning of one of Froberger's travelling companions after what appears to have been a (drunken) night out on the town at St Goar on mid-summer's eve. In the *Vollkommene Capellmeister*, (1739:130) Mattheson intriguingly states that the *allemande* contains twenty-six *Notenfälle*. This remark puzzled historians for years and it was only when the Sing-Akademie MS was discovered in 1999 that the *Notenfälle* contained in the music were found to refer to the events (*fälle*) that occurred on the journey, all of them expressed in music (*noten*). In the Sing-Akademie MS, twenty-six numbers are placed above the bars of the *allemande* and then described in detail in the comments below. Mattheson mentions, in addition to Froberger, the presence of Count Thurn and his steward, two Messieurs Ahlfeldt and M. Bodeckh.

The *allemande* was entitled *Wasserfall* in the Bulyowsky source and when the Sing-Akademie MS was discovered, it became clear that this referred to a fall into the water by one of Froberger's companions, rather than to a waterfall, as had previously been supposed. The events took place after a night out on the town on 24 June (the year is not specified), and drunkenness accounts for at least part of the debacle. Count Thurn's steward, Monsieur Mitternacht, fell into the water and nearly drowned after he and his travelling companions returned to the ship after their revelries at St Goar on the Rhine.

The following is a translation (by J Bradford Robinson) of the original commentary in the Sing-Akademie MS (Froberger 2006:XXff).

Being an account of how the *Allemande* is meant to be understood. Count von Thurn wishing to travel on the Rhine, from Cologne to Mainz, along with several other gentlemen, among whom were his major domo Monsieur Mitternacht, two Mssrs. von Ahlfeldt, Monsieur Bodeckh, and Froberger, this little company made merry at St. Goar, to such an extent, that it lasted until around three o'clock toward daybreak on Midsummer Eve, the 24th of June; but when they returned to the ship, completely worn out, at five o'clock, each sought out a place, where he wished to sleep. Monsieur Mitternacht, being last, had to take a spot in the skiff, the ship being already fairly full. Lest his dagger disturb his sleep, he sought to hand it to the crewman, who was unable, however, to reach it from the big ship; whereupon Monsieur Mitternacht, although holding fast with one hand to the big ship, which was constantly moving about, leaned too far over the skiff, and, owing to the weight of his body, fell unexpectedly into the water. Not only did this occasion great confusion aboard the ship, so that the one ran this way, the other that, creating a commotion hither and thither on board, but Monsieur Ahlfeldt the Elder was the first, followed by Monsieur Bodeckh, and Monsieur Ahlfeldt the Younger does not hesitate either. Now Count von Thurn, not wishing to be last, runs about on the ship in great fury, and leaps down into the skiff to rescue him himself. The crewmen arrive to reach him with the little skiff, but to no avail, so that Monsieur Mitternacht begins to groan. Froberger too awakens at last, and perceiving that there is no one lying beside him, concludes nothing less, than that the ship is about to be wrecked. As there is nobody to help him, he resolves, upon hearing the cries and howls of the others, to drown slowly and with good grace, and begins to commend his spirit to God, that He might be merciful. Meanwhile the crewman tries to prove his mettle, by pulling [Monsieur Mitternacht] out with the long pole, on which is fashioned a hook; but in vain, merely succeeding in tearing his modish French coat. Monsieur Mitternacht now begins to swim, but with such difficulty, that he lands in a pretty pass, and is forced by exhaustion to rest a little, as well as he might. Believing himself to be out of harm's way, he lands in the whirlpool and begins to thrash with his feet. Escaping the whirlpool with great effort, and forcing himself upward, he is again spotted by the

crewman, who diligently returns with the long pole to rescue him, but gives him such a vicious blow across the shoulder with the same, that it was heartrending to behold. In great pain, [Monsieur Mitternacht] is forced to cry out in a loud voice, yet most lamentably *ò Dio, ò Dio mio*, and resolves forthwith to swim through the Rhine. But so swift is the current, that he is drawn under, making him fairly lose heart, and he commends his soul to the Lord. As the current draws him deeper and deeper into the depths, he heaves a few more sighs to God, that He might rescue him which sighs, finally the Lord graciously deigns to hear, so that, contrary to all hopes, he is reached by the crewman, who was on the skiff, and is thus heaved into the skiff, his life rescued, one might say, as booty. Vale.

Rasch (2003:29) suggests that Count Thurn may refer to Lamoral II Claudius Franciscus, Count of Thurn and Taxis (1621-76). According to Wollny (2006:XXI) the most likely candidate is the young Marcus Antonius Mamuca von Thurn who was born in 1636 and who was in the service of Emperor Ferdinand III. The two Messieurs Ahlfeldts might have been from the Danish noble family Ahlfeldt. Wollny (2006:XXI) states that one of them was presumably Friedrich von Ahlfeldt, a magistrate in Holstein-Gottorf. The other might have been Detlef von Ahlfeldt, magistrate of Flensburg. M. Bodeckh might be Hans von Bodeck (1582-1658), a German diplomat and Chancellor of the Hohenzollern Prince-Electors of Brandenburg-Prussia. If these surmises are correct, Froberger was in exalted company.

As Mattheson wrote in *Vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739):

The famous Joh[ann] Jac[ob] Froberger, organist at the court of Emperor Ferdinand III was perfectly able to recount entire stories at the clavier, depicting all the characters present and active in the events as well as the qualities of their feelings (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1:XXXVIII).

The next page shows an illustration of the *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin* together with the original numbering and notes.

33

Allemande faite en passant
 le Rhin dans une barque
 en grand serail, la quelle se
 joue lentement & la discretion

Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Froberger: Allemande faite en passant le Rhin. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

3.3 The Theorists

Madrigal composers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries strove to move the *affetti*, (emotions or passions) by expressing emotions related to the text, such as despair, love, anger and jealousy, via word painting devices. The practice of illustrating words with musical figures was hardly new. George Buelow states:

That composers enjoyed the possibilities of illustrating textual ideas and individual words with musical figures is extensively shown in both sacred and secular music from at least the early 16th century and can even be seen as far back as Gregorian chant (Buelow:2010).

However, in the madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, word painting was taken to extremes and numerous devices were used throughout the music to depict individual words and emotions. The madrigals of this period are often expressions of intense personal feelings.

McClary (2004:6 and 16) writes:

...the Italian madrigal serves as a site - indeed the first in European history - for the explicit, self-conscious construction *in music* of subjectivesThis is not to suggest that earlier music never engaged with such matters ... yet most earlier musicians did not appear to have had representations of interiority as their primary goal.

Many of the devices that composers used to express these “subjectives” can be grouped together under the description of “word painting”, a concept which is so closely allied to the madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, that the devices used to achieve this word painting have become known as “madrigalisms” – *madrigalismi* in Italian. Techniques such as the falling semi-tone, to represent a sigh, dissonant clashes to depict pain and the *tirata* to express anguish are three such examples.

Several theorists and composers wrote about the use of word painting in order to invoke a particular emotional state in the listener. In many of the writings, the practice was strongly associated with rhetoric and with the ideals of the *seconda pratica*, which allowed compositional irregularities (when compared with the *prima pratica*) to express individual words and emotions. (Please see Section 1.6.1 for a discussion of the *seconda pratica*.) The *seconda pratica* has, unjustly, become associated only with monody rather than with polyphony partly because the relative merits of the new monodic style versus polyphony was so hotly debated, with certain theorists adamant that the words could not be expressed adequately (or even understood properly) in polyphony. However, as discussed in Chapter One, at the time that Artusi and Monteverdi crossed swords about the merits of the first versus the second practice, they were talking about polyphonic madrigals and not about monody: Artusi's first polemic on the subject was dated 1600 and referred to polyphonic madrigals composed by Monteverdi and performed in 1598 (they were only published later). Relevant passages from contemporary theorists and composers concerning word painting are quoted below.

Vicentino: Nicola Vicentino in *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica* (1555:86) argued that "music is written for words for no other purpose than to express the idea (*concetto*), the passions (*passioni*) and the affections (*effetti*) of these words by means of harmony".

*perche la musica fatta sopra parole, non è fatta per altro se non per esprimere il concetto, & le
passioni & gli effetti di quelle con l'armonia; & se le parole parleranno di modestia, nella*

Vicentino: L'antica musica, 1555:86

McKinney (1998: 517) states:

Vicentino assigned affects to each melodic interval from the minor second through the perfect fifth, including several variants resulting from his microtonal tuning. The direction of a melodic interval may contribute to its affect; for example, the intervals larger than the fifth are lumped together and labeled "tense" (*incitato*) in ascent and "slack" (*molle*) in descent. Vicentino is less

specific about the harmonic intervals in general. He focuses on the imperfect consonances: the major third is lively and cheerful (*vivace et allegra*); the minor third is very weak and somewhat sad (*molto debole et ha del mesto*) and will serve well for sad words because it is rather static; the minor sixth is "somewhat sonorous and sad" (*alquanto sonora, et ha del mesto*); while the major sixth acts more like a dissonance than a consonance, and when it moves to the perfect fifth, it is good for harshness (*asprezza*).

Vicentino remarked that the "diverse passions" of vernacular poetry might require that purity and even beauty be sacrificed to modal mixture, chromaticism and "every bad step" and "bad consonance". (Vicentino: *L'antica musica*, 1555:77.) Long before the more widely acclaimed writings of Galilei, Mei and Caccini, Vicentino had therefore already summarised the ideological basis of the *Seconda Pratica*.

Luzzaschi: Luzzaschi's sixth book of madrigals (1596) contains similar sentiments to those expressed by Vicentino. Luzzaschi describes the closeness of poetry and music as being like twins that are similar in manner and style. However, he stressed that poetry, born first, always takes precedence and that music must follow (Strainchamps. 2009).

Caccini: The preface (*Al Lettore*) to *Le Nuove Musiche* (Caccini 1601/2: page 2) mentions that the musical goal of the singer is to move the affection of the soul (*muovere l'affetto dell'animo*).

Mei: Theorists of the time seem to agree that the object of music is to move the listener. However, the method of achieving this goal was open to fierce debate. In his studies of the ancient Greek tragedies, Girolamo Mei came to the conclusion that the entire texts of such plays were sung. His treatise, *De modis musicis antiquorum* (written 1566 to 1573) described his findings. He held that the ancient plays were so effective because the texts were clear, being sung one word at a time (in contrast to polyphony). The music could move the listener by means of the natural expressiveness

of vocal registers, rises and falls in pitch and changing rhythms and tempo (Grout and Palisca 2001:264).

Galilei: Vincenzo Galilei, in his *Dialogo della Musica Antica et della Moderna* (1581), used the ideas of Mei, with whom he corresponded extensively, to attack the polyphonic madrigal. According to Palisca (2011), he argued that only a single line of melody could express poetry. Several voices simultaneously singing different melodies, rhythms, pitches and words would obscure the message. Word painting such as sighing motifs etc, he dismissed as childish; he referred to them as the *ridicolo maniera*.

However the reality was quite different to the theory. Early Baroque composers were just as extreme in their use of word painting techniques as their predecessors, if not more so. Tim Carter writes:

it is generally (if wrongly) assumed that the *Seconda Pratica* madrigal of Monteverdi and his contemporaries avoided such literalism in favour of a more holistic and oratorical approach to text-setting (Carter 2010).

In fact, not only did the later composers continue the trend of literal word painting, but it seems that recitative was not entirely new either. (Nor was the use of *sprezzatura*, as the following chapter will illustrate.) Nino Pirrotta (1982:201) writes: "I hold Caccini chiefly responsible for the creation of the myth that monody and opera originated in the Florentine Camerata." He goes on to quote a description of the success of the tragedy *Aldoro* by Gabriele Bombasi which was performed on 2 November 1568 in Reggio Emilia in the honour of Barbara of Austria, Duchess of Ferrara. Selected extracts are given below:

...most excellent musicians...imitating the words so felicitously that one would sooner call them speeches than songs...they moved at the pace of ordinary speech, always avoiding any repetition...the songs expressed the affections of the soul as if, far from being fictitious, they came from real feelings...only the treble line which carried the words was sung by that one lady....she altered the

expression of her face and eyes and her gestures to accord with the changes in the meaning of the words... Pirrotta (1982:201).

The madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, were extremely expressive musical miniatures, and one of the key ways that the composers achieved their objective of moving the *affetti* was by word painting. Melancholy, introspection and anguish were in vogue, both in the polyphonic madrigals and in the concerted madrigals. Composers found unique and special ways to depict their misery and a comprehensive list of all the word painting devices that they used would be almost impossible and certainly pointless. However, there were some standard formulae, such as the falling semitone that represents a sigh and the descending chromatic line of a lament, and these more generally-used devices are also to be found liberally sprinkled in Froberger's music. Willi Apel (1972:716) refers to Froberger's "outbursts of despair", words that aptly describe his introverted *lamentations* and *plaintes*. It could be argued that in using these "madrigalisms", Froberger was merely using the musical stock-in-trade of his time. However, the extent to which he uses word painting in his music and the obvious link to the written word (via titles and descriptions) seem to indicate that his music has more than a superficial bond to the poetry of the time and to the techniques that the modern madrigalists used to bring the poetry to musical life.

The following analyses will take the more standard devices and show their use in the vocal music of the time and in the works of Froberger. Examples from the music of arch-"Mannerists" such as Gesualdo and Marenzio are used together with examples by the most famous exponents of the early Baroque, such as Caccini and Monteverdi and, thereafter, parallels are drawn to Froberger's music. The devices that are discussed are not intended to form a comprehensive list, but to be indicative of the type of word painting that was in vogue.

3.4 The Word Painting Devices

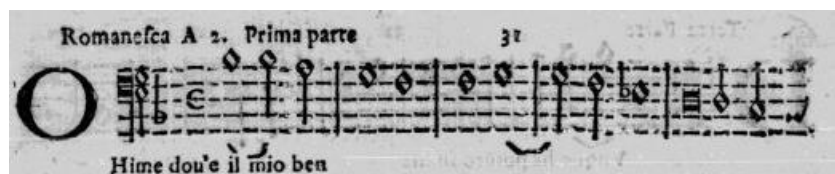
3.4.1 The Descending Line.

Slow descending notes, often a chromatic line, were often used to indicate sadness or a lament. These notes were often, but not always, part of a tetrachord: that is contained within the limits of a perfect 4th. Frescobaldi uses this motif in his aria *O mio cor* from the *Secondo Libro d'arie musicali*. Florence, 1630.

The image shows two systems of musical notation for the aria 'O mio cor' by Frescobaldi. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The first system starts with the lyrics '- ti, i mie - i la - men - ti, Pria che par - ti, i mie - i la - men -'. A measure number '15' is placed above the vocal line. The second system is labeled 'Seconda parte' and starts with the lyrics '- ti. Tu - sai - pur, dol - ce - mio - be - ne, Ch'hò - nel - co - re - Tan -'. A measure number '20' is placed above the vocal line. The music is in a minor key, indicated by one flat in the key signature.

Frescobaldi: O mio cor. (Frescobaldi: 1994.)

The sharp dissonance (d[#]/e^b) that begins Monteverdi's *Ohime dov'è il mio ben* and the descending lament-style motif express great sadness. The music is based upon the Romanesca harmonic-melodic formula. The facsimile extracts below show the canto and quinto parts together with the accompaniment.



Monteverdi: *Ohime dov'è il mio ben. Settimo Libro. (Monteverdi: 1619.)*

The effect is easier to see in a modern edition:

Prima parte

Soprano
Ohi - - - mè dov'è il mio ben

Soprano
Ohi - mè dov'è il mio ben dov'è il mio ben do - v'è il mio

Basso

Monteverdi: *Ohime dov'è il mio ben. (Monteverdi. Creative Commons ShareAlike: 2009.)*

Marenzio uses the descending tetrachord in all voices at the beginning of his madrigal *Cruda Amarilli (Il Settimo Libro de Madrigali: 1595).*

Soprano

Contralto
Cru- da A- ma- ril-

Tenore I
Cru- da A- ma- ril- - - -

Tenore II
Cru- da A- ma- ril- - - -

Basso
Cru- - da A- ma- ril-

Marenzio: Cruda Amarilli, opening bars. (Marenzio: 2009.)

Froberger adopts this lament-style motif in several of his works. In *Toccatà FbWV 106*, the descending line appears several times and is particularly effective at the end of the piece in the top voice. As this descending motif is found throughout this *toccatà*, it cannot be dismissed as merely a cadential formula.

24

Froberger: Toccatà FbWV 106, ending. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

In his *Meditation fait sur ma Mort future, la quelle se joue lentement avec discretion* (Meditation on my future death, which should be played slowly with discretion), the long notes in the bass part of bars 13-15 form a slow descent within the space of a tetrachord. The following example is from the autograph from his later years (Sotheby's autograph).



Froberger: Meditation, bars 12-16. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

Another example is from *Ricercar FbWV 401* from the *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati*, in which Froberger uses four descending notes as a recurring motif throughout the piece, with many rhythmic variations. In bar 8 these descending notes can be seen in the alto voice in crotchets. In bar 10/ 11, once again in the alto voice, it is in tied minims and in the soprano in a combination of a minim, 2 semibreves and a dotted minim. In bar 10 in the tenor voice it is once again in crotchets, in bar 11 in crotchets in the soprano. This *Ricercar* is also to be found in the Bauyn MS where it carries the title *Fugue de Mr Froberger, fait a Paris*. (Fugue by Mr Froberger, composed in Paris.)



Froberger: Ricercar FbWV 401, bars 8ff. Libro di Capricci e Ricercati, c. 1658. (Froberger: 1995.)

3.4.2 The Falling Semitone, Representing a Sigh

The falling semitone, representing a sigh was one of the most commonly used rhetorical devices. It appears regularly in the melancholy love songs of the time. In Gesualdo's *Moro e mentre sospiro*, the word *sospiro* (I sigh) is depicted by falling semi-tone in four of the voices.




Gesualdo: *Moro e mentre sospiro*, beginning. *Libro Quarto*. (Gesualdo: 1613.)


In Marenzio's *Se voi sete* from his madrigals for five voices (*Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali*, 1585), the words *se voi sete cor mio* (my heart thirsts for you), repeated twice at the beginning, both end on drawn out sighs.





Marenzio: *Se voi sete*. *Madrigali a Cinque Voci*. (Marenzio: 1593.)


In *Piagne e sospira*, Monteverdi uses a falling semi-tone to illustrate the word *sospira* (sigh) in all the voices.

Canto 
la gn'e sospira E quand'i caldi raggi

Alto 
la gn'e sospira ii E quand'i caldi raggi Fug-

Quinto 
la gn'e sospira Pia gn'e sospi-

Tenor 
la gn'e sospira E quand'i caldi raggi

Bass 
la gn'e sospira Pia gn'e sospi-
E quand'i caldi raggi ii Fug-

Monteverdi: Piagne e sospira. Libro Quarto. (Monteverdi: 1615.)

Froberger's *Lamentation sur ce que j'ay été volé. Et se joue a la discretion et encore mieux que les soldats m'ont traicté*, (*Lamentation on my being robbed. To be played with discretion and much better than the soldiers treated me*) contains many sighs, the longest and most drawn-out of which

occurs in the bass toward the end on the long tied note c. The repetition of c in the bass, towards the end of the piece, is like a sob. Froberger's wry comment about playing the piece better than he had been treated, shows us an endearing side to his nature, about which we know very little. Evidently he was able to laugh at his circumstances as well as to complain about them.



Froberger: Lamentation sur ce j'ay été volé, ending. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Many of Froberger's *gigues* are written with a C time signature and they seem to call for a slow rendition so that the occasional sighing motif "becomes an expressive event, not just an ornamental flourish" (Schulenberg 2008:7.13). The *gigue* from FbWV 614 contains several such drawn-out sighing motifs. In bar 6 below, c' to b \flat in the left hand (the accidentals apply only to the following note) and in bar seven, b \flat ' to a' in the soprano and c to B \flat in the bass are three such examples.



Froberger: Gigue FbWV 614, bars 6-7. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.1.)

Similarly, in his *Meditation ...sur la Mort Future de ...Sibylla*, Froberger uses a variety of "sighs", including the two sets of slurred descending semitones at the beginning of the piece, the long sigh from e \flat " to d" in the same bar in the top voice, and the prolonged sigh in the bass from g to f# at the end of the extract below.



Froberger: *Meditation sur la mort future de Sibylla*, opening. Late Autograph. (Maguire: 2006.)

3.4.3 The Descending Diminished Fourth

The descending diminished fourth was often used to express grief and pain. In the example by D'India below, there is a diminished fourth on the words *non mori* (he died not).

Terza parte.
70

b # 11 #

D'India: *Amico hai vint'io*. Libro Quarto 1621. (D'India: 1992.)

Caccini uses the interval to great effect in the opening of his *Amarilli ma bella*.

Ma rilli mia bella Nò credi ò del mio cor dolce desi o D'esser tu

Caccini: *Amarilli ma bella*. *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

Similarly, there are diminished 4ths on the word *piangete* (weep) in *Asciugate i Begli occhi* by Gesualdo in the alto (the first *piangete*) and first tenor (the second *piangete*) parts.

Sciugate i begli occhi i begli occhi Deh cor mio nò nò pià

Sciugate i begli occhi i begli occhi Deh cor mio nò non pian

Sciugate i begli occhi i begli occhi Deh cor mio non pian

Sciugate i begli occhi i begli occhi Deh cor mio non pian

Sciugate i begli occhi i begli occhi

ge te Se lontano da

ge te Deh cor mio non non piange te Se lonta

ge te Deh cor mio non non piange te

gete Deh cor mio non piange te

Deh cor mio non pian gete

Gesualdo: *Asciugate i Begli Occhi*. *Libro Quinto*. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

Pain is expressed by the diminished 4th (b \flat ' - f \sharp ') on the word *sorte* (fate) in Monteverdi's *Oihme dove il mio ben* in the quinto part (beginning of the last line of the extract).

The image shows a page from a musical score. On the left is a woodcut illustration of a man and a woman. To the right is the musical notation for the Quinto part. The lyrics are: "Hi scioco mondo e cieco scioco scioco mondo, è cieco ahi cruda forte ahi cruda forte che ministro mi fai de la mia morte che mi-". The score is in a single system with a treble clef and a common time signature.

Monteverdi: *Oihme dove il mio ben*. *Settimo Libro*. (Monteverdi: 1619.)

In Michelangelo Rossi's madrigal *E Così pur languendo* the diminished 4th is frequently used (see the word *cosi* below in the tenor and bass parts), as Brian Mann points out "in rich suspension laden harmonies" (Mann 2002:151).

The image shows a page from a musical score for five voices: Canto, Alto, Tenore, Quinto, and Basso. The lyrics are: "E co - sì pur lan - guen - do, pur lan - guen - do, pur lan -". The score is in a single system with a treble clef and a common time signature. The Quinto part has a diminished 4th interval on the word "co - sì".

Rossi: *E Così pur languendo*. (Mann: 2002:151.)

Froberger also seems to reserve the diminished 4th to express profound grief. In meantone tuning, the interval of the diminished 4th is particularly dissonant and very expressive of pain. Froberger uses it in isolation at poignant points in the music. For example in the *Lamentation sur ce que j'ay été volé* (Lamentation on my being robbed), the diminished fourths $b\flat - f\sharp$ and $a\flat - e$ (both ringed) and in the *Plainte pour passer la melancholi* (Plaint to drive away Melancholy), the diminished fourth $f - c\sharp$.

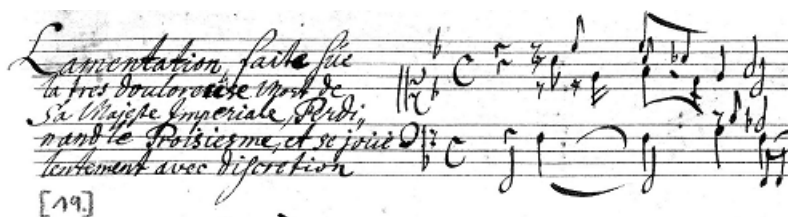


Froberger: *Lamentation sur ce que j'ay été volé*. FbWV 614, bars 15ff. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.1.)



Froberger: *Plainte pour passer la melancholie*. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

In his *Lamentation* for Ferdinand III, a diminished 4th in bar one ($a\flat$ to e) sets the tone for the whole piece.



Froberger: *Lamentation.... Ferdinand le Troisième*. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Froberger's use of the diminished fourth is equally common in his *toccatas*. For example the interval $g - d\sharp$ at the beginning of the extract below.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 101, bar 6. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Unlike the isolated cases of the descending diminished fourth, Froberger often uses the descending perfect fourth in a sequence, often in a lombardic rhythm. Whereas this device could also be regarded as word painting, his use of the interval is entirely different to the descending diminished fourth described above. For example in the *Allemanda repraesentans monticidium Frobergeri* (*Allemande* on Froberger's fall in the mountains), bar 10 starts with a series of five descending 4ths (only one of which, $g' - d\#'$, is diminished), possibly illustrating part of his walk in the mountains (his fall seems to be illustrated earlier in the piece).



Froberger: Allemanda repraesentans monticidium Frobergeri, bar 10. (Froberger: 2005:vol III.2.)

Similarly, the *allemande* from *Partita FbWV 627* contains four consecutive descending fourths. According to the notes provided by the scribe, this particular section illustrates Monsieur Mitternacht's futile attempts to swim after he landed in the Rhine. (Please see Chapter 2 for more detail on this part of Froberger's life.)



Froberger: Allemande faite en passant le Rhin, bar 7. (Froberger: 2006.)

3.4.4 Unexpected Melodic Leaps

Compared to the mostly stepwise singing of the Renaissance, there are many leaps in the “modern madrigals”.

In *Tu m'uccidi* Gesualdo uses a leap downwards after a long note on the words *e vuoi chi'io taccia*. In the canto it is a fifth but in two of the lower voices it is an octave and a seventh, respectively. This gives the words *E vuoi* (and you) an accusatory tone, almost as if there is an exclamation mark after the word *vui* – a raised voice followed by softer speaking.

The image shows a musical score for the madrigal "Tu m'uccidi" by Gesualdo. It consists of five staves. The first staff is marked with a box containing the number "9". The lyrics are: "d'A - mor em - pia homi - ci - da, E vuoi ch'io tac - cia e'l". The second staff continues: "ci - da, d'A - mor em - pia homi - ci - da, E vuoi ch'io tac - cia". The third staff continues: "ci - da, d'A - mor em - pia homi - ci - da, E vuoi ch'io tac - - cia". The fourth staff continues: "ci - da, d'A - mor em - pia homi - ci - da, E vuoi ch'io tac - cia". The fifth staff continues: "ci - da, E vuoi ch'io tac - - cia". The score illustrates a melodic leap downwards in the lower voices, specifically on the words "E vuoi", which is described in the text as being a fifth in the canto, an octave in two of the lower voices, and a seventh in another.

Gesualdo: Tu m'uccidi. Libro Quinto, 1611. (Gesualdo: 1958.)

In *Amico hai vint'io* D'India uses a downwards leap of a seventh (e'' to f' in the top voice) to express the tumbling of a small stream down the mountain:

D'India: Amico hai vint'io. Libro Quarto, 1621. (D'India: 1992.)

In the *Meditation* on Sibylla's future death, Froberger uses an unexpected leap from b' to g'' to b' in the top voice of the first full bar and from e b' to g'' towards the end of the extract. Although this leap is from one voice to another (alto to soprano), the ear perceives it as a large melodic leap because of the rest preceding the g'' and the already decayed d'' which precedes it in the same voice.

Froberger: Meditation sur la mort future de Sibylla. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

In the *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin*, Froberger uses melodic leaps to illustrate Monsieur Mitternacht's attempt to force himself upwards out of the whirlpool (note 16, ringed leap) and to illustrate the "vicious blow" that the crewman accidentally gave him with a pole (note 18 ringed leap in the bass). This leads the unfortunate Monsieur Mitternacht to cry out *O Dio*, illustrated with one of Vicentino's "bad leaps" of a tritone (note 19, ringed leap).

Froberger: Allemande faite en passant le Rhin, bars 17ff. (Froberger: 2006.)

Large, unexpected melodic leaps often follow a *tirata*, discussed in the next section.

3.4.5 The Tirata to Express Anguish.

Caccini's preface to *Le Nuove Musiche* includes the *tirata* as one of his many examples of *passaggi*, but in other theorists it was a separate ornament. In his *Syntagma Musicum* of 1618, Michael Praetorius illustrates it as follows:

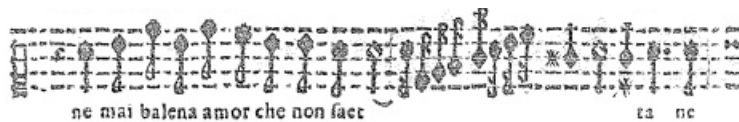
Praetorius: Tirata. (Nettl: 2010.)

As mentioned in Chapter One, although the *tirata* is an ornament and could therefore be included in Chapter Five, I have decided to include it in the current chapter as it was used so effectively as a word painting device to depict anguish, especially when it was followed by a large leap. It is the expressive leap that distinguishes it from a merely virtuosic display, turning it into an effective word painting device. In the following example, Gesualdo uses a *tirata* in each of the voices on the word *brama* (longing), to express his unrequited love.



Gesualdo: Dolcissima mia Vita. Libro Quinto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

Another example is by Rovetta from his *Madrigali Concertati. Libro Primo* (1636). The example below is taken from the canto part of the madrigal *Chi Vuol Haue* for two sopranos and shows a *tirata* followed by a descending diminished 4th. It illustrates the sexual frustration of unrequited love.



Rovetta: Chi Vuol Haue. Madrigali Concertati, Libro Primo. (Rovetta: 1636.)

The *tirata* was also commonly used by mid-century composers. The following example is from Carissimi's *Lamento di Maria Stuarda* (c. 1650). Carissimi uses two *tirate* on the words *sfogati* (rage) and *assali* (attack). (Mary Stuart is describing the attacks upon herself with anger and distress.)

145

- mor - si. Si. si. sfo - ga - ti, as - sa - li,

4 3

Carissimi: *Ferma, lascia chi'io parli. Lamento di Maria Stuarda*, c. 1650. (Carissimi: 1996.)

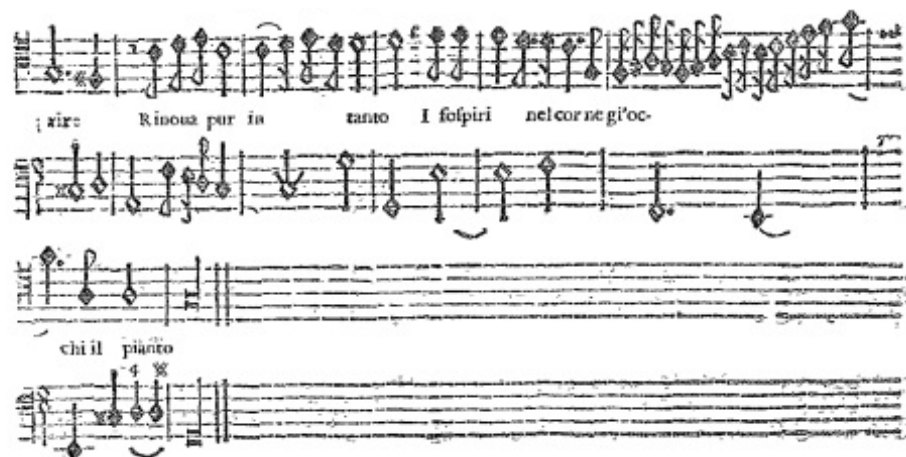
Caccini uses the *tirata* on a regular basis, although from the following example, it is easy to see why he regarded the *tirata* as belonging to *passaggi* rather than being a separate ornament. His use of the *tirata* on the word *morta* is a vivid depiction of the death throes of the wounded.

ne guer ra Lu'ngando i pen'ier beltà mor

ta le ch'á volo vn'

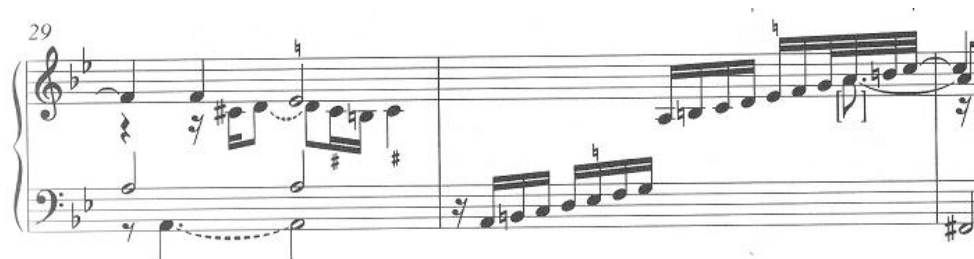
Caccini: *Dovro dunque morire. Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini 1601/2.)

Piero Benedetti might have been a dilettante. Edmund Strainchamps refers to his “amateurish style” (Strainchamps 2009). However, his three surviving books of madrigals seem to be typical of the times, with much word painting and many dissonances. A characteristic of his style is the use of the *tirata*, ending in a downwards leap, as in the example below from his *Libro Secondo* (1613), in which he uses a *tirata* followed by a leap of a seventh to express the sound of crying.



Benedetti: O miei vedovi. Libro Secondo. (Benedetti: 1613.)

The ascending *tirata* is one of Froberger’s most frequently used expressive devices. He uses it in his *lamentations*, *plaintes* and *meditations* to express what seems to be a tortured scream of anguish and, more often than not, follows it by a large leap. The notation of the following example has a written in *accelerando*:



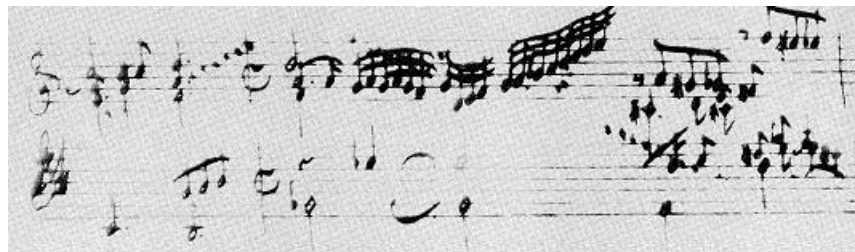
Froberger: Lamento...Ferdinand le Troisième, bars 29-30. (Froberger: 2003: Vol IV.1.)

The *tirata* in the following example is followed by an enormous leap from e'' in the soprano to G in the base.



Froberger: Meditation sur ma Mort future. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

This device of an upwards scale followed by a large leap is also a feature of the rhapsodic, contemplative, sections of Froberger's *toccatas*. In *Toccatà FbWV 102*, the penultimate bar contains such a device, with another clear *accelerando* written into the music.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, bar 33. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

It is also to be found in many of his *canzons*:



Froberger: Canzon FbWV 303, bar 22-23. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

In the penultimate bar of the *Allemanda, repraesentans monticidium Frobergeri*, Froberger uses a long upward G major scale, ending with the short pause that Frescobaldi recommended and followed by an enormous leap of just over three octaves to b in the bass. In the excerpt below, the fingering was probably added by Michael Bulyowsky (in his *Clavier* book, dated 1675). The numbers show the crossed fingering method that was the practice at the time, indicating that the scale is to be played by the hands in alternation with each other (starting with the left hand and ending with the right). This is borne out by the grouping of the notes in three other sources of the same piece: E. Amsterdam, the Schwerin MS and the Sing-Akademie MS, in which the upward scale is grouped into units of four semi-quavers with a slur over each group to indicate the over-legato that is clearly required.



Froberger: Allemanda...Monticidium Frobergeri, penultimate bar. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)

In the Sing-Akademie MS the piece is called *Allemande faite sur le Subject d'un Chemin Montaigneux, la quelle se joue a discretion* (*Allemande* composed on the subject of a mountain road [or pass], which is to be played with discretion).



Froberger: Allemande...Chemin Montagneux, last bars showing the grouping of the notes. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Froberger seems to have inherited this device from his teacher, Frescobaldi, although Frescobaldi's use of the device in his *toccatas* is generally less extreme with shorter upward runs and less dramatic leaps. Frescobaldi, in turn, may have borrowed the device from his teacher, Luzzaschi, who used it in both his keyboard works and his madrigals.

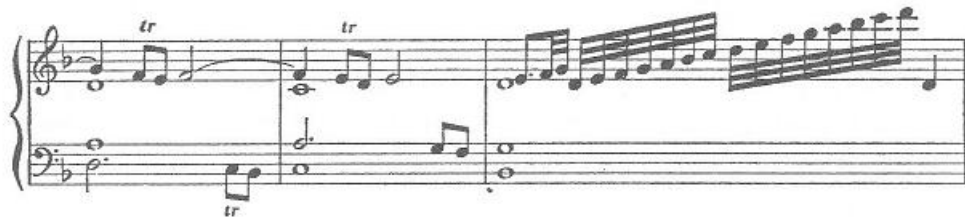


Frescobaldi: Toccata Prima. Libro Primo. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)



Luzzaschi: Toccata per organo, bars 8-9. (Diruta: 1625:42.)

Franco Lambardo (c. 1587-1642), one of the composers from the early Neapolitan Keyboard School, left a short *toccata* in which the following ascending run followed by a leap is found. This use of the device is also very similar to Froberger's. Lambardo was part of the Neapolitan group associated with Gesualdo and de Macque (Apel 1972:427).



Lambardo: Toccata. (Apel: 1972: 428.)

3.4.6 Onomatopoeia.

Composers depicted sounds and sensations via musical devices. In Gesualdo's *Itene, o miei sospiri*, the words *precipitate* (speed headlong) and *volo* (flight) are depicted by a fall of notes in the first case and a run of quick notes in the second.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Itene, o miei sospiri" by Gesualdo. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes five vocal parts: Canto, Quinto, Alto, Tenore, and Basso. Each vocal line has the lyrics "I - tene ò miei so - spi - ri Pre - ci - pi -". The piano accompaniment for this system is not shown. The second system shows the piano accompaniment for the same vocal parts. The lyrics for the piano part are: ".ta.te'l vo - lo Preci pi ta te'l vo lo", ".ci - pi - ta .te'l vo - lo Pre.ci -", "Pre - ci - pi - ta - te'l vo -", "Pre - ci - pi - ta - te il vo -", and "Pre.ci -". The piano part features a prominent descending scale in the right hand and a more active left hand, illustrating the onomatopoeic effect of the words.

Gesualdo: Itene O miei sospiri. Libro Quinto, 1611. (Gesualdo: 1958.)

Maniates (1979:333) quotes Marenzio's *Scaldava il sol* (1582) in which the chirping of the *Cicala* (cicada) is depicted by parallel thirds against the sustained *f'* in the tenor. (There is a difficult to spot 8^{ve} below the clef in the third voice.) There is an implied accelerated rhythm as well, the quavers following the ribattuta-like dotted notes.

Marenzio: *Scaldava il sol. Libro Terzo, 1582. (Einstein: 1929.)*

In the following example by Monteverdi from the madrigal *Quel Augellin che canta*, the words *canta* (sings), and *vola* (flies) are depicted by runs of notes.

Monteverdi: *Quel Augellin Che Canta. Il Quarto Libro di Madrigali, 1603. (Monteverdi: 2008.)*

Caccini's depiction of happy singing in *Euridice* is depicted by a volley of quick notes on the word *cantando*.



Caccini: Euridice, 1601. (Eitner: 1881.)

Froberger's *Allemanda, repraesentans monticidium Frobergeri* might have been composed after Froberger fell during a walk in the mountains. The term *monticidium* is, according to Rampe (Froberger. 2005:XXVI), a late-Latin construct composed of *mons* (mountain) and *cadere* (to fall). In any event, the *allemande* is clearly programmatic. This is further indicated by the insertion of the word *alleg* in bars 3 and 5. According to Rampe this is probably an abbreviation for *allegare* (from which the English word allegory is derived). Alternatively, but less likely in view of the nature of the piece, the word might be an abbreviation for *allegro* (merry). The long sustained note on c", concluding in a fermata, seems to represent the moment of suspension, of free-fall, before the actual rapid descent.



Froberger: Allemanda ... monticidium Frobergeri, bars 4-5. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.I.)

Froberger's *Tombeau fait à Paris sur la mort de Monsieur Blancheroche* is marked *fort lentement à la discretion, sans observer aucune mesure* (very slowly with discretion without observing the beat at all). Blancherocher died after a fall down a flight of stairs, and his fall is depicted towards the end of the first section. Froberger has indicated an *accelerando* by writing semi quavers followed by demi-semi quavers.



Froberger: *Tombeau...sur la mort de M. Blancheroche*, bar 10. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

In the *Gigue nommé la Philotte* (*Philette* in the Sotheby's autograph), Froberger illustrates the sound of a lute playing in the fashionable *stile brisé*, where notes are sounded one after the other, rather than plucked together.



Froberger: *Gigue nommé la Philotte* (*Philette*), bars 10ff. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)

In the *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin*, M. Mitternacht falling into the water is depicted by a descending arpeggio (note 2) and the subsequent scurrying around and confusion is represented by the following quick disjointed motifs (notes 3, 4 and 5).

Allemande faite en passant le Rhin dans une barque en grand peril, la quelle se joie lentement à la discretion



Froberger: *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin*. (Froberger: 2006.)

3.4.7 Eye Music.

“Eye music” is musical notation with a symbolic meaning that is apparent to the eye but not necessarily to the ear. Typical examples are a love song in the shape of a heart, or black notes to illustrate night or darkness. The visual appearance of the music illustrates the text. In effect, it is only understood by the composer and the performer, not by the listener, unless the listener also has a copy of the music.

According to Thurston Dart (Dart: 2010) eye music was supported by Pietro Cerone (1566-1625) in his treatise *El melopeo y maestro: tractado de música theorica y pratica; en que se pone por extenso; lo que uno para hazerse perfecto musico ha menester saber* (Naples, 1613) and endorsed by Gioseffo Zarlino (c.1517-1590) in as much as he employed black notation in his motet *Nigra sum sed formosa* (I am black but beautiful). However, it was despised by, amongst others, Galilei in his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (1581). The use of two identical semi-breves or minims by many composers for the word *Occhi* (eyes) was so commonplace as to be trite. One example is to be found in Gesualdo’s *Ascugate i belli occhi*.



Gesualdo: Ascugate i belli occhi, opening bars. Libro Quinto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

Marenzio used a visual representation of the enharmonic modulations in *O voi che sospirate* which occur on the words *Muti una volta quel suo antico stil* (change once his former style). Whereas the words refer specifically to death, there is an implied reference to the new musical style as well. Marenzio modulates around the circle of fifths, using enharmonic spellings within a single chord (for example $c\sharp$ and $d\flat$). The real effect can only be appreciated if the music is seen as well as heard.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "O voi che sospirate" by Claudio Monteverdi (Marenzio's style). It features three vocal parts: Contralto (C), Tenore (T), and Contrabbasso (Q), along with a lute accompaniment (B). The lyrics are: "Mu - ti u - na vol - ta quel suo an - ti - co sti - le [le]". The score illustrates enharmonic modulations, specifically the use of $c\sharp$ and $d\flat$ within a single chord, which is a key feature of the piece's unique sound.

Marenzio: O voi che sospirate. Libro Secondo, 1581. (Steven Ledbetter: 2009.)

It is also possible that pitches such as $c\sharp$ and $d\flat$ were actually supposed to be different, in which case the piece would be exceptionally dissonant. Marenzio went to Ferrara between November 1580 and May 1581 (Steven Ledbetter et al: 2009) and it is possible that he heard Luzzaschi

perform on Vicentino's *archicembalo*, a modified harpsichord with six keyboards and 36 pitches to the octave (Latham 2002:58), thus allowing notes such as f# and g♭ to be heard as two separate pitches. Luzzaschi was not only a composer of madrigals: he was also a talented organist and harpsichordist, known for his complex and learned *ricercars*. He was one of the few people able to perform on, and compose for, the *archicembalo* (Hammond and Silbiger: 2011). Using this keyboard, it was possible to play acoustically-satisfactory intervals in any key, and therefore some of the recently composed music in a chromatic style, which was only in tune when sung, could also be played on the keyboard.

Froberger uses eye music on a number of occasions, for example in his *Lamentation* on the death of Ferdinand III, which is full of allusions to the Emperor's name, using F's and three's. The piece is composed on F and continually shifts between F major and f minor; the last three notes are F's; and the last ascending group of notes seem to ring out the Emperor's name *Ferdinand le troisième*, ascending to heaven. The form is not that of the traditional two-part lament, but that of the English three-part pavans, yet another allusion to three. The following example shows the ending of the *Lamentation* in Froberger's own handwriting.



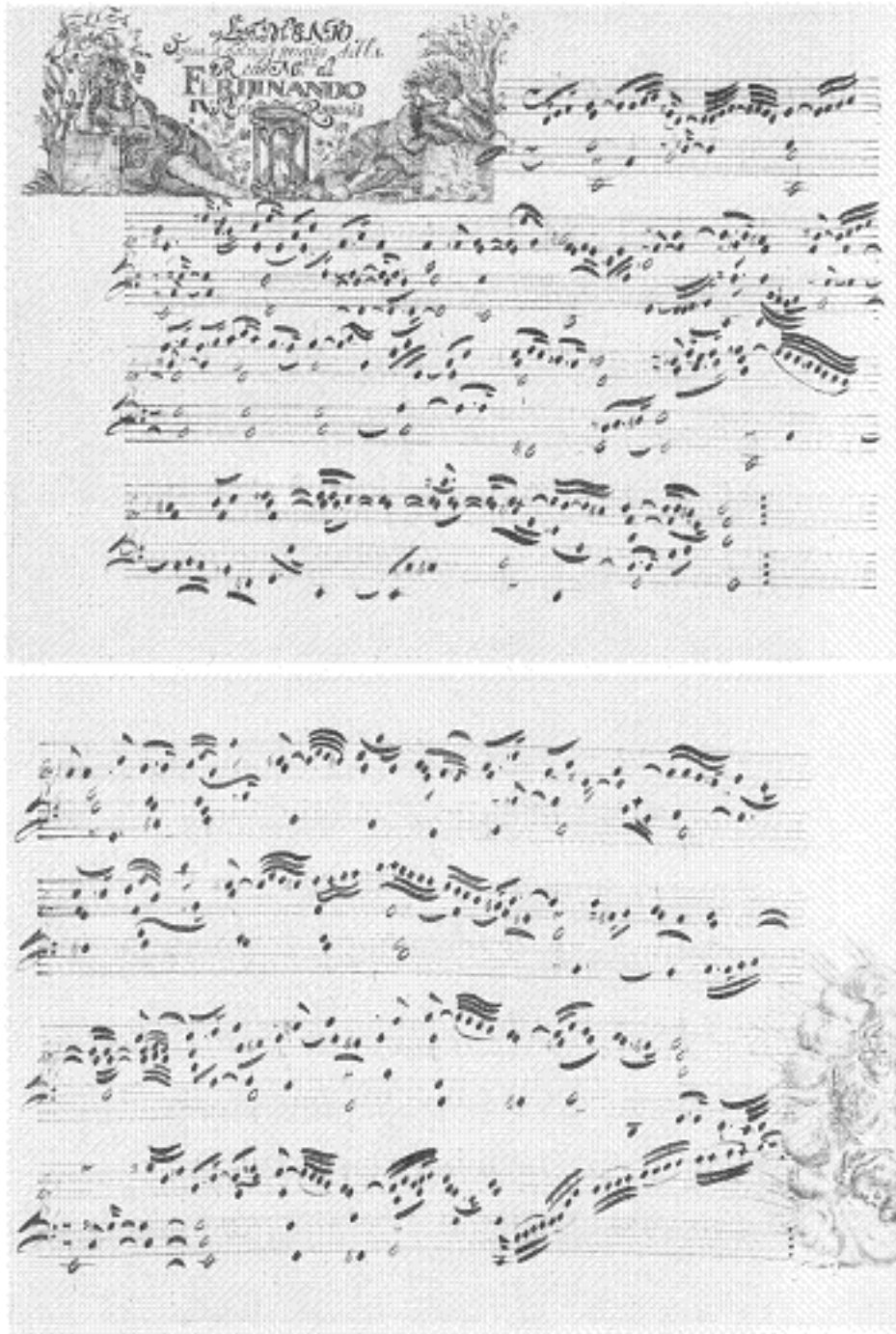
Froberger: Lamentation faite sur la mort très douloureuse de Sa. Majesté Imperiale, Ferdinand le troisième, ending. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)



Froberger: Lamentation...Ferdinand le Troisième, opening bars, showing the shifts in tonality (Froberger: 2003: Vol IV.1.)

Similarly, Froberger uses a C major scale ascending to the top of the four-octave keyboard at the end of the *Lamento sopra la dolorosa perdita della Real M.^{sta} di Ferdinando IV* (the adult son of Ferdinand III who died in 1654, three years before his father). It has been speculated that this depicts purity and the ascent of the soul into heaven (Schott 2010), especially as there is an illustration of clouds at the end of the piece.

The slurs over each group of four notes at the end of the piece (please see example on the next page) imply a technique of overlegato, using each hand alternately to get a smooth run to c^{'''}, probably the last note on Froberger's keyboard. In the original autograph, which was decorated by Sautter, there are two *putti* supported on tombstones with weeping willows and an hourglass at the beginning of the lament and at the end there are *putti* in the midst of clouds. Visually, the C major scale ends in the clouds with the *putti*. The lament for Ferdinand IV is the first piece in *Partita FbWV 612*. The entire *partita* is clearly intended to be funeral music, as each of the dance movements contains funereal decorations such as urns and wreaths. Even the *gigue* is so decorated. This *gigue*, like many others that Froberger wrote was in C time signature, and there has been some speculation that such *gigues* were not supposed to be played in a fast tempo, like their later Baroque counterparts, but rather in a medium-slow tempo. Referring specifically to the *gigues*, Schulenberg (2008:7.13) says "these duple-time movements seem to require a certain gravitas". It would certainly make more sense to have a slow funereal *gigue*, rather than a fast one, although the concept of a funeral *gigue* is bizarre and, to my mind, somewhat grotesque.



*Froberger: Lamento...Ferdinand IV, Showing the ascent of Ferdinand IV to heaven.
Autograph facsimile from Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger 1995: XXXVIII.)*

3.4.8 Chains of Suspensions and Dissonances.

Composers used chains of suspensions, forming dissonances that were resolved downwards by step to form new dissonances. This was particularly effective in slow-moving parts of madrigals where the dissonances could be relished. In keyboard music, the effect was taken to extremes in the *toccatas durezze e ligature* (dissonances and suspensions) that were composed mainly for the Elevation of the Host during the Mass. In this type of *toccatas*, according to Diruta, “the organ should imitate the bitter and harsh torments of the Passion” (Silbiger 2004:271).

The following example by Falcone contains chains of suspensions (7-6 and 4-3) together with an enharmonic shift in bar six of the example (f#” in the quinto and g^b in the bass occur together) and a beautiful dissonant chord in bar seven (b, e^b, b’, f#”, a’) which resolves to b, e’, b’, e”, g’. This strange enharmonic shift and dissonant chord occur on the words *che vinto sono con fraude* (that are won with fraud), giving the sentence meaning, both visually (the enharmonic shift) and aurally (the dissonance).

The image displays a musical score for Falcone's madrigal "Sfidi tu forsia baci". It consists of two systems of music. The first system shows the vocal line (soprano and alto) and the lute accompaniment (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are: "me Ohi mè..... che..... vin - to..... so - no con". The second system continues the vocal line and lute accompaniment with the lyrics: "no con fraud'". The score illustrates the use of suspensions and dissonances, particularly in the lute part, which is tied to the vocal line. The lyrics are: "me Ohi mè che vin to so no con" and "no con fraud'".

Falcone: *Sfidi tu forsia baci. Madrigali, 1603.* (Torchi: 1897.)

The example below shows the use of this effect in an early madrigal by Monteverdi (*Libro Primo* 1587). The original part books did not contain bar lines and it was therefore not necessary to show tied notes, each individual note being given its correct length. It is thus difficult to see the effect of

the music from the individual parts. The examples show extracts from the original part books followed by a more easily understandable modern edition.

Canto



late hor mi rendete il core Non fenta il duol di mort'e pur si mo-
re, e pur si more Quant'hà di dolce amore Perche fempr'io vi baci O

Alto



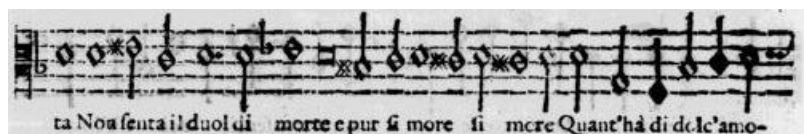
ta e pur si more ij. Quant'hà di dolce amore Perche

Quinto



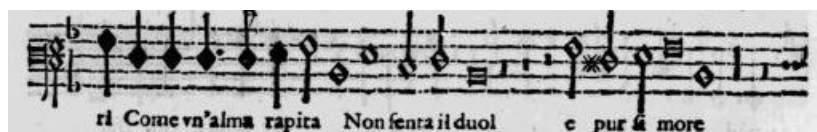
ma rapi ta Non fenta il duol di mor te e pur si more si more

Tenor



ta Non fenta il duol di morte e pur si more si more Quant'hà di dolce amo-

Bass



ri Come vn'alma rapita Non fenta il duol e pur si more

Monteverdi: Baci Soavi e cari. Libro Primo. (Monteverdi: 1607.)

20 25

S. I ta il duol di mor-t'e pur si mo-re, e pur si mo-re. Quant'

S. II pur si mo-re, e pur si mo-re. Quant'

A. sen-ta il duol di mor-t'e pur si mo-re, si mo-re. Quant'

T. sen-ta il duol di mor-t'e pur si mo-re, si mo-re. Quant'

B. sen-ta il duol e pur si mo-re.

Monteverdi: *Baci Soavi e cari*, bars 16ff. *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali*, 1587. (Monteverdi: 2006.)

In the following example from Gesualdo's *Libro Quinto*, the suspensions are sometimes tied notes and sometimes repeated notes. (In Molinaro's edition of 1613, the tied notes are indicated by a really tiny loop over the bar line.)

5

na Che a la mor-te, che a la mor-te mi me-na,

na Che a la mor-te mi me-na, che a la

tro-ce pe-na che a la mor-te mi me-

na, Che a la mor-te mi me-na,

di quel-la a-tro-ce pe-na Che a la mor-

Gesualdo: *Ma tu cagion di quella*. *Libro Quinto*, 1611. (Gesualdo: 1958.)

Gesualdo: Ma tu cagion di quella. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

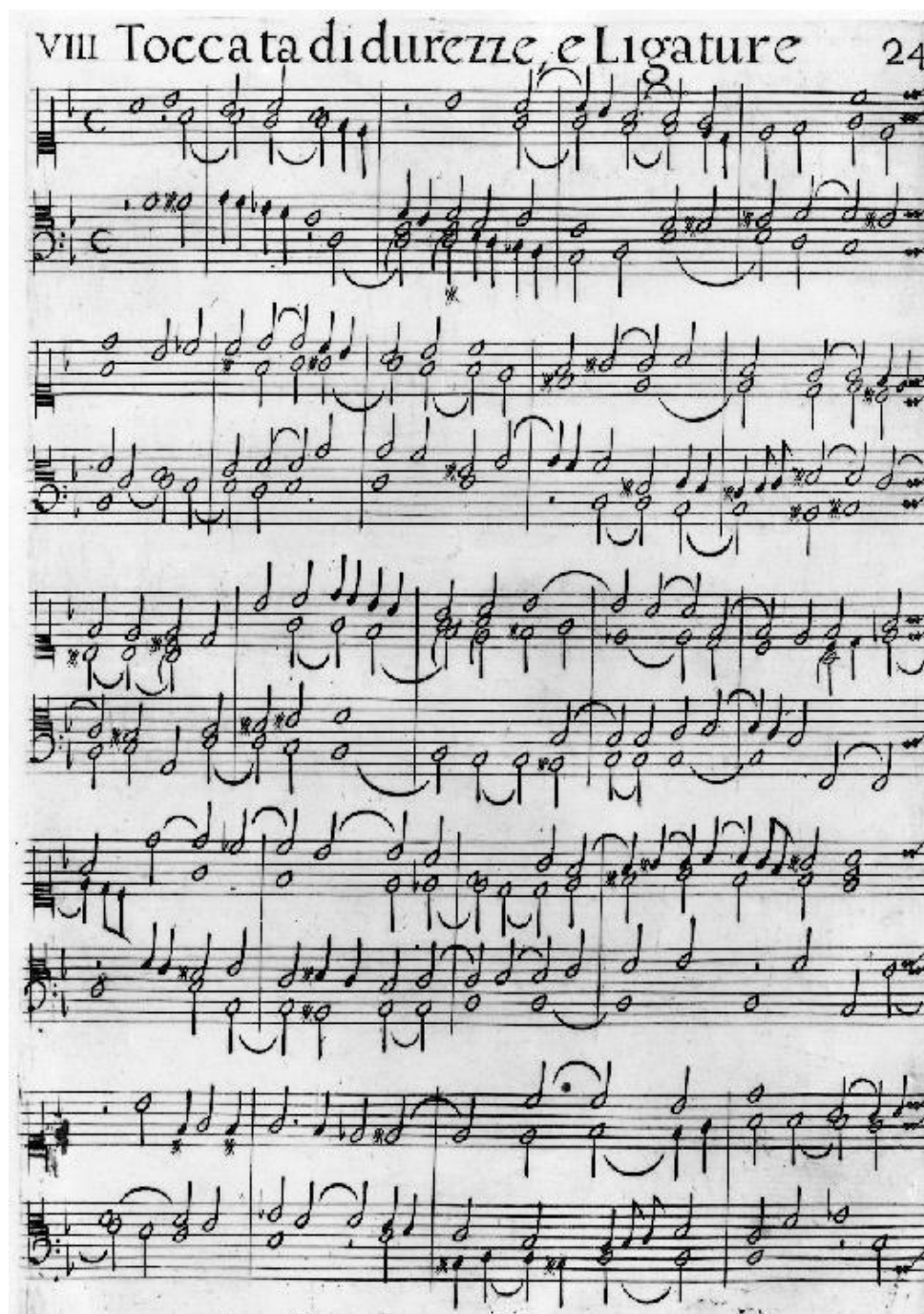
The early Neapolitan composers used the technique in their keyboard music. De Macque's and Trabaci's *Consonanze Stravaganti* and *Toccate di Durezza e Legature* (sic) used chromaticism, and chains of suspensions.

De Macque: Consonanze Stravaganti, opening bars. (Macque: 2009.)

Toccata di durezza et legature

Trabaci: Toccata di durezza e legature, opening bars. Libro Primo, 1603. (Trabacci: 1899.)

A strong visual impression of the style is given by Frescobaldi's beautifully engraved edition of 1637.



*Frescobaldi: Toccata di durezza e ligature. Secondo Libro di Toccate.
(Frescobaldi: 1637.)*

Froberger seems to have generally avoided this extreme style of *durezza e ligature* writing in his *toccatas*, although, as will be seen below, the style is evident in certain other works. Even in his *Toccate da Sonarsi alla Leuatione*, written to be played at the “Elevation” part of the Mass he uses relatively short chains of suspensions. In Froberger’s *Toccata FbWV 105 da sonarsi alla leuatione*, the beginning contains a series of seventh chords, often in inversion and even a ninth chord (second half of bar 2 - d’f’a’e’). The dissonant notes in these chords: 2nds, 4ths, 7ths and 9ths, form suspensions, the resolution of which is often delayed.



Froberger: Toccatina FbWV 105, opening bars. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The style of *durezza e ligature* is clearer to see in other works by Froberger, such as the following *fantasia* and *ricercar*.



Froberger: Fantasia FbWV 206, bars 8-21. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

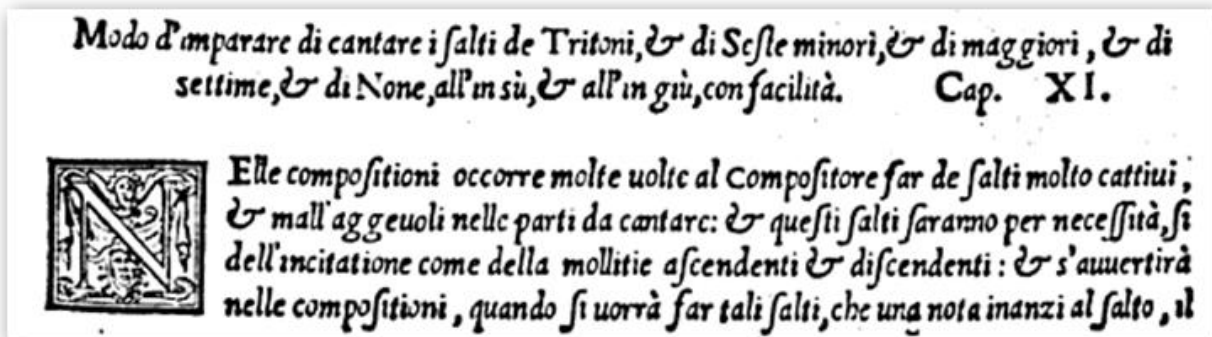
Froberger: Ricercar FbWV 402, bars 29ff. *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati*, c. 1658. (Froberger: 1995.)

Shorter chains of suspensions are to be found in Froberger's *partitas*. For example in the *Allemande* from *Partita FbWV 617*, the opening system has a short chain of suspensions beginning on $b\flat'$ in the alto (half way through the system). This $b\flat'$ is repeated by the soprano and forms the first note of the chain. This particular sequence also illustrates the descending line which forms part of a tetrachord: $b\flat'$, a' , g' , f' , which was discussed earlier. This *Allemande* carries the inscription: *faite en honneur de Madame la Duchesse de Wirtemberg, la quelle se joue fort lentement et à discretion* (composed in honour of Madame the Duchess of Würtemberg, which should be played very slowly and with discretion). It is one of two *Allemandes* dedicated to Sibylla that have survived. (The other, which carries a similar title, is from *Partita FbWV 618*).

Froberger: *Allemande* from *Partita FbWV 617*. Opening. (Froberger 2010).

3.4.9 The Tritone

The tritone, the interval of three whole notes, was considered a dissonance. Vicentino (*L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica* 1555:77) includes it in his list of *salti molto cattivi* (very bad leaps). His remarks show that he also considered 6ths, 7ths and 9ths to be “bad”.



Vicentino: *L'antica musica*, 1555:77

Way of learning to sing the leaps of Tritone, the minor sixth, the major sixth, the seventh and the ninth, both up and down, with ease. In the composition, it occurs that the composer often makes very bad leaps.....

Taken in context, however, it is clear that Vicentino was authorising the use of these intervals for the purpose of expressivity. Earlier in the book, Vicentino mentions that the composer can use every “bad step with bad consonance” to illustrate words and “every sort of step and harmony”, although he makes it clear that this applies to madrigals, sonnets and *canzonas* and not to ecclesiastical works.

allegre, & quando meste, & secondo il loro soggetto; & da qui si cauerà la ragione, che ogni mal grado, con cattiuua consonanza, sopra le parole si potrà usare, secondo i loro effetti, adunque sopra tali parole si potrà comporre ogni sorte de gradi, & di armonia, & andar fuore di Tono & regger si secondo il soggetto delle parole volgari, secondo che di sopra s'ha detto; Hora è

Vicentino: *L'antica musica*, 1555:48

Hence the reason that every bad step, with bad consonance, can be used with words according to their effects, then on such words you will be able to compose all sorts of steps and harmony, and go outside the mode, and be governed by the subject of the vernacular words, according to that which has been said above.

Examples of the tritone in both vertical harmony and, horizontally, as a leap within one voice or from one voice to another, are common in the madrigals. In *Lasso*, *Lasso perchè mi fuggi* Saracini uses a descending diminished fourth, c'' to g#' followed by an ascending tritone from g#' to d'' in the vocal part (penultimate bar to last bar of the example).

The image shows a musical score for two voices. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom staff is the lute accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Crudel farmi morire Ah non si può morir li Laf fo". The tritone interval is highlighted in the vocal line between the penultimate bar (g#') and the final bar (d'').

Saracini: *Lasso, Lasso perchè mi fuggi. Le Seconde Musiche*, 1620. (Saracini: 1620.)

In *Gia piansi nel dolore* Gesualdo uses a descending tritone from g' to c#' in the tenor on the word *gioisce* (rejoices). Given the bitter-sweet text, which is about the extremes of emotions that the lover goes through from despair to euphoria, the use of this interval on such a happy word is poignant.

Hor gioi fce il mio co re Perche dice il ben mio
 gioi fce il mio co re Perche dice il ben mio
 fce il mio co re il mio core Perche dice il ben mio
 re Hor gio i fce il mio core Perche dice il ben mio
 core il mio core Perche dice il ben mio

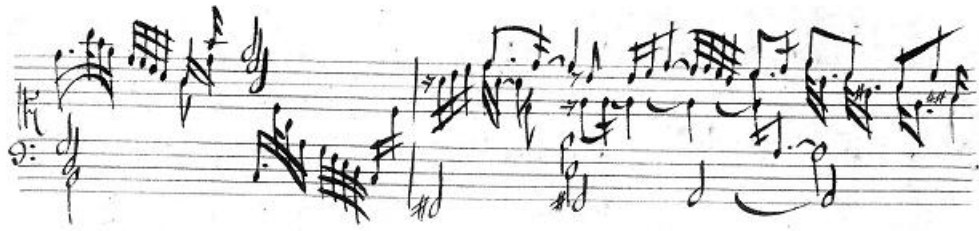
Gesualdo: Gia piansi nel dolore. Libro Sesto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

Sigismondo D'India goes one step further in his *Lamento d'Olimpia (Misera me, sia vero)* using a falling tritone on the word *Ohimè* twice in a row (d^{''} to g^{#'} and e^{''} to a^{#'}).

65
 - mè, ohi - mè ch'io mo - ro! Ohi - mè, ohi - mè chi mi da vi - ta? _

D'India: Lamento d'Olimpia. Libro Quinto, 1623. (D'India: 1992.)

Froberger uses the tritone on a regular basis, particularly in his subjective, melancholy outpourings. For example, in the *Plainte faite a Londres pour passer la Melancolie*, the leap from c-c' to F# in the bass (between bar 1 and bar 2 of the extract) seems to express overwhelming misery. A similar instance is the leap between d^{''} in the top voice and G# in the bass (as part of the chord G# e b) in the second bar of the extract.



Froberger: Plainte ...pour passer la melancolie. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

In the *Tombeau* for Blancrocher, he uses many tritones, for example in the passage below. Within the space of a few bars, there is:

- an ascending tritone, a diminished 5th between e' and b^b' (tenor and alto voices) in bar 18,
- a descending tritone, an augmented 4th between c#'' and g' (alto voice), in bar 20,
- an ascending tritone, an augmented 4th between g' and c#'' (alto and soprano voices), in bar 21,
- a vertical tritone of an augmented 4th between the bass/tenor and the soprano in bar 22, D/d to g#''.



Froberger: Tombeau... Blancheroche, bars 18ff. (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1.)

In his *Lamentation* for Ferdinand III, he often uses a tritone, which includes the notes f or f#, further illustrating the play on the Emperor's name. In the extract below there is :

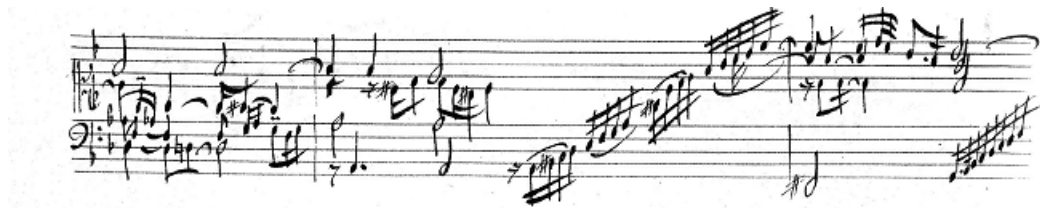
- a vertical tritone, an augmented 4th, between f in the tenor and b' in the soprano, in bar 16
- an ascending tritone, an augmented 4th, between c' and f#' (alto to soprano) at the end of bar 16
- a descending tritone, an augmented 4th, between f#' and c' (soprano to alto) in bar 17
- a vertical tritone, an augmented 4th, on the first chord of bar 18 (c' to f#')
- a tritone of a diminished 5th, between the E natural in the bass and the b \flat in the alto in bar 19.

In several of these instances, the tritone can be seen as both a vertical sonority and a leap.



Froberger: Lamentation... Ferdinand III, bars 16ff. (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.I.)

A particularly moving use of the device is found towards the end of the piece. After an ascending scale played by alternate hands, Froberger drops from c'' to F# in the bass.



Froberger: Lamentation.... Ferdinand le Troisième. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

In the *Allemande faite en passant le Rhin*, there is a tritone on the words *O Dio*, g'' to $c\#''$, when Mitternacht presumably thought that he would be overcome by the water (bar 12, note 19).



Froberger: Allemande faite en passant le Rhin, bar 12. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

The tritone is also commonly found in Froberger's toccatas. *Tocatta FbWV 116* ends with three: in bar 62, there is a tritone between the alto and the soprano parts: $a-e\flat'$. In the same bar there is a tritone between the tenor and the alto parts: $f\#-c'$. In bar 63 there is a tritone between alto and the soprano parts: $c-f\#'$.



Froberger. Ending of Tocatta FbWV 116. (Froberger: 2011).

3.5 Summary

Judging from the vast number of madrigals that were produced in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the madrigal must surely rate as one of the most popular forms of music ever written. Great composers considered it worthy of their interest; many of them using the form to illustrate novel musical ideas. Many of the madrigals were set to beautiful poetry, written by famous poets such as Petrarch. It seems that the brevity of the form encouraged a type of miniaturism, where exquisite detail, daring word-painting and harmonic invention became the norm. When the madrigal poetry was set to music, the composer was able to respond to the evocative words and imagery, producing music that, in many cases, transcended the original and immortalised the verse.

Many of the madrigals of the late 16th and early 17th centuries are characterised by their introverted, intense melancholy. Not only is this a feature of the music, but it seems to have also been representative of the poetry and the painting of the times. This melancholy is to be found in Froberger's music, in particular the *lamentations*, *plaintes* and similar forms. Whereas the *lamentations* and related forms show the most obvious similarities to the madrigals, Froberger's other compositions also contain many expressive and adventurous elements that can be linked to the madrigals.

Madrigal composers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries strove to move the *affetti*, (emotions or passions) by expressing emotions related to the text with various word painting devices. The madrigals of this period are often expressions of intense personal feelings and composers used various devices to express their anguish; devices that I have also found in Froberger's keyboard music. These include: the descending line; the falling semi-tone; the descending fourth; unexpected melodic leaps; the tirata followed by a leap; onomatopoeia; eye music; chains of suspensions and dissonances and the tritone, amongst other devices.

The use of these devices in his keyboard music endows Froberger's music with an expressivity that is akin to the anguished laments of unrequited love of so many of the madrigals. Like the

outpourings of his vocal counterparts, much of Froberger's music is sad and introverted. He uses word-painting devices to convey extra-musical concepts, depicting events, commemorating the life of people he loved and expressing his moods and feelings. Like the madrigal composers he used these devices to move the *affetti* of his listeners, producing feelings of love, pity or despair.

His passionate nature seems to have found its soul-mate in the intensely emotional music of the madrigalists. Influenced by the madrigalists, he used an array of word painting devices to express his emotions, to paint a musical picture, to recount a story and, it seems, for the sheer intellectual fun of exploring creative invention. The expressiveness of the madrigals seems to have been a key influence on the development of Froberger's keyboard style. To a certain extent, elements of the music of both the madrigalists and Froberger are merely a symptom of the times, a common musical language that was used by many composers. However, Froberger was the first composer to capture such expressiveness and introversion in harpsichord pieces such as *tombeaux*, *plaintes*, *meditations* and *lamentations*, which recall the tortured anguish of Gesualdo.

CHAPTER FOUR: SPREZZATURA

4.1 Sprezzatura: the Theorists and the Writings of Composers

Aristocratic nonchalance or *sprezzatura* was recommended by Castiglione in his *El Libro del Cortegiano* (1528), a book describing the virtues and behaviour of the ideal Renaissance nobleman. The book was greatly admired, translated into Spanish, German, French and English and, as Cartwright Ady (2009:1) notes, it was reprinted in over 100 editions before the turn of the century. *Sprezzatura* was, according to Castiglione (who seems to have actually coined the word himself):

E per dir forse una nuova parola, usar in ogni cosa una certa sprezzatura che nasconda l'arte, e dimostri cio che si fa e dice venir fatto senza fatica e quasi senza pensarvi (Castiglione 1528:35).

To use a new word perhaps, to use in all things, a certain nonchalance, a manner that conceals all artistry and makes whatever one says or does seem uncontrived and almost without thinking.

It is clear from Castiglione's comments that the word *Sprezzatura* contained elements of elegance, education and refinement. Some of the qualities that Castiglione identified as being required in the ideal courtier included an education in Greek and Latin, a grounding in the art of Rhetoric, the ability to converse with anyone and the rather Machiavellian concept of virtù (which included a large dash of pragmatism and self-interest). At court, the ideal nobleman must be accomplished in various sports, be familiar with good literature, be able to draw and dance but, above all, everything he does must seem graceful and natural. As far as music was concerned, he must be able to sing at sight *con bella maniera* and play various musical instruments. However, Castiglione's perfect courtier avoided the appearance of professionalism, which seems to have carried a down-market image. Castiglione's courtier "would apply *sprezzatura*; feigning a slight acquaintance with the art he would nonetheless take care to give a pretty good account of himself whenever he did perform" (Haar 1998:24).

In the preface to *Euridice* (1601) Caccini appropriated Castiglione's word for musical purposes and advocated the use of *sprezzatura*, where appropriate, to emphasize the meaning of the words.

Nella qual maniera di canto ho io vesta una certa Sprezzatura, che io ho stimato che abbia del nobile, parendomi con essa di essermi appressato quell piu alla natural favella (Solerti 1908:51).

In this manner of singing, I have used a certain nonchalance (*sprezzatura*) which I deem to have an element of nobility, believing that with it I have approached that much nearer to ordinary speech (Stark 2003:161).

Caccini's exact meaning is vague, but it seems to relate at least partly to a variable tempo in which the singer could alter the rhythm and the tempo of the notes to fit the natural accentuation of the words and to accommodate their meaning, even to the point of singing without a beat (*senza battuta*) or without strict measure (*senza misura*). James Haar (1998:35) remarks that "It is an interesting sign of the changed cultural climate of the end of the sixteenth century that Caccini associates the quality of *sprezzatura* with the art of the professional singer". In *Le Nuove Musiche* Caccini's preface contains a passage of three bars over which the following instruction is written: *senza misura, quasi favellando in armonia con suddetta sprezzatura* (without measure, as if speaking in harmony with the said nonchalance). Palisca (1994:464) remarks that the music moves in regular rhythm and that the only way the performer would know that it should not be sung exactly according to the beat is by reading Caccini's instruction. Mystifyingly, Caccini also calls for another phrase to be sung *con misura più larga* (with the beat, but more slowly).



Caccini: Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2:13.)

The use of *sprezzatura* allows the performer to express emotion more realistically than a strictly *a tempo* rendering would permit, and at the same time, it gives an element of spontaneity or improvisation to the music. This is perhaps the true meaning of the word *sprezzatura*, which, in its original courtly meaning meant to make whatever is done or said appear to be without effort. *Sprezzatura* could therefore be described as a sort of rehearsed spontaneity. The improvisatory aspect of *Sprezzatura* is covered in more detail in section 4.7.

In *Le Nuove Musiche* (1601/2) Caccini broadened the meaning of *sprezzatura* to include not only a rhapsodic approach, but also the introduction of dissonances for expressive purposes.

/

ho detto) una certa nobile sprezzatura di canto, trapassando talora per alcune false, tenendo però la corda del basso ferma, eccetto che quando io me ne volea servire all'uso comune, cò le parti di mezzo tocche dall'istrumento per esprimere qualche affetto, non essendo buone per altro; La onde da-

Caccini: *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2:6.)

una certa nobile Sprezzatura di canto, trapassando talora per alcune false, tenendo però la corda del basso ferma

a certain noble negligence (*Sprezzatura*) of singing, sometimes transgressing by (allowing) several dissonances while still maintaining the bass note (Stark 2003:161).

Initially, in the later part of the 16th and the early part of the 17th centuries, there was a delight in dissonance for its own sake, for example in the works of Marenzio and Gesualdo. This gradually gave way to a more moderate approach to dissonance, where dissonant notes were introduced for special effects. With time, this unorthodox harmony became accepted and commonly used, thus fundamentally changing the concept of dissonance and paving the way for the harmonic practices of the later Baroque. The use of dissonance is discussed more fully in Chapter 6. This current chapter concentrates on the variable tempo aspect of *Sprezzatura*.

For obvious reasons, the use of the “nonchalance” that Caccini recommended is more suited to solo singing than to polyphony. The solo singer can vary the tempo with the meaning of the words

without having to consider other singers. With the accompaniment of a mainly chordal basso continuo, the accompanist can accommodate such fluctuation in tempi. In contrast, the tempo of the multi-voiced madrigals of the turn of the century could only be varied by getting the singers to agree upon the tempo variation up front. Despite the difficulties, it was obviously still done in polyphonic madrigals. The comments made by Vicentino, quoted below, are proof of the practice. However, it would be logical to suppose that such tempo fluctuations in madrigals with more than one vocalist were less spontaneous.

Jackson (2005:343) notes that as early as 1555, in *L'Antica Musica ridotta alla moderna pratica* Vicentino remarked that one might occasionally “sing more rapidly or more slowly in accordance with the sense of the words”, cautioning that this goes beyond “what can be written down” by the composer. Vicentino linked music to oratory, advising singers to vary the tempo for a greater effect.

dell'Oratore l'insegna, che si uede il modo che tiene nell'Oratione, che hora dice forte, & hora piano, & più taro, & più presto, e con questo muoue assai gl'oditori, & questo modo di muouere la misura, fa effetto assai nell'animo, & per tal ragione si canterà la Musica alla men

Vicentino: L'Antica Musica, 1555:90.

For now he [the orator] speaks loudly and now softly and more slowly and more quickly and with this greatly moves his auditors and this way of changing the tempo has a great effect on the soul (Power 2009:248).

te per imitar gli accenti, & effetti delle parti dell'oratione, & che effetto faria l'Oratore che recitasse una bella oratione senza l'ordine de i suoi accenti, & pronuntie, & moti ueloci, & tardi, & con il dir piano & forte quello non muoueria gl'oditori. Il simile dè essere nella Musica. perche se l'Oratore muoue gli oditori con gl'ordini sopradetti, quanto maggiormente la Musica recitata con i medesimi ordini accompagnati dall'Armonia, ben unita, farà molto piu effetto, et l'esperienza dell'organo insegna, che solamente con l'intonatione de:ls

Vicentino: L'Antica Musica, 1555:90.

...If an orator would attempt to make a beautiful oration without (adopting) the rules of its accents and pronunciations, words delivered now quickly or slowly, some softly, some loudly, the effect will not move the listeners. It must be the same in music because if the orator is to move the listeners with the above mentioned rules, so much better the music recited with the same rules accompanied by well ordered harmony, it will be far more effective... (Haines 2004:254).

When the composer intended the tempo to be varied, he did not usually put this instruction in writing, relying on the sensitivity of the singer(s) to portray the meaning of the text. However, there are enough references in the literature of the time for us to be certain that it was common practice and expected of the performer. The singer-composer Giovanni Domenico Pulfiaschi (late 15th century - 1622) in the postscript to his *Gemma musicale dove si contengono madrigali* (Rome 1618) speaks about using *diverso tempo di battuta tra l'aria gravi & allegre, come anco in alcuni pasi stringerla & allentaria* : using a different tempo in grave and joyful arias as well as speeding it up in some passages and slowing it down in others. (Carter 2000:11 and 33.)

The *Lettera Amoroſa* (for canto plus accompaniment) and the *Partenza Amoroſa* (tenor plus accompaniment) in Monteverdi's *Settimo Libro de Madrigali a 1234 & 6 voci, con altri generi de canti* (1619), both contain the heading *a voce ſola in genere rappresentativo e ſi canta ſenza battuta* (for ſolo voice, in the *rappreſentativo* ſtyle, and to be ſung without [ſtrict adherence to] the beat).

Lettera amorosa a voce sola in genere rappresentativo & si canta senza batuta 17

E'i languidi miei ſguardi s'ei ſoſpir' interrotti

ſe le tronche parole non han ſin hor potuto o bel

Idolo mio farui de le mie Fiamm'intera fede leggete'

Monteverdi: *Lettera amorosa a voce sola in genere rappresentativo & si canta senza batuta*. *Settimo Libro*. (Monteverdi: 1619.)

34 Partenza Amoroſa in genere rappresentatio
voce ſola & ſi canta ſenza battuda

E pur deſtina e vole' il
Cielo Aimo mio ſoie cū in tenebre mi
via aſcolta' alma mia Diua ciò che potra ridire ſia co'

Monteverdi: *Partenza Amoroſa in genere rappresentatio, Voce ſola & ſi canta ſenza battuda.*
Settimo Libro. (Monteverdi: 1619.)

Fillippo Vitali (c.1599-c.1653) included a *Lettera Amoroſa* in his *Concerto*, a selection of music published in 1629. His wording is an almost exact copy of Monteverdi's: *Lettera amoroſa, in genere rappresentativo a voce ſola e ſi canta ſenza battuta.*

Monteverdi's eighth book of madrigals (1638), which, like Froberger's *Libri Secondo* and *Quarto* was dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand III, contains a *Lamento della Ninfa* with an interesting preface.

Modo di rappresentare il preſente canto.

LE tre parti, che cantano fuori del pianto dela Ninfa; ſi ſono coſi ſeparatamente poſte, perche ſi cantano al tempo dela mano ; le altre tre parti, che vanno commiſerando in debole voce la Ninfa, ſi ſono poſte in partitura, acciò ſeguitano il pianto di eſſa, qual ua cantato a tempo del' affetto del animo, & non a quello dela mano.

A Tre Voci. Doi Tenori, e Baſſo Baſſo Continuo.

On hauea Febo ancora.

Monteverdi: *Lamento della Ninfa. Libro Ottavo. (Monteverdi: 1638.)*

Lamento Della Ninfa

[Composer's note]

Modo di rappresentare il presente canto. Le tre parti, che cantano fuori del pianto de la Ninfa, si sono così separatamente poste, perché si cantano al tempo de la mano, le altri tre parti che vanno commiserando in debole voce la Ninfa, si sono poste in partitura, accio seguitano il pianto di essa, qual va cantato a tempo del'affetto del animo, e non a quello de la mano.

How to perform the present song. The parts for the three voices which sing before and after the Nymph's Lament are placed separately, because they sing in strict tempo; the other three voices, which softly express their pity for the Nymph, are placed within the score, so that they can follow her lament, which is to be sung at a speed determined by feeling and not by the (conductor's) hand.

Preface to Lamento della Ninfa. (Deschamps: 1997.)

In the preface to *Euridice* (1600), Peri stated that vocal music should imitate speech using a declamatory style. In his edition of the opera, Howard Mayer Brown (1981:XLIII) has translated Peri's words as "lying between the slow and suspended movements of song and the swift and rapid movements of speech". Peri continued, "keeping in mind those inflections and accents that serve us in our grief, in our joy and in similar states, I caused the bass to move in time with these, either more or less, following the passions".

In addition Peri uses frequent changes of note values, indicating a change of pace. Over the longer notes of the basso continuo, the voice moves through both dissonances and consonances. The dissonances are not necessarily prepared or resolved, violating the rules of traditional counterpoint. Thus, the voice is freed from the harmony and the result is speech-like declamation. Meanwhile the longer sustained notes of the basso continuo emphasize certain syllables that would in normal speech be emphasized. Pirrotta (1982:263) differentiates between *cantar recitando* (speaking song) to characterize Caccini's more lyrical style as opposed to Peri's more realistic *recitar cantando* (singing speech).

According to Palisca, in contrast to Caccini, Peri's recitative is:

Inherently without measure, that is free of metronomic recurrence of beat and metre. For example in *Dafne's* speech the line *che celato giacea tra' fiori e l'erbo*

truly fails to submit to regular measure in that the accented syllable “l’er” of “l’erba” falls on the fourth beat of [the bar] (Palisca 1994:464).

The original of the music bears this out:



Peri: Euridice. (Peri:1600)

Although there are some sections of Peri’s *Euridice* that use regular bar lines, other sections are not regular. In his edition of the opera, Howard Brown advises the singers to “Constantly keep in mind the possibility of changing their tempo... the phrases in *Euridice* are unusually free because the music follows natural speech patterns so closely.” (Peri: 1981:viii.). In order to achieve this, Peri changes the number of beats to a bar to portray the slowing or speeding up of natural speech rhythms (Peri:1600:2). In the following extract, Tirsi’s song, *Nel pur ardor*, the modern score (in which the note values have been halved) has indicated this by beginning with a C time signature, moving to 6/4 on the words *e qui discendi* (and here descend) and moving back to C.



Peri: *Nel Pur Ardor. Euridice, 1600.* (Palisca 2001: 275.)

The 1600 edition shows the original note values and bar lines.



Peri. Euridice. (Peri:1600:11-12)

A similar effect is to be found in Gesualdo's works. Brian Mann (2002:25) mentions that "Molinaro's score is irregularly barred in shifting units of 6/2, 4/2 and 4/4... offering insights into the metrical life of this music".

Lorenzo Bianconi writes:

Although Gesualdo did not usually alter the modal framework of a madrigal, he often weakened the cohesion and viscosity of the 16th-century *tactus*...The rhythm of Gesualdo's madrigals is subject to excessive variation, which leads not only to further individualization but also to musical fragmentation of each line or half-line... The slow contortions of chromatic or dissonant episodes alternate abruptly with fast declamations in quavers, or with interwoven diatonic melismas in quavers or semiquavers (Bianconi 2010).

At the end of *O Tenebroso giorno* (Oh dark day), Gesualdo frequently changes the number of beats to a bar to accommodate the meaning of the words: *...e più vaga, che con suoi sguardi morte e vita appaga?* (... and more charming, and who with her glances pours balm on both death and life?). The

edition of his works published by Simone Molinaro in 1613 shows how he changes the beats in the bar. The modern edition of the same piece of music shows this fluctuation in tempo via changes in time signature.



Gesualdo: O Tenebroso Giorno. Libro Quinto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)
 (The clefs in the first part of the extract are not shown but are the same as in the second part).

31

S e più va - ga. e più va - ga. Che con suoi sguar -

A gia - dra e più va - ga, e più va - ga.

T1 leg - gin - dra e più va ga, Che con suoi sguar - di,

T2 va - ga, e più va - ga Che con suoi sguar

B va - ga, e più va - ga, e più va - ga, Che con

34

S di mor - te e vi - ta, mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa - ga,

A Che con suoi sguar - di mor - te e vi - ta, mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa -

T1 che con suoi sguar - di mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa - ga,

T2 di mor - te ap - pa - ga, mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa -

B suoi sguar - di mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa - ga, mor -

38

S mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa - ga?

A ga, mor - te e vi - ta, mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa - ga?

T1 mor - te, mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa - ga?

T2 ga, mor - te e vi - ta, mor - te e vi - ta ap - pa - ga?

B - te e vi - ta ap - pa - ga?

Gesualdo: O Tenebroso Giorno, bar 31 to end. Libro Quinto, 1611. (Gesualdo: 2009.)

Mann also refers to the Berkeley MS of Michelangelo Rossi's madrigals which show a great similarity to the Molinaro score in their irregular barring and changing time signatures. His two books of polyphonic madrigals for five voices show a marked influence of Gesualdo in their use of dissonance and harmonic explorations (Mann 2002:25). From 1601 to 1617, Molinaro was *Maestro di Capella* at the Genoan Cathedral of San Lorenzo, where Rossi, who was born and raised in Genoa, was later an organist (Watkins and Fabris 2011). It is possible that Rossi knew the Molinaro score.

Thus, at the beginning of the 17th century, composers of madrigals expected performers to change the tempo of the music to fit the meaning of the words. Seen against the background of the *tactus* of older music, this seems to have been quite a revolutionary practice. *Tactus* is discussed in more detail in section 4.6. It is clear from the various texts quoted above that tempo was, at least partly, left to the discretion of the singers of the madrigals. Most of the “part books” of madrigals that were published in vast numbers did not contain bar lines. This is probably a remnant of the centuries old custom of writing vocal music without bar lines, but it happens to express the concept of *sprezzatura* rather well. The example of exquisite calligraphy and engraving below is taken from Gesualdo’s second book of madrigals (Ferrara 1694).



Gesualdo: Caro Amoro. Libro Secondo. (Gesualdo: 1594.)

4.2 Adagio

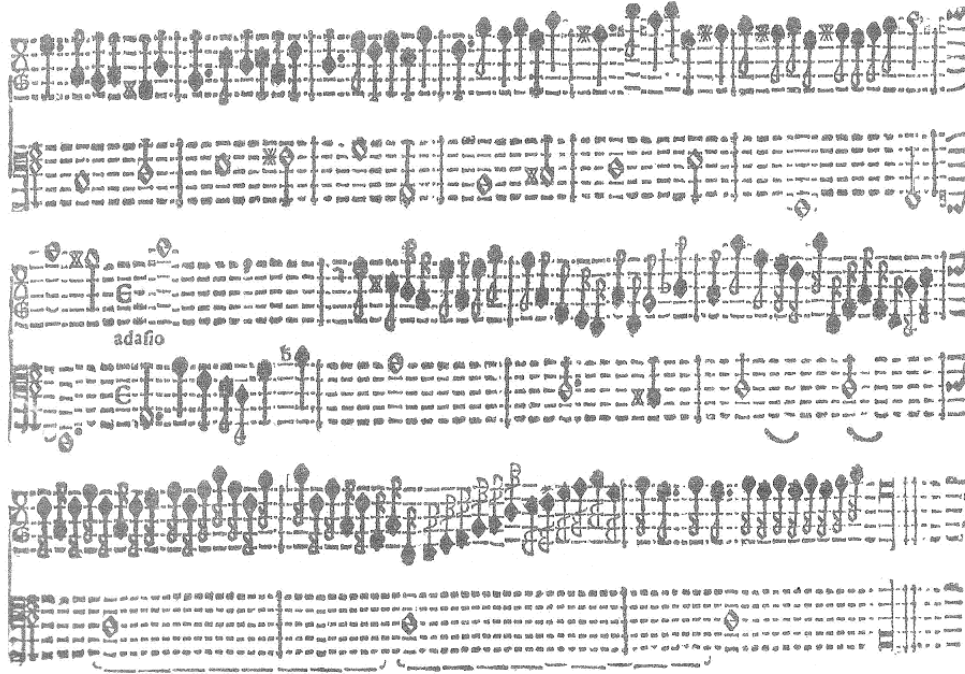
In other cases, tempo fluctuation was indicated by the word *adagio*, *adag.* or *adasio*. The word, which in Italian means “at ease” or “leisurely”, was given its literal meaning in the 17th century. Modern usage gives it a slightly different meaning: a slow tempo. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Music, it is a tempo that is “not so slow as *Largo*, but slower than *Andante*” (Kennedy 2010). The 17th century literal meaning of the word is akin to Caccini’s *sprezzatura*, in that it is used to mean “free” or without strict adherence to the beat. This meaning was also implied by Brossard in his *Dictionnaire* (1703) who translated the word *adagio* as “comfortable, at one’s ease, without hurrying” and added that it usually meant “slowly, dragging the beat a little” (Fallows 2010). Rousseau, in his famous *Dictionnaire* describes it as meaning “at ease”, “calmly” and as also being the manner in which to beat the time. His meaning is not entirely clear, but it seems to imply a certain casualness in the marking of the time.

MOUVEMENT.) *Adagio* est un adverbe Italien qui signifie, à l'aise, posément, & c'est aussi de cette manière qu'il faut battre la Mesure des Airs auxquels il s'applique.

Rousseau: 1768:27

Adagio is an Italian adverb that signifies at ease, calmly, and it is also in this manner that one beats the time of the airs to which it is applied.

In Dario Castello’s *Libro Secondo, Sonate Concertate in stil moderno per sonar nel organo overo clavicembalo con diversi instrumenti a 1.2.3.4. voci* (1629) the instruction *adasio* is used in this way. The example below shows the ending of the instrumental part for the *Sonata Prima a Sopran solo*. When the music is performed, it is obvious that a more rhapsodic approach is suitable from the point at which Castello writes *adasio*.



Castello: Sonata Prima a Sopran solo, ending. Libro Secondo. (Castello: 1629.)

Cypess (2010: 181-223) discusses metrical freedom in Castello's *Sonata prima a sopran solo*:

Playing against a slow-moving bass line and without another melody instrument to enforce its adherence to the tactus, the solo instrument is free to move slowly or quicklyslowing to highlight dissonances and other expressive features of the composition...

In Barbara Strozzi's *Lagime mie* from her *Opera Settima* (1659), the word *adagio* is clearly used to mean a less metrical style of singing. She places the word, not at the beginning of the lament, in which case a general slow tempo might be deduced, but at a point where the text reads *ma ben m'accorgo, che per tormentarmi maggiormente, la sorte mi niega anco la morte* (but well I perceive that to torment me more, fate denies me even death). By doing this, she emphasizes the words. Presumably, one reverts to the normal tempo thereafter, although she does not specifically indicate this.

105 *adag.*
 Ma ben m'ac-cor - go, che per tor - men - tar - -
 - - mi mag - gior - men - te, La sor - te mi nie - ga an - co la mor - te, mi

110

The image shows a musical score for two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. It begins at measure 105 with a rest, followed by a melodic line starting with a quarter note G4, then a dotted quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The tempo marking 'adag.' is placed above the staff. The bottom staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, providing a simple harmonic accompaniment with whole notes. The lyrics are written below the staves.

B. Strozzi: Lagrimie mie, bars 104ff. Opera Settima, 1659. (Strozzi: 1993.)

Giovanni Rovetta's *Madrigali Concertati. Libro Primo* contains tempo markings such as *allegro*, *adagio* (*adaggio*), and *animé*.

Adaggio
Allegro.

The image shows a musical score for two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a common time signature. It is marked 'Adaggio' and features a melodic line with various note values and rests. The bottom staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, providing a harmonic accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the staves.

Rovetta: O Rubella d'amor for two tenors. Madrigali Concertati, Libro Primo. (Rovetta: 1636.)

Frescobaldi used the word *adagio* on several occasions in the prefaces to his works. Read in context, it is clear that this means rhapsodically as well as more slowly. Frescobaldi's remarks about tempo are covered in detail in the next section.

4.3 Frescobaldi's Comments on Tempo

In the prefaces to his published works (*Libro Primo*, *Libro Secondo*, the revised edition of *Libro Primo*, the *Capricci* and the *Fiori Musicali*), Frescobaldi makes various comments that have a bearing on tempo. His most comprehensive remarks about tempo fluctuations occur in the revised edition (1637) of his first book of *toccatas* and relate specifically to the *toccatas*. It seems that his *partitas* were to be played with a steady, moderate tempo, *a battuta commoda* (Frescobaldi: 1615), as he regarded it as unseemly to start quickly and then have to slow down for the fast passages.

Libro Primo, revised edition: 1637

Primieramente, che non dee questo modo di sonare stare soggetto à battuta, come veggiamo usarsi ne i madrigali moderni, i quali quantunque difficili si ageuolano per mezzo della battuta portandola hor languida, hor veloce, è sostenendola etiandio in aria secondo i loro afetti, ò senso delle parole (Frescobaldi: 1637).

Firstly, this style of playing must not be held to a strict beat, but rather as with the modern style of madrigals, where the difficulties are reduced by taking the beat slowly at some times and fast at others, and even pausing sometimes as suggested by the emotions (“afetti”) or the meaning of the words.

In trying to establish correct historical performance practice, musicians are indebted to Frescobaldi for this insight as it proves that *sprezzatura* was not only applied to the “modern madrigals” but also to keyboard music under certain circumstances.

Li cominciamenti delle toccate sieno fatte adagio et arpeggiando: è cosi nelle ligature, ò vero durezza, come ànche nel mezzo del opera si batteranno insieme, per non lasciar voto l'Istromento (Frescobaldi: 1637).

The beginnings of the *toccatas* should be played *adagio* and arpeggiated: similarly, if there are suspensions or real dissonances, in which case, as in the middle of the piece, they should be played together, so that the instrument should not sound empty.

In all the translations of Frescobaldi's prefaces that I have read, the word *adagio* seems to be always translated as "slowly". In the context, I feel that the word, which, as mentioned above, really means "at ease" should be taken to mean rhapsodically. There was a certain freedom in the way Frescobaldi intended his *toccatas* to be played: not only in the tempo but also in the point at which the performer can stop playing.

...ma che anche si possa ciascuno di essi passi sonar separato l'uno dall'altro onde il sonatore senza obbligo di finirle tutte potrà terminarle ovunque li sarà gusto
(Frescobaldi: 1637).

...but also that their various sections may be played separately, so that the performer may finish where he wishes, without being obliged to play them complete.

To our modern way of thinking, it would be quite strange not to play a *toccatà* from start to finish, but Frescobaldi's message is quite clear. In *toccatas* that were meant to be played at the elevation of the host during the Catholic mass, the organist could thus accommodate the priest somewhat more easily, finishing a section of the *toccatà* at an appropriate time in the service. However, Frescobaldi's *toccatas* are suitable for playing on the harpsichord as well as the organ and his comments seem to apply to all the *toccatas* and not just the *alla levatione toccatas*. In fact, the title of his works lists the harpsichord first: *Toccate d'Intavolatura di Cimbalo et Organo*. In his first book of *toccatas*, none of the *toccatas* specifically mention that they should be played on the organ. In his second book, of the total of eleven *toccatas*, numbers three and four have the instruction *per l'organo da sonarsi alla levatione* (for the organ, to be played at the elevation of the host) and numbers five and six have the comment *sopra i pedali per l'organo, e senza* (to be played with or without the pedals of the organ). *Toccatà* eight is *di durezza e ligature* (with dissonances and suspensions) and this type of *toccatà* is more suited to the organ. However, this leaves the 12 *toccatas* of the first book and 6 *toccatas* of the second book which are suitable for the harpsichord – and it seems to be correct not to actually play to the end of any of them if the performer so desires! Froberger seems to have meant certain of his works to be treated similarly. There is a shortened version of *Canzon FbWV 304* in the printed anthology of Froberger's works by Bourgeat (1696). As this anthology seems to have been sourced from autographs, the shortened version (22 bars shorter) can be regarded as an original version of the work (Froberger. 1993: *Libro Secondo*: XXXI).

Similarly there are shortened versions of *Toccatas FbWV 113, 115, 116* and *118* in the WMin 725 MS. They were possibly used as versets.

Nell'ultima nota, cosi di trilli, come di passaggi di salto, o di grado, si dee fermare ancorché detta nota sia croma, ò biscroma ò dissimile alla sequente; perché tal posamento schiuerà il confonder l'un passaggio con l'altro (Frescobaldi: 1637).

In trills and passage-work, whether proceeding in disjunct or scalewise motion, the last note should be held, regardless of whether this note is a quaver, a semiquaver, or different from the following note; this will prevent confusion between one passage and the next.

In Frescobaldi's *toccatas*, because of the great variety of rhythmic figures, different types of passage work and trills that the composer uses in quick succession, this "holding of the last note" occurs quite frequently. In itself, this will stretch the beat a little, adding to the rhapsodic feeling of the music.

Le cadenze benché sieno scritte veloce conuiene sostenerle assai; e nello accostarsi il concluder de passaggi ò cadenze si anderà sostenendo il tempo più adagio (Frescobaldi: 1637).

Cadenzas even when notated as fast, should be strongly retarded; and similarly when the end of a passage or cadenza is approached, the tempo should be played more *adagio*.

Here, the word *adagio* seems to imply a gradual slowing down of the tempo.

Trouandosi alcun passo di crome, e di semicrome insieme a tutte due le mani portar si dee non troppo veloce; (Frescobaldi: 1637).

When a passage is found with quavers and semiquavers at the same time in both hands, they should not be played too quickly;

This implies that the beat is not completely strictly adhered to in such a passage.

Avanti che si facciano li passi doppi con amendue le mani di semicrome douerassi fermar alla nota precedente, ancorché sia nera: poi risolutamente si farà il passaggio... (Froberger 1980).

Before playing double passages with both hands in semiquavers, you should pause on the preceding note, even if it is a short one: and then play the next passage with determination...

Similarly, this instruction implies a slowing down and then a speeding up of the tempo.

In other works, Frescobaldi also refers to similar tempo variations. In the first edition of *Libro Primo*, his instructions were not as detailed, but they nevertheless give a similar impression of Frescobaldi's intentions. Relevant sections of his instructions are offered here with translation, but without further comment, as the words speak for themselves.

From the first edition of his *Libro Primo* (1615)

I Principij delle Toccate sian fatti adagio, et s'arpeggino le botte ferme. Nel progresso s'attenda alla distinzone de i passi, portandoli più et meno stretti conforme la differenza de i loro effetti, che sonando appariscono (Frescobaldi: 1615).

The beginnings of the *toccatas* should be played *adagio* with arpeggiation of the written chords. As one progresses, one should pay attention to the character of the various passages, playing them more or less strictly according to the differences of mood that appear when they are performed.

Nei i passi doppi similmente si vada adagio, acciò siano meglio spiccati...(Frescobaldi: 1615).

With passagework in both hands, one should play *adagio* so that they can more readily be distinguished...

Conuiene fremarsi sempre nell'ultima nota di trillo, et d'altri effetti, come di salto, ouero di grado, benché sia semicroma o biscroma; Et communemente si sostengano assai le cadenze (Frescobaldi: 1615).

It is always right to pause on the last note of a trill or other special effect, such as jumps and even scales, even if it is a quaver or semi-quaver, and one usually reduces speed considerably at cadenzas.

Il Primo Libro di Capricci. 1624

Frescobaldi's remarks in the preface to his *Capricci* are all the more remarkable for being applicable to a genre (*capricci*) which is generally played with strict adherence to the beat. His comments show that even in such works, rhapsodic playing was correct under certain circumstances.

...ho voluto avvertire che in queste cose, che non paressero regolate, con l'uso del contrapunto, si debba primieramente cercar l'affetto di quel passo et il fine dell'Autore circa la diletatione dell'udito et il modo che si ricerca nel sonare (Radojev: 2005).

I wish to point out these things that do not seem to be regulated by the rules of counterpoint, one must firstly seek out the feeling of the passage and the aim of the composer concerning the effect on the ear and the way that one should play such passages.

Si deuono i principii cominciarli adagio a dar maggior spirito e vaghezza al sequente passo et nelle cadenze sostenerle assai prima che si incominci l'altro passo, e nelle trippole, o sesquialtere, se saranno maggiori, si partino adagio, se minori alquanto più allegre, se di tre semiminime, più allegre se sarnno sei per quattro si dia il lor tempo con far camminare la battuta allegra (Radojev: 2005).

The beginning should be played *adagio* to give greater spirit and beauty to the following passages; and in the cadenzas broaden them a little before beginning the next passage; and in the groups of three or six, if they are long values one should bring them out slowly; if in smaller values, a little faster; if of three semi-minims, faster; if of six against four, one may give them their rhythm by playing in a lively measure.

Conviene in alcune durezza fermarvi con arpeggiarle acciò che riesca più spiritoso il seguente passo (Radojev: 2005).

It is suitable in certain dissonances to slow down by arpeggiating them in order that the following passage may produce a livelier effect.

Fiori Musicali 1635

Nelle Toccate quando si trouerà alcuni trilli ouero passi affettuosi sonarli adagio e nelle crome seguite nelle parti insieme fargli alquanto allegri e nelli trilli siano fatti più adagio con il lentar la battuta benché le toccate si deono fare à suo beneplacito secondo il gusto del sonatore (Radojev: 2005).

In the *toccatas*, when some trills or ornamented passages are found, play them *adagio*, and in the fast notes that follow in several parts, make them sound somewhat faster. The trills should be played more *adagio* with a slowing down of the beat, although the *toccatas* may be played according to the desire and taste of the performer (Radojev: 2005).

Li principi di tutte le Toccate ben che siano di crome potransi fare adagio, e poi / secondo i loro passi farli allegri (Radojev: 2005).

The beginnings of the *toccatas* may be played *adagio*, even if they are written in black notes, and then, according to their movement, make them faster.

According to Newcomb, the rhapsodic approach recommended by Frescobaldi should not be taken as suggesting a performance with no basic tempo.

It was written against a background of the tradition of an unvarying *tactus* and recommended a performance style that allowed the pulse to stretch subtly in order to achieve flexible and expressive delivery in an increasingly declamatory and rhetorical style (Luzzaschi. 2007:XV).

The following excerpts show typical places in Frescobaldi's *toccatas* where *sprezzatura* would be appropriate: at the beginning, where the chords should be arpeggiated and at the end, in the florid *cadenza finale*.



Frescobaldi: Toccata Settima, opening bars. Libro Primo, 1637. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)



Frescobaldi: Toccata Sesta, ending. Libro Primo, 1637. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)

4.4 The Use of *Sprezzatura* by other Keyboard Composers.

There are some instances of the use of *sprezzatura* by other keyboard composers of the time. The *Capricci da Sonare* (1687) by Gregorio Strozzi (c.1615-after 1687) contains some interesting examples of fluctuations in tempo, even in dance music. Although it was published in 1687, his *Capricci da Sonare* was probably composed much earlier (Hudson 2010). The works are in the keyboard tradition of the early Neapolitan School.

G Strozzi: Sonata terza dell'undecimo tono trasportato, all'ottava sotto. (Strozzi: 2002.)

The following example shows the fluctuation in tempo in dance music.

Gregorio Strozzi: Gagliarda terza. (Strozzi: 2002.)

When Frescobaldi wrote that his music should be played in a way that is similar to the modern madrigals, he was only summarising what was current practice, obviously in sung music, but even in certain keyboard works, particularly *toccatas*. Rhapsodic playing was probably a feature of the Neapolitan keyboard works as well.

The ending of de Macque's *Capriccio Sopra re fa mi sol* is such an example. According to Apel (1972:425):

passages like this one and many others that occur in the works of Macque and his followers are meaningful only when they are presented in a free tempo. Frescobaldi was the first to describe and demand it, but he only made explicit what was implicit in the works of the Neapolitan precursors.



De Macque: Capriccio Sopra re fa mi sol, bars 98-102. (Macque: 2009.)

The rhapsodic sections of Froberger's *toccatas* are easier to pinpoint than those of his teacher, Frescobaldi. Froberger's *toccatas* are clearly divided into five sections: rhapsodic, imitative, rhapsodic, imitative, rhapsodic. This may be an influence of Michelangelo Rossi. Although he was primarily known at the time for being a virtuoso violinist, Rossi is now mainly remembered for his *toccatas* written in the style of Frescobaldi, which were re-printed in the *Toccate e Correnti* of 1657

but written and first published considerably earlier. Alexander Silbiger (1983:19) states: “Indeed, the first edition of the volume must have been prepared no later than the early 1630s, that is, before Frescobaldi had completed some of his major works.” This does not necessarily mean that Rossi was not influenced by Frescobaldi, with whom he might have studied. However, it poses the interesting question of whether Frescobaldi was influenced by Rossi. It also means that Froberger, who went to Rome in 1637 at the age of 21, might well have known Rossi’s keyboard compositions.

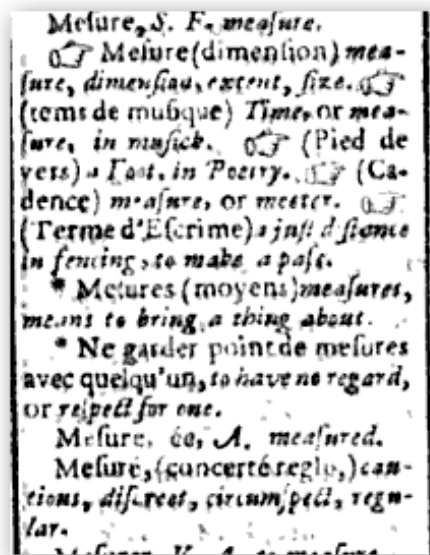
Rossi’s *toccatas* include imitative sections with fast motifs and his *toccatas* usually contain two such passages, dividing the whole into four sections: rhapsodic, imitative, rhapsodic, imitative. The second imitative section dissolves into passage work at the end, in what could be regarded as a short rhapsodic section. This division of the *toccatas* seems to have started with Claudio Merulo (1533-1604), a member of the Venetian School. It is worth noting that the Neapolitan School did not have imitative sections in their *toccatas*. The following example shows how Rossi’s *Toccatas Nona* (*Toccate e Corenti d’Intavolatura d’Organo e Cimbalo, Rome 1657*) moves from the last imitative section into a short rhapsodic ending.



Rossi: *Toccatas IX, ending. Toccate e Corenti, 1657. (Rossi: 1899.)*

4.5 Froberger's use of Tempo Fluctuations

Although composers occasionally included instructions such as *senza misura*, *senza battuta*, or *adagio*, in most cases the application of *sprezzatura* was left to the discretion of the performer(s). Perhaps this is the origin of Froberger's many instructions to play certain of his works *avec discretion* or even *avec discretion, sans observer aucune mesure* (with discretion, without observing the beat at all). In 17th century French, according to Boyer's Royal Dictionary (1699) the noun *mesure* meant "time or measure in musick" and the adjective *mesuré* meant "cautious, discrete, circumspect, regular". Boyer gives two synonyms for the word: *concerté* and *reglé*, meaning composed (in the sense of calm) and regulated. Froberger's instructions seem to mean not only to be played without adherence to the beat, but also without any emotional restraint. However, even Froberger did not always write down this instruction: presumably he assumed that the performer would be aware of current practice.



Boyer: *Mesure*. Royal Dictionary, 1699.

As Howard Schott (1998:99ff) mentions, Johann Mattheson (*Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* 1739) gave the most detailed explanation of the words *avec discretion*:

In the case of things of this sort ... one probably writes these words: *ceci se joue à discretion*, or in Italian: *con discrezione*, in order to point out that one is not permitted to keep strictly to the tempo, but rather may play now slowly now quickly as the spirit moves him. Besides Froberger, who in his time was very famous and did much specifically in the style of writing, there were a few more active *fantasiasts* in the good sense...

The words *avec discretion* also carry the connotation of good taste or good judgment. It could be equated with Castiglione's use of the word *sprezzatura*, an "aristocratic nonchalance". In his discussion of *Voltaire's Fables of Discretion: The Conte Philosophique in le Taureau Blanc*, Thomas Carr (1985:48) describes Voltaire's use of the word *discretion* as "[implying] the aristocratic exclusiveness... that is the mark of a self-conscious elite, eager to preserve its secrets from outsiders it considers unworthy." Although *le Taureau Blanc* is from the following century (1774), the connotation of the word seems to be the same as in the previous century.

The aristocratic exclusiveness and good judgment that is implied by the words "avec discretion" have their parallel in the French *Précieux* society, which originated in the Marquise de Rambouillet's salon in c. 1610. In this and similar salons, educated men and women could meet to discuss such issues as etiquette, philosophy, art, music and the purification of language (Mellers 1968:50). These salons, attracted some great thinkers, writers and musicians. Famous lutenists and harpsichordists such as Denis Gaultier and Chambonnières were regular members of the *Précieux* salons (Mellers 1968:195). In the autumn of 1650 Froberger met the lutenists Denis Gaultier, other members of the Gaultier family, Francois Dufaut and Charles Fleury, Sieur de Blancrocher. He also met Francois Roberday (1624-1680) who later published a "fugue" FbWV 407a (actually a *ricercar*) by Froberger in 1660. He probably met Chambonnières and definitely knew Louis Couperin who had recently come to Paris to study with Chambonnières. Rampe (Froberger. 2005:XLVII) speculates that Froberger was a guest performer at the private concerts organised by Chambonnières, called the *Assemblée des Honestes Curieux* (the Assembly of Curious [in the sense of enquiring] Gentlemen). Froberger's use of the term *avec discretion* seem to be a hybrid of the Italian *sprezzatura* and the indefinable French *bon gout* (good taste) that the French held so much store by.

4.5.1 Tempo Fluctuations in the Toccatas

Whereas the surviving *Libri Secondo* and *Quarto* do not contain specific instructions to the performer about when to play rhapsodically in his *toccatas*, it is interesting to note that in the Sing-Akademie MS, which is in all likelihood a compilation of pieces from later autographs by Froberger, the instruction *joue a discretion jusque à...* (play with discretion until...) is found in all the *toccatas* at the beginning of the rhapsodic sections. There is a sign that looks like a female gender sign: ♀ (a circle with a cross below it), to mark the end of the rhapsodic sections of each *toccat*.

In later sections of each *toccat*, when rhapsodic playing is once again required, the words *lentement avec discretion* or *lentement et à discretion* are to be found. The following examples show these instructions and the use of the circle-plus-cross sign at the beginning of a *toccat*, in the middle rhapsodic section and at the end of a *toccat*, where rhapsodic playing is also required. The five sections of Froberger's *toccatas* are thus very easy to discern.



Froberger: Toccata XIII, opening. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

The instructions are: Cette Toccat se joue à discretion jusque à [circle with cross underneath]

This Toccat is played with discretion until ...



*Froberger: Toccata XVIII, middle section. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)
The instructions are: se joue a discretion jusque à [circle with cross underneath]
play with discretion until*



Froberger: Toccata XIV ending. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)
The instruction is: *à discretion.*

Even where Froberger does not give specific instructions, it is obvious that the non-imitative sections of his *toccatas* should be played *avec discretion*. The following excerpt shows the end of the rhapsodic beginning of a *toccata* leading into the first imitative non-rhapsodic section, which begins in bar 5.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 104, bars 3-6. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

4.5.2 Tempo Fluctuations in the Polyphonic Works.

Froberger also used such rhapsodic passages at the conclusion of each section of his *canzons* and at the end of most of his *capriccios*. In the following extract, the beginning of the ending rhapsodic section starts half way through bar 48. The half bar lines are all editorial. Froberger's autograph does not contain any bar lines at this point in the *canzon*.



Froberger: Canzon FbWV 301, ending of section two. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The following example, the ending of Froberger's *Capriccio FbWV 514* from *Libro Quarto*, shows the end of the measured section and the rhapsodic finale, indicated by a change in time signature. The section preceding this change (including bar 47 and 48 of the extract) is in 12/8.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 514, ending. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

It is noticeable that Froberger seems to use rhapsodic passages less often in his later polyphonic works. With the exception of the *ricercars* and most of the *fantasias*, the *Libro Secondo* (1649) and

the *Libro Quarto* (1656) contain frequent rhapsodic episodes in the polyphonic works. The *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati* (c. 1658) contains fewer such episodes and the Sotheby's autograph, which dates from Froberger's later years, has six *fantasies* and six *caprices*, which apparently contain no *toccata*-style episodes at all.⁶ However, despite the lack of obvious rhapsodic episodes in the *fantasias*, it is interesting to note that Mattheson (*Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* 1739:88) specifically mentions that it is correct to play Froberger's *fantasias* with *discretion*. Illustrating his point, Mattheson quotes the beginnings of a *toccata* and a *fantasia*. Unfortunately the *toccata* is not by Froberger (it has apparently been identified by Snyder as being by Buxtehude) and the *fantasia* is not amongst the currently known works of Froberger. However, this does not detract from Mattheson's opinion that Froberger intended these types of works to be played with *discretion*.



Mattheson. 1739: 1:10.

⁶I am indebted to Bob van Asperen (2008:4.5) for this information, as the Sotheby's manuscript is, unfortunately, now in private hands and not available for inspection.

Roberday's comments in the preface to his publication *Fugues et Caprices à quatre parties mises en partition pour l'orgue* (Paris 1660) throw further light on the performance of the polyphonic works that it contains. Roberday (1661) writes in the preface:

Il ne reste plus qu'à vous dire que les caprices se doivent (quant à la mesure) jouer à discretion & fort lentement quoy qu'ils soyent Nottez par des crochues & double crochues (Roberday : 2009).

Nothing else remains to tell you, other than the *capriccios* (as far as the beat is concerned) should be played with discretion and very slowly, even when they are notated by quavers and semi-quavers.



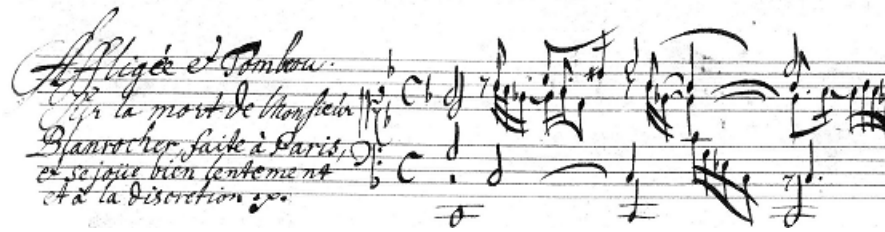
Roberday: Caprice 2, ending. (Roberday: 2009.)

The instruction *très lentement* seems to indicate the beginning of the rhapsodic section. However, Roberday's remarks seem to mean that the entire *capriccio* is to be played without strict adherence to the beat. As Rampe (Froberger. 1995:XXXIV) points out: "This ... may also find consideration while performing Froberger's polyphonic works".

4.5.3 Tempo Fluctuations in the Laments and Related Forms

Froberger gave specific instructions to play *avec discretion* in several of the works that he called *lamento*, *lamentation*, *tombeau*, *afligée*, *plainte* or *meditation*. In these works, he mentioned that the piece should be played *lentement* (slowly) *à la discretion* or *avec discretion*. In some cases, these are

pieces that stand alone, such as the *Lamentation* for Ferdinand III and the *Tombeau* for M. Blancrocher.



Froberger: *Tombeau ... M. Blanrocher [sic]*, opening, showing the title and the comments "fait a Paris et se joue bien lentement et a la discretion" (composed in Paris and to be played very slowly with discretion). Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

The Sotheby's autograph contains three such pieces, each marked to be played *avec discretion* in Froberger's own handwriting. The following extract is from the *Meditation* composed in Madrid upon the future death of his benefactress and employer, *la quelle sa joue lentement avec discretion*.



Froberger: *Meditation sur la mort ... Madame Sibylle*. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

The other two stand-alone pieces marked to be played *avec discretion* in the Sotheby's autograph are the *Tombeau* composed upon the death of Ferdinand III, which in other sources is called *Lamentation* and a hitherto unknown *Tombeau* composed upon the death of Sibylla's husband, Duc Leopold Friderich de Wirtemberg, Prince de Montbéliard.

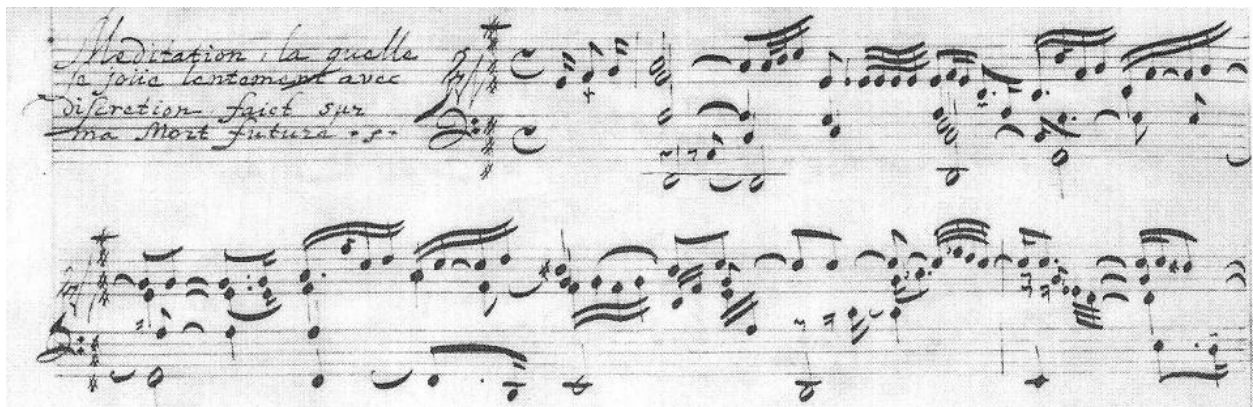
4.5.4 Tempo Fluctuations in the Partitas

Froberger included several pieces, called *meditation*, *lamentation* or *plainte* as the first movement of *partitas*. In effect, they are slow *allemandes* and, in most cases, they carry the instruction to be played *avec discretion*. An example is the *Plaincte [sic] faite a Londres pour passer la melancholie: la quelle se joue lentement et a discretion*. (*Plainte*, composed in London, to drive away melancholy: which should be played slowly and with discretion). This is the opening piece of *Partita FbWV 630*.



Froberger: *Plaincte ...pour passer la Melancholie*. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Another example is the *meditation* composed upon his own future death, which, unlike that of Sibylla, is the first movement of a *partita* (FbWV 620).



Froberger: *Meditation...faist sur ma Mort future*. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

In other cases, the opening piece is actually called an *allemande*, such as the *Allemande faite sur le Subject d'un Chemin Montaigneux, la quelle se joue a discretion* (*Allemande* composed on the subject of a mountain road, which should be played with discretion). This particular title is only found in the Sing-Akademie MS, but, with a different title, it is also found in various other sources. In Bulyowsky 1675, it is known as *Allemanda, repraesentans monticidium Frobergeri* (Froberger. 2005:XXVI). In all the sources except the Sing Akademie, there are no specific instructions to play this piece *avec discretion*. However, the piece needs such an interpretation if it is to be effective.

At the time that Froberger wrote his *partitas*, certain dances had already become music to be listened to rather than danced to. Catherine Gordon-Seifert (2010:237) quotes several contemporary sources that indicate that this was customary, especially with pieces such as the *allemande* and the *sarabande*. Certainly this must be the case with Froberger's *allemandes*, where they have a title such as *lamentation* and the instruction to be played "with discretion". Where his *allemandes* do not carry such a title or such an instruction, it is a moot point whether or not they should also be played *à la discretion*. Perhaps all the dances in Froberger's *partitas* were designed for listening to, rather than dancing to. Even four of his *gigues* include rhapsodic elements (FbWV 607, 613, 619 and 620). In the Sing-Akademie MS, the *gigue* from *Partita FbWV 613, nommée la rusée Mazarinique* (called Marazin's subterfuge) has an instruction in the last line *NB lentement avec discretion, comme le retour de Mons. Le Cardinal Mazarin à Paris* (NB slowly and with discretion, like the return of Monsieur the Cardinal Mazarin to Paris).



Froberger: *Gigue nommée la rusée Mazarinique*. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Three other sources of the *gigue* corroborate the Sing Akademie's comment that the ending should be played *avec discretion*. The Grimm MS (1698/99) shows a change of time signature at this point (the rest of the piece is in 12/8) and the E Mortier publication of *10 Suites* (sic) in 1709 has the instruction *à discretion*.



*Froberger: Gigue from FbWV 613b/2, showing change in time signature in the Grimm MS.
(Froberger: 2005: Vol III.1.)*

The Bulyowsky MS has the comment *Lament et à la discretion come la retour de Mons. Le Cardinal Mazarin à Paris*. The writer of the words probably had an inadequate command of French, writing *lament* instead of *lentement* (slowly). This particular source of the *gigue* is interesting because of the absence of bar lines, although there is a 6/8 time signature. The example given below is of poor quality, but the absence of bar lines is clear to see.



Froberger: Second part of Gigue from Partita FbWV 613b. Bulyowski MS. (Froberger. 2005: Vol III.1.)

This absence of bar lines seems to express the rhapsodic feeling of the piece rather well and provides a further link to the part books of the madrigals which were typically written without bar lines according to the conventions of the day.

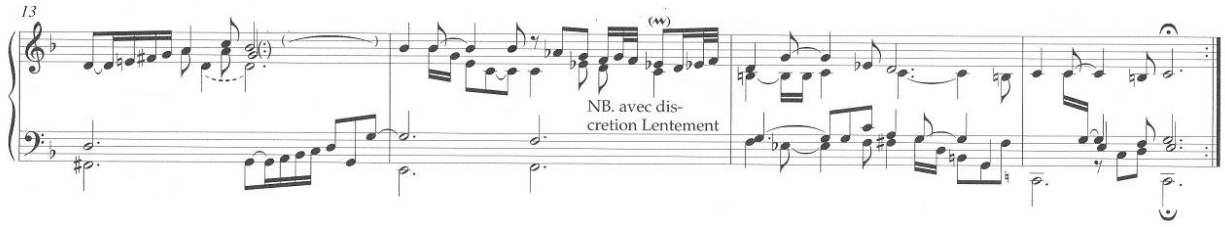
In a variant of the *gigue* from FbWV 607, in the Sing-Akademie MS, the copyist has added the instruction *lentement avec discretion* to the ending.



Froberger: Gigue from FbWV 607. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

This *gigue* is also to be found in the *Libro Quarto*, without the instruction *avec discretion*. As the Sing-Akademie source is so reliable in other respects, it seems reasonable to suppose that this variant is a revision of the *gigue* made by Froberger at a later date.

In another *gigue*, from *Partita FbWV 619*, there is a rhapsodic section towards the end of the piece (which is in c minor, despite the single flat in the key signature) which has the instruction: *NB avec discretion Lentement* (NB with discretion, slowly).



Froberger: *Gigue* from *Partita FbWV 619*. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)

In the *gigue* from FbWV 620 there is the instruction *avec discretion* towards the end in all three extant copies of the piece, one of which is in the late autograph. (For a more detailed discussion of this work please see Chapter 7.)

The words *avec discretion* or *a la discretion*, applied to music, seem to belong specifically to Froberger. The term was not in general use by his contemporaries. The only other uses of the term by his contemporaries that I can find is by Roberday, who used the word in the preface (but not in the music itself) to his *Fugues et Caprices* (Paris 1660) to describe the way the *caprices* should be played (see section 4.5.2 above) and Alessandro Poglietti (d.1683) who used the term in his programmatic description of the Hungarian uprising, *Toccatina sopra la Ribellione di Ungheria*. The final movement of this somewhat bizarre piece is called *la Decapitation* and it is to be played *avec discretion*.

It is significant that Poglietti was, like Froberger, an organist at the Imperial Court of Vienna from 1661 until his death at the hands of Turkish invaders during the siege of Vienna (Gillespie 1972:120). Poglietti may also have been taught by Froberger (Froberger. 2005:XLVIII). The term *con discrezione* was famously used by Bach in his D major *Toccatina* BWV 912, but that was in the following century.

4.6 Changes in Time Signatures

In addition to written instructions, such as *senza battuta* or instead of leaving the application of *sprezzatura* up to the singer(s), the madrigalists used changes of time signature to indicate a slowing down or a speeding up of the tempo. Before discussing the use of this technique, a brief overview of *tactus* and proportional time signatures will be given.

4.6.1 Tactus

The *tactus* was:

A unit of time measured by a movement of the hand, first discussed in detail by Adam von Fulda (*De musica*, 1490). One *tactus* actually comprised two hand motions, a downbeat and an upbeat (*positio* and *elevatio*, or thesis and arsis). Each motion was equal in length in duple time (*tempus imperfectum*); in triple time (*tempus perfectum*) the downbeat was twice as long as the upbeat. In theory the *tactus* in 16th-century music measured a semibreve of normal length (*integer valor notarum*), a breve in diminution (*proportio dupla*), and a minim in augmentation. Gaffurius (*Practica musice*, 1496) wrote that one *tactus* equalled the pulse of a man breathing normally, suggesting that there was an invariable tempo then of M.M. = c60–70 for a semibreve in *integer valor*. (Mayer Brown and Bockmaier: 2011.)

Prior to the application of *sprezzatura*, the overall tempo of the *tactus* might vary, for example, in accordance with written instructions for a particular section. In Luys Milán's *El maestro* (1536) he indicated that the *tactus* should be fast or slow with the expressions *apriessa* and *espacio* respectively. (Mayer Brown and Bockmaier: 2011.) However, it seems that once the *tactus* speed had been chosen, one stuck to it quite rigidly. In contrast, Caccini's and Vicentino's remarks, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, show that the avant-garde were questioning the validity of this old system and suggesting a variable *tactus* to allow greater expression in the *madrigali moderni*. This is further illustrated by the comments of the singer Aquilino Coppini who observed in 1609 that "the emotionalism of certain of Monteverdi's most recent madrigals was best served by a degree of

local flexibility in the *tactus*". (Bowers 2011). Whereas this might have become acceptable at the beginning of the century for secular vocal music, sacred vocal works or instrumental works in a contrapuntal style still followed a rigid *tactus*.

Frescobaldi departed from this norm in his *toccatas* but also in his *Primo Libro di Capricci* (1624). As Etienne Darbellay has shown (Silbiger 1987:301ff), Frescobaldi stipulated a *tactus* speed that varies according to the time signature and to the range of predominant note-values (the *Notenbild*).

This principle departs unmistakably from the late Renaissance theories of an invariable *tactus* whose fixed speed governs the note values irrespective of the *Notenbild*. Had it not been applied to a collection of contrapuntal works [the *Capricci*], this stipulation would not be as far reaching, since a variable *tactus* must be assumed in any case for the large range of new galanterie associated with the *seconda prattica*... The "tempo tyranny" of the *tactus*...eventually came into conflict with the freedom required by the metric patterns and tempos of the new baroque practices. (Darbelley in Silbiger 1987:301.)

Thus, the strict tempo regulations of earlier music started to disintegrate in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. This is particularly apparent in the endings of many of Froberger's contrapuntal works where a change of time signature indicates the start of a rhapsodic section.

4.6.2 Time Signatures and Proportional Notation

Although an explanation of the "old" (ie commonly used in the Renaissance) system of time signatures is given below, it is not within the scope of this work to discuss the old notation system in detail, and the reader is referred to *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600* by Willi Apel and to the articles on Notation by Chew and Rastall (Bent et al 2011) and on Proportional Notation (Bowers 2011) in Grove Music Online for further information on this complex issue.

The older system of notating time is based upon a combination of triplex (*perfect*) and duplex (*imperfect*) subdivisions:

	Perfectus	Imperfectus
Maximodus	1 maxima = 3 longae	1 maxima = 2 longae
Modus	1 longa = 3 breves	1 longa = 2 breves
Tempus	1 brevis = 3 semibreves	1 brevis = 2 semibreves

Tempus could be further divided by Prolatio, which was divided into maior and minor: Prolatio maior: 1 semibrevis = 3 minimae. Prolatio minor: 1 semibrevis = 2 minimae. In practice, maximodus and modus were seldom used and composers used tempus perfectus and tempus imperfectus together with prolatio maior and prolatio minor.

This combination of tempus and prolatio resulted in four possible combinations which were indicated by signs: a circle for tempus perfectum, a half-circle for tempus imperfectum. Prolatio maior was indicated by a dot within the circle or half circle. No dot equalled prolatio minor. The examples given below are in “full black” notation, where the noteheads of minims and longer notes are black. In “void notation”, a later development, such noteheads were white.

⊙	Tempus perfectum with Prolatio maior	 1 breve = 3 semibreves = 3x3 minims
○	Tempus perfectum with Prolatio minor	 1 breve = 3 semibreves = 3 x 2 minims
◐	Tempus imperfectum with Prolatio maior	 1 breve = 2 semibreves = 2 x 3 minims
◑	Tempus imperfectum with Prolatio minor	 1 breve = 2 semibreves = 2 x 2 minims

In medieval notation there was a progressive slowing down of note values and this continued during the 16th century, partly no doubt owing to the proliferation

of short note values. By the second half of the century the minim had become the normal beat in polyphony ... the crotchet became the main time unit for much music in the 17th century... (Bent et al 2012)

Translated into modern time signatures these four combinations would mean:

Tempus perfectum with protatio maior: $9/2$; adjusted for the later reduction in note values: $9/4$.

Tempus perfectum with protatio minor: $3/1$; adjusted for the later reduction in note values: $3/2$.

Tempus imperfectum with protatio maior: $6/2$; adjusted for the later reduction in note values: $6/4$.

Tempus imperfectum with protatio minor: $2/1$; adjusted for the later reduction in note values: $4/4$.

Although the tactus was fixed, note values could be reduced by the insertion of a line through the time signature or by the addition of numbers to the time signature. The system of proportional notation was in use from the early 14th century to the early 18th century and underwent several changes. However, by the end of the 16th century and the early part of the 17th century there were two basic additional rules for the system:

- A stroke through the time signature indicated that the notes would be played as if their values were halved (the origin of the modern *alla breve*).
- A fraction written after the time signature indicated that the upper number of notes would be played in the time previously taken to perform the lower. The most common of these time signatures were $3/2$, $3/1$ and $2/1$ (the 1 was often omitted because it was regarded as obvious). Thus, $3/2$, meant three in the time of two; 3 (or $3/1$) meant three in the time of one; 2 (or $2/1$), meant two in the time of one.

These proportional signatures, in the form of fractions, could be cancelled by the inverse of the fraction and were used for pieces with short sections in different metres. There were other possibilities and the issue is further complicated by the fact that in some cases a particular composer had a system that did not correspond entirely with anyone else's. Chew and Rastall (Bent et al 2011) state that after 1500 the more complex proportions are found only in theoretical works and in a few sixteenth century polyphonic works to illustrate the text.

The very beginnings of the dissolution of the proportional system, and of its orderly evolution onward, can be traced to about the 1620s, with the inception of a progressive evaporation of the concept of the *tactus* on which it had come to depend (Bowers 2011).

The old system of proportional notation affects the number of beats in a bar, partly explaining the “double bars” that we perceive in Froberger’s music. Apel (referring mainly to instrumental music) states that “bar lines in 16th century compositions ... are drawn at the distance of either a brevis or a semibrevis (two or one whole note), the choice depending to a certain extent on the absence or presence of small note values” (Apel 1970:82). Double-length bars (if one applies modern thinking) are thus very common in the music of the time and are a remnant of the conventions surrounding the *tactus* where, for example, **C** = one breve in the bar (Mayer Brown et al: 2011), or, in effect, two semibreves, an upbeat and a downbeat, of equal length in duple time (*tempus imperfectus*). In other words, there would be usually be eight crotchets in the bar rather than the four crotchets that the time signature means today. If the music is written in **C** or **cut C** there may be either one or two semibreves (or minims) in the bar. If the music is written in triple time there may be either one or two beats of a breve+semibreve or minim+crotchet. Once one understands the system, this music has a regular barring system, even though it is not quite the same as the modern system.

4.6.3 Time Signature changes in the Madrigals, indicating tempo changes.

In some cases, madrigals are sub-divided into sections and these sections start with a different time signature. However, some of the madrigalists also used rapid changes in time signatures. These changes do not precede new sections, but seem to depict rapid tempo changes. For example In *Itene O miei sospiri*, Gesualdo uses a change of time signature. The phrase reads: *Che l'amaro mio pianto, cangerò lieto in amoroso canto* (that my bitter lament, I will happily change to a love song.) On the word *cangero* (change) he changes time signature from **C** to **3** changing back again to **C** two bars later.

The image shows a musical score for Gesualdo's 'Itene O miei sospiri. Libro Quinto.' It consists of two systems of five staves each. The lyrics are: 'Che l'amaro mio pianto Cangerò Cangerò lieto Cangerò lieto Cangerò'. The second system continues with: 'lieto in amorofo can to lieto in amoro fo can lieto in amorofo can lieto in amo rofo in lieto in amo'.

Gesualdo: *Itene O miei sospiri. Libro Quinto.* (Gesualdo: 1613.)

In Rovetta's *O Rubella d'amore*, the composer not only writes in the instructions *adagio* and *alegro* (sic), but changes from C (the *adagio* section continues from the previous part which is under this time signature), to *alegro* with a time signature of 3, to C to 3 and back to C.

The image shows a musical score for Rovetta's 'O Rubella d'amore. Tenor I part. Madrigali Concertati, Libro Primo.' It features two sections. The first section is marked 'Adagio.' and has the lyrics: 'che perche non fare vendera contra? così mi fei fedel così mi fei fedel così costante'. The second section is marked 'alegro' and has the lyrics: 'ò Rubella Rubella d'Amor Rubella d'Amor cruda a l'amante cruda a l'amante tu gio- ifei tu gio ifei io languisco io languisco feo languisco tu pecasti tu peccasti io pa-'.

Rovetta: *O Rubella d'amore. Tenor I part. Madrigali Concertati, Libro Primo.* (Rovetta: 1636.)

Similarly, in Monteverdi's *Dice la mia bellissima*, the extract below from the basso continuo part shows rapid changes from C (tempus imperfectum) to 3/2 under tempus perfectum with halved note values, to C to 3/2 to C.



Monteverdi: *Dice la mia bellissima*. Settimo Libro. (Monteverdi: 1619.)

4.6.4 Froberger's use of time signatures

Froberger uses both the old proportional system and the newer system that is commensurate with the modern use of time signatures: ie the denominator of the time signature indicates the note value upon which the music is based eg 4 = the crotchet, 2 = the minim and the numerator indicates the number of these notes per bar. His pieces are sometimes a hybrid of the two systems.

In the autograph works of 1649, 1656 and 1658, it is interesting to note that Froberger always begins each work in C; that is, if one regards each *partita* as one entity. (In the *partitas* of 1649 and 1656, whereas the *allemandes* all begin in C, the dances that follow have a variety of time signatures.) There is only one instance of a "cancellation" of a time signature in these three

autographs, and that occurs in *Toccata FbWV 101*, where a 12/8 section is followed by a 8/12 section. He uses the following time signatures in these *libri*:

- **3** This is a remnant of the old practice and usually means 3/2: in other words, three in the time of two rather than 3/1, three in the time of one.
- **6/4** This is equivalent to the modern time signature in that it means that each bar contains 6 crotchets. It also carries the meaning that these 6 notes are equal in duration to the 4 notes of the preceding section. Similarly, **12/8** is equivalent to the modern time signature on the one hand but also indicates that the 12 quavers are equal in duration to the 8 notes of the preceding section. He also uses **9/3** on one occasion, in *Fantasia FbWV 303*, which seems to equate to 9/8.
- **Cut C.** This time signature carries the modern connotation of a quick duple time, but includes the older meaning of a doubling of the time of the previous section. When Froberger uses this time signature, for example at the end of *Toccata FbWV 112* and the end of several of his *Capriccios*, a quick, free tempo section seems to be indicated.
- **C3** This time signature is used for all the *courantes* and the *sarabandes* and for one *gigue*. It indicates that there are three minims to the bar, in the case of the *courantes* and three semibreves to the bar in the case of the *sarabandes* and that these should be played in the time of one minim/semibreve of the preceding section. The music is thus much faster than it appears to be from the notation. The *gigues* are written in **C**, with three exceptions. The *gigue* from *FbWV 602* is in **6/4** (this is the only autograph partita containing the *gigue* as the last dance); *gigue FbWV 610* is in **C3**; and *gigue FbWV 612* is in **C6/4**.

Like the madrigalists, Froberger conventionally uses changes in time signatures to split a piece into different sections with different tempi. However, he also uses rapid changes of tempi. The following excerpt from his *Fantasia FbWV 205* shows changes in time signatures from **3** (the piece begins in this time signature) to **C** to **6/4** within the space of a few bars.



Froberger: *Fantasia FbWV 205, bar 33 to end. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)*

These quick changes in time signature, as opposed to changes that precede a new section, seem to signify changes in tempo, rather than being proportional changes with the overall tactus remaining the same. Such changes would allow the composer to express different feelings or emotions, almost like a soliloquy expressing the composer's stream of consciousness. This links the compositional style to the madrigals as well as to that of recitative (particularly French recitative), where, on many occasions, the characters express their innermost thoughts as they occur, with changes of time signature to express the ebb and flow of their emotions. It also illustrates Mattheson's claim (1739:88) that the *fantasias* were also to be played "with discretion".

In many instances, Froberger uses a change in time signature to indicate a section in free tempo. The ending rhapsodic section of *Toccatà FbWV 112* is indicated by a change of time signature from 6/4 to cut C.



Froberger: *Toccatà FbWV 112, ending. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)*

Similarly, the ending of *Capriccio FbWV 504* moves from **C** to **Cut C** at the end, clearly indicating a change of tempo.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 504, ending. Libro di Capricci e Ricercati, c. 1658. (Froberger: 1995.)

The ending of the *gigue* from FbWV 610 includes a change from **C3** to **Cut C**, possibly indicating a rhapsodic ending to the piece.



Froberger: Gigue from FbWV 610, ending. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

Frescobaldi also used the idea of changing time signatures frequently to express changes in emotion in his keyboard music. In the *Libro Primo*, he relies more often on textural diversity and note length to indicate a faster or a slower pace in his *toccatas*, but in his second book, time signature changes are more frequent. *Toccatà Nona* from his *Libro Secondo* contains 14 changes of time signature. Appropriately, Frescobaldi added the postscript *non senza fatica si giunge al fine* (not without fatigue is the end reached). The extract below shows the ending of the *toccatà*. The extract begins in 4/6 time in both hands and then changes to 6/4 in the left hand, illustrating Frescobaldi's use of complex rhythmic puzzles as well as the frequent changes in time signature.

Non senza fatica si giunge a.
fine

libro 2° di Tocc. del Frescob. H.

Frescobaldi: Toccata Nona, ending. Libro Secondo. (Frescobaldi: 1637.)

4.6.5 Coloratio

Another way of altering the value of notes was by *coloratio*, whereby certain notes were coloured in. In the earlier black notation, coloured notes were red. In the later void (or white) notation, coloured notes were black: for example a semibreve would be coloured black instead of left void. The basic function of these coloured notes was to indicate a reduction in time value by two thirds. (Bowers 2011.)

With the increase of smaller (black) note values in music in general, *coloratio* was seldom used as it became confusing. However the practice survived in the 16th and 17th centuries for expressing hemiola rhythms in 3/2: for example, three black semibreves replaced two normal void dotted semibreves. The following example by Monteverdi shows the use of *coloratio* in a madrigal for solo tenor plus basso continuo. The basso continuo part uses *coloratio* in the section that is in **3** in tempus imperfectus with halved note values (indicated by the line through the time signature). The tenor part of the same madrigal is written in normal (for the time) notation.



Monteverdi: *Ninfa che scalza il piede*. Basso Continuo. Il Ottavo Libro di Madrigali. (Monteverdi: 1638.)

Monteverdi: *Ninfa che scalza il piede*. Tenor part. Il Ottavo Libro di Madrigali. (Monteverdi: 1638.)

There are some examples of *coloratio* in instrumental music, written in *stile moderno* in triple time.



Frescobaldi. Il Primo Libro di Capricci. 1626. (Example from Bent et al: 2011.)



G B Fontana. Sonate a 1.2.3. 1641. (Example from Bent et al: 2011.)

Froberger uses black notation *coloratio* briefly at the end of *Ricercar FbWV 402* and, more extensively, in *Fantasia FbWV 203*. The example below is also in triple time and the use of black notes backs up the time signature of 3/2: three in the time of two of the previous section, which is in C.



Froberger: *Fantasia FbWV 203*, bar 52ff. *Libro Secondo*, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

A similar use of colour, or more correctly non-colour, is in the use of void (white) notation where black notation would have been normal, for example the use of white “crotchets” or *crome bianche* in the example below.



Froberger: *Toccata FbWV 102*, showing the transition to the contrapuntal section in white notation. *Libro Secondo*, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The flagged minims that he uses are clearly “white” crotchets and the preceding and the following sections of the *toccata* are in ordinary notation. This notation is unique in Froberger’s works: even other contrapuntal sections of *toccatas*, written in the same 6/4 time signature, are in normal black notes, such as in the example below.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 112, bars 19-20. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

In both examples above, from FbWV 102 and FbWV 112, triple time is clearly intended and the basic metrical unit is a dotted crotchet. Similar use of the 6/4 time signature with normal black notation can be seen in the other works from his autographs, for example Canzon FbWV 304 bars 59ff; Canzon FbWV 305 bar 9ff; the Gigue from FbWV 602 and FbWV 612 and Capriccio FbWV502, which all have the dotted crotchet as the basic metrical unit. A slightly different use of the time signature is to be found in Fantasia FbWV 205, bars 45ff and Canzon FbWV 302, bars 47ff, where the metrical unit is a dotted minim, once again written in normal notation.

The use of *crome bianche* seems to have been a sort of retro-fashion as the notation dates back to much earlier times when paper began to be used instead of parchment and the ink used to fill in black notes tended to run. The solution was to make the notes white instead of black (Latham: 2002:844). However, by Froberger's time this cannot have been a consideration, as so much of his music contains black notes with small duration values – as does the music of the madrigalists. As Froberger wrote other sections in 6/4 time in normal notation and as he used black *coloratio* in FbWV 203, he seems to have meant something else by his use of *crome bianche* in *Toccata FbWV 102*. It is my contention that he used the notation to draw attention to, and provide performance instructions for, the vocally-inspired lament-style nature of this section. By using the retro-fashionable white notation he was able to visually distinguish the section from other pieces of a fast gigue-like nature in 6/4. The descending lines in each of the voices of this section link it to the lament and, if it is played slowly, the sad beauty of the piece is revealed. In all the recordings of this *toccata* that I have heard, this section is played fast. I believe that this is the incorrect interpretation of Froberger's intention and that the section should be played slowly, like a lament.

There is evidence of use of *crome bianche* in Italian vocal music of the 17th century, particularly in Carissimi's music, although, frustratingly, the lack of surviving autographs means that the notation cannot be checked against the intentions of the composer.



Carissimi: Bel tempo per me se n'ando. Partition de plusieurs airs Italiens, MS Res F935. (Carissimi: 2011.)

The practice is borne out by Sébastien Brossard, who notes:

On trouve souvent sous ce signe 3/2 sur tout chez les Italiens, de Blanches Crochées au lieu des simples Noires (Brossard: 1708:176).

One finds white crochets instead of simple black ones often under the sign 3/2, especially with the Italians.

Although the practice was Italian rather than French, void notation was used later in the seventeenth century by French composers, (notably Charpentier), when they wanted to write in the Italian style. Sadler (2010:47) explains that void notation was extensively used by Charpentier from 1670s onwards in settings of Italian texts at a time when the Italians had already abandoned the practice. He ascribes this to the influence of Charpentier's sojourn in Italy, where he apparently

studied with Carissimi, according to the *Mercure Galant* of February 1681. The example below is taken from Sadler (2010:50).

The image shows a musical score for a piece by Charpentier. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are for violins, labeled [vn 1] and [vn 2]. The third staff is for a vocal line, with the lyrics 'tu - am... ter - - - - -' written below it. The bottom staff is for a bass line. The music is in 3/2 time and features a repeat sign at the end with a first ending bracket marked 'x'.

Charpentier, *Psalmus David 5^{us} in tempore belli pro Rege*, H168;
Mélanges, vol. 3, p. 119 (*cahier* 20, fol. 63)

Charpentier used white notation for pieces that were slow and pieces that were not slow. Shirley Thomson (2002: 83-93) concludes that no special significance can be attached to Charpentier’s use of the notation as far as tempo is concerned. White notation has survived in other French music, notably in 27 pieces by Francois Couperin (Tunley 2004:13). Francois Couperin’s music is of less relevance to the current discussion, as his music dates from the following century. However, Tunley (2004:13) concludes that white notation in Couperin’s music meant a slow tempo and, in the case of his satirical piece *Les fastes de la grande et ancienne Mxnstrxndsx* it was also used “to emphasize the antiquated nature of the closed society of ménestriers against which he had a running battle”.

White notation was also used on one occasion by Purcell in his Ode *Laudate Ceciliam*. Martin Adams states:

This style of notation is unique in Purcell's autographs....Its use of 'white' note-heads ...was rare in England, though it survives in a few contemporary sources of Italianate music by English composers. (Adams 1995:38.)

The use of *crome bianche* in keyboard music from this period is rare and the link to Carissimi, who used the style extensively, is intriguing. Froberger's possible study with the master is referred to in Chapter 2. Kerll, who studied with Carissimi (Harris and Giebler 2011) and probably knew and was possibly taught by Froberger, also used *crome bianche*, notably in his Ciaccona. It is also tempting to see a link between the notational style of the French unmeasured preludes and the use of *crome bianche*, especially because a copy of *Toccata F#WV 102*, with the void notation accurately copied, was transcribed into the Bauyn MS. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Moroney (Couperin. 1985:6ff) discusses the likelihood that the Froberger pieces in the Bauyn were copies of autographs owned by Louis Couperin and transcribed by his brother Francois Couperin.



L. Couperin: Prelude 4, systems 1-2. Bauyn MS. (Tilney: 1991.)

4.7 Improvisation

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the use of *sprezzatura* gives an element of spontaneity or improvisation to the music. *Sprezzatura* in music could be described as a sort of rehearsed spontaneity. The music *appeared* to be improvised and, in writing it down, composers attempted to record the act of improvisation. Froberger's *toccatas*, like those of his teacher Frescobaldi, seem to be both an attempt to record the improvisatory aspect of what may have originally been (at least partly) an improvised genre and, in contradiction to this, an attempt to make a genre which was actually highly structured (by the time Froberger was composing), appear to be improvised.

In her thesis, *Analytical Issues in the Toccatas of Girolamo Frescobaldi*, Naomi Barker summarizes this process:

Resolving the paradox of 'composed improvisation', if, indeed, such a resolution is possible, creates a further paradox - that of strict formulaic procedures being used as a framework for creating the impression of spontaneous creation. For example, local areas of extemporary creativity are controlled by formulae of diminution and embellishment; large-scale structures are determined beforehand in terms of rhetorical practice; the materials of the 'subject' are chosen to correspond to theoretical constructs and are explored within the same restrictions so that the whole 'improvisation' follows a set code of practice. The existence of such a network of processes is the foundation of compositional freedom, guiding the composer from one point of reference to the next and maintaining coherence throughout the changes of affect, contrasts of tempo and metre, different textures and continually changing motifs that characterize the 'free' style of the *toccatas*. (Barker 1995:362.)

Works such as Froberger's *lamentations* and related forms, seem to take this rehearsed improvisation to new heights. In order to express this, Froberger instructed the performer to use his/her own discretion in the interpretation of the tempo.

It should also be remembered that Froberger and his contemporaries came from a tradition of improvisation. A good musician was expected to be able to improvise. According to Rampe (Froberger. 1995:XXIII), Froberger travelled to the Electoral Court of Dresden in the autumn or early winter of 1649 and, according to Mattheson (Grundlage Einer Musicalischen Ebre-Pforte, 1740:88), he engaged in a friendly competition with Weckmann at the request of the Saxony Electorate. Such “friendly competitions” were relatively commonplace and enabled the composer-performer to show off his skills at improvisation. At Dresden Froberger is said to have performed a variety of pieces which he copied very neatly into a beautifully bound book which he presented to the Electorate as a gift. Unfortunately this book has been lost. Perhaps it was a record of the improvisations that Froberger delighted his audience with. Alternatively, perhaps it was a record of carefully thought out compositions which he learned off by heart and then appeared to have improvised. This is the dichotomy of the art of improvisation: In order for the composer-performer to appear to be extremely capable, his “improvisations” must be the result not only of a great deal of prior experience but of that artistic nonchalance, *sprezzatura*, where the appearance of effortlessness is considered the highest art.

Another indication of Froberger’s ability to improvise is attested to by Constantijn Huygens. A letter from Huygens in English to Ultricia Ogle Swann of 29 December 1666 (Huygens: 2010) confirms that he had heard Froberger perform “improvements” (improvisations) at the Electoral-Archiepiscopal court in Mainz the previous year. (See Chapter 2 for a discussion on the date that Froberger met Huygens, probably early September 1665.)

Many of the surviving works by Froberger are found in more than one source and although there are some obvious differences between such works, they are not only clearly identifiable as the same piece, but are, in many cases, considered to be alternative *authentic* versions. In other words, there were two or more versions of the same piece, each of which was written down by Froberger at some stage in his life. Whereas the major features of the music remain the same, he might have written the music down from a “blueprint” in his head on various occasions. This indicates that this music, which so often appears to have an improvisatory aspect, was indeed, to a certain extent, improvised. The written versions of his music might differ from each other because Froberger’s own performances of his music varied owing to an element of improvisation. Alternatively, or

perhaps in addition to, it indicates that he might never have regarded a piece as “finished”, adding improvements or small changes to it each time he played it.

The fact that there is more than one authentic version of some pieces sheds some light upon all of Froberger’s music. Even the autograph versions of his works should perhaps be regarded as just one version of the piece at one point in Froberger’s life. This is yet another illustration of the way Froberger’s works seem to be fluid, open to change either by himself or by the “discretion” of a performer of his music.

In his edition of the complete keyboard works of Froberger, Siegbert Rampe has been diligent in recording each variant (that was known at the time of publication) of the pieces. One of the most extreme examples is *Partita FbWV 605. Libro Secondo* of 1649 contains one version in Froberger’s own handwriting, but the piece appears in seven other manuscripts: Wagener 1, Wagener 2, Grimm 1698/99, Tappert c. 1670, Schwerin, Stoos, OB 1695 and Ihre 1679 (Froberger. 2005:LXXVI). Whereas it is possible that the variants of the *partita* are the result of changes made by the various copyists, it is also possible that they are authentic transcriptions of Froberger’s own versions. The number of sources for this *partita* is rivalled by FbWV 623 (nine sources) and FbWV 602 (eight sources).

The Lamentation on the death of Ferdinand III’s son, Ferdinand IV, *Lamento sopra la dolorosa perdita della Real M.^{sta} Ferdinando IV. Rè de Romani &* (Lamentation on the sad loss of his Royal Majesty, Ferdinand IV. King of the Romans etc) is to be found in the 1656 autograph. However there is an interesting version in WMin 743, with a French title, *Lamentation faite sur la tres douloureuse mort de sa majeste Ferdinand le quatrieme. Roy de Romanis; et se joue lentement avec discretion. An 1654.* (Lamentation written on the very sad death of his majesty, Ferdinand the fourth, King of the Romans; to be played slowly with discretion. 1654.)

This version appears to be an early version of the piece. Rampe (Froberger 2005: LXXVII) points out the differences in bars 17-19 of the WMin 743 version with the bars 10-11 in the autograph.

(The difference in bar numbers can be ascribed to the extended bars that Froberger used. This barring system, based on the tactus, is covered in Section 4.6.1 above.) Rampe says that the WMin version “throws remarkable light on Froberger’s compositional process...it provides ...evidence that Froberger first captured a partita movement as an improvisation... and profoundly re-worked it later” (Froberger 2005:LXXVII). In general, Froberger used French, rather than Italian, for all his *partitas* and *lamentations* and Rampe suggests that the first version was the WMin 743 one and that Froberger re-worked it and translated the title into the courtly Italian that was in use in Vienna for his presentation copy to Emperor Ferdinand III.



Froberger : WMin 743 version. Lamentation faite sur la tres douloureuse mort de sa majesté Ferdinand le quatrieme...et se joue lentement avec discretion. An 1654. (Froberger 2005: Vol III.1).



Froberger : The same section of the music from the autograph. Lamento sopra la dolorosa perdita della Real M.ªta Ferdinando IV. Rè de Romani &. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

In the Sing-Akademie MS these bars are an exact copy of the autograph, once again illustrating the reliability of this source.

The addition of suitable ornamentation to a work is also an element of improvisation and was an art form that was held in high regard at the time. Ornamentation will be covered in depth in the next chapter.

4.8 Summary

Froberger's genius enabled him to assimilate many musical influences during the course of his life, but it is reasonable to suppose that one of the greatest influences on Froberger as a young man was his sojourn in Rome, where he studied with the great Frescobaldi. Frescobaldi supported the new style of playing (and composing) in which the emotions generated by the music govern the way the music is played. Instead of a strict adherence to the beat, he advocated using a rhapsodic approach, "even pausing sometimes as suggested by the emotions" in the style of the *madrigali moderni*.

At the beginning of the 17th century, composers of vocal music expected performers to change the tempo of the music to fit the meaning of the words. To depict the emotions, slow passages alternated with fast passages and the tempo of individual words or phrases were sung without necessarily adhering strictly to the beat. The theorists of the time supported the practice and Vicentino describes it as early as 1555 in *L'Antica Musica ridotta alla moderna pratica*, indicating that it was common long before Caccini famously appropriated Castiglione's word *sprezzatura* to describe the seemingly effortless use of a variable tempo to heighten the emotive content of the music. The centuries old custom of writing vocal music without bar lines was still common in the period under discussion. It seems to visually reinforce the concept of *sprezzatura* (in the sense of a free tempo).

In other cases, tempo fluctuation was indicated by the word *adagio*. The word, which in Italian means "at ease" or "leisurely", was given its literal meaning in the 17th century. In the various prefaces to his keyboard works, Frescobaldi makes a number of comments that have a bearing on tempo. In several instances he uses the word *adagio* and, read in context, it is clear that he means this not only to mean more slowly but also to mean rhapsodically.

Although composers occasionally included instructions such as *senza misura*, *senza battuta*, or *adagio*, in most cases the application of tempo variation was left to the discretion of the performer(s). I believe that this is the origin of Froberger's many instructions to play certain of his

works *avec discretion* or *à la discretion*; words that seem to belong specifically to Froberger. The phrase *avec discretion* also carries the connotation of good taste or good judgment. It could be equated with Caccini's use of the word *sprezzatura*, an "aristocratic nonchalance". Froberger uses variable tempo in almost all of his works: in the laments and in the rhapsodic sections of his *toccatas*, but also in the more traditional contrapuntal forms such as *capriccios* and *canzons* and even in dances such as *allemandes* and *gigues*.

Perhaps it is the element of "*discretion*", with its connotations of free tempo and good taste, that prompted Froberger to ask Sibylla not to disseminate his music after his death. It is clear from her correspondence that he did not regard anyone as capable of performing his works properly without prior instruction. It is only possible to speculate why Froberger felt so strongly that he did not want his music to be published or to fall into the wrong hands. I think that it is probable that his unique style was, at least in part, based on his approach to tempo and that he therefore felt that a stranger would not know how to play his music.

The use of *sprezzatura* allows the performer to express emotion more realistically than a strictly *à tempo* rendering would permit, and at the same time, it gives an element of spontaneity or improvisation to the music. This is perhaps the true meaning of the word *sprezzatura*, which, in its original courtly sense, meant to make whatever is done or said appear to be without effort. *Sprezzatura* could therefore be described as a sort of rehearsed spontaneity, akin to the art of improvisation. Froberger came from a culture of improvisation, where the art of spontaneous creation was expected and even formed the basis of many a friendly competition between composer-performers. In some cases, Froberger's compositions seem to be a written record of his wonderful improvisations that so delighted Constantijn Huygens. It seems to me that in order to express this rehearsed improvisation, Froberger instructed the performer to use his/her own discretion in the interpretation of the tempo. His frequent injunction to play *avec discretion* indicate that his music should not be played exactly as written. He gives the performer exact instructions as to the pitch of the note, but does not always specify the duration, paving the way for the French unmeasured preludes of Louis Couperin and Jean-Henry D'Anglebert.

In earlier music, the overall tempo of the *tactus* might vary, for example, in accordance with written instructions but once the *tactus* speed had been chosen, one stuck to it quite rigidly in instrumental or in vocal music. However, avant-garde madrigalists started to use a variable *tactus* to allow greater expression in the *madrigali moderni*. Some of the madrigalists used rapid changes in time signatures within a short space of time. These changes do not precede new sections, but seem to depict rapid tempo changes.

Froberger's use of time signatures seems to be a mix of the earlier system of proportional notation and time signatures that we would today recognise as being completely modern. His use of time signatures can often be interpreted as signalling a section in free tempo. In addition, he uses rapid changes of tempi. These quick changes in time signature, as opposed to changes that precede a new section, seem to signify mercurial changes in tempo, expressing different feelings or emotions, almost like a soliloquy. This links the compositional style to the madrigals as well as to that of recitative.

Another way of altering the value of notes was by *coloratio*, whereby certain notes were coloured in. The basic function of these coloured notes was to indicate a reduction in time value by two thirds. Froberger's use of white crotchets, *crome bianche*, seems to have been a sort of retro-fashion as the notation dates back to much earlier times when paper began to be used instead of parchment and the ink used to fill in black notes tended to run. I believe that he used the notation to draw attention to, and provide performance instructions for, the vocally-inspired lament-style nature of the section of *Toccata FbWV 102* where he uses this notation. By using the retro-fashionable white notation he was able to visually distinguish the section from other pieces of a fast gigue-like nature in 6/4. The use of *crome bianche* in keyboard music from this period is rare and the link to Carissimi, who used the style extensively, is intriguing. Froberger's possible study with the master is referred to in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER FIVE: VOCAL ORNAMENTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter shows how ornamentation commonly used in Italian vocal music was also used by Froberger for expressive purposes. Some of the ornaments that are discussed below were common to both instrumental and vocal music. Others are specifically vocal. The ornaments can be divided into two broad groups:

- Small ornaments added to (usually) one note. These ornaments, for example the *trillo*, the *intonazione* and the *esclamazione* were also known as *grazie*, *accenti*, *affetti* or *maniere*. The use of the word *grazie* (graces) to describe these small ornaments is indicative of the aesthetic concept underlying the vast amount of ornamentation in this period of musical history. It was vital that singing and playing had to be accomplished with grace.
- Complex runs of notes, which often disguised the melody. Under this category are *cadenzas* and *passaggi*. These were remnants of earlier practice (Kreitner 2010) and seem in some cases to be the same as the evenly flowing diminutions of the Renaissance, but in the 16th and 17th century these runs of notes were often used to illustrate specific words, events or feelings and they often included the small ornaments referred to above.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the sections of this thesis are sometimes not as clear-cut as would be ideal and in many cases an ornament is both an embellishment and a word-painting device. The distinction is not always clear, especially as theorists of the time linked the two.

Noteworthy is Zacconi's [*Prattica di Musica 1592*] stress on word-meaning as a guide to embellishment. Bovicelli in 1594 [*Regole passaggi di Musica Madrigali*] stresses more strongly than Zacconi the importance of text for choice and execution of ornaments. (Neumann 1983: 22).

In the discussion of individual ornaments in the following sections I have taken Caccini's description of the various ornaments in *Le Nuove Musiche* (Caccini: 1601/2) as my starting point, adding references to other theorists where appropriate.

The use of ornamentation by the composer for expressive purposes was one of the fundamental elements of the late 16th century and early-to-mid 17th century style. Ornaments were often written into the music and extra ornaments were added at the whim of the performer. In a letter to Alessandro Striggi, 18 December 1627, Monteverdi made it clear that he judged a singer by his/her ability to improvise ornaments (Jones and Crutchfield 2010). In the late 16th century madrigal, ornamentation was often taken to extremes, and elegant stylised ornaments were often used to demonstrate the prowess of the singer rather than to enhance the meaning of the text. In fact, this is one of the key reasons that Caccini gave for publishing *Le Nuove Musiche* as he felt that:

I see ill-used those single and double vocal roulades – rather, those redoubled and intertwined with each other and I see vocal crescendos-and-decrescendos, *esclamazioni*, tremolos and trills, and other such embellishments of good singing style used indiscriminately. (Caccini. Preface to *Le Nuove Musiche* 1601/2. Quoted by Jones and Crutchfield 2010).

In the early Baroque, the intention was to use ornamentation in moderation for expressive purposes only. However, in practice, there was usually not much difference. Ornamentation in the later madrigals was often just as extreme as in the earlier madrigals.

As an example, I would like to quote one of the later madrigals by Monteverdi, *Mentre vaga angioletta*, from his *Libro Ottavo* published in 1638. The use of ornamentation in this work is so extreme that Margaret Mabett (1989:254-5) has speculated that it might be “a satirical catalogue of contemporary vocal embellishments”. However, the text is full of words such as *cantando* (singing) *corre* (racing) and *garrula* (garrulous), which are depicted via ornaments. This leads me to think that Monteverdi was not being satirical. Two extracts from the two tenor parts are given below. The first illustrates the word *veloce* (speed) and the second illustrates the words *tremoli vaganti* (wandering tremolos).

68

e la veloce: la velo-

ce

e la veloce' la velo' ce qui

tarda e la veloce' la velo-

ce e tal'hor mor mo

Monteverdi: *Mentre vaga angioletta. Madrigali Guerrieri et Amadori, Libro Ottavo.*

(Monteverdi: 1638.)

tre-

moli e vagan-

Monteverdi: *Mentre vaga angioletta. Madrigali Guerrieri et Amadori, Libro Ottavo.*

(Monteverdi: 1638.)

According to Vincenzo Giustiniani (*Discorso sopra la musica*, 1628), there was a new style of singing in the 1580s, the most distinctive characteristic of which was the wide-ranging and technically demanding ornamentation (Holzer 2010). It is noteworthy that the new expressive style, usually associated with the early part of the 17th century, was already being practiced.

The ladies of Mantua and Ferrara...moderated or increased their voices, loud or soft, heavy or light...now slow, breaking off sometimes with a gentle sigh, now singing long passages legato or detached, now groups, now leaps, now with long trills, now with short or again with sweet running passages, sung softly, to which one sometimes heard an echo answer unexpectedly (Stark 2003: 192ff).

If Giustiniani was correct, then these ornaments were applied not only to the concerted madrigal of later years, but also to the polyphonic madrigals of the late 16th century. In the case of polyphonic madrigals, because more than one (and often five or even six) voices were singing at any time, the addition of ornamentation would have to be regulated in some way, especially when the addition of ornaments stretched the tempo, as it often did. In some instances, as will be shown below, the composer wrote the ornaments into the music. Where ornamentation was not written into the music, additional ornamentation was, presumably, either not inserted at all or I assume that there was some agreement between the singers as to the extent and placement of the ornamentation. This practice of adding ornamentation to voices singing in polyphony seems to be borne out by various theorists of the time.

Like Finck, Zacconi says that all voices including the bass should be ornamented. Banchieri for instance advises against bass diminutions. (Neumann 1983: 22.)

(Neumann is referring to Finck's *Pratica Musica* of 1594; Zacconi's *Prattica di Musica* of 1592 and Bovicelli's *Regole passaggi di Musica Madrigali* of 1594)

Virtuoso singing and displays of complex ornamentation have connections with certain Italian courts where singers were lionized. The *Concerto delle Dame Principalissime* (also known as the

Concerto delle Donne) was a group of professional female singers at the North Italian court of Ferrara (Fischer et al: 2010). The ensemble was founded by Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara, in 1580 and was active until 1598 when Alfonso died, Ferrara became part of the Papal States and the ruling Este family moved to Modena. The style was imitated by several other influential Italian courts such as the ones in Florence (the Medici), Rome (the Orsini) and Mantua (the Gonzaga family) and it remained popular until the mid 1650s. Although Luzzaschi is the composer most associated with the *Concerto delle Dame*, other composers either wrote specifically for the ladies or were inspired by them: Gesualdo, de Wert, Marenzio, Lodovico Agostini (1534-1590), Monteverdi and Alphonso Fontanelli are a few examples. In a despatch dated 26 June 1581, (Bowers and Tick 1987:110), Orazio Urbani, the ambassador of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, listed ornaments used by the *Concerto delle Dame* : *passaggi, cadenze, tirate* and *accenti*.

Keyboard composers copied the *affetti* used by singers. A remark by Frescobaldi in the revised edition of the *Toccate ... libro primo* (1637) illustrates this:

Hauendo io conosciuto quanto accetta sia la maniera di sonare con affetti cantabile e con diversità di passi.

It is well known to me how great is the general popularity of playing with singable ornaments and with varied passage work. (My emphasis.)

However, Froberger's use of these ornaments was different to his keyboard contemporaries, even Frescobaldi. The examples given under the various sections below show how he used not only the more conventional keyboard ornamentation such as *cadenzas*, *passaggi* and *gruppi* commonly found in his keyboard contemporaries but also specifically vocal ornaments such as *trilli*, *intonazioni* and *esclamazioni*.

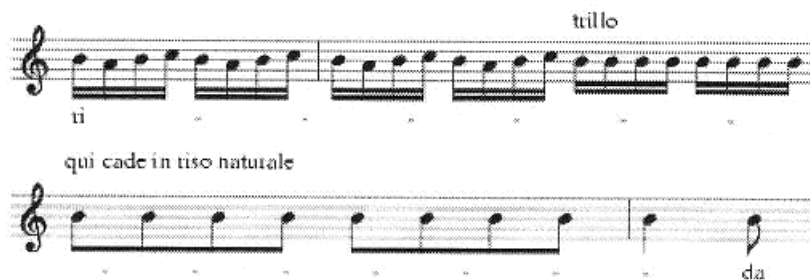
5.2 Unreliability of Terminology

Before a more detailed analysis of the music is presented, a word on the terminology of the time is appropriate. Unfortunately there was no standardisation, particularly with regards to the term *trillo* which seems to have been a generic term for a small ornament in the early Italian Baroque. Its abbreviation “t” or “tr” was also widely used to mean an oscillation (like the modern meaning of trill), as well as the rapid reiteration of a single note (it’s more common meaning at the time). In other cases it meant a mordent or a turn. Caccini’s preface contains additional illustrations of the *trillo* that include auxiliary notes as well as repeated notes, thus confusing the issue further.



Caccini: Trillo. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

For Monteverdi, a *trillo* was the rapid, or not so rapid, repetition of a single note. In the following example he uses the ornament to illustrate “natural” laughter.



Monteverdi: Il Ritorno d'Ulisse, 1640. (Kreitner: 2010.)

For Emilio Cavaliere (c.1550-1602), it was the repetition of a note with its upper auxiliary.



Cavalieri: Rappresentatione di anima et di corpa, 1600. (Kreitner: 2010.)

Diruta referred to the rapid repetition of a note as a *tremolo*. Rognoni called it a *tremolino*. The alternation of a note with its lower auxiliary was one of many ornaments that Diruta referred to a *gruppo*. These included ornaments that we would today call a trill or a shake beginning on the main note or the lower or upper auxiliary (Ferguson. 1998:134). In the few instances where Froberger does not actually write out the ornament, he often uses the abbreviation “t”, leaving the performer to insert the appropriate ornament. This is especially true of the music found in his *Libro Secondo*, *Libro Quarto* and the *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati*. In the following example, the just visible “t” over the second note might appropriately be a short trill or a lower mordent.



Froberger: Lamento sopra...Ferdinando IV, opening. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

In the example below, a long trill is clearly indicated.



Froberger: Canzon FbWV 301, bar 66. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

In the following example, the use of “t” in several places must mean that the performer should insert a very quick ornament, such as an upper mordent.



Froberger: Allemanda from FbWV 602. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

However, the use of “t” or any other abbreviation for ornaments is rare in Froberger’s early autographs. Abbreviations for ornaments are more common in copies of his works and in the late autograph (Sotheby’s), where he uses the French signs.



Froberger: Meditationsur ma mort future. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

5.3 Improvised Ornamentation.

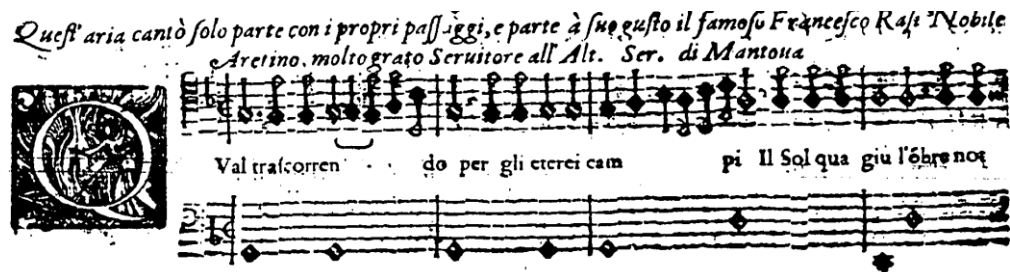
In the preface (*Al Lettore*) to *Le Nuove Musiche* Caccini stated (Caccini 1601/2:2) that one of his reasons for writing the work was because his compositions had been decorated to excess. He wanted to show the correct way to embellish his music. He also described vocal ornaments that had previously not always been written down, but that may have been improvised. These ornaments represented a reaction against the evenly flowing diminutions typical of the late Renaissance. Singers were encouraged to improvise ornaments at appropriate places and virtuoso singers used this freedom to show off their talents. Theorists of the same era list similar ornaments to those mentioned by Caccini. Of particular note are: Girolamo Diruta in *Il transilvano dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, et istromenti da penna* (Venice, 1593, revised 1609), and Francesco Rognoni (flourished early 17th century) in *Selva di varii passaggi secondo l'uso moderno per cantare e suonare con ogni sorte de stromenti* (Milan, 1620). There were also numerous Italian manuals on the art of improvising ornamentation for vocal music, written at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th.

One of the earliest treatises about 16th century vocal performance practice was by Giovanni Camillo Maffei (fl. 1562-73). This treatise, published in 1562 in Naples in the form of a very long letter to Maffei's employer the count of Altavilla (Brigman 2012), describes the way "ornamentation should be applied by singers to the bare bones of a notated madrigal in order to render the performance worthy of noble company" (Wistreich 2007:139). In another, even earlier document, *Duo dialoghi* (Naples 1552), dedicated to the nobleman and bass singer Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, Luigi Dentice (1510/20- before 1566) mentions the ability to improvise *passaggi* and describes the "restraining and reinforcing of the voice" (*rimettere & rinforzar la voce*), a technique that sounds very similar to Caccini's *esclamazione* (see below for details on this particular ornament). Wistreich concludes (2007:139) that in *Le Nuove Musiche* of 1601 Caccini was merely summarising what was already in current practice, rather than describing new ornaments.

Zacconi's *Prattica di musica* (1592) contains a reference to improvised ornamentation. He states that some singers can sing everything written down in the songs but cannot perform *passaggi* or

gorgia, a skill that gives the singer a distinct advantage (Wistreich 2007:145). In the preface to *Euridice*, (1601), Peri praised the embellishments introduced by Vittoria Archilei (fl. 1582-1620): she “always made my compositions worthy of her singing, adorning them not only with those ornaments and those long turns of the voice, simple and double ... but also with those pretty graces which cannot be written, and if written, cannot be learned from writings” (Jones 2010).

One of the arias in Caccini’s *Nuove Musiche* carries the heading *Quest’aria canto solo parte con i propri passaggi e parte a suo gusto, il famoso Francesco Rasi...* (This aria is sung by the famous Francesco Rasi, partly with its own *passaggi* and partly to his own taste). Presumably this means that Caccini wrote out some of the ornaments and left the rest up to Rasi. Alternatively it might be a record of how Rasi ornamented Caccini’s aria and may be regarded as just one possible (recommended) version. Carol MacClintock (1961:31) mentions that Francesco Rasi (1574-1621) was a virtuoso singer and a composer of madrigals in his own right, attached to the court of Mantua.



Caccini: Qual Trascorrendo. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

The printed score (Venice, 1609 & 1615) of Monteverdi’s *Orfeo*, first performed on 24 February 1607 at Mantua, contains both a plain and an embellished version of the aria *Possente spirto*. The unornamented version was probably included for the convenience of a singer who could provide his own ornamentation and the ornamented one, like the example by Caccini above, should be regarded as a suggestion by Monteverdi, rather than the only possible version. Although the example below, which shows both versions, is of poor quality, it is clear to see that the ornamented version demands exceptional virtuosity.

Monteverdi: *Possente Spirito*, showing the simple vocal part, the ornated vocal part and the basso continuo. *L'Orfeo*, 1615 edition. (Monteverdi: 1615.)

The custom of improvising ornaments extended to keyboard music as well. The fact that Frescobaldi felt it necessary to add the comment *come sta* (as it stands) to some of his *canzonas* seems to indicate that he did not want ornamentation added at this point. The obvious corollary to this is that where he did not write *come sta*, he permitted the addition of ornamentation.

Whereas many ornaments in Froberger's music are written out, it was also customary to add ornaments to his music, particularly in slow sections and in the repeats of sections, such as in dances. In Froberger's day, although sets of variations were often written out, ornamented repeats of dances were not, and the performer was expected to improvise such ornamentation. The practice of writing out a *double* showing how the original, simpler version of a dance could be ornamented became common in later keyboard composers. In the *partitas* of the 1649 *Libro secondo*, written before his first journey to France, Froberger does not write out any *doubles* except for one *double* to a *courante* in FbWV 606, the *Partita Auff Die Mayerin*, which is actually a set of variations rather than a dance suite anyway. However, this *double* does not contain any more ornamentation than the

original - it is more of a variation, with a series of running notes to fill out the sparse texture of the original. In *partitas* written at a later date, he often includes a separate piece that he calls a *double* but most of them are more like variations rather than *doubles* in the French style.

Howard Schott (1998:113) remarks that

there are movements in Froberger's suites that seem to cry out for such [ornamental] elaboration. The most striking example is provided by the *sarabande* of suite IV of 1649. Clearly to play it literally, even at the somewhat faster tempo of the 17th - as compared to the 18th - century *sarabande* would be a totally insufficient realisation of the musical content.



Froberger: Saraband from FbWV 604. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

In *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740:396) Mattheson mentions that Froberger sent Matthias Weckmann "a suite in his own hand written with every manner of ornament, so that Weckmann thereby became fairly well-versed in the Frobergian style of performance". Only the *courante* from *Partita FbWV 611* has survived in the Hintze MS (written out by Weckmann). However, the full *partita* is in *Libro Quarto* (1656). The fact that we have an unornamented version of the *courante* in *Libro Quarto* and a highly ornamented version in Weckmann's handwriting, copied from a Froberger original, implies that improvised ornamentation was an essential part of Froberger's style.

COVRANTE *

Froberger: the original version of the Courante from FbWV 611. Libro Quarto, 1656.

(Froberger: 1995.)

Covrante

Froberger: Weckmann's copy of the Courante with added ornamentation. (Froberger: 1995.)

Similarly, we have an un-ornamented version of the gigue from *Partita FbWV 609* in *Libro Quarto* and a highly ornamented version in the Sing-Akademie MS. The ornamentation of this gigue seems to be very similar to the Weckmann example given above, giving credence to the theory that the Hintze MS might have been one of the sources for the copyist of the Sing-Akademie MS (please see chapter 1.4 for further information on the sources.)

Froberger: the original version of the Gigue from FbWV 609. Libro Quarto, 1656.

(Froberger: 1995.)

Froberger: The Sing-Akademie copy of the Gigue from FbWV 609 with added ornamentation.

(Froberger: 2010.)

A similar instance can be found in Partita FbWV 615. An unornamented version is to be found in the edition by Roger (Amsterdam 1698) which seems to be copied from autographs.⁷ A highly ornamented version is to be found in the Bulyowsky MS, which carries the note “ex autgrapho”.

The ornaments in the Bulyowsky MS include French signs, such as the wavy line for a trill (*gruppetto*) and the crossed wavy line for a mordent, in addition to some strange symbols that look like: 7 (possibly a mordent or a suspension) and V (possibly an *appoggiatura* or a slide).

The image shows the opening of the Allemande from Partita FbWV 615 in the Roger Edition. It is a two-staff piece in C major, 3/4 time. The right hand starts with a quarter note G4, followed by an eighth-note pair (A4, B4), and then a series of eighth-note runs. The left hand provides a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes. The score is clean and does not contain any ornament signs.

Froberger. Allemande from Partita FbWV 615, Opening. Version from the Roger Edition without ornament signs. (Froberger 2005: Vol III.2).

The image shows the opening of the Allemande from Partita FbWV 615 in the Bulyowsky MS. It is a two-staff piece in C major, 3/4 time. This version is heavily ornamented. The right hand features numerous wavy lines (trills) and crossed wavy lines (mordents) above the notes. There are also '7' symbols above some notes, which likely represent mordents or suspensions. The left hand accompaniment is similar to the unornamented version but includes some additional markings like 'w' (possibly a mordent) and '7' symbols.

Froberger. Allemande from Partita FbWV 615, Opening. Version from the Bulyowsky MS with added ornament signs. (Froberger 2005: Vol III.2).

It was not only in the *partitas* that ornamentation was added by the performer. The Muffat MS contains numerous examples of ornamentation that has been added to *toccatas*. Although the ornament symbols that this MS contains are probably not copied from an original autograph, they clearly show the amount of ornamentation that was expected at the time. This MS also contains

⁷ For a discussion about the provenance of the material for Roger’s edition, please see Rampe’s comments in Froberger 2005: Volume III.2: XVIIIff.

contrapuntal works by Froberger that have been ornamented (Froberger 2010: XVIII). The example below shows an extract from *Tocatta FbWV 113*. The primary source of this *tocatta* is the Sing-Akademie MS but the numerous ornaments shown below, come from the Muffat MS.



Froberger: The Sing-Akademie copy of Tocatta FbWV 113 with added ornamentation from the Muffat MS. (Froberger: 2010.)



Froberger: The Sing-Akademie copy of Tocatta FbWV 113 without the added ornamentation from the Muffat MS. (Froberger: 2006.) The same part of the extract begins after the ♀ sign.

5.4 Written-out Ornamentation

Towards the end of the 16th century, composers started the trend of writing out the ornaments for vocal music rather than leaving the ornaments to the discretion of the performer. Wistreich (2007:243) mentions that Duke Alfonso of Ferrara liked to impress visitors by showing how the singers of his *musica secreta* sang exactly and only the ornaments which were written down. (Please see section 6.1 for more information on *musica secreta*). Caccini documented various written out ornaments in *Le Nuove Musiche* (1601/2), and the title of his later work, *Le Nuove Musiche e Nuova Maniera di Scriverle* of 1614 (The New Music and the New Manner of Writing it), refers to the new trend of writing out ornaments. This trend gradually became the norm, and the onerous practice of writing out ornaments in detail eventually gave way to using abbreviations (signs) for the most commonly used ornaments. Kevin Kreitner (Kreitner et al 2010) stresses that until the early 17th century ornamentation in vocal music was improvised rather than written out. "... no conventional 16th-century partbooks or choirbooks indicate ornaments in any way. The clean, uncluttered appearance of the music on the page is thus misleading". Written out ornamentation was thus part of the new way of doing things in the late 16th and early 17th century.

5.4.1 Cadenza

In this thesis, the word *cadenza* is used to mean the florid embellished ending of a phrase, whether written out by the composer or improvised by the performer. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries this embellished ending was often an integral part of the madrigal. It was inserted to show off the prowess of the performer and was often written into the music so that the composer could not only beautify his composition, but could pander to the ego of the performer as well as (possibly) limit the performer's addition of unsuitable ornamentation elsewhere in the madrigal.

However, the term *cadenza* is confusing as it has other connotations as well, especially as the plural is *cadenze* in Italian, sometimes spelled *cadence*. In some treatises it is referred to as *cadentia* (plural *cadentien* or *cadentie*) for example in *Syntagma Musicum* 1618 by Praetorius. In German it is usually *Kadenz* or *Schluss*, but sometimes *Cadenz*. However the most confusing use is by the French who also spelled it *cadence*, like the Italian plural of the word, but gave this word three other

meanings as well. In France *cadence* (plural *cadences*) came to mean not only the embellished ending, but the harmonic formulae at the end of a section, a turn (the ornament) or the overall rhythm and mood of the music. In 1716 Francois Couperin wrote: *cadence est proprement l'esprit et l'ame* (Halford 1974:49) – *cadence* is, properly, the spirit and the soul [of the music].

The French usage of the word, to mean a turn or the overall rhythm, is not used in this thesis. Nor is the much later meaning of the word, where it applies to the solo display at (usually) the end of the first movement of a concerto. Where the meaning is the harmonic progression at the ends of phrases or sections, I have used the English word *cadence* (plural *cadences*). Where it means the ornamented end of a section, I have called it *cadenza* (plural *cadenzas*) – which is the subject of this part of the research.

Eva Badura-Skoda writes:

The tendency to elaborate or 'colorate' the penultimate note of endings is apparently as old as the art of discant itself. As early as the 13th century clear references may be found to a 'point of organum' (*punctus organicus*) on the penultimate, which provides a florid, *cadenza*-like passage at the end of a piece of discant.....Among the first theorists to use the term 'cadenza' for embellished endings was Pietro Aaron (*Thoscanello de la musica*, 1523) ... Non-Italian authors of treatises on diminution and ornamentation, such as Bermudo, Tomás de Santa María, Ortiz and Fink, knew similar ornamented endings, but did not use the term 'cadenza' to describe them. As early as 1585 Giovanni Bassano's treatise *Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie per potersi essercitar nel diminuir* discussed how to invent *cadenzas* and provided examples. (Badura-Skoda 2010.)

The art of embellishing the ending of a section was therefore not new in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, but a well-established practice. As the examples below show, the difference is that it was more commonly written into the music, rather than just being an expected improvisation. Frescobaldi's instructions on how to play his (written out) *cadenzas* are given in detail in section 4.3, where he instructs the performer to slow the tempo at a *cadenza*.

Luzzaschi's madrigals include written out ornamentation for the soprano parts, moving away from the tradition of leaving the improvisation of *cadenzas* to the singer. The following example shows a highly-ornamented *cadenza* in the top two soprano voices. Of interest, is the written out keyboard part which is an intabulation of the vocal parts (with an added base line) rather than an independent accompaniment as in the slightly later accompanied madrigals of the early Baroque.

The image displays a musical score for a madrigal by Luzzaschi. It consists of two systems of music. The first system features three soprano staves and a keyboard part. The lyrics for the first system are: "che più lan-guis - co Che fa me-co il do - lor se ne gio -". The second system features the same three soprano staves and keyboard part, with a highly-ornamented cadenza in the top two soprano voices. The lyrics for the second system are: "più lan-guis - co Che fa me-co il do - lor se ne gio - i -". The third system continues the cadenza with lyrics: "i - sco se ne gio -" and "sco se". The keyboard part is an intabulation of the vocal parts with an added base line.

Luzzaschi: *O Dolcezz' Amarissime d'Amore. Madrigali a uno, due e tre Soprani, 1601.*
(Luzzaschi: 1994.)

Caccini included the following *cadenzas* in *Le Nuove Musiche*. They are excellent examples of the florid style typical of the era, but neither example seems to illustrate his point about the new music doing away with excessive ornamentation.

di l'auro

12.

11 X 10 14

This musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a vocal line with the lyrics 'di l'auro' and a lute accompaniment. The second system continues the lute accompaniment with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation is highly ornate, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes.

Caccini: Vedro'l mio sol. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

ciechi, e'l mio bel foco e'l mio bel fo

11 X 10 6

co.

This musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a vocal line with the lyrics 'ciechi, e'l mio bel foco e'l mio bel fo' and a lute accompaniment. The second system continues the lute accompaniment with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation is highly ornate, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes.

Caccini: Fortunato Augellino. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

Perhaps surprisingly, long examples are not to be found in the madrigals of Gesualdo. However the following example illustrates how the *cadenza* is distributed over the voice parts. Each individual voice does not have a very long sequence of notes, but over all the voices, the entire *cadenza* extends over five bars.



Gesualdo: Tu m'uccidi, o crudele, ending. Libro Quinto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

Rovetta uses a florid ornament on the word *fugace* (fleeting) which not only illustrates the word, but also happens to coincide with a cadence. The extract is from his *Vdire Amanti* for four voices.



Rovetta: *Vdire Amanti. Madrigali Concertati, Libro Primo.* (Rovetta: 1636.)

The following is from the Canto part of a madrigal by Pallavicino from his collection of 1597, showing the ornamented ending.

Pa radiso E baciandoli il viso ij ij
Prouai quanta dolcezz'hà'il Pa radiso ij

Pallavicino: *Dolcemente dormina. Il Quinto libro di Madrigali.* (Pallavicino: 1597.)

The following example is from a cantata by Carissimi, whom Froberger probably met, and with whom he might have studied whilst he was in Rome. (Please see Chapter 2 on Froberger's Life and Travels for a discussion of this issue.)

con favellar di-stin-to pa-lesa i proprij van - - - ti.

Carissimi: *Il Ciarlatano (before 1634), vocal part only.* (Carissimi: 1899.)

In Luigi Rossi's manuscript of Neapolitan keyboard pieces there is a *Canzon Francese del Principe*. The *Principe* (Prince) might be Gesualdo, and the piece is probably an intabulation of one of his madrigals. It contains a *cadenza* that must surely be a wild exaggeration of its vocal original.



Canzon Francese del Principe. (Apel: 1972:429.)

Frescobaldi's *Toccata Prima* from *Il Secondo Libro di Toccate*, ends with a rhapsodic section that is a decoration of the cadence. He indicates the beginning of this section with a change of time signature. Within this florid ending, he uses a variety of trills and passagework in both hands; a *tirata* and a quick passage in demi-semi quavers before the final tonic chord is struck.



Frescobaldi: Toccata Prima, ending. Libro Secondo. (Frescobaldi: 1637.)

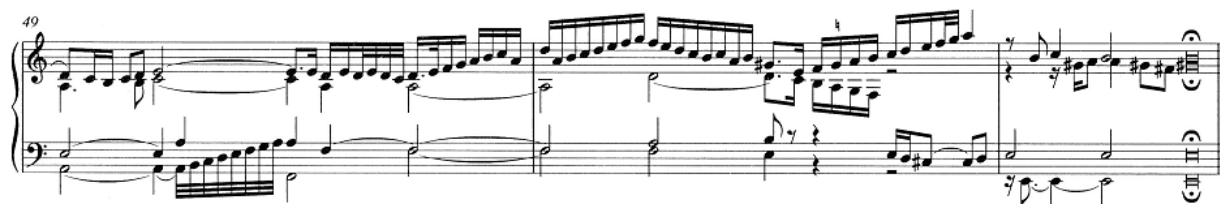
As might be expected, Froberger also concludes his *toccatas* with such *cadenzas*, and he also uses an extended decoration of the cadence in many of his polyphonic works. The third and final part of

Canzon FbWV 301 ends with a very long rhapsodic section and an extended decoration of the cadence, in which he uses his hallmark short trill and turn that he seems to have inherited from Frescobaldi; a long trill (here, unusually, indicated by “t” and not written into the music) on the minim a²; a downward run of notes that accelerates, beginning with semi-quavers and progressing to demi-semi quavers, followed by an arpeggiated chord before the final section that would require the retardation that Frescobaldi recommended in the preface to his first book of *toccatas*.



Froberger: Canzon FbWV 301, ending. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Froberger’s *capriccios* have similar turbulent endings. *Capriccio FbWV 514* from the *Libro Quarto* reaches a frantic climax on the a² in the right hand, after which a significant pause seems to be called for before the final, calmer notes.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 514, ending. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

The runs of notes in both hands at the end of *Toccata XVIII* from the Sing-Akademie MS illustrate an even more frenzied *cadenza*.



Froberger: Toccata XVIII, ending. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Even the more conservative *fantasias* are not always exempt from the practice.



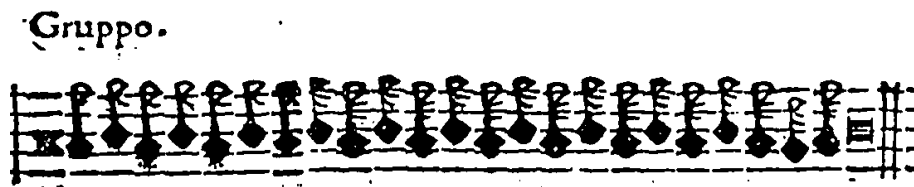
Froberger: Fantasia FbWV 205, ending. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

5.4.2 Gruppo

The *gruppo* (or *gropo*) was a trill with accelerating rhythms. It may have a turned ending, called the *circolo*. *Regale, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati* (Venice 1594) by Giovanni Battista Bovicelli (1550- after 1594) showed how to apply elaborate embellishments. According to Maniates (1979:217) he was the first theorist to describe accelerated tempo in *trilli, groppetti* and *passaggi*. Caccini illustrated two types of *gruppo*.

The long gruppo

Caccini illustrated this as follows, showing the acceleration:



Caccini: Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

In modern notation:



Caccini: Le Nuove Musiche 1601/2. (Kreitner 2010).

In vocal music, this ornament seems to have been often improvised on long notes. In the madrigals, written out *gruppi* are understandably usually shorter than *gruppi* for the keyboard. The following example by Luzzaschi shows *gruppi* with *circolo* endings. The first example begins on the upper auxiliary, the second on the lower.



Luzzaschi: I' mi son Giovinetta, bars 4-6. Madrigali a uno, due e tre Soprani, 1601. (Luzzaschi: 1994.)

The example below by Monteverdi shows *grupperi* starting on the lower auxiliary, with endings turning upwards. The example is from the part books for canto and quinto.

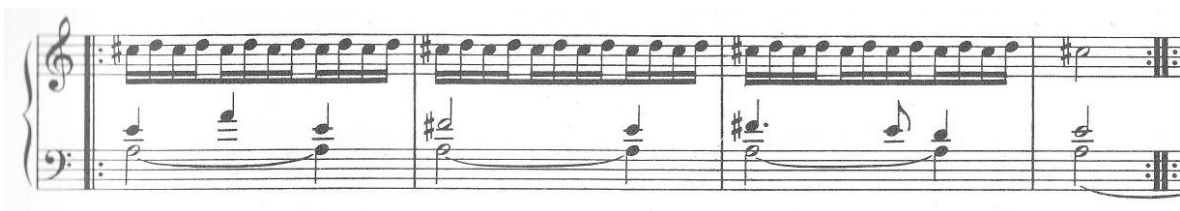


Monteverdi: *O Come sei gentile. Settimo Libro.* (Monteverdi: 1619.)

The next examples show the use of the typical written out *gruppo* in keyboard music. Even where ornaments were written out, they were often not expected to be performed exactly as written. In the preface to his revised edition of the *Toccate ... Libro Primo* (1637) Frescobaldi wrote that the number of repercussions in a written out trill should not be taken literally.

If either hand has to play a trill and the other a passage at the same time, one should not play note against note, but only endeavour to play the trill quickly but the passage slower, and with expression, otherwise confusion would arise (Pidoux 1949).

The following two examples by Frescobaldi and Froberger show the trill without a turn at the end.



Frescobaldi: *Capriccio Pastorale. Libro Primo, 1637.* (Frescobaldi: 1949.)

Froberger: Canzon FbWV 306, bars 27-30. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The next two examples, by de Macque and Froberger, show the trill with a turned ending.

De Macque: Capriccio sopra re, fa, mi, sol. (Macque: 2009.)

Froberger: Toccata FbWV 107, bar 3. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

The example below shows one of Froberger's more extreme examples of a long *gruppo*. In general, Froberger starts *gruppi* on the lower auxiliary:



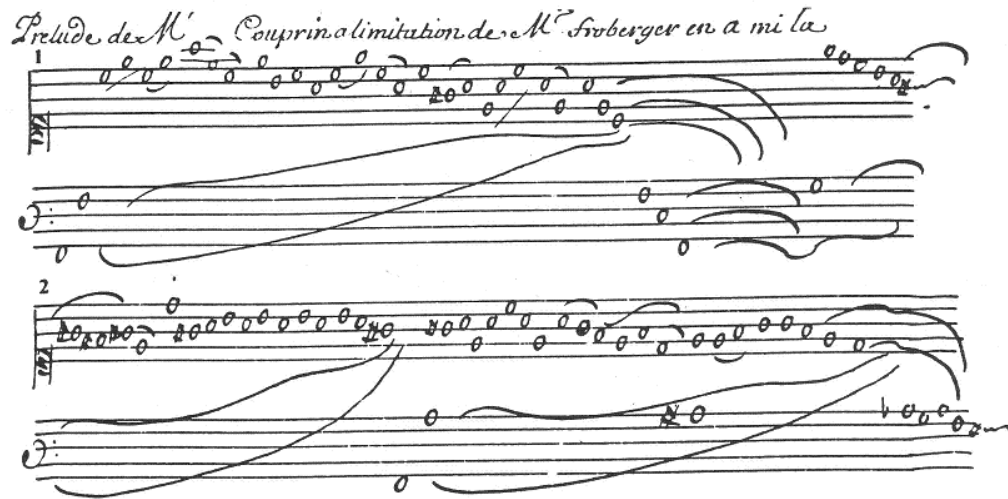
Froberger: ending of Toccata XV from the Sing Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006)

David Ledbetter (1987) has demonstrated that the French unmeasured preludes of the mid 17th century owe much to Froberger's influence. Louis Couperin's Prelude 6 (found in both the Bauyn MS and the Parville MS, where it carries the annotation *Prelude a l'imitation de M. Froberger*) is a tribute to his influence. In Couperin's keyboard music in general he uses the French symbol for a *gruppetto* (a horizontal wavy line), rather than writing the ornament out in full. However, in the unmeasured preludes he wrote out these long trills: this might be yet another example of Froberger's influence on his younger contemporary. In the 1649, 1656 and c.1658 autographs, there are only a few instances of Froberger's use of "t" or "tr" and none at all of the French wavy line. Froberger almost always wrote out the trill in full in the earlier autographs. Similarly, Froberger wrote out most of the other ornaments that he used in these early autographs – and so did Couperin in his unmeasured preludes (he used the French symbols in his other keyboard works). Later in life, Froberger seems to have adopted some of the French abbreviations for ornaments. The late autograph, c.1665-7 does include such French abbreviations, but this dates from after Couperin's death, which occurred in 1661.

The example below shows the opening of Couperin's prelude. It illustrates the inventive way that Froberger might have arpeggiated the opening chords: the un-arpeggiated chords can be seen in the extract below from *Toccata FbWV 101* upon which this prelude appears to be based (Ledbetter 1987: 92). The second system shows a *gruppetto*, which, like most of Froberger's *gruppetti*, is written out in full and is approached from the lower auxiliary.



Froberger: Toccata Fb, BWV 101, opening. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)



Louis Couperin: Prelude 6 "A L'imitation de M. Froberger". (Tilney: 1991.)

The short gruppo

Caccini also gave the following example of a short *gruppo* with a turned ending in his madrigal *Queste lagrim'amare*. This ornament - which is preceded by a long note, starts on the lower auxiliary, accelerates and has a turned ending - is frequently used by Froberger, especially in the *toccatas*, *canzons* and *capriccios*.



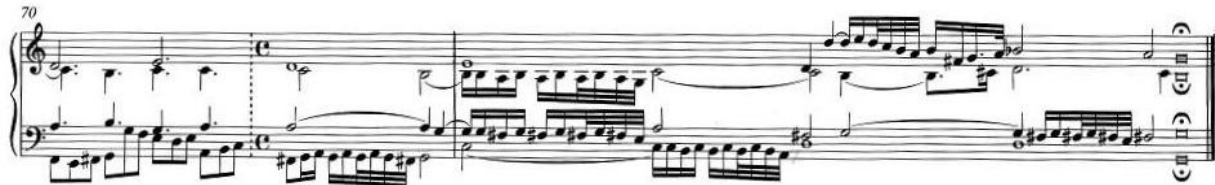
Caccini: Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

In most cases, Froberger starts this ornament on the lower auxiliary, although he sometimes starts on the main note. The following example from the *Tocatta da sonarsi alla leuatione* FbWV 106 shows several of these little ornaments in succession.

Musical score for Froberger's Tocatta FbWV 106, bars 11ff. The score is in two systems. The first system (bars 11-12) shows a treble clef with a complex melodic line featuring several ornaments, and a bass clef with a simpler accompaniment. The second system (bars 13-14) continues the melodic line with more ornaments and the accompaniment.

Froberger: Tocatta FbWV 106, bars 11ff. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Canzon FbWV 304 ends with a series of them.

Musical score for Froberger's Canzon FbWV 304, bars 70ff. The score is in two systems. The first system (bars 70-71) shows a treble clef with a melodic line and a bass clef with an accompaniment. The second system (bars 72-73) continues the melodic line with a series of ornaments and the accompaniment.

Froberger: Canzon FbWV 304, bars 70ff. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

They are also to be found liberally sprinkled in the *Capriccios*.

Musical score for Froberger's Capriccio FbWV 503, bar 11. The score is in two systems. The first system (bar 11) shows a treble clef with a melodic line and a bass clef with an accompaniment. The second system (bar 12) continues the melodic line with ornaments and the accompaniment.

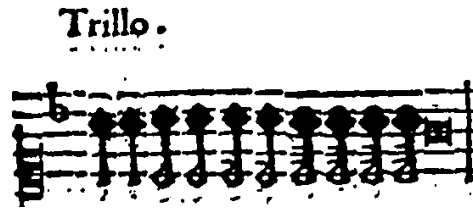
Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 503, bar 11. Libro di Capricci e Ricercati c 1658. (Froberger: 1995.)

Musical score for Froberger's Capriccio FbWV 517, bars 41ff. The score is in two systems. The first system (bars 41-42) shows a treble clef with a melodic line and a bass clef with an accompaniment. The second system (bars 43-44) continues the melodic line with ornaments and the accompaniment.

Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bars 41ff. Libro Quarto 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

5.4.3 Trillo

The word *trillo* is used here to mean a tremolo or repeated note on the same pitch. Whereas many of the ornaments in use in the late 16th and early 17th centuries became standard in later generations, the *trillo* was an ornament that was largely abandoned in the later Baroque. Its use in the late 16th and early 17th centuries seem to make this ornament a speciality of the times.



Caccini: Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

In modern notation:



Caccini: Le Nuove Musiche, 1601/2. (Kreitner: 2010.)

The example below shows a *gruppo* followed by a *trillo* sung by two voices (*Due Ninfe del coro*).



Caccini: Euridice, prologue, 1601. (Caccini: 1881.)

The example below by Monteverdi shows a held note that becomes a *trillo*.



Monteverdi: Sei Languidi miei sguardi, ending. Settimo Libro. (Monteverdi: 1619.)

The example below from the madrigal *Da te parto cor mio* by Saracini contains an interesting example of a *cadenza* which contains several *trilli*, the last being a very long one.



Saracini: *Da te parto cor mio*. *Le Seconde Musiche*. (Saracini: 1620.)

In general, the *trillo* was a vocal ornament, but Froberger adapted it in his keyboard music for expressive purposes. The opening bar of the *sarabande* from *Partita FbWV 619*, (from the Bulyowsky MS) contains a *trillo* with fingering, probably added by Michael Bulyowsky. This *sarabande* also contains the interesting remark "*Froberg. Ex autographo*", probably indicating that Bulyowsky copied it from an original.



Froberger: *Sarabande* from *FbWV 619*. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)

The repeated notes in the first (complete) bar of Froberger's *Meditation faist sur ma Mort future...* should be performed as a *trillo*.



Froberger: Meditation, opening. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

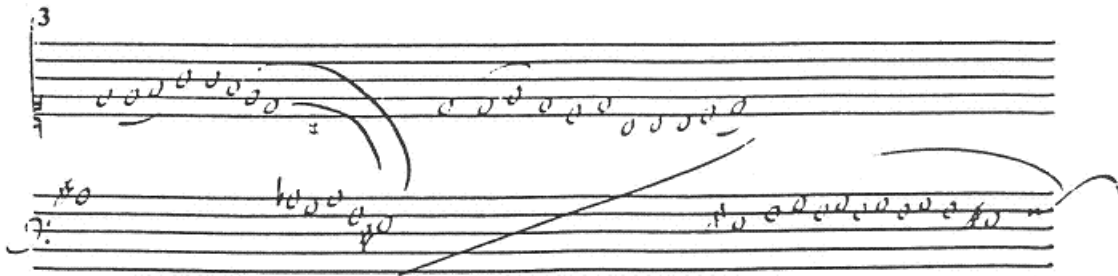
Examples occur in the *allemande* from FbWV 601:



Froberger: Allemande from FbWV 601. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

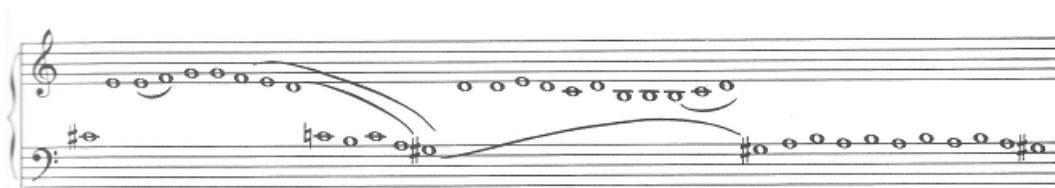
Froberger's influence on the young Louis Couperin, whom he met on his first visit to Paris in 1650, is clear to see in the use of this ornament which, in the 17th century French Clavecin School seems to be peculiar to Couperin. Couperin's unmeasured preludes contain numerous examples of the *trillo*.

System three of Prelude 6 contains not only a *trillo* but it is followed by another written out *gruppo*, approached from below, like most of Froberger's *gruppi*.



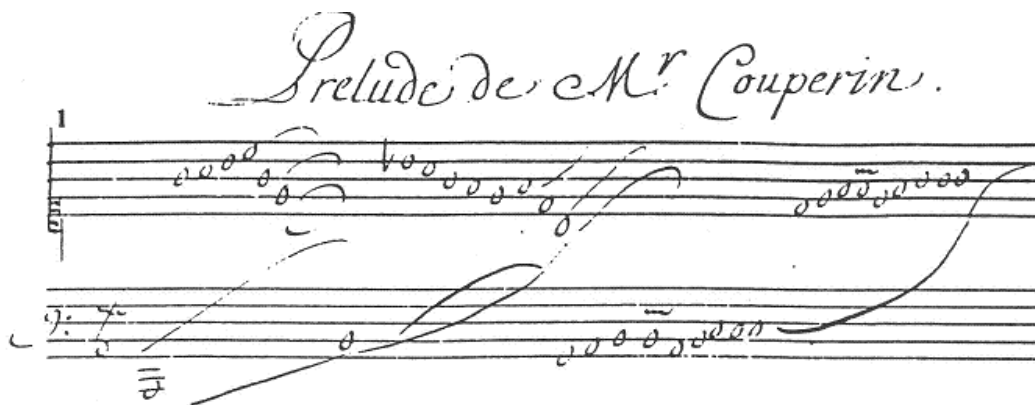
Couperin: Prelude 6. Bauyn MS. (Tilney: 1991.)

For ease of comparison, here is the same system in modern notation:



Couperin: Prelude a l'imitation de M. Froberger. (Couperin: 1979.)

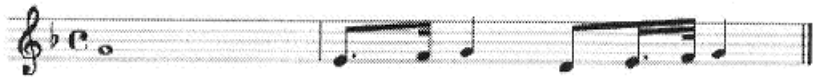
Similarly, the eleventh prelude from the Bauyn MS contains two *trilli* in the first system.



Couperin: prelude no. 11. Bauyn MS. (Tilney: 1991.)

5.4.4 Intonazione

The *intonazione* is a slide from a third below begun on a consonance. In his treatise *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati* (Venice, 1594) Giovanni Battista Bovicelli instructs singers to begin “a third or a fourth below according to the consonance of the other parts” (Harris 2010). Rognoni also recommended it in order to facilitate gaining the correct pitch for the main note.



Rognoni: Principiar sotto la note (intonazione). Selva di varii passaggi, 1620. (Kreitner: 2010.)

Diruta’s presentation of the ornament, which he confusingly called *clamationi* seems to agree:



Diruta: Il transilvano dialogo ... (1593, revised 1609: Part II: 13.)

Caccini was, in general, not in favour of this ornament stating that it might conflict with the harmony. The example below shows how Caccini used it without clashing with the underlying harmony.

A musical score for a vocal line and a keyboard accompaniment. The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are "O mia lu- ce, o mia gio-". The keyboard accompaniment is in grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The score shows bars 14 and 15. The vocal line has a fermata over the word "lu-". The keyboard accompaniment has a chord marked with a diamond symbol [D B D] under the word "lu-". The bass line has fingerings 6, 11, and #10 indicated.

Caccini: Vedro 'l mio so, bars 14-15. (Palisca: 2001: 268.)

The *intonazione* in bar 10 of Barbara Strozzi's Cantata *Lagrimie mie* is before the beat, rather than on the beat and, against Caccini's advice, it forms a dissonance with the accompaniment.

B. Strozzi: Lagrimie mie. Opera Settima, 1659. (Strozzi: 1993.)

This ornament is to be found in Froberger's works as well. For example the *gigue* from *Partita FbWV 607c*, opens with a slide to the mediant.

Froberger: Gigue from Partita FbWV 607c, opening bar. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.1.)

This particular example is from the *Clavier Book of William Babell* (1702), written by his father, Charles Babell. This slide, and other ornaments in the same piece, may have been added by Charles. However, even if the ornaments were not written by Froberger, they show customary practice.

A similar ornament often introduces Froberger's *allemandes*, sometimes in dotted notes, sometimes not. For example, in the opening of *Partita FbWV 608* and *Partita FbWV 631*. The opening slide from the *allemande* from *Partita FbWV 608*, from Froberger's *Libro Quarto*, 1656, is undotted.



Froberger: Allemande from Partita FbWV 608. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

The *allemande* from *Partita FbWV 631* shows a similar motif, but with a dotted rhythm.



Froberger: Allemande from Partita FbWV 631. (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.I.)

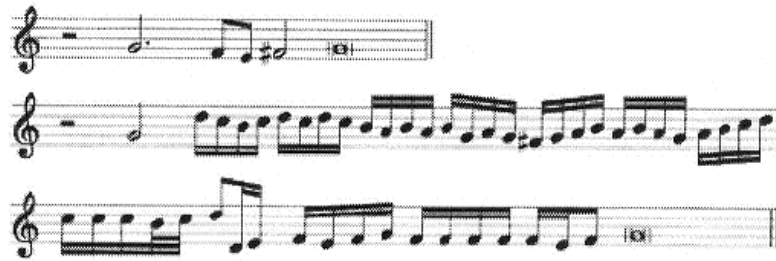
A similar ornament occurs in the first bar of the *Sarabanda* from *Partita FbWV 610*. After two initial lute-like strummed chords, the melody begins with a slide, slurred to c". The slur is of interest (it is not editorial) as it implies an over-legato touch, making the ornament even more similar to the vocal equivalent. If the slur had not been present, the performer might have articulated before c".



Froberger: Sarabanda from Partita FbWV 610. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

5.4.5 Passaggi

The term *passaggi* was a general term for stepwise runs in quick notes. As opposed to cadenzas, they do not fit over the cadential harmony at the end of a section, but are inserted within the music, often, in vocal music, illustrating a particular word. Most of the diminution manuals that serve as primary sources for *passaggi* illustrate motion in quavers, but later books show more variation in rhythmic values, greater reliance on dotted notes and the incorporation of smaller ornaments. (Kreitner 2010). The examples below by Rognoni show this. In addition, the first example illustrates the practice of including many more beats to the bar than the original unornamented version, thus illustrating the practice of tempo variation discussed in the preceding chapter.



Rognoni: *Selva di varii passaggi*, 1620. (Kreitner:2010.)



Rognoni: *Passagi. Selva di varii passaggi*, 1620. (Kreitner: 2010.)

As florid ornaments, Caccini did not generally approve of *passaggi*, referring to them derogatorily as “a tickling of the ears” and claiming that they belong to instrumental music rather than to sung music. However, he employed them himself as a means of underlining a stressed syllable; and he admitted that he occasionally introduced short *passaggi* “as a bit of decoration” (Jones 2010). The following extract from his *aria secondo* in *Le Nuove Musiche, Ardi Cor mio*, shows such a *passaggio*, which I would not describe as short, despite Caccini’s protestations. Throughout the aria, whenever the word *Ardi* (burn) appears, Caccini introduces a long run of notes which are not only an ornament but tacitly imply that the burning of his heart is a long torment.



Caccini: *Ardi, cor mio*. *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

Caccini’s annotations to three arias in *Le Nuove Musiche* seem to contradict his statements on his dislike of *passaggi*. He recommends that one of these arias should be sung with *passaggi* in the style of Melchior Palentrotti, who sang in Caccini’s *Il Rapimento di Cefalo*, 1600 (Stark 2003:195). Another is in the style of Francesco Rasi, who also sang in *Il Rapimento di Cefalo* and a third is in the style of Jacopo Peri. There are significantly long *passaggi* in these three arias such as:



Caccini: *Passaggi in the style of Palentrotti*. *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

*Quest' aria cantò solo parte con i propri passaggi, e parte à suo gusto il famoso Francesco Rasi Nobile
Aretino, moltograto Scrivitore all' Alt. Ser. di Mantoua*

23

sur ne aggiorna Tale amor su le stelle almo foggior

na E co sparge fra noi fulgidi

Caccini: Qual Trascorrendo, in the style of Rasi. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

Even more extreme is the following *passaggio* from the aria that he claims is in the style of Peri:

*Quest' aria cantò solo con altri passaggi secondo il suo stile Iacopo Peri,
Musico Eccellente stipendiato da queste Altezze Sereniss.*

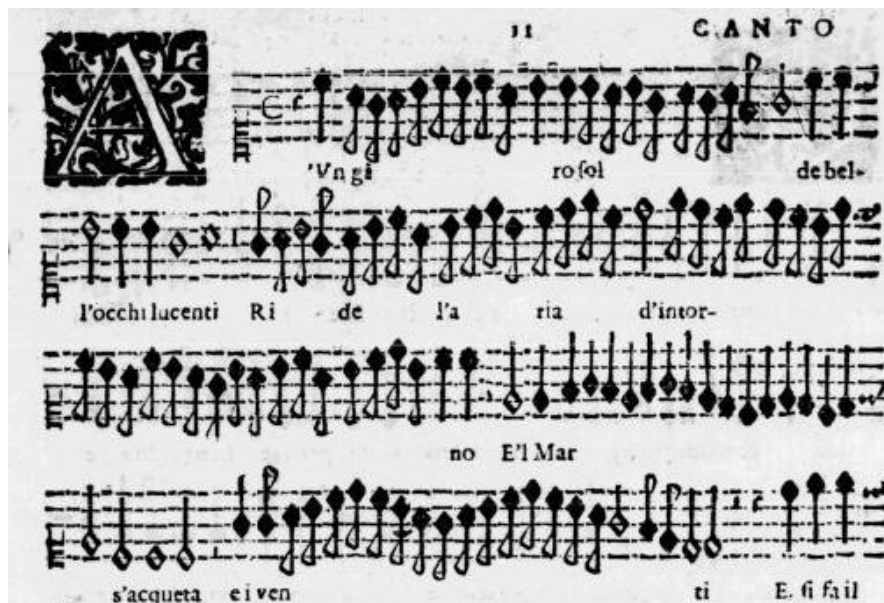
ga to han di be sr va

lo

re. Io effa.

Caccini: Filli, mirando il cielo. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

The following extract from Monteverdi's fourth book of madrigals, shows a number of *passaggi* for the *canto* part, following each other in close succession.



Monteverdi: *Ave Giro sol de Begl'oochi*. Quarto Libro. (Monteverdi: 1615.)

A similar run of notes is to be found frequently in the works of other composers, such as this extract from Saracini's *Le Seconde Musiche* 1620.



Saracini: *Tu parti a pena quinto*. *Le Seconde Musiche*. (Saracini: 1620.)

and this excerpt from Rovetta's *Madrigali Concertati. Libro Primo*. 1636 which shows two passaggi.

ce tua lingua fa na fe m'impia il dente tua
lingua fa na fe m'impia il dente tua lingua
fa na fe m'impia il dente
quella che fu già tanto cruda quella fu.

Rovetta: *Ohime, Chi mi Ferisco. Libro Primo, 1636.* (Rovetta: 1636.)

In vocal music *passaggi* are more obviously ornamental than in instrumental music. In instrumental music, it could be argued that *passaggi* are embedded in the style of the music and are not actually ornaments at all. In many cases they owe their existence to a continuation of the Renaissance practice of diminution, whereby a long note is replaced by a melodic figure in shorter notes. Diminutions served to decorate the transition from one note of a melody to the next with passage-work giving scope for virtuoso display (Garden and Donnington 2011). In diminutions for the keyboard, whereas there may be a great deal of variety between one section and another, within a section they typically use uniformly shorter notes and use a great deal of repetition of figures. They do not exhibit the wide variety of figures and note values that Froberger uses in his *passaggi*.

Froberger's *passaggi* include other ornaments such as the *tirata*, *gruppi*, the *ribattuta* or the *esclamazione* and his use of the *passaggi* seems to not only serve as a vehicle to demonstrate virtuosity (as do the vocal examples given above) but also to express emotion as recommended by Frescobaldi's instructions on how to play his toccatas (please see section 4.3). This style is more

closely linked to the madrigalists than to the even diminutions of most of Froberger's keyboard predecessors.

In *Il Transilvano Dialogo*, part II, Diruta gave several examples of how to perform diminutions. One of them is given below, but the others are all similar.



Diruta: Il transilvano dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, et istromenti da penna
(1593, revised 1609: Part II: 12.)

This type of passage work, similar to Diruta's example was common in the earlier Italian keyboard composers. The following example is from a *Canzona Franzese per cembalo* (c. 1600) by Ercole Pasquini, Frescobaldi's predecessor as organist of the *Accademia della Morte* in Ferrara and a formative influence on Frescobaldi's style.



Pasquini: Canzona Franzese, bars 52-3, c.1600. (Pasquini: 1908.)

Diminution is linked to the art of improvisation. Many of the manuals of the 16th century show standard formulae that could be learned off by heart and applied to long notes. Despite the improvisatory element, the diminutions applied to a particular keyboard piece could therefore actually be quite similar in the hands of different performers. The examples given below of Froberger's music are vastly different from these standard diminutions and I would argue that they are expressive *passaggi* in the style of the *madrigali moderni*. In order for the difference to be clear, the first example is from his *Partita auff die Mayerin* (1649) which is a set of variations in which Froberger clearly intends to present a series of diminutions. In the *Quarta Partita*, the theme is in the base, with the faster notes of equal value in the upper stave. The reverse occurs in the *Quinta Partita*.



Froberger. *Partita auff die Mayerin*. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger 1993.)

In contrast, Froberger's use of *passaggi* as an extended ornament in the style of the madrigals is so common in his works that any *toccata* and almost any of his contrapuntal works (except the *ricercars*) would serve as an example. The following bars from his *Toccata FbWV 103* show a volley of notes running from one hand to the other in a wide variety of figurations.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 103, bars 13-16. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Similar runs of notes can be found in his *Capriccio FbWV 514*.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 514, bars 49-50. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

And in *Canzon FbWV 306*.



Froberger: Canzon FbWV 306, bars 12-13. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

These examples are vastly different from the evenly running quavers of the *Partita auff die Mayerin*.

5.4.6 Cascata

A *cascata* is a descending stepwise run. Caccini gives several examples of variants.



Caccini: Cascata. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

These variants are easier to see in modern notation:



Caccini: Cascata. Le Nuove Musiche, 1601/2. (Kreitner: 2011.)

The following excerpt from Caccini's madrigal *Queste lagrim'amare* illustrates the use of the ornament in practice.



Caccini: Queste lagrim' amare. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

It was a commonly used ornament in early 17th century Italian vocal music. Gesualdo's madrigal, *Languisce al fin*, contains *cascate* in all five voices, each voice taking over from the preceding voice in what becomes a *cascata* over nearly three octaves.



Gesualdo: Languisce al fin. Libro Quinto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

The alto part of Monteverdi's madrigal *Batto qui pianse* contains several examples.

A musical score for the Alto voice part of Monteverdi's madrigal "Batto qui pianse". The score is written on three staves in a single system. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "foco l'umor che ca de da duo lumi ardenti Hor chi dira che non fia foco l'umor che ca de da duo lumi ardenti Hor chi dira che non fia foco l'umor che ca." The word "ALTO" is written above the first staff.

Monteverdi: *Batto qui pianse*. *Il Sesto Libro di Madrigali a cinque voci*. (Monteverdi: 1614.)

The example below is by Carissimi from his secular cantata for three sopranos and continuo *Il Ciarlatano* (before 1634).

A musical score for the vocal parts of Carissimi's secular cantata "Il Ciarlatano". The score shows three vocal staves, each with a soprano clef (C1). The lyrics are: "te. A - man - ti cor - re - - - te, cor - te. A - man ti cor - re - - - te, cor - te." The music features a prominent cascata (trill) in the first two staves.

Carissimi: *Il Ciarlatano*, vocal parts only. (Carissimi: 1899.)

The *cascata* was equally common in the keyboard works of Italian composers pre-dating Froberger. The example below is from Merulo's *Toccata del nono tono* from his *Libro Secondo* (Rome 1604).



Merulo: Toccata del nono tono, ending. Libro Secondo, 1604. (Torchi: 1899.)

Froberger frequently uses the *cascata*. His lament on the death of Ferdinand IV (FbWV 612) contains the following example:



Froberger: Lamento... Ferdinand IV, bar 5 and 6. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Similarly, in his *Capriccio FbWV 503*, where an *accelerando* is implied:



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 503, bar 10. Libro di Capricci e Ricercati, c. 1658. (Froberger: 1995.)

The ornament is a frequent part of his *toccatas*. In the example below from his *Toccatà FbWV 103* the first *cascata* follows an ornament (possibly a short trill or a mordent) indicated by “t”.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 103, bar 3. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The ornament also appears regularly in his *partitas*:



Froberger: "Chique" from FbWV 613. E Amsterdam MS, 1698. (Froberger: 2005, Vol III.2.)



Froberger: Allemande from FbWV 614. E Amsterdam MS, 1698. (Froberger: 2005, Vol III.2.)

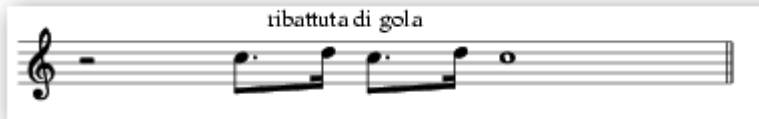
This *allemande* is the *Lamentation sur ce que j'ay été volé*, although in the Amsterdam 1698 MS, it does not carry this title.

5.4.7 Ribattuta di Golo

La ribattuta di golo (re-striking of the throat) is a slow trill in dotted notes. It may introduce a *trillo*.



Caccini: *Ribattuta di Golo*. *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2.)



Caccini: *Ribattuta di golo*. *Le Nuove Musiche*, 1601/2. (Kreitner: 2010.)

In the following example by Caccini, the ornament is followed by a written out *gruppo* and *circolo* and seems to increase in tempo. The singer might have added a *trillo* on the *a'* in the following bar after the end of the ornament.



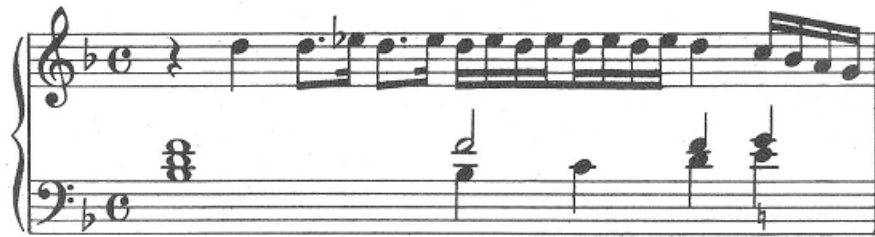
Caccini: *Queste lagrim'amare*. *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

The following extract by Benedetti from the madrigal *Ecco Solinga* shows two examples. The first *ribattuta* is followed by a *cascata*, the second is followed by a *trillo*.



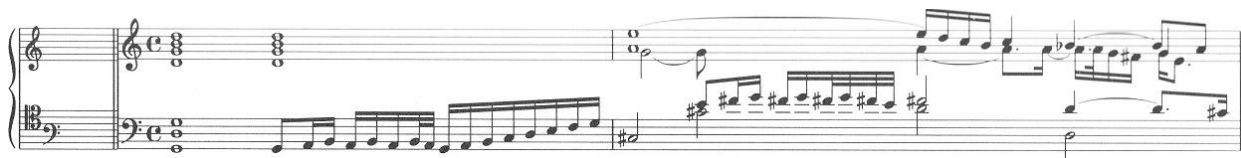
Benedetti: Ecco Solinga. Musiche Libro Secondo. (Benedetti: 1613.)

The *ribattuta* is a feature of Frescobaldi's keyboard music, adding to the complex texture of his style. The *Quarta parte* of his *Partite sopra l'aria della Romanesca* opens with a *ribattuta* followed by a *gruppo*.



Frescobaldi: Romanesca, Quarta Parte, bar 1. Libro Primo, 1637. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)

Froberger is almost as fond of the *ribattuta* as Frescobaldi is. However, whereas Frescobaldi writes the ornament with dotted notes, Froberger often assumes that the performer will add them. For example, *Toccata FbWV 107* opens with two *ribattuti di golo*, which should be played as dotted notes, even though they are not notated as such.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 107, opening bars. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

On other occasions, he writes dotted notes:



Froberger: Toccata F#m BWV 103, bar 23. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)



Froberger: Toccata F#m BWV 112, bar 11. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

Froberger's use of the ribattuta is mainly confined to his *toccatas*. However there is an example in the *Tombeau* for Blanchrocher.



Froberger: Tombeau[sic] ...Blanchrocher [sic]. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

5.4.8 Accento

Whereas the term *accento* is often used in a generic way to mean all small ornaments, as another term for *grazie* or *affetti*, Rognoni and some other theorists gave it a more specific meaning. Rognoni used the term to mean an ornament used to connect two longer notes, a short dissonant auxiliary note on the weak part of the beat. He states that it was most properly used in descending rather than ascending notes and the example below shows how it is slurred to the preceding note.



Rognoni: Accento. Selva di varii passaggi, 1620. (Kreitner: 2010.)

Diruta also described *accenti*, notating the ornament as follows. It has the effect of accentuating the note that is on the beat.



Diruta: Il transilvano dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, et istromenti da penna (1593, revised 1609: Part II: 13.)

The ornament was frequently used by Monteverdi. The following example is from the tenor part of his seventh book of madrigals.



Monteverdi: Vorrei Baciarti, ending. Settimo Libro. (Monteverdi: 1619.)

In the example below, from a madrigal by Caccini, the ornament is used repeatedly in an extremely florid passage: excessiveness that he claimed to despise.



Caccini: *Vedro'l mio sol*. *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

Benedetti used it in a less extreme form in *Ecco Solinga*, which he claims is in the style of Gagliano.

Del Sig. Marco da Gagliano, Maestro di Capella del Sereniss. Gran Duca di Toscana.



Benedetti: *Ecco Solinga*. *Musiche, Libro Secondo*. (Benedetti: 1613.)

The same ornament, also used “correctly” in its downwards form, is found in de Macque’s works.



De Macque: *Capriccio sopra re, fa mi sol*, bars 42 ff. (Maque: 2009.)

Examples in Froberger's works include:



Froberger: Courant from FbWV 620, bar 6. (Froberger: 2006.)

In the example below, Froberger uses the ornament as a recurring motif in the *gigue* (after the repeat sign in the example).



Froberger: Gigue from Partita FbWV 607b, bars 26 ff. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.1.)

In *Canzon FbWV 304*, it forms part of the opening statement and it is repeated thereafter in all the voices throughout the first section of the work. The example shows the first statement in the tenor, followed by the motif in the tenor and the bass together.



Froberger: Canzon FbWV 304 opening. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

5.4.9 Esclamazione

This is a light quick decrescendo and crescendo. Caccini called this effect a strengthening of the relaxed voice and states that it is the principle means by which the singer moves the affections of his audience.

L'esclamazione, che è mezzo più principale per muovere l'affetto: & l'esclamazione propriamente altro non è, che nel lassare della voce rinforzaria al quanto (Caccini 1601/2:preface).

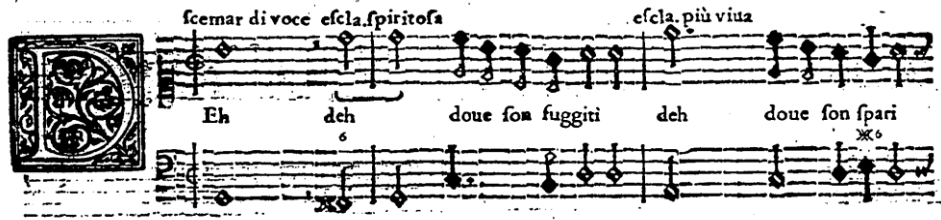


Caccini: Esclamazione. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)



Caccini: Esclamazione. Le Nuove Musiche, 1601/2. (Kreitner: 2010.) Dynamic markings are editorial.

Caccini's description of the ornament is confusing but he proceeded to give examples of various *esclamazioni* in the madrigals of *Le Nuove Musiche*, especially in the madrigal *Deh Dove son fuggiti*. The following two examples from this madrigal show an *esclamazione spiritoso*, an *esclamazione più viva*, various "ordinary" *esclamazioni* and an *esclamazione rinforzata*, all within the space of a few bars. These variations of the *esclamazione* are not explained properly by Caccini, although the interpretation is fairly obvious from the context.



Caccini: *Deh Dove son fuggiti, beginning. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)*



Caccini: *Deh Dove son fuggiti, ending. Le Nuove Musiche. (Caccini: 1601/2.)*

The *esclamazione*, as described by Caccini, was not written out in sung music, but was expected at appropriate places. Unfortunately Caccini seems to be the only Italian theorist of the time who mentions this ornament. Diruta's *clamatone* is similar to the *intonazione* and Rognoni does not mention it. After Rognoni theoretical works disappear in Italy and one is dependent upon German treatises for information.

Following the lead of Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum* (1614–19), many of these Germans – including Bernhard (Ic1649), Herbst (I1642) and Crüger (E1630, E1660) – were enthusiastic advocates of the Italian style, though their knowledge of its ornamentation practices may have been largely second-hand. (Kreitner et al 2010.)

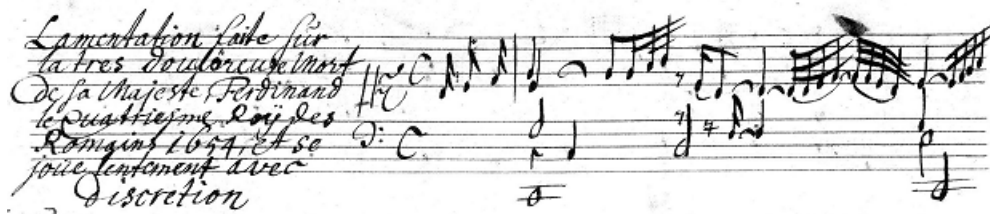
Praetorius refers to the ornament as *Erhebung der Stimm* which, if translated as a “swell in volume”, is not quite the same as Caccini’s ornament as it misses out the decrescendo. However, Caccini’s example of the ornament seems to agree with the much clearer explanation given by Johann Andreas Herbst (1588-1666) in his *Musica practica sive instructio pro symphoniacis, das ist,*

Eine kurtze Anleitung, wie die Knaben ... auff jetzige Italienische Manier ... (1642) as a few short rising notes at the end of a long note (Kreitner 2010). Herbst called this ornament the *Exclamatio*. The effect is similar to a decrease in volume (the long note) followed by a swell in volume (the rising notes).



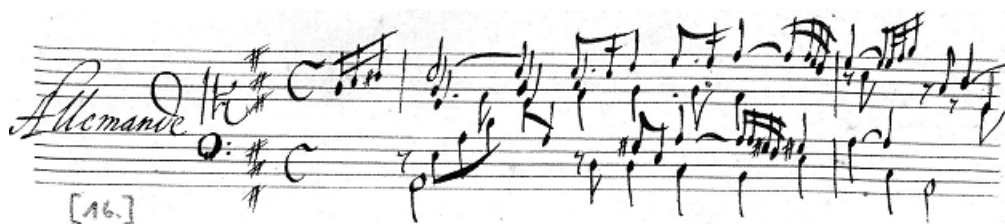
Herbst: *Exclamatio*. *Musica Pratica*, 1642. (Kreitner: 2010.)

On the harpsichord, the long note would have a natural, but short, decay, similar to Caccini's requirement of a decrescendo. The quick rising notes could be interpreted as a crescendo. Froberger's use of the *esclamazione* often sounds like a cry of distress and is particularly appropriate to his laments, *plaintes* and other melancholy pieces. In the extract below he uses the device in the first full bar of the extract.



Froberger: *Lamento sopra...Ferdinando IV*, bar 1. *Sing-Akademie MS*. (Froberger: 2006.)

It is also a frequently used device in his *allemandes*, for example in the last bar of the following extract.



Froberger: *Allemande from FbWV 608*, opening. *Sing-Akademie MS*. (Froberger: 2006.)

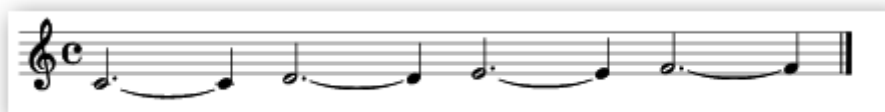
Schulenberg (2010:297) notes the *esclamazione* just before the final cadential formula in the *gigue* from *Partita FbWV 616*. (Froberger also uses it earlier on in the *gigue* as well.)



Froberger: Gigue from Partita FbWV 616, ending. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

5.4.10 Crescere e Scemare della Voce

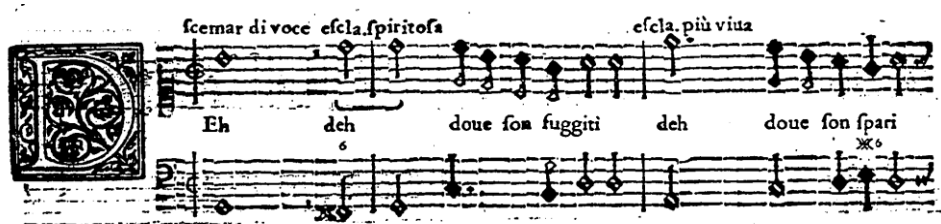
Il crescere e scemare della voce is a crescendo and then a decrescendo on whole notes. In effect it is the converse of the *esclamazione*. Stewart Carter (Kreitner et al 2010) mentions that Rognoni calls this ornament *Portar la Voce* and describes it as reinforcing the voice on the first note little by little, and then making a *tremolino* (*trillo*) on the crotchet following it.



Rognoni. Selva di varii passaggi, 1620. (Kreitner 2010.)

Giovanni Doni (1595-1647) in *Trattato primo sopra il genere enarmonico* (1635) wrote that this reinforcing also involved a gradual rise in pitch from the lower to the higher note. Domenico Mazzocchi (1592-1665, *Madrigali Rome*, 1638) calls a similar ornament *messa di voce*, and notes that it also involves both a rise in pitch and an increase in dynamic level (Kreitner 2010). Like the *esclamazione*, this ornament was not written out, but singers were expected to improvise it where appropriate. Caccini was not nearly as fond of this ornament as he was of the *esclamazione*, and I

can find only one reference to it in *le Nuove Musiche*. It is immediately followed by an *esclamazione spiritosa*.



Caccini: *Deh Dove son fuggiti*, beginning. *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

If the *esclamazione* can also be described as “a few short rising notes at the end of a long note” (Herbst 1642) then logically, the *crescere e scemare* could be described as “a few short descending notes at the end of a long note”. In contrast to the *esclamazione*, which increases in volume, the overall effect would be a decrescendo. Froberger uses this effect in the second bar of the extract below.



Froberger: *Meditation ...sur ma morte future*. *Sing-Akademie MS*. (Froberger: 2006.)

The opening to his *Lamentation* on being robbed contains several of these little ornaments, which seem to be like drawn out sighs.



Froberger: *Lamentation sur ce j'ay été volé*. *Sing-Akademie MS*. (Froberger: 2006.)

5.5 Summary

The use of wide-ranging and technically demanding ornamentation for expressive purposes was one of the fundamental elements of the late 16th and early-to-mid 17th century style. Virtuoso singing and displays of complex ornamentation have connections with certain Italian courts where singers were lionized. The *Concerto delle Dame Principalissime* (also known as the *Concerto delle Donne*) was a group of professional female singers at the North Italian court of Ferrara (Fischer et al: 2010). The ensemble was founded by Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara, in 1580 and was active until 1598 when Alfonso died, Ferrara became part of the Papal States and the ruling Este family moved to Modena. The style was imitated by several other influential Italian courts such as the ones in Florence (the Medici), Rome (the Orsini) and Mantua (the Gonzaga family) and it remained popular until the mid 1650s.

In the preface to *Le Nuove Musiche* (1601/2) Caccini described vocal ornaments that had previously not always been written down, but may have been improvised. These ornaments represented a reaction against the evenly flowing diminutions typical of the late Renaissance. Singers were encouraged to improvise ornaments at appropriate places and virtuoso singers used this freedom to show off their talents. Caccini also stated that one of his reasons for writing *Le Nuove Musiche* was that his music had been decorated to excess and he wanted to show the correct way to embellish his music. Other theorists of the same era list similar ornaments to those mentioned by Caccini. Of particular note are Girolamo Diruta and Francesco Rognoni.

Some of the ornaments were common to both instrumental and vocal music. Others are specifically vocal. The ornaments can be divided into two broad groups:

- the small ornaments added to (usually) one note. These ornaments, for example the *trillo*, the *intonazione* and the *esclamazione* were also known as *grazie*, *accenti*, *affetti* or *maniere*.
- complex runs of notes, which often disguised the melody. Under this category are *cadenzas* and *passaggi*. These were remnants of earlier practice (Kreitner 2010) and seem in many cases to be the same as the evenly flowing diminutions of the Renaissance, but in the 16th

and 17th century these longer runs of notes were often used to illustrate specific words, events or feelings and they often included the small ornaments referred to above.

In many cases an ornament is both an embellishment and a word-painting device. The distinction is not always clear, especially as theorists of the time linked the two. Improvised ornaments were applied liberally not only to the concerted madrigal of later years, but also to the polyphonic madrigals of the late 16th century. In the case of polyphonic madrigals, because more than one (and often five or even six) voices were singing at any time, the addition of any ornamentation not written into the music would have to be agreed by the singers, especially when the addition of ornaments stretched the tempo, as it often did. This practice of applying ornamentation to voices singing in polyphony is borne out by various theorists of the time.

Towards the end of the 16th century, composers started the trend of writing out the ornaments for vocal music rather than leaving the ornaments to the discretion of the performer. The title of Caccini's later work, *Le Nuove Musiche e Nuova Maniera di Scriverle* of 1614 (The New Music and the New Manner of Writing it), refers to the new trend of writing out ornaments. Thus, ornaments were often written into the music and extra ornaments were added at the whim of the performer. In the late 16th century madrigal, ornamentation was often taken to extremes, and elegant stylised ornaments were often used to demonstrate the prowess of the singer rather than to enhance the meaning of the text. In the early Baroque, the intention was to use ornamentation in moderation for expressive purposes only. However, in practice, there was usually not much difference. Ornamentation in the later madrigals was often just as extreme as in the earlier madrigals.

As was customary, Froberger expected the performer to improvise ornamentation, particularly in slow sections and in the repeats of sections, such as dances. However, Froberger also used a wide variety of written ornaments in his music. Most of them, like the ornamentation used by the madrigalists in the early 17th century, are written out rather than indicated by signs. The use of "t" or any other abbreviation for ornaments is rare in Froberger's early autographs. Abbreviations for ornaments are more common in copies of his works and in the late autograph (Sotheby's), where he uses the French signs for some of his ornamentation.

Most keyboard composers pre-dating Froberger seem to have used diminutions: a technique that Froberger used only rarely. Froberger's *passaggi* are much more varied than the evenly running series of quavers and semi-quavers used in most diminutions and his music contains a wide selection of note values and small ornaments, some of which are found almost exclusively in vocal music. Froberger's use of these ornaments was different to his keyboard predecessors and contemporaries. The examples given under the various sections show how he used the more conventional keyboard ornamentation such as *cadenzas*, *passaggi*, *cascati* and *gruppi* commonly found in Italian keyboard music of the time. However, his ornamentation is not only more diverse, but more extreme than his predecessors. He also used specifically vocal ornaments such as *trilli*, *intonazioni*, *la ribattuta di golo*, *accenti* and *esclamazioni* amongst other *grazie*.

Froberger's influence on the young Louis Couperin, whom he met on his first visit to Paris in 1650, is clear to see in the use of Couperin's ornamentation in his unmeasured preludes, particularly the use of the trillo, which, in the 17th century French Clavecin School seems to be peculiar to Couperin. In addition, Couperin wrote out most of the ornamentation in his preludes, as opposed to using the French signs for ornamentation which he uses in the rest of his oeuvre.

Froberger's unique use of ornamentation seems to not only serve as a vehicle to demonstrate virtuosity but also to express emotion. His use of specifically vocal ornamentation links his style closely to the madrigalists.

CHAPTER SIX: MERAVIGLIA

6.1 Introduction

One of the features of the late 16th century and early 17th century madrigals is their continuous invention and diversity. This was part of the desire to impress, to cause a sensation of *meraviglia*, or amazement, in the listener. In addition to their use of affective devices, tempo fluctuations, and ornamentation, which have been discussed in previous chapters, composers used a wide variety of rhythms and textures to portray the agitation of the passions and to add other forms of expressiveness to their music. Contrast seems to be an essential element and a continuous stream of invention was called for to provide musical interest. Caccini (1601/2:6) states that *essendo molto necessaria la variazione in quest'arte* (variety is most necessary in this art).

Composers varied the number and type of the voices singing at any one time, sometimes using a high voice, sometimes a low voice. They used dotted notes, syncopations, juxtaposition of rhythmic extremes and a variety of note values. In terms of modern analysis, some of this music seems to modulate frequently, especially in slow chromatic sections. The music often has a feeling of continuous restlessness, caused by a variety of effects such as the shift between modal and tonal systems, the use of accidentals to blur the tonality (modality) and the unorthodox use of dissonance. This diversity is totally different to the more uniform style that was considered *Ars Perfecta* in earlier times.

Maniates (1979:5), in writing about Mannerism (which Maniates defines, controversially, as occurring between 1530 and 1630) says:

Above all Mannerism wants to startle. When the shock value of a device wears off, mannerists move on to yet more startling effects...Meraviglia rests on calculated novelty and deliberate stylization addressed to a select audience whose sensibilities appreciate the wit of mannerist play.

Whether or not one calls this period “Mannerist”, or whether one splits it into Renaissance, late Renaissance and Early Baroque (please see Chapter One for a discussion of the Mannerist controversy) the fact remains that *Meraviglia* was often referred to by writers and theorists of the time, especially with regard to the new theatrical *intermedi* that were fashionable. Starke (2003: 160) mentions that contemporary accounts of Caccini and other singers of the Early Baroque describe a performance known as *meraviglia* which was characterised by wonder, surprise, the unexpected, the extraordinary, the supernatural. These theatrical *effetti meravigliosi* (marvellous effects) include a calculated delight in complexity, which was part of the way in which composers and performers aimed to delight and astound their audiences. The emphasis was on virtuoso display and, with few exceptions, the music is only playable or singable by a performer with a high degree of technical skill. For example, In 1590, Alessandro Guidotti praised Victoria Archilei for *mosse meravigliosamente a lacrime* (wonderfully moving [her audience] to tears) (Stark 2003:160).

Music written for the courts throughout the ages has always had a certain degree of elitism attached to it: it was, after all, only heard by a relatively small number of privileged people. The mere fact that the music has survived links it to the rich and educated sector of the population: it could be written down, sometimes printed, paid for and preserved. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Giulio Cesare Monteverdi’s list of noteworthy composers of the *seconda pratica* (*Scherzi Musicale 1607*) only contains members of the nobility (Bianconi 2010).

However, the *musica secreta* of the Court of Ferrara went a step further. The music was heard by only a few invited guests: it was not even available to all the courtiers. These concerts seem to echo Castiglione’s toffee-nosed advice to the courtier when performing music:

Come ancor ho detto, che si fugga la moltitudine e massimamente degli ignobili.
(Castiglione 1528:126.)

As I have already said, avoid crowds, especially the common people.

Deborah Roberts (1992) writing about the *Concerto delle Donne* at Ferrara:

By the 1580s, however, the Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso II, had become so obsessed with the sound of soprano voices, that he was procuring the finest singers of the time and establishing them in his court as extremely well paid professionals. The three most famous, Laura Peverara, Livia D’Arco and Anna Guarini, were all of middle class origin and joined the court exclusively as singers. They were not, however, widely heard, for their performances were reserved by the Duke for his *musica secreta*, or secret music, which took place in private and to which only a few honoured guests were invited.

It is tempting to imagine the amazement of Duke Alfonso’s honoured guests at “the spectacle of apparently noble women able to display the skills of trained musicians (which in fact they were)”. (Wistreich 2007:243.) Luzzaschi’s Madrigali of 1601 are the most famous examples of the *musica secreta*. They are technically very demanding.



Luzzaschi: *O Primavera*, bars 17ff. *Madrigali...1601*. (Luzzaschi: 2010.)

The frenzied runs of notes in Froberger’s *toccatas* show a marked similarity to this style.



Froberger: *Toccata FbWV 101*, bar 7ff. *Libro Secondo*, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

As discussed in Section 5.1, concerts such as the famous ones in Ferrara became the vogue in Italy and were imitated by several other influential Italian courts such as the ones in Florence, Rome and Mantua. They remained popular until the mid 1650s. It is possible that Froberger heard such music performed either whilst he was studying in Rome (1637-41) or when he visited Florence and Mantua in 1649.

Similarly, in France, around the time that Froberger was in Paris (early 1650s), exclusive concerts were being held at the salons of the *Précieuses* and at the private concerts organised by Chambonnières, called the *Assemblée des Honestes Curieux* (Assembly of Enquiring Gentlemen). (Chapter Two gives more information on this part of Froberger's life.)

The invention and complexity of madrigalists seeking *effetti meravigliosi* was carried over into the keyboard idiom as well. Froberger's style is characterized by this wonderful diversity and virtuosity, which he seems to have absorbed from the madrigalists as well as from his keyboard predecessors; like them, continuously pushing the boundaries of invention and technique.

6.2 Structural Complexity

Some of the madrigals of the early part of the century show a calculated delight in complexity for its own sake. *Piagn'e e Sospira* from Monteverdi's fourth book (1603) "is based on six motifs presented in constantly changing combinations during the first 87 bars" (Whenham and Wistreich. 2007:102). The opening of the tenor part shows these six motifs stated one after the other.



Monteverdi: *Piagn'e e Sospira*. Quarto Libro. (Monteverdi: 1615.)

Frescobaldi's *fantasias* of 1608 are examples of this deliberate structural complexity. There are 12 *fantasias*, with up to four subjects. Don Michael Randel (2003: 307) writes that they move progressively through the modes and the hexachordal and chromatic subjects are augmented, diminished, inverted and treated to nearly continuous transformation by means of rhythmic distortion, fragmentation, inganno⁸ and changes of metre and tempo.

For example, *Fantasia seconda sopra un soggetto* (*Primo Libro delle Fantasie a Quattro*, 1608) contains six sections, in which the subject (I below) is treated to rhythmical distortion (II), inversion of the second half of the subject (III), diminution (IV), syncopation (V), and chromatic variation (VI).

⁸ Inganno is the deceptive modification of a subject (often done by Trabaci) by means of changing hexachords – thus the same subject starts on a different note with possible changes of both rhythm and melodic contour.



Frescobaldi: Fantasia Seconda. Primo Libro delle Fantasie a Quattro, 1608. (Apel: 1972:450.)

Froberger's *fantasias* are similarly complex. One example is FbWV 204, which is titled *Sol la re, lascia fare mi*. It is developed on two subjects. The theme, *sol la re*, represents the notes G,A,D, transposed down a fourth to D,E,A and the words *lascia fare mi* (leave it to me) are converted to solmisation syllables: *la sol fa re mi*: A,G,F,D,E, also transposed down a fourth to E,D,C,A,B. The latter is a sequence of notes used by Josquin Desprez in his *Missa La sol fa re mi* and by other composers after him. It was used by Josquin to mock Cardinal Ascanio Sforza's standard response to the composer's requests for payment. This is clearly a joke for the learned connoisseur. In this and in his other *fantasias*, Froberger uses many devices to provide complexity and interest. For example, in *Fantasia FbWV 203* the subject is treated to transposition, diminution and rhythmical variation and he concludes with a section that presents the subject in augmentation against a countersubject. However, as Apel points out (1972:554), in Froberger's *fantasias*, "neither intrusive learnedness nor empty figuration disturb the total impression".



Froberger: Fantasia FbWV 203, opening bars showing the subject. (Froberger: 1993.)



Froberger: Fantasia FbWV 203, bars 92ff. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)
The subject in diminution transposed up a third in the soprano, in augmentation in the tenor, augmentation transposed down a third in the bass, in diminution transposed up a second in the tenor.

It is likely that both Frescobaldi and Froberger were influenced by the learned contrapuntal writing of the Neapolitan Keyboard School. The characteristic of stating the subjects at the beginning of the piece and developing all the subjects throughout the piece, is a device that was used by Mayone and Trabaci in their *ricercars*. It is one of the aspects that differentiates the music from their Venetian counterparts who used a different subject in each section. Mayone, Trabaci, Frescobaldi and Froberger all introduce the subjects of imitative compositions at the beginning and present the subjects thereafter in ever-changing combinations.

Froberger's Hexachord *Fantasia*, FbWV 201 is quoted by Kircher in *Musurgia Universalis* (1650) as a perfect example of the *stylus phantasticus*⁹. He mentions its "perfect method of composition", "the order of things following themselves cleverly" and "the remarkable change of the time". From this, one can deduce that the intellectual construction of Froberger's *fantasia*, which has a wide selection of rhythms and textures, was of primary importance to Kircher (Kircher. 1650: 466ff).

The Hexachord *Fantasia* falls into seven sections. As Collins points out (2005:42) in section one the theme is in semibreves, in section two, crotchets, then minims, various note values in section four and dotted crotchets in section five. In sections six and seven the theme undergoes chromatic alterations and is presented in crotchets in section six and, in inversion, in minims in the last section. In each of the sections (except section four) a different contrasting countersubject provides variety and complexity. From section to section Froberger also varies the voice in which the first statement of the theme is found, the order of entry of the voices and, in the later sections, the time signatures. The following examples from Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (1650) shows the opening bars of sections one, two and three of the *fantasia*, showing the gradual increase in speed and complexity.

⁹ From the description of the style and the examples given by Kircher, it can be deduced that the *stylus phantasticus* embraces music composed according to the strict rules of harmony and counterpoint on a subject that is freely invented by the composer. This definition contrasts with the later use of the term by Mattheson (1739), which he interpreted to mean a virtuoso style that sounds improvised and which has a free approach to tempo.

Phantasia supra Virginitatis, folia, Clavicymbalis accommodata.



Froberger: Fantasia FbWV 201, opening of section one. Musurgia Universalis, 1650. (Collins: 2005:42.)



Froberger: Fantasia FbWV 201, opening of section two. Musurgia Universalis, 1650. (Collins: 2005:43.)



Froberger: Fantasia FbWV 201, section three, opening. Musurgia Universalis, 1650. (Collins: 2005:43.)

The *stylus phantasticus* of Froberger has much in common with the *Stravaganti* of the Neapolitan Keyboard School. Michael Tilmouth (2010) writes that the word *Stravaganti* is:

A term for a piece in no specific form involving melodic, harmonic, rhythmic or other features of an extraordinary kind. It appears adjectivally by the end of the 16th century in works such as Giovanni de Macque's *Consonanze stravaganti* for organ ...which exhibit harmonic mannerisms, similar to those employed by Gesualdo, that became part of the *stylus phantasticus* of the Baroque period.

One of the most pervading characteristics of the music of the early 17th century madrigalists, the early Neapolitan school of keyboard music, Frescobaldi and Froberger is the invention and diversity of their music. They introduced a variety of rhythms and textures and their music has a sense of continuous restlessness and energy and a delight in complexity.

6.3 Rhythmic Animation and Variation.

In the early sixteenth century madrigals, from 1530-1550, composers started to use small note values which resulted in many small black notes, leading to the term *madrigale a note nere* (madrigals in black notes) which were typified by a rhythmic animation entirely foreign to traditional polyphony (Maniates 1979:289). This was accompanied by a more lively declamation of the text and later composers continued the trend of rhythmic animation.

According to William Martin, the most individual characteristic of the music of Orazio Vecchi “in madrigals and canzonettas alike, is a rhythmic variety and vitality that enlivens even the simple homorhythmic canzonettas. Often this variety is the result of his sensitive use of rhythmic and metric accents which, when enriched by cross-rhythms and syncopation, produces a rhythmic interest and freshness...” (Martin 2010). An example of this rhythmic diversity prior to the turn of the century is given below. In the madrigal *Soura le lucid' acque* (*Selva div aria ricreatione*, Venice, 1590) note values range from semi-breves to semi-quavers, and there are a variety of figurations and rests.

The image displays a musical score for a madrigal by Orazio Vecchi. It consists of six staves of music, with the first five staves containing vocal lines and the sixth staff being a basso continuo line. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the notes. The score is numbered 13 at the beginning. The lyrics are: "chiar' on - - - da la sua chiar' on - - - da", "da Che fa la sua chiar' on - - da Io", "Che fa che fa la sua chiar' on - -", "on - - - da Che fa che fa la sua chiar' on -", "da la sua chiar' on - da Io t'a -", and "Che fa la sua chiar' on - - - da".

Vecchi: *Soura le lucid' acque*. Madrigale a 6, 1590. (Vecchi: 2009.)

The following example from *Solo e Pensoso* by Marenzio shows how the composer varied the voices singing at any one time within a few bars. The note values used range from a semi-breve to a semi-quaver and he uses a variety of rhythmic figures.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for five voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass). The first system shows the beginning of the piece with staggered entries: the Soprano enters first with 'scam - pi', followed by the Alto with 'tro - vo che mi scam - pi', then the Tenor 1 with 'non tro - vo', the Tenor 2 with 'non tro - vo che mi', and finally the Bass with 'non'. The second system continues the piece, with the Soprano and Alto singing 'Dal ma - ni - fe - sto ac.', the Tenor 1 and Tenor 2 singing 'Dal ma - ni - fe -', and the Bass singing 'scam - pi Dal ma - ni - fe -'. The notation includes various note values such as semi-breves, minims, crotchets, and quavers, along with rests and slurs.

Marenzio: Solo e Pensoso. Il Nono Libro di Madrigali, 1599. (Marenzio: 1897.)

Similarly, Monteverdi's *Quel Augellin che canta* has a variety of figurations and note values.

Quel Au-gel-linche can - - - ta Si dol ce-men-te e la-sci
 Quel Au-gel-linche can - - - ta Si dol ce-men-te e la-sci
 4
 ve-te vo - - - la Or da l'a - be - te al fag - gio Et or dal fag - gio.al
 ve-te vo - - - la Or da l'a - be - te al fag - gio Et or dal fag -
 ve-te vo - - - la Or da ra - be - te al fag-gio Et or dal fag - gio, et

Monteverdi: *Quel Augellin che canta*, opening bars. *Il Quarto Libro di Madrigali*, 1603.
 (Monteverdi: 2008.)

When this rhythmic variety of the madrigalists is compared to the Italian sacred music of the 16th and 17th centuries, the delight in diversity and invention is apparent. The Roman school, which devoted itself to the continuation of the Palestrina style (*stile antico*) and the Venetian polychoral style was active until the late 18th century (Apel 1973:737).

The following example shows the conservative style of a motet by Nanino.

Ho- di- e Chri- stus na- tus est, _____
 Ho- di- e Chri- stus na- tus est, _____
 Ho- di- e _____
 Ho- di-

Giovanni Maria Nanino. *Opening bars of Hodie Christus natus est*. (Nanino 1969)

Composers such as Giovanni Maria Nanino (c.1545-1607), Francesco Suriano (1549-after 1621), Ruggiero Giovannelli (1560-1625) and Gregorio Allegri (c. 1582-1652) are just a few of the many composers of *stile antico* church music in the time period under discussion.

The same type of ever-changing nervous figuration, found in the madrigals but not in the sacred music of the time, is also to be found in De Macque's *Capriccio sopra re fa mi sol*. This piece shows many of the stylistic traits that became standard fare for Froberger's *toccatas*: an arpeggiated, rhapsodic beginning; rich textural and rhythmical diversity; contrasting slow and fast passages; modal/tonal ambiguity and written out ornamentation.

The image displays a musical score for the first seven bars of De Macque's 'Capriccio sopra re fa mi sol'. The score is written for a single melodic line on a treble clef staff. It begins with a series of chords in the right hand, while the left hand plays a simple bass line. The music is characterized by its complex, arpeggiated texture and frequent changes in rhythm and dynamics. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes various ornaments and trills, particularly in the later bars, which contribute to its rhapsodic and virtuosic nature.

De Macque: Capriccio sopra re fa mi sol, bars 1-7. (Macque: 2009.)

De Macque's style was continued by his pupils Trabaci and Mayone who used bold harmonic language, dissonance, unexpected modulations, suspensions, textural diversity and abrupt rhythmic changes. The Neapolitan Keyboard School is further characterized by agitated rhythms, dotted notes, syncopations and the use of the lombardic rhythm. Silbiger (2004:272) mentions that the

Neapolitans took pride in idiomatic writing for the harpsichord (as opposed to the organ) – a trait that set them apart from the Venetian School.

This type of figuration is also found in the variations on the *Ruggiero* theme by Ercole Pasquini.



Pasquini: Ruggiero (c.1608) bars 13ff. (Pasquini: 2009.)

Frescobaldi took this diversity yet one step further and any of his *toccatas* would be good examples. *Toccatà seconda* from his *Libro Primo* starts with arpeggiated chords (bar 1 to half of bar 2), continues with a four note motif that is imitated in three of the voices (bar 2, second half and bar 3), progresses to a faster motif imitated in all four voices (bars 4 and 5), then continues with a series of fast runs, supported by chords in the left hand (bar 6). This excerpt contains note values ranging from a breve (tied semi-breves) to semiquavers, dotted notes, suspensions, step-wise movements, arpeggiated chords, leaps and runs of notes.



Frescobaldi: Toccatà Seconda, opening bars. Libro Primo, 1637. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)

Similar diversity is also to be found in Froberger's works. The second *toccata* from his *Libro Quarto* (FbWV 108) starts with an arpeggiated section interspersed with a motif of a *gruppo* with a *circolo* ending which is imitated in three of the four voices and continues with fast runs first in the left hand and then in the right, supported by chords in the left (bar 3 second half, bars 4 and 5).



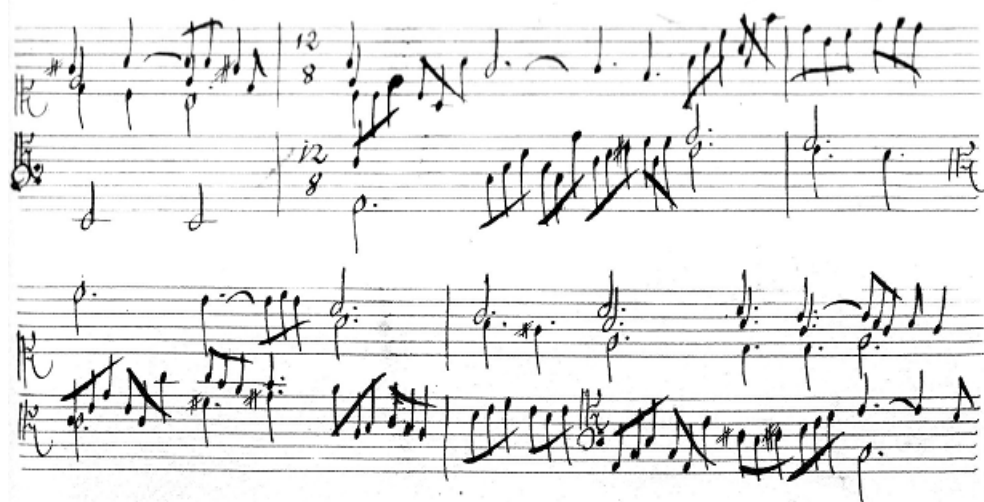
Froberger: Toccata FbWV 108, opening bars. *Libro Quarto*, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

The following extract from Froberger's *Toccata FbWV 106, da Sonarsi alla Leuatione*, contains note values ranging from three-tied-minims-tied-to-a-crotchet-tied-to-a-semiquaver, down to demisemi quavers. There are dotted notes, lombardic rhythms, runs of notes in both hands, tied notes, and quick ornaments.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 106, bars 16-19. *Libro Secondo*, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

This diversity even extends to incorporating dance-like sections into the *toccatas*. In *Toccata FbWV 101* from his *Libro Secondo*, Froberger uses a *gigue*-like motif in his second fugato section, in 12/8.



Froberger: *Toccatina FbWV 101*, bars 21-23. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

There are similar, but usually less extreme, examples in his other works as well.



Froberger: *Canzon FbWV 303*, bars 22-23. *Libro Secondo*, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)



Froberger. *Capriccio FbWV 503*, bars 24ff. *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati*, c. 1658. (Froberger: 1995.)

6.3.1 The Use of Rhythmic Extremes.

Although composers sometimes used changes in time signature to indicate a change in tempo, they often expressed a change of pace by alternating passages with long slow notes and passages with quick notes. At the beginning of the 17th century, the slow passages were often chromatic: the performer would dwell upon the dissonances. The faster passages, which often contained written out ornamentation, were, in general, more diatonic in character. The following example, *O dolcizz'amarissime d'Amore* (O delights most bitter of love) from D'India's first book of monodies, *Le Musiche* (1609), shows a languid chromatic section followed by a quicker diatonic passage.

D'India: O dolcizz'amarissime d'Amore. Le Musiche, 1609. (Joyce: 2010.)

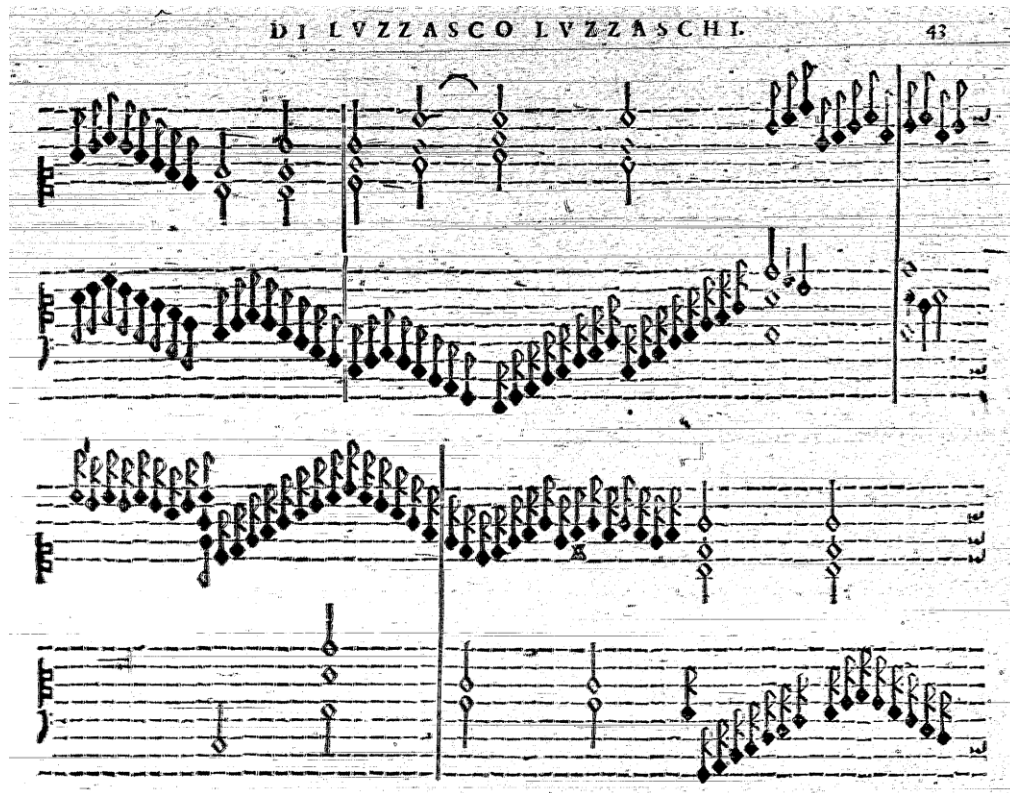
The excerpt below from Gesualdo's *Già piansi nel dolore* (I cried in pain) has a slow, chromatic beginning with long dissonant chords on the opening words followed by ornamented, quick, consonant runs of semiquavers to express the following words *Hor gioisce il mio core* (or my heart rejoices). These rhythmic extremes express the torment of a mind oscillating between the raptures and the pain of unrequited love.

Gesualdo: Già piansi nel dolore, opening bars, Libro Sesto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

Luzzaschi's music is also notable for the close juxtaposition of rhythmic extremes. For example in *I' mi son giovinetta* (*Madrigali per cantare e sonare a uno, due e tre soprano, 1601*), one of the two sopranos is given a volley of quick notes after a slower section, against the backdrop of the other, slower-moving voice part and a mostly chordal accompaniment.

Luzzaschi: I' mi son Giovinetta, bars 4-6. Madrigali a uno, due e tre Soprani, 1601. (Luzzaschi: 1994.)

Luzzaschi's keyboard music exhibits the same characteristic. In the extract below, long notes in one hand are offset by quick semi-quavers in the other; slow sections are followed by quick ones.



Luzzaschi: Toccata del 4 Tono, per Organo. (Diruta: 1622:43)

Composers of the early Neapolitan Keyboard School had similar rhythmic extremes. For example, the *Canzona Franzesa Quarta* from Trabaci's *Libro Primo* (1603) has the following opening.



Trabaci: Canzona Franzesa Quarta, opening bars. (Apel: 1972:441.)

This stylistic trait is also found in Frescobaldi's music. The following excerpt is taken from his infamous *Toccata Nona*, where frenzied runs of notes give way suddenly to slower tied notes.



Frescobaldi: Toccata Nona, Libro Secondo. (Frescobaldi: 1637.)

In *Toccata FbWV 105 da sonarsi alla leuatione*, Froberger continuously alternates between long slow arpeggiated chords and quick ornamented motifs, staying on a slow section for usually only two or three bars. The effect is of mercurial temperament changes.

A musical score for two staves, likely lute or harpsichord. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom in bass clef. The score is divided into three systems, each starting with a measure number: 11, 13, and 16. The music alternates between long, slow arpeggiated chords and quick, ornamented motifs. The first system (measures 11-12) shows a transition from a slow chord to a quick motif. The second system (measures 13-14) shows a transition from a quick motif to a slow chord. The third system (measures 16-17) shows a transition from a slow chord to a quick motif.

Froberger: Toccata FbWV 105, bars 11ff. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

In the following example, taken from Froberger's *Capriccio FbWV 516*, the composer moves from an almost sedate section into frenzied runs in both hands involving notes as small as hemidemisemi-quavers.



Froberger: *Capriccio FbWV 516*, bars 18ff. *Libro Quarto*, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

6.3.2 Syncopations.

Rhythmic variety was also added by means of syncopations. This method of adding variety was referred to in several documents of the time. Pietro Aaron in *Compendiolo di molti dubbi segreti et sentenze intorno al canto fermo* (Milan after 1545), in praising the madrigals of Verdelot, refers to his style as “allegro, soave, fugato, harmonioso, commodo, sincopato” (cheerful, gentle, fugal, harmonious, comfortable [possibly meaning a moderate tempo] and syncopated). (Quoted in Italian in Haar 2009:60.)

Puliaschi in the postscript to his *Gemma musicale dove si contengono madrigali* (Rome 1618) writes:

In alcuni passi stimo assai il far gustar à chi sente le disonanze portate con la voce in modo, che non offendino aspramente l'orecchio, adoprando una somiglianza d'andar sincopato, che le da gratia...

In other places, I very much like causing the listener to delight in the dissonances done with the voice such that they do not offend the ear harshly, adopting a similarity to syncopation which gives them grace. (Carter 2000:11)

This remark seems to refer to the practice of preparing a dissonance by suspension which would give a syncopated effect as in the example by Marenzio below. A treatise attributed to Giovanthomaso Cimello (c. 1510-after 1579) in the Bologna Civico Museo Bibliografico, MS B57 (mid-late sixteenth century) refers to syncopation in madrigals. The treatise is primarily about mensural notation. He states that the **cut C** time signature is used incorrectly “in fast and difficult madrigals, where minims and occasionally semi-minims are used in syncopation...” (quoted in Haar 1998:168). According to Cimello, the correct time signature should be **C**. The following example by Marenzio shows how the composer used prepared dissonances in suspension to create an interweaving, syncopated, effect between the voices.

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Soprano, Alto, and Bass. The time signature is 'C' (Common time). The lyrics are: 'Si ch'io mi cre - - d'ho mai che mon - - ti piag -'. The Soprano part has a long note on 'Si' followed by a syncopated melody. The Alto and Bass parts have a more regular rhythmic pattern, creating a syncopated effect between the voices.

Marenzio: Solo e Pensoso, top three voices. Nono Libro, 1599. (Marenzio: 1897.)

A similar effect is obtained in Marco da Gagliano's *Euò Padre Lio*.

The image shows a musical score for two voices: Tenore (Tenor) and Basso (Bass). The time signature is 'C' (Common time). The lyrics are: 'Scen - da giù bian - ca ce - le - ste Che fu - ne - -'. The Tenore part has a syncopated melody, and the Basso part has a more regular rhythmic pattern, creating a syncopated effect between the voices.

Da Gagliano: Euoe Padre Lio. Sesto Libro, 1617. (Gagliano: 1899.)

Gesualdo uses syncopation to add emphasis to the accusatory words *e tu pur vivi* (and you still live) in *Io pur respiro in così gran dolore*. The protagonist accuses his beloved of cruelty because she is still living whilst he is dying in agony (of unrequited love).



Gesualdo: Io pur respiro in così gran dolore. Libro Sesto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

Syncopation was also used by the Neapolitans, although its use was not as extreme as in the works of Froberger or Frescobaldi.



Trabaci: Partita. Libro Primo, 1603. (Trabaci: 1899.)

The frenzied left hand runs of bars 15-17 of Frescobaldi's *Toccata Ottava* are followed by a slower syncopated section.



Frescobaldi: *Toccata Ottava*, bars 15-21. *Libro Primo*, 1637. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)

Froberger made frequent use of syncopation. The examples below show its use in a *toccata* and in a *capriccio*.



Froberger: *Toccata FbWV 109*, bars 7ff. *Libro Quarto*, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)



Froberger: *Capriccio FbWV 507*, bars 47ff. *Libro Quarto*, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

In addition, Froberger was influenced by the current fashion in French music of *stile brisé* in which notes are sounded one at a time, although several may be held down at any time to create harmony. It was known in the 17th century as *stile luthé* as the style originated with lute music. It gives a syncopated sound to the music. The *stile brisé* became common in later French Clavecin music, but Froberger was one of the first harpsichord composers to adopt the style. It is interesting to note that the *stile brisé* was a feature of Froberger's *partitas* even before he travelled to Paris and, very

likely, before he was exposed to the harpsichord music of Chambonnières. *Partitas* from his *Libro Secondo* of 29 September 1649 show the influence of *stile brisé*. Froberger was probably only introduced to the music of Chambonnières around 15 September 1649 when Swann was in Vienna (please see chapter 2 for more detail on this). It is not clear when Chambonnières started to introduce the *stile brisé* into his music, as the earliest copy of his music, the Oldham MS, dates from 12 August 1651 and other important sources of his music date from considerably later: the Bauyn MS which was written on paper that has been dated to 1676 (Fuller 2011, article on Chambonnières) and the two printed volumes of his music dated 1670. In any event, it is unlikely that Froberger would have had time to assimilate the *stile brisé* of Chambonnières, compose music in the style, copy it into the *Libro Secondo* and have it decorated by Sautter between the time that he was exposed to it in mid September 1649 and his presentation of the highly decorated volume of music to the Emperor at the end of the same month. It is therefore possible that Froberger, and not Chambonnières, was the first composer to introduce the *stile brisé* into harpsichord music or, alternatively, that they did so independently of each other. David Fuller says of Froberger's use of the *stile brisé*:

The evidence of Froberger's realization of French lute style suggests that he worked at first without knowledge of Chambonnières; it was the *stile brisé* that fascinated him, and he carried it to sometimes bizarre extremes, whereas Chambonnières used it sparingly (Fuller 2011, article on Chambonnières).

This extreme use of the *stile brisé* is evident in the previous example. In the following excerpt, from the *Libro Secondo* of 1649, the lute influence is clearly seen in the arpeggiated chords of the left hand which create a lute-like, strummed, syncopated effect.



Froberger: Sarabanda from Partita FbWV 602, bars 6ff. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

If the opening of an *Allemande* by Chambonnières is compared to the opening of an *Allemande* by Froberger, the difference between the use of the *stile brisé* is immediately apparent. Notes played

by the left and the right hands sound together regularly on the main beats of the music in the *Allemande* by Chambonnières. In Froberger's *Allemande*, the use of the *stile brisé* is more extreme: notes sound together usually only at the beginning of the bar – and not even always then.



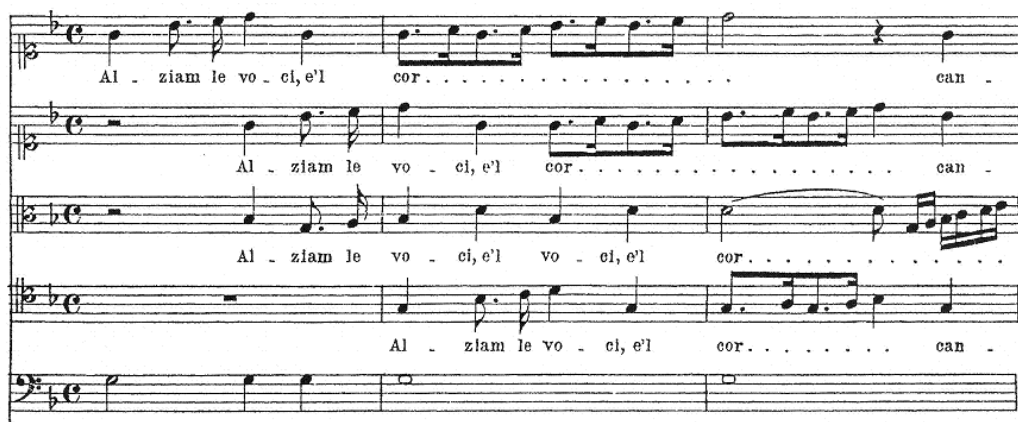
Chambonnières: Allemande, Opening. Livre Second, 1670. (Chambonnières: 2008.)



Froberger: Allemande fait à l'honneur de Mad. Sybille Duchesse de Wirtemberg. Opening. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.1)

6.3.3 Dotted notes.

Compared to earlier music, composers in the early 17th century made much more use of dotted rhythms. They are a hallmark of Caccini's music. The example below is taken from *Euridice*.



Caccini: Euridice, 1661. (Caccini: 1881.)

In addition to the more usual long-short dotted notes, Caccini also used the short-long (lombardic) rhythm, often as part of a written out ornament.



*Caccini: Alme Luci Beate (vocal parts only), bars 19ff.
Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle, 1614. (Caccini: 1952.)*

Dotted rhythms were also used liberally by Monteverdi. The music of the following example is based upon the Romanesca harmonic-melodic formula. The effect of the dotted rhythms is, once again, easier to see in the modern edition, which is provided below.

Canto

Quinto

Basso
Continuo

Monteverdi: Ohime dove il mio ben. Romanesca a 2. Settimo Libro. (Monteverdi: 1619.)

7
 me più che'l mio Amo - re am - bi - zio - s'è trop - po lie -
 mo - - - re am - bi - zio - s'è trop - po lie -

This musical score shows the vocal line and accompaniment for the beginning of Monteverdi's 'Ohime dove il mio ben'. The vocal line starts with a dotted quarter note followed by an eighth note, then a quarter note, and continues with a series of quarter notes. The accompaniment consists of a simple harmonic line in the bass clef.

12

This musical score shows the continuation of the vocal line and accompaniment. The vocal line features a series of eighth notes and quarter notes, with some notes tied across measures. The accompaniment continues with a steady harmonic line.

Monteverdi: Ohime dove il mio ben. Romanesca a 2. Settimo Libro, 1619. (Monteverdi: 2009.)

As might be expected, the Neapolitans used dotted rhythms.

42
 47

This musical score shows the piano accompaniment for De Macque's 'Capriccio sopra re, fa, mi, sol'. The score is in two systems, starting at measure 42 and ending at measure 47. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many dotted notes, particularly in the right hand. The left hand provides a steady harmonic accompaniment.

De Macque: Capriccio sopra re, fa, mi, sol, bars 42ff. (Macque: 2009.)

The use of dotted notes is often found in Frescobaldi's works.



Frescobaldi: Partite 12 Sopra l'aria di Ruggiero, Quarta Parte. Libro Primo, 1637. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)

Elsewhere in the music of the 17th century, extreme dotted rhythms are known as *accentando* and *gruppeggiando*, for example in the *toccatas* of Gregorio Strozzi, a Neapolitan. Although Strozzi's music was only published towards the end of the century (*Capricci da Sonare*, 1687), it shows many traits typical of the early Neapolitan keyboard style and was probably composed much earlier (Hudson 2010). Hudson says of his music:

Figurations passing through the entire texture, and erratic, pointed rhythms, often of the Lombard variety, are two specially striking features which sometimes become so affected and passionate that supplementary performance directions are needed: *arpeggiando*, *accentando*, *gruppeggiando* (very pointed lombardic rhythm), *largo*, *stretto*, *a battuta*, *piano*, *forte*. The music is also profusely ornamented (Hudson 2010).



G. Strozzi: Toccatà quarta per l'elevatione. Capricci da Sonare, 1687. (Scarpa: 2002. WIMA: 2009.)



G. Strozzi: *Toccata Seconda. Capricci da Sonare*, 1687. (Strozzi: 2002.)

Froberger's use of these rhythms is equally extreme. He used both the lombardic short-long dotted notes and long-short rhythms. An example of his use of the lombardic rhythm is shown below. The slurs are in the original autograph (except the dotted slurs, which are editorial).

Froberger: *Toccata FbWV 111 bars 19ff. Libro Quarto*, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

In section three of Froberger's *Canzon FbWV 301*, the long-short dotted note rhythm is used as a motif throughout. Like his mentor, Frescobaldi, Froberger composed *canzons* in multi-sectional variation forms. Froberger's variation technique is usually rhythmic.

Froberger: *Canzon FbWV 301, bars 50ff. Libro Secondo*, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

6.3.4 Notes Inégales

The use of *notes inégales*, in which there is an alteration of the relative time values of (usually) pairs of notes, differs from *sprezzatura* (in the sense of rhapsodic playing) in that the underlying tempo does not change. Pairs of notes are subtly modified, almost as if one of the notes is dotted, although this would exaggerate the effect. The Spanish composer and theorist, Tomás de Sancta Maria (c.1515-1570), mentions it in *Arte de Tañer Fantasia* (1565) stating that it is intended to intensify the charm of the music or to add vigour to the rhythm. However, it was the French who gave it a name – *notes inégales* – and because of the many French treatises that mention the practice and the undoubted use of it in French music, it is often regarded, probably erroneously, as a particularly French effect. Tomás de Sancta Maria mentions three types: a long-short rhythm (referred to by the French as *lourer*), a short-long rhythm (*couler*) and a type that has had very little attention from modern writers (probably because the French did not use it, or at least they did not give it a name): a series of four notes, the last of which is slightly prolonged (the previous three being slightly shortened). Sancta Maria regarded this last type as the most elegant of the three. The French had an additional type that they called *pointer* or *picquer* (or *piquer*), which is an exaggerated form of the long-short form (*lourer*), similar to double dotting.

In *Le Nuove Musiche*, Caccini refers to the practice of playing *inégale*:

...on the second syllable of the word 'languire' how much more grace the first four eighth notes have with the second lengthened by a dot than the last four equal ones (marked 'per esempio')! (Wiley Hitchcock 1978:49).

He gives the following example in which the dotted version is presented first, followed by the plain version:



Caccini: *Le Nuove Musiche*. (Caccini: 1601/2.)

He then goes on to mention:

Indeed there are many things used in good singing style that are written in one way but, to be more graceful, are effected in quite another (Wiley Hitchcock 1978:50).

He gives the following examples of the use of this altered rhythm:



The image contains two musical examples of unequal notes. The first example consists of two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It shows a sequence of notes: a quarter note, followed by a pair of eighth notes where the first is longer than the second, then another quarter note. This pattern is repeated four times. The first note of each pair is marked with a '1' and the second with a '2'. The bottom staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. It shows a similar sequence of notes, also with '1' and '2' markings. The second example also consists of two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It shows a sequence of notes: a quarter note, followed by a pair of eighth notes where the first is longer than the second, then another quarter note. This pattern is repeated three times. The first note of each pair is marked with a '1' and the second with a '2'. The bottom staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. It shows a similar sequence of notes, also with '1' and '2' markings. The word 'Trillo' is written above the notes in the second staff.

Caccini: Le Nuove Musiche, 1601/2. (Caccini: 1978:51.)

It seems clear from the context that Caccini was referring to a convention that was so widely accepted that one hardly needed to mention it. It was probably normally not notated because the subtlety of the effect could not be rendered by actually writing dotted notes.

In his *Prattica di Musica* (Venice 1596) Lodocivo Zacconi also referred to this practice:

...these notes are accompanied by certain accents caused by certain retardations and sustainings of the voice which are accomplished by taking away a particle from one value and assigning it to another.” (Translation Palisca 1994:61.)

A remark by Frescobaldi indicates that the Italian keyboard composers also used *notes inégales*.

Trovandosi alcun passo di crome e di semicrome insieme a tutte due le mani, portar si dee non troppo veloce: e quella che farà le semicrome dovrà farle alquanto puntante, cioè non la prima, ma la seconda sia col punto; (Frescobaldi: 1637).

On finding a passage of quavers and semiquavers together in both hands, do not take them too quickly: the hand that plays the semiquavers should play them somewhat dotted, that is dotting not the first but the second;

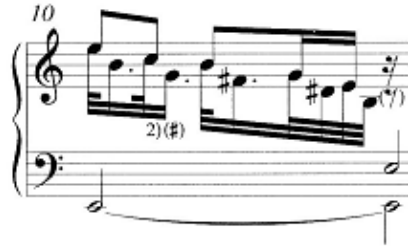
This would produce a *couler* effect. Frescobaldi's use of the word "somewhat" is significant: an indication of the subtlety of the effect, which was not as pronounced as a written, dotted rhythm.

In the following century Francois Couperin, referring specifically to the French tradition of using *notes inégales*, wrote that, in contrast to the French, the Italians always write music as they intend it to be played: *Au contraire les Italiens écrivent leur musique dans les vraies valeurs qu'ils l'ont pensée* (Couperin 1716:49). Couperin was not the only Frenchman to believe this and Loulié (1696), Brossard (1703) and Rousseau (1768) agree with him and have often been quoted as proof in the ongoing scholarly debate over the use of *inégale* in non-French music¹⁰. However, judging by the above-quoted remarks by Caccini, Zacconi and Frescobaldi, they were wrong. Howard Ferguson (1998:101) points out that the Italian theorist Pier Francesco Tosi refers to the practice of using *notes inégales* in his *Opinioni de Cantor Antichi e Moderni* (1723), stating that it is used for "pathetic and tender" pieces in vocal music and in music performed on one instrument. Tosi confirmed that the bass continues to move in an exact rhythm. It is probable that Froberger expected the performer of his music to use *notes inégales*. In many instances, probably in most instances, the effect is not notated. However, an examination of different versions of some of his pieces seems to suggest specific instances that an *inégale* interpretation would be appropriate.

The short-long rhythm

Caccini's first example, the lombardic short-long rhythm or *couler*, can be found notated in the *Allemande* from FbWV 616, the *Allemanda, representans monticidium Frobergeri*. This example is from the Bulyowsky MS and seems to be an attempt to notate the *couler* effect.

¹⁰ This has been one of the most hotly contested debates in the world of historical performance practice, particularly with regard to the use of *inégale* in JS Bach's music (Fuller: 2011). Although I have no intention of entering the debate on music composed in the later Baroque (Bach and Handel for instance), I do believe that *inégale* should be judiciously used in Froberger's music.



Froberger: *Allemanda ...monticidium Frobergeri*, bar 10. Bulyowsky MS. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)

The Schwerin MS, the Amsterdam 1698 edition and the Sing-Akademie MS show the same piece in an undotted version. (In the Sing-Akademie MS the piece is known as *Allemande faite sur le Subject d'un Chemin Montaigneux*.)

<p>Schwerin MS (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)</p>	<p>Amsterdam 1698 MS. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)</p>	<p>Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)</p>

In French treatises, *notes inégales* are forbidden in passages with leaps. However, Caccini's example shows the effect in both step-wise notes and leaps and one can thus assume that the Italians permitted *notes inégales* in music with leaps, even if the French did not. It is possible that Froberger was trying to notate the *coulé* effect in the opening of pieces such as the *Meditation* on his death and the *Lamento* for Ferdinand IV. Both the following examples are conjunct notes, rather than leaps. (The similarity between the two openings is quite pronounced!)



Froberger: *Meditation sur ma Morte Future*. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)



Froberger: *Lamento ... Ferdinand IV. Libro Quarto, 1656*. (Froberger: 1995.)

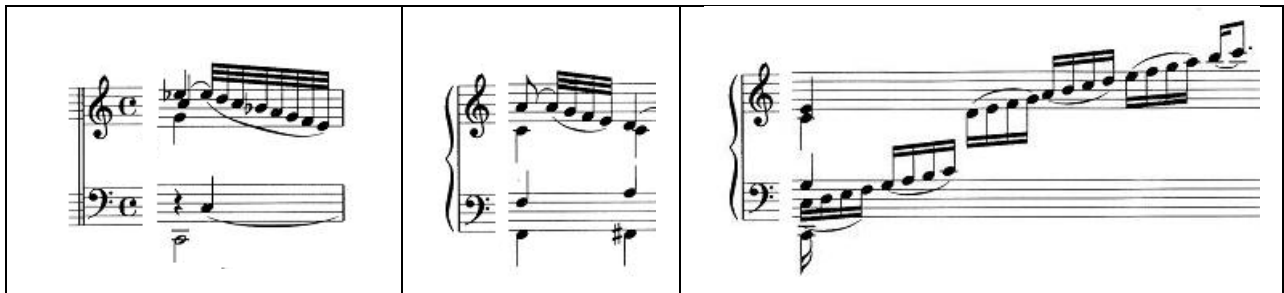
The long-short rhythm

Caccini's second example shows the long-short rhythm known to the French as *lourer*. In many instances Froberger's music seems to require this effect, for example, it seems appropriate to play the following descending group of notes (bar 10) slowly with *notes inégales*.



Froberger: *Lamento ... Ferdinand IV. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)*

This group of notes is not slurred, whereas in other places in the same piece similar groups of notes are slurred, probably indicating that Froberger required a different effect. In French treatises, the use of a slur underneath or over a group of stepwise notes meant that *notes inégales* was not permitted. The extracts below are all from *Libro Quarto*, so the slurs were written by Froberger himself. The slurs in the last extract below, seem to mean an overlegato effect, which of course does not rule out the possibility that Froberger intended these notes to be played *inégales* as well. However, the first two examples are too fast to permit the effective use of *notes inégales*.



Froberger: *Lamento ... Ferdinand IV bars 5, 13 and ending. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)*

Margery Halford provides a useful list of “rules” for playing *inégale*, based on treatises by French theorists such as Loulié, Chocquel, Engrammel, D’ilette, Montéclair, Corrette and Couperin.

WHERE INEQUALITY IS PERMITTED

These words require it: *inégales; notes inégales; lourer; pointer.*

- Groups of stepwise notes having shorter time value than the lower figure of the time signature
- Notes which fall naturally into pairs
- Melodies which become more elegant when played unequally
- Groups mainly uninterrupted by rests or notes of other time value
- Original slur over pairs of notes which are otherwise suitable
- A pickup note before a group played unequally adjusts to the inequality

WHERE INEQUALITY IS FORBIDDEN

These words forbid it: *également; notes égales; notes martelées; détachez; mouvement décidé; mouvement marqué; coups égaux.*

- Broken figures; passages with mainly leaping notes; repeated notes
- Triplets; syncopations; dotted notes
- Very fast tempi, which would sound frantic; very slow tempi, which would sound sluggish
- Mixed groups of notes and rests
- Original slur over more than two notes
- Original dots which look like staccatos forbid inequality
- Many authorities forbid inequality in Allemandes and in Marches. Some forbid it in accompaniment parts.

List of "rules" for playing notes inégales. Halford 1974:11.

It is likely that Froberger used most of the same conventions as these French writers and the Italian theorists mentioned above and that he expected the performer to add *notes inégales* at appropriate places. The third and subsequent examples given by Caccini are all variations on the first two effects of *couler* and *lourer* and they are therefore not discussed further.

6. 4 Shift between Modal and Tonal systems

An interesting aspect of the music of the late Renaissance and early Baroque is the gradual changeover from the modal to the tonal system. This makes any analysis of the music difficult, as neither modal nor tonal thinking can be uniformly applied. To the modern ear, schooled as it is in tonal music, the effect can be strange, giving a sense of restlessness and ambiguity. It must have sounded strange to many late 16th century/ early 17th century ears as well because Artusi (in *L'Artusi, overo della imperfettioni della moderna musica* 1600 and again in his *Seconda parte dell'Artusi*, 1603) criticised composers for mixing modes, rather than staying in one mode throughout a piece. Artusi, like his famous predecessors Zarlino and Glareanus believed that each mode had a particular character, evoking a particular emotional response in the listener. Keeping in one mode was therefore essential to avoid confusion. However Galilei in his treatise *Il primo libro della prattica del contrapunto* of 1591, scathingly debunked this belief, stating that plainchant modes were meaningless in modern polyphonic composition (Palisca and Bent:2011). To theorists such as Galilei, mixing modes was as acceptable as the introduction of dissonances. The expressive end justified the means.

Many modern theorists have attempted to explain the transition from modality to tonality and to provide a system suitable for the analysis of music that exhibits characteristics of both. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries and even later, the characteristics that theorists later came to call "tonality" emerged, in particular the focus on major and minor at the expense of the other modes; the emphasis on vertical chord-based progressions and the establishment of a tonal centre.

Tonal composition using chords, as it gradually evolved during the 17th and 18th centuries, can be distinguished from modal composition using intervals, first (as already mentioned) by its conception of the chord as a primary, indivisible unit, second by its referral of every chord to a single tonal centre and third by its segregation of intervallic dissonances into the categories of dissonant chords and notes foreign to the harmony. (Dahlhaus 2011).

Modern theories have ranged from seeing modality and tonality as mutually exclusive systems that abruptly changed when monody arrived on the scene (McClary 1976: 13 and 176) to Dahlhaus's contention that they existed side by side and were not separate compositional languages (Dahlhaus 1990:18). Wienpahl (1971:407-17) coined the word Monality to describe compositions which show a mixture of tonal and modal elements. Current thinking on this issue has largely centred around two different approaches. The controversial "tonal type", first identified by Siegfried Hermelink in 1960 ("Tonartentyp") and expanded by Harold Powers. This system classifies compositions based upon three "markers":

- a) the "system" ie whether it is written in cantus mollis (with the governing key signature of a b flat) or cantus durus (without the b flat);
- b) the "cleffing" ie whether it is written for the standard *chiavi naturali* (SATB) or the high clef *chiavette*, a fourth or a fifth higher than the standard range;
- c) the bass note of the final triad. (Powers 1982:43ff.)

The other approach is typified by Bernhard Meier who has studied the theoretical writings of (mainly) the second half of the 16th century and concluded that compositions of this period were composed in a particular mode much in the way that later generations composed a piece in a particular key. Any inconsistencies are to be explained by the composer's desire to express the text more accurately. (Meier 1988:250ff.) Broadly speaking, the approach by Powers could be described as "etic" and the approach by Meier as "emic".

Many eminent theorists have entered the debate, which has largely concerned itself with vocal music, but despite conflicting theories on how the transition occurred and how best to analyse and describe it, most modern theorists seem to concur that the music of the late 16th and early 17th centuries showed characteristics of both modality and tonality and that the music, in one way or another, was a coalescence of both systems. I think that it is likely that composers of the late 16th and early 17th centuries used whatever elements of the musical stockpile they needed, fully realising that in some cases they were breaking the old rules. However, as more and more composers transgressed the old boundaries, previous infringements became acceptable, gradually being seen as normal, then conservative, as ever more transgressions were added and accepted.

In the period of history under discussion, composers used both the major and the minor versions of thirds within a short space of each other, giving a sense of shifting tonality to the modern ear. The addition of many chromatic notes for reasons of expressivity compounded this effect, blurring the mode or key even further. In modern analysis, some of this music seems to modulate frequently, especially in slow chromatic sections. Composers achieved this effect by, for example, using chromatic root progressions by tone or semitone. As the 17th century progressed, composers gradually switched over from the hybrid system to a more fully fledged tonal system. This change is discernable in Froberger's music. In his early works, he is more obviously modal, in later works, more tonal. The remnants of modal thinking are apparent especially in his use of key signatures, with (to the modern way of thinking) one or two flats or one sharp too few, or one sharp too many. For example, the following *gigue* is in c minor, although there is only one flat in the key signature.



Froberger: Gigue from Partita FbWV 619, opening. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)

6.4.1 Shifting Thirds

The use of major and minor thirds in close proximity on the same bass note gives a sense of shifting tonality. In modern analysis, Falcone's madrigal *Sopra le Verdi* contains shifts from a minor to A major (bar 3 of the extract) and from D major to d minor (bars 4 and 5 of the extract).

-let - ti di ca - no.riaugetlet - ti Al - tri
 -let - ti di ca_no - ri augetlet - ti.....
 ca - no - ri di ca_no - ri augetlet - ti Al -
 -ri au - gel - let - ti di ca_no - ri augetlet - ti
 - no - ri au - gel - let - ti Al -

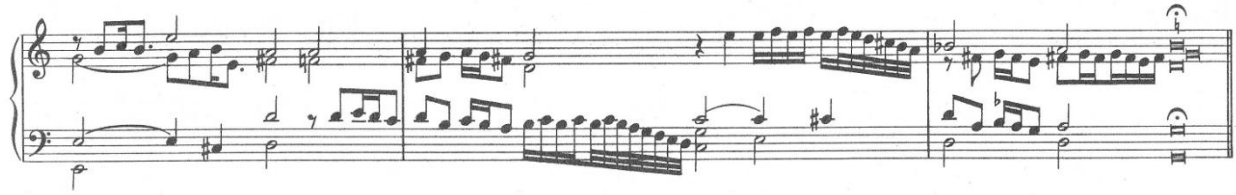
Falcone: *Sopra le Verdi. Madrigali, 1603.* (Torchi:1897.)

Giaches de Wert uses this technique repeatedly in his madrigal *Sovente all'or che su gl'estivi ardori*. In the second part of the madrigal, on the phrase *poscia dicea piangendo* (and then he said, weeping) he oscillates back and forth between G major and g minor triads.

45
 Po - scia di - cea pian - gen - - - - - do:
 gen - - - - - do: pian - gen - - - - - do:
 Po - scia di - cea pian - gen - do,
 Po - scia di - cea pian - gen - - - - - do:

De Wert: *Sovente all'or che su gl'estivi ardori. La Gerusalemme Liberata. Canto VII, c. 1595.* (Wert: 2003.)

It was also a common feature of Frescobaldi's keyboard music. In the *Partite 12 sopra l'Aria di Ruggiero*, in the opening *parte*, Frescobaldi uses the major and the minor triad on d (the tonic), adding c#, and b \flat and their naturals in addition to f# and f natural to create further ambiguity.



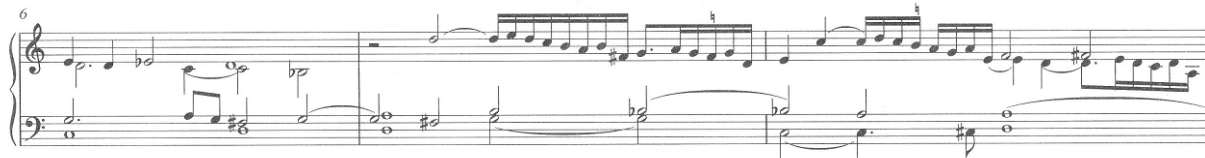
Frescobaldi: Partite ...l'Aria di Ruggiero, Prima Parte, bars 6-8. Libro Primo, 1637. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)

Similar use was made of this device by the Neapolitans. The opening of de Macque's *Capriccio sopra re, fa, mi, sol* shows a shifting back and forth between G major and g minor triads.



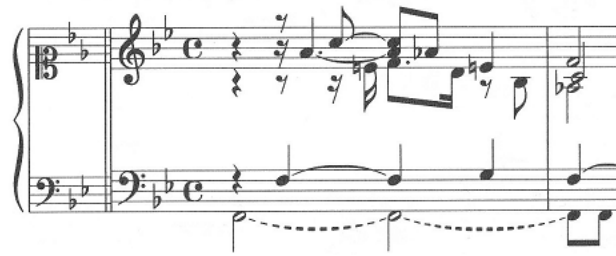
De Macque: Capriccio sopra re, fa, mi, sol, opening bars. (Macque: 2009.)

This tonal ambiguity is also a feature of Froberger's music. In his *Tocatta FbWV 105*, there are continuous changes. In the excerpt below he alternates between C major, c minor, G major, g minor and D major, d minor.



Froberger: Tocatta FbWV 105, bars 6-8. (Froberger: 1993).

In his *Lamentation* for Ferdinand III, the opening shifts between major and minor on the root F. This is a feature of the entire piece, with its constant allusions to the Emperor's name.



Froberger. Lamentation...Ferdinand III (Froberger: 1995).

In the Sotheby's autograph, the piece is called a *Tombeau* and, interestingly, Froberger uses an f minor chord to open the piece (Schulenberg 2008:6.4), rather than oscillating between F major and f minor as he does in the other two sources of the piece: WMin 743 and the Sing-Akademie MS. It seems that, when he wrote out the piece at a later date, he gave it a more modern tonal feeling and updated the title to the more fashionable *tombeau*.

In Froberger's *toccatas da sonarsi alla leuatione*, by raising or lowering notes he seems to glide effortlessly through a spectrum of keys, shifting tonalities continuously. The effect is not harsh or discordant, but portrays a sorrowful restlessness, appropriate to the section of the mass during which the *toccat*a was supposed to be played (at the Elevation of the Host).



Froberger. Toccata FbWV 106, bars 13-14. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

6.4.2 The Twisting Chromatic Line – the “Figura Serpentinata”.

A chromatic twisting motif or turn, usually not played fast as an ornament would be, but deliberately dwelt upon for effect, also creates a feeling of shifting tonality. The motif includes adjacent notes which have been chromatically altered. For example: f, g, f# e or f g, a, g# would be

typical. The motif is most often found as a four-note figure, but is also common as a three- or five-note figure. Apel (1972:435) mentions that this “striking harmonic feature ... suggests an abrupt change from major to minor - one of the typical surprise effects of early Baroque style”. Referring to the progression g, f#, e, f, Apel continues: “This formula ... suggests a common cadence formula (g f# e/f#) – an expectation that is thwarted at the last moment”.

This type of motif has been referred to by Naomi Barker (1989:45) as the *figura serpentinata*, a term borrowed from art to describe the convoluted posture often used in Mannerist paintings and sculpture.



*Giovanni da Bologna (1524-1608). Il Mercurio Volante, 1580. (Bologna: 1580).
Museo del Bargello, Florence.*

This sculpture shows the use of the *figura serpentinata*, a typical Mannerist pose which can be seen as an extreme form of the traditional *contrapposto*, in which the weight of the body falls on one leg, whilst the shoulders and arms twist off-axis to balance the body. In Mannerist art this stance was taken to its impossible extreme.

The twisting motif is frequently found in the madrigals. In *Merce grido piangendo* from Gesualdo's fifth book of madrigals, the ending contains a series of such motifs, some of them short, three-note motifs on the words *Io moro*, such as the e" f#" f" in soprano I and the c#" d" b' in soprano 2. Others are composed of four notes such as those in all the voices on the words *pria chi'io mora*.

Gesualdo: *Merce grido piangendo*, ending. *Libro Quinto*, 1611. (Gesualdo: 1958.)

In Marco da Gagliano's *O Misera Dorinda* (1602) in the top two voices on the words *non c'hai ghiaccio*: e'f'g'f#" and b'c"d" c#".

74

c'hai ghiac- cio, se non c'hai ghiac- cio il co- re,
 ghiac- cio, se non c'hai ghiac- cio il co-
 Se non c'hai ghiac- cio il co-
 c'hai ghiac- cio il co- re, il co-
 non c'hai ghiac- cio il co-

Da Gagliano: O Misera Dorinda. Il Primo libro de' Madrigali, 1602. (Gagliano: 2003.)

In many cases, the effect of this chromatic twist is that the raised and the lowered third appear close together. It results in a sudden and unexpected change from major to minor or vice versa. This particular harmonic device was used extensively by Mayone of the Neapolitan Keyboard School. The following example shows two such motifs used by Mayone in *Toccata 13*.

a. b.

Mayone: Toccata 13. Libro Secondo, 1609. (Apel: 1972:436.)

Trabaci even goes so far as to use the twisting motif in the subject for one of the versets from his *Secondo Libro de ricercate et altri varii capricci, con cento versi sopra li otto finali ecclesiastici*.

Trabaci: Verset no. 11. Secondo Libro, 1615. (Apel: 1972:447.)

In Frescobaldi's *Toccata Duodecima (Libro Primo)*, bars 8-9 use f# and f natural in the soprano part and b natural and b \flat in the tenor part. Bar 10 uses a similar motif in the alto.



Frescobaldi: Toccata Duodecima, bars 7-12. Libro Primo, 1637. (Frescobaldi: 1949.)

In Froberger's fantasia *FbWV 206*, bars 11 and 13 contain a *figura serpentinata* that uses c natural and c# in the tenor.



Froberger: Fantasia FbWV 206, bars 8-14. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

It is also common in Froberger's *ricercars*. In *FbWV 407* he uses the motif in contrary motion in the two lower voices simultaneously:



Froberger: Ricercar FbWV 407, bars 8-9. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

Toccata FbWV 105, bars 13-14, shows an example of its use in the top three voices: tenor: b \flat , a, g, a, b; alto: d', c', c#, d; and soprano: f', g', f', e \flat , e', f#, g.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 105, bar 13ff. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The motif is also to be found in the *partitas*. The *Allemande* from FbWV 618, *fait à l'honneur de Mad. Sybille Duchesse de Wirtemberg* (composed in honour of Sibylla, Duchess of Württemberg) contains a short *figura serpentinata* in the soprano part: d', e', f', e', b', d'.



Froberger: Allemande fait a l'honneur de Sybille. FbWv 618 bars 4-5. (Froberger 2005).

The *Sarabande* from the same partita has two of the twisting figures. In bar 6-7, the alto part: a, b \flat , b, a and the soprano part in bar 7: c \sharp , c', d'.



Froberger: Sarabande from FbWv 618 bars 6-7. (Froberger 2005).

6.5 Dissonance

Caccini's remarks in *Le Nuove Musiche* about *sprezzatura*, allowing "several dissonances" for expressive purposes, and Vicentino's remarks about allowing "every bad step", "bad consonance" and "changing the tempo" in the quest for the right dramatic effect were indicative of a change in thinking. Not only was a variable tempo required, but the judicious use of dissonance was allowable as well. The end justified the means. Composers deliberately added dissonant notes to express various emotions. However, the fact that they still saw the dissonant notes that they used as dissonances, shows that the fundamental thinking had not changed much. They used unprepared and unresolved dissonances, fully realising that they were violating the accepted rules of composition. In fact, the practice of using such dissonances seems to re-affirm the underlying, "old fashioned" practices in the same way that it is "the exception that proves the rule". It was a deliberate shock in order to express a particular emotion after which the composer reverted to the compositional norms of the day.

Le Institutioni harmoniche (Venice 1558) by Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590) is widely recognised as one of the most important treatises about music theory. Despite the controversy surrounding some of his ideas, especially on tuning, Zarlino's treatise became the touchstone of music composition in the later part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century. The madrigalists' deliberate use of dissonance should be seen against his classification of intervals into consonant and dissonant. In addition to the unison, the perfect fourth, the perfect fifth and the octave, intervals that were already recognised as being consonances, Zarlino added the major third, the minor third, the major sixth and the minor sixth. The minor sixth was regarded as the least consonant of the above intervals but was allowed because it was a combination of a perfect fourth and a minor third (Palisca 2012). Dissonances were, therefore, the remaining intervals of seconds, sevenths and any augmented or diminished intervals. Zarlino allowed dissonances, provided that they were prepared by suspension and resolved by step to a consonance.

In addition, Zarlino felt that a composition should be steadfastly kept within one mode, which limited the number of notes that could be introduced outside the diatonic steps. In reading Artusi's attack on Monteverdi's music, Artusi's viewpoint seems more reasonable when seen against the

background of accepted contemporary theory, especially because Artusi had studied with Zarlino. Artusi's key complaints revolved around Monteverdi's unorthodox use of dissonance and the fact that he mixed modes. His remarks on dissonance focus on unprepared dissonances, careless voice-leading, the diminished triad and the dominant seventh (Maniates 1979:169-170).

In addition to using "dissonant" intervals, composers introduced a wide range of *cromatici*: chromatic notes that did not belong to the diatonic steps of the mode or key. In the hands of some composers, the use of *cromatici* resulted in extreme dissonance. These *cromatici* were used to express anguish or other feelings, but at the same time this blurred the mode or key, giving the effect of shifting tonalities. As Maniates points out (1979:303), chromaticism eventually became accepted, becoming just one component in the repertory of devices, but not before it succeeded in revolutionizing musical language.

Marenzio's ninth and last book of madrigals (1599) for five voices contains some of his most audacious dissonances. In *Solo e pensoso*, the long ascending chromatic line in the canto part produces a number of harsh clashes with the other voices. Steven Ledbetter considers this madrigal Marenzio's "most extended essay in linear chromaticism" (Ledbetter 2009).

The image shows a musical score for five voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass) from Marenzio's madrigal 'Solo e Pensoso'. The score is in mensural notation with a treble clef for the Soprano and bass clefs for the other parts. The lyrics are: 'so i più de-ser-ti cam-pi i più de-ser-ti cam-pi vo' Solo e pensoso i più de-ser-ti cam-pi Solo e pen-soso i più de-ser-ti cam-pi'. The Soprano part features a long, ascending chromatic line that is a key feature of the piece.

Marenzio: *Solo e Pensoso*, bars 5-9. Libro Nono, 1599. (Torchi: 1897.)

Peri uses unprepared and unresolved dissonances on the word *Misera* (wretched) in the extract below: Arcetrot's response to Dafne's account of Euridice's death.

55
ARCETRO

lo. Che nar-ri, ohi-mè, che sen-to? Mi-se-ra Nin-fa, e

Peri: *Dafne's* speech "Per quell vago boschetto". *Euridice*, 1600. (Palisca: 2001:278.)

Gesualdo is justly famous, or infamous, for his unresolved and unprepared dissonances and his use of *cromatici*.

Gesualdo shared Luzzaschi's interest in the chromatic *arcicembalo* made by Vicentino and kept at the court of Ferrara. The practice and theory of such an instrument had an undoubted influence on Gesualdo's stylistic evolution; his writing encompassed an almost complete chromatic scale (the only chromatic change which never appears is F^b), ... (Bianconi: 2010).

The opening of *Belta poi che t'assenti* from his sixth book of madrigals is a case in point. The opening bars, shown below, contain the following notes (not in this order): a, a^b, a[#], b, b^b, c, c[#], d, d[#], e, e^b, e[#], f, f[#], g and g[#].



Gesualdo: Belta poi t'assenti. Libro Sesto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

Gesualdo used these unorthodox dissonances to express anguish. The following example from his madrigal *Moro, Lasso* (I die, alas) is a prime example. Almost every vertical sonority has clashing dissonances. The clefs are missing in the first part of the example, but are given in the second part. The words *Ahi, che m'ancide e non vuol darmi aita! O dolorosa sorte ...* (Alas, who kills me and will

not help me. O sorrowful fate,...) shows Gesualdo's depiction of anguish. Note, for example the chord on *Ahi* (d, a, d#, b, f"), the chord on *ancide* (B, g, d# b, d"); or on the first *sorte* (f d' a' b b').

This image shows a page of a musical score for Gesualdo's 'Moro Lasso'. It features five staves of vocal lines on the left and a corresponding lute tablature on the right. The lyrics are: 'Ahi che m'an cide e non vuol darmi aita e non vuol darmi a ita O de e non vuol darmi aita e non vuol darmi a ita O Ahi che m'anci Ahi che m'an cide e non vuol d rmi aita e non vuol darmi ai ta Ahi che m'an de e non vuol darmi aita e non vuol darmi a ita O dolo'. The tablature uses letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g) to represent fret positions on the strings.

This image shows another page of the musical score for Gesualdo's 'Moro Lasso'. It features five staves of vocal lines and a corresponding lute tablature. The lyrics are: 'O dolorofa forte Chi dar vi ta mi può ahi dolorofa forte O dolorofa forte Chi dar vi ta mi può dolorofa forte O dolorofa forte Chi dar vi ta mi può O dolorofa forte O dolorofa for te Chi dar vi ta mi può rofa for te Chi dar vi ta mi può'. The tablature continues with letters representing fret positions.

Gesualdo: Moro Lasso. Libro Quinto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

The following example by Falcone is taken from the posthumous publication (by his father) of his madrigals in 1603, *Alli signori musici di Roma: Madrigali a cinque voci* Within a few bars, it illustrates the word painting conventions of the sighing motif (*Ohime*), a descending lament-style

line (*Che vinto sono*) and anguished dissonances (*sono con fraud*). Note the particularly dissonant chord in bar 6 of the example (g^b, c[#], a', f[#]" a') where the g^b is presumably not the enharmonic equivalent of f[#]; and the poignancy of the chord in bar seven (b, e^b, b', f[#]", a').

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a madrigal. Each system consists of five staves: a vocal line (soprano), a vocal line (alto), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (bass clef), and a vocal line (bass). The lyrics are written below the staves. The first system covers the first six bars, and the second system covers the next six bars. The lyrics are: "me Ohi mè che vin to so no con fraud' hor lo co no sco Cre dei guer ra di".

Falcone: Sfidi tu forsi. Madrigali, 1603. (Torchi: 1897.)

Michelangelo Rossi followed Gesualdo's example. The following extract shows his use of bold chromaticism. The opening (shown below) uses a wide variety of pitches and during the course of the madrigal, he also uses extremely unusual pitches such as F double sharp, B#, E# and D double sharp.

Canto
Alto
Tenore II
Tenore I
Basso

Ohi - mè, se tan - to a - ma - te Di sen - tir dir "ohi -
 Ohi - mè, se tan - to a - ma - te Di sen - tir dir "ohi -
 Ohi - mè, se tan - to a - ma - te Di sen - tir dir "ohi -
 Ohi - mè, se tan - to a - ma - te Di sen - tir dir "ohi -

Rossi: Ohime se tanto amate. (Mann: 2002.)

The keyboard works of the early Neapolitan School also show similarities to Gesualdo's extreme use of dissonance. De Macque's use of harmonic progressions, according to Apel (1972:425), "anticipate and even outdo the chromatic audacities of Gesualdo's madrigals". De Macque was employed by the Gesualdo family before he moved to Naples around 1585 and he may have been part of Gesualdo's retinue of musicians when Gesualdo went to Ferrara (1594). He published 12 books of madrigals in addition to his *canzons*, *ricercars*, *capriccios* and other pieces for the keyboard. Silbiger (2004:275) notes that his keyboard music is virtuosic, chromatic and harmonically adventurous. The following example, one of the *Consonanze Stravaganti*, shows an example of his chromatic and expressive harmonies. Seven-six and four-three suspensions with delayed resolutions are common and, by changing the bass note by a semitone, he gives an impression of continuously changing tonality.

22
28

De Macque: Consonanze Stravaganti, bars 22-33. (Macque: 2009.)

The concept of dissonance cannot be divorced from the tuning systems of the period under review. In the *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* of 1581 Galilei set out to prove that the tuning then used in vocal music could not be the syntonic diatonic of Ptolemy, as Zarlino maintained, but had to be a compromise between the Pythagorean diatonic *ditoniaion*, with its pure 5ths, and the diatonic *syntonon*, with its consonant 3rds (Palisca 2011). Galilei argued that singers must continuously temper intervals appropriately to avoid dissonance and loss of pitch (Maniates 1979:136). In this respect they shared the same problems as keyboard players.

The use of accidentals in keyboard music was limited by the tuning. With the exception of instruments such as Vicentino's *archicembalo* (which had 36 keys to the octave to allow a wide range of *cromatici*), keyboard instruments were generally tuned in the quarter-comma meantone temperament¹¹. This meant that there were 12 notes available to them: the notes of the C major scale plus c#, e♭, f#, g# and b♭, as described in Pietro Aron's *Il Toscanello in Musica* of 1523 (Schott 1998:108). Thinking in terms of modern major-minor tonality, this limited the keys available to major keys with a maximum of 2 flats or 3 sharps ie B♭, F, C, G, D and A; and minor keys with a maximum of 2 flats and no sharps in the key signature, thus g, d and a minor. Minor keys associated with G D and A major (e, b and f# minors) would require the sharpened seventh of d#, a# and e# - none of which were viable notes in the standard tuning of the day.

One of the very few compositions that has survived for the *archicembalo* is Trabaci's *Toccata Terza et Ricercar sopra il Cimbalo Cromatico* in which he uses notes such as F double sharp, E#, A# and B# (Apel 1972:447). In the preface to this Toccata, Trabaci refers to f double sharp as *terze maggiore sopra D semitonato* - the major third above D#.

Rossi's most famous *toccata*, (*Toccata Settima*), takes chromaticism on the keyboard to a new extreme in the concluding section which contains descending and ascending passages in semi-tones, forming a series of fourths: perfect, augmented and diminished. However, even this chromatic *toccata* uses the "normal" tones of the quarter-comma meantone tuning.

¹¹ There were several other systems of meantone tuning such as the 2/7 comma tuning suggested by Zarlino.



Rossi: *Toccata VII*, bars 56-64. *Toccate e Corenti ... 1657*. (Torchi: 1899.)

Froberger does not stay firmly within this gambit, introducing $d\sharp$ so frequently that it is almost a hallmark of his chromaticism, sometimes even in the same piece as $e\flat$. The range of notes that Froberger used included: $c\sharp$, $d\flat$, d , $d\sharp$, $e\flat$, e , $e\sharp$, $f\sharp$, g , $g\sharp$, $a\flat$, a , $a\sharp$, $b\flat$, b and $b\sharp$. This 18 note range is considerably broader than the 12 notes traditionally used.

For example, Froberger's *Ricercar FbWV 406* is in the very unusual tonality (for the times) of $c\sharp$ minor. The following example shows his use of $b\sharp$ and $e\sharp$ (in the last chord).



Froberger: *Ricercar FbWV 406*, bars 20ff. *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati*, c. 1658. (Froberger: 1995.)

Similarly *Ricercar FbWV 412* is in the unusual key of f# minor and the following extract shows the use of the notes e# and a# in bar 21.



Froberger: Ricercar FbWV 412. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

Howard Schott makes the interesting observation that the use of these accidentals proves that Froberger wrote these *ricercars* for the harpsichord rather than for the organ or the clavichord, as has often been presumed.

These two *ricercars* are strong evidence that these particular polyphonic works can hardly have been conceived in terms of the organ, the tuning of which cannot easily be modified. (Keyboards with divided sharps to provide additional chromatic notes were so exceptional that their use is not to be inferred from the existence of these two *ricercars*. Furthermore, B# and E#, both required, cannot be provided by split sharps.) As organ temperaments were notoriously conservative well into the 19th century, and since fretted clavichords cannot be re-tuned specially for such exceptional pieces, the only possible conclusion is that these *ricercars* must belong to the repertoire of the harpsichord (Schott 1998:108).

In meantone tuning, there is a difference between major and minor semi-tones. Major semitones (semitones between notes that are diatonically adjacent eg C# - D) are wider than minor semitones (semitones that occur between notes of the same letter eg C - C#). This further underlines the improbability of enharmonic equivalents, such as G# and A \flat : it is more than likely that composers who were accustomed to meantone tuning, meant two different notes. Meantone tuning would

effectively disallow both G# and A \flat in the same piece, or, similarly, D# and E \flat . It is possible that Froberger used a harpsichord with split sharps, allowing both D# and E \flat for example, although such instruments appear to have been extremely rare. It is also interesting to speculate that Froberger might have been an advocate of using a “circulating” temperament, like the one used in the following century by Bach. This type of temperament would have given him a wider range of usable chords than the more standard meantone tuning of the day, using a standard harpsichord without split sharps.

One would have expected Froberger’s three *toccatas da sonarsi alla leuatione* FbWV 105, 106 and 111 to have been conceived for the organ and not the harpsichord. However, the presence of notes extraneous to meantone tuning in these *toccatas* indicates that even these were conceived for the harpsichord. Both *Toccatas FbWV 105* and *Toccatas FbWV 111* contain both d# and e \flat and *Toccatas FbWV 106* uses d \flat and a \flat on several occasions, usually within a short space of the enharmonic equivalents c# and g#, which were in the standard meantone range of notes.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 106, bars 9-10. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 106, bar 20. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The Elevation of the Host during the Mass is a time of contemplation and the *toccatas* played at this time were supposed to help the congregation meditate upon the presence of God and the suffering of Jesus. Expressive dissonance was used by Froberger to achieve this, although he prepares and resolves these dissonances in a way that both Zarlino and Artusi would have approved of. The *Toccatas da Sonarsi alla Leuatione* contain many seventh and ninth chords and other dissonant notes that form suspensions.

The following example from *Toccata FbWV 105* shows the tonic chord of d minor, followed by the dominant seventh (a', c#, e', g', e'') in second inversion, with an additional dissonant note in the bass (d') which forms a second with the bass note (e'). The following chord is a ninth chord on the tonic (d', f', a', [c'] e''), in which the dissonant e'' resolves to d'', which becomes the 3rd of the next seventh chord (b♭, d'', f', a').



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 105, opening. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Froberger uses similar expressive dissonances in his *lamentations*, *plaintes* and *meditations* to express pain. In modern analysis, the second half of the *Meditation faist sur ma mort future*, of which the following example shows the opening bars, starts in f# minor, changes to G major and then the dominant of d minor as the bass line ascends. Similarly to the example of De Macque's music, we are left with an impression of unease, as the music finds no resting point in the ever-changing harmonies.



Froberger: Meditation faist sur ma Mort future, bars 12-14. (Froberger: 2005: Vol III.2.)

The chromatic descending lines of Froberger's *Tombeau fait à Paris sur la mort de Monsieur Blancheroche* produce a series of dissonant fourths and seconds.



Froberger: Tombeau fait à Paris sur la mort de Monsieur Blancheroche, bars 21-26. (Froberger: 1959.)

Froberger used chromaticism in the 6th *partita* of his *Auff die Mayerin* (FbWV 606), which, according to Rampe (Froberger 1993:87) was inspired by the poem *Hylas wil kein weib nicht haben* by Georg Greflinger (c. 1620-1677) and which was, apparently, a favourite of Emperor Ferdinand III. The 6th *partita* is headed *Grammatica* which is possibly a corruption of the word *Chromatica*. In the facsimile copy of the piece, the first “a” of the word *Grammatica* seems as if it has been changed from an “o”. The capital C might also have been changed to a G. (Froberger 1993:XXXII.)



Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Mus. Hs. 18706 (fol. 105v) Partita auff die Aegypten: FbWV 606: 6. Partita: / Grammatica: (L / mm. 1-5a) Notenautograph Johann Jacob Frobergers, Titelillustration von Johann Friedrich Sautter, Wien 1649 Autograph of Johann Jacob Froberger, (score), title by Johann Friedrich Sautter, Vienna 1649

Froberger: Auff die Mayerin. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Another use of dissonance is to be found in the opening of the *allemande* from *Partita FbWV 614*, the *Lamentation sur ce que j'ay été volé* (Lamentation on my being robbed), which depicts Froberger's treatment at the hands of soldiers who robbed him. The pedal on G in the bass clashes with the descending arpeggio in the right hand (a' f#' c') forming intervals of a second, a seventh and a fourth. In the second (full) bar of the extract the E^b in the bass forms a dissonance with the repeated d' in the upper staff. The version of this *allemande* in the Sing-Akademie source calls for it to be played *fort lentement, à la discretion sans observer aucune [sic] mesure* (very slowly, with discretion, without observing the beat at all.)



Froberger: Lamentation sur ce que j'ay été volé. (Froberger. 2005:52.)

In a letter to Sibylla after Froberger's death, Huygens refers to the practice of introducing "beautiful dissonances" that was so popular in Italy in vocal music.

Ces jours passes un certain virtuoso nommé Francesco, Alemand de naissance, mais eslevé dans la science à Rome, m'est venu veoir, et outré son beau talent de tres bien chanter à l'italienne, et d'accompagner sa voix sur le clavecin avec beaucoup de scavoir et de belles dissonances, quit sont aujourdhuy les delices d'Italie. (Huygens. letter to Sibylla 4 August 1668, Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis 2010).

These days there is a certain virtuoso called Franceso, German by birth, but taught the art in Rome, who came to see me and demonstrated his fine talent of singing well in the Italian style and of accompanying his voice on the harpsichord with much knowledge and those beautiful dissonances which are these days the delight of Italy.

This "Francesco", who Huygens later describes as playing Froberger's music extremely well, was more than likely Franz Franken who was a contemporary of Froberger's at the Viennese court and possibly a student of Froberger's (Froberger. 2005:XLVIII). The letter to Sibylla is dated 1668, proof that dissonances were still popular even after Froberger's death.

6.6 Summary

A feature of the late 16th century and early 17th century madrigals is their continuous invention and diversity. Composers used a wide variety of rhythms and textures to portray the agitation of the passions and to add other forms of expressiveness to their music. Contrast seems to be an essential element and a continuous stream of invention was called for to provide musical interest. Composers varied the number and type of the voices singing at any one time, sometimes using a high voice, sometimes a low voice. They used dotted notes, syncopations, juxtaposition of rhythmic extremes and a variety of note values. *Notes inégales* were used to intensify the charm of the music and to add vigour to the rhythm. Like their counterparts in the visual arts, the madrigal composers were sometimes deliberately extreme, introducing novelties which later became stock in trade for subsequent composers. The composer seeking to startle or astound his listener must continuously invent new devices. Innovation is, thus, a part of the style.

The music often has a feeling of continuous restlessness, caused by effects such as the use of accidentals to blur the tonality (modality), the use of chords in inversion and frequent modulation (if modern analysis is applied). An interesting aspect of the music of the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods is the gradual changeover from the modal to the tonal systems. This makes any analysis of the music difficult, as neither modal nor tonal thinking can be uniformly applied. To the modern ear, schooled as it is in tonal music, the effect can be strange, giving a sense of agitation and ambiguity. The use of major and minor thirds in close proximity on the same bass note gives a sense of shifting tonality. A chromatic twisting motif or turn, usually not played fast as an ornament would be, but deliberately dwelt upon for effect, also creates a feeling of shifting tonality.

A related aspect of the music was the delight in complexity. The emphasis was on virtuoso display and, with few exceptions, it is only playable or singable by a performer with a high degree of technical skill. Some of the madrigals of the early part of the century show a calculated delight in complexity for its own sake; a characteristic shared by Froberger's music which abounds in invention and diversity. Froberger's music is complex, virtuosic and to a large extent theatrical. He seems to have been in permanent employment only for part of his itinerant life, going from one

court to another across Europe and, presumably, relying on his ability to instil a sense of *meraviglia* in the audiences he played to. There was a thirst for the new and the exciting amongst his listeners, who, in many cases, had a variety of brilliant composers to choose from, whose music was performed by extremely talented singers and instrumentalists. There must have been a substantial amount of competition. Froberger used complex structures, rhythmic extremes, syncopations, dotted notes, stile brisé and a “modern” feeling of tonality to “wow” his audiences. His use of the word painting devices, complex ornamentation, tempo fluctuations and dissonance discussed in previous chapters contribute to the overall effect of *meraviglia*. Compared to the more prosaic keyboard style of many of his predecessors, his music must have seemed daring.

Caccini’s remarks in *Le Nuove Musiche* about *sprezzatura*, allowing “several dissonances” for expressive purposes and Vicentino’s remarks about allowing “every bad step”, “bad consonance” and “changing the tempo” in the quest for the right dramatic effect were indicative of a change in thinking. Not only was a variable tempo required, but the judicious use of dissonance was allowable as well. Composers used chromaticism to express anguish or other feelings, but at the same time this blurred the mode or key, giving the effect of shifting tonalities. Froberger’s expressive use of dissonance to express emotions is evident in all his works, but is particularly effective in the *lamentations, plaintes, tombeaux* and *meditations* that he wrote. The fact that these keyboard pieces have their roots in literary genres, like the poetry upon which the madrigals are based, provides a further link with vocal music.

Froberger used a range of *cromatici* that go beyond the normal range of notes available to instruments tuned in quarter-comma meantone. On several occasions, notes such as $d\flat$ and $a\flat$ are to be found within a short space of their enharmonic equivalents $c\sharp$ and $g\sharp$. This might indicate that Froberger played on an instrument with split sharps, although such instruments were rare. Alternatively perhaps he favoured a tuning system that allowed the use of all intervals, such as the ones recommended by Werckmeister at the end of the 17th century or by Kirnberger in the following century. Both Froberger and the madrigalists were part of a culture of experimentation, not in the sense of not knowing the outcome of what they were doing, but in the sense of trying to provide a continuous stream of new and different ideas. The style is deliberately intellectual, self-conscious, extreme, elegant and inventive.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CASE STUDIES

7.1 Tombeau...sur la Mort de M. Blancheroche. FbWV 632.

Tombeau, fait à Paris sur la mort de Monsieur Blancheroche [sic]; lequel se joue fort lentement à la discretion sans observer aucune mesure. (Title in WMin 743.)

Affligée et Tombeou [sic] sur la mort de Monsieur Blanrocher [sic], faite à Paris, et se joue bien lentement et à la discretion. (Title in Sing Akademie MS.)

Tombeau, composed in Paris on the death of M. Blancrocher, which is to be played extremely slowly with discretion, without observing the beat at all.

Affliction and *Tombeau* on the death of M. Blancrocher, composed in Paris, which is to be played very slowly and with discretion.

7.1.1 The Background to the Tombeau.

Charles Fleury, Sieur de Blancrocher (c. 1607- November 1652) was a lute player and composer, although only one small work (a dance, which may be an *allemande* or a *gigue*) of his has survived (Burchmore 2010).

The Latin postscript in WMin 743 provides an account of the circumstances of his death.

Monsieur Blancheroch[e] insignis Cytharoedus Parisiensis D[omini]. Frobergeri optimus amicus, cum post convivium Dominae de S. Thomas, cum D. Froberger in horto regio deambulasset, domum rediret, et aliquid facturus scalas ascendisset; inde decidit, adeo graviter, ut ab uxore, filio, aliisque in lectum debuerit trahi. D. Froberger videns periculum, cucurrit pro Doctore: adsunt et chirurgi, qui sanguinem in pede laeso confluam mitterent facta incisione: adest Monsieur Marquis de Termes cui Monsieur Blancheroche proles suam commendavit; et paulo post ultimum spiritum coepit trahere, animam exhalare (Froberger. 2003:23).

One day Monsieur Blancheroche, an excellent lutenist in Paris and the best friend of Herr Froberger, took a stroll with the latter in the royal gardens after a dinner held by Madame de St. Thomas. On his return home he climbed the stairs to take care of a couple of things and fell down so severely that he had to be carried to bed by his wife, his son and several others. Herr Froberger recognized the danger of the situation and sent for a physician. When several surgeons had arrived they let the blood from his damaged foot. Also present was Monsieur le Marquis de Termes, to whom Monsieur Blancheroche entrusted his son. Shortly thereafter he took his last breath and departed from this life.



Froberger: Tombeau de M. Blancheroche (sic), second part. WMin 743. (Froberger: 2003: Vol IV.1.)

Madame de St Thomas is described as a singer, which might explain the connection with Froberger and Blancrocher (Sabatier 1998:315 and Delmasse 1859:151). The incorrigible gossip, Tallemant des Réaux, wrote (Historiettes c. 1659) that Madame de St Thomas was really called Mlle Sandrier and only pretended to be married. He says that her “husband”, St Thomas, was the secretary of state in Savoy and that he took the “pretty but very flirtatious” Mlle Sandrier there and promised to marry her, which he didn’t. She claimed that he tried to poison her and Tallemant says that she

came back to Paris, where “elle eut bien des gallants” (she had many lovers). One is left wondering whether Froberger and Blancrocher were visiting her for purely musical purposes. Tallemant also mentions that she sang in the Italian style and grimaced horribly when doing so, looking as if she was having convulsions (Tallemant ed 1861 :202-3). Admittedly writing six to seven years after Froberger and Blancrocher visited her, Tallemant also says, rather maliciously, that she wears a lot of makeup and he can’t imagine how she supports herself, unless she has saved some money (implying that she was paid by her former “gallants”).

Blancrocher’s death inspired four *tombeaux*, two for the lute by Denis Gaultier and Francois Dufaut (Du Fault) and two for the harpsichord by Froberger and Louis Couperin. These four men, together with Blancrocher, seemed to have moved in the same musical circles in Paris in the early 1650s and there appears to be a connection via Constantijn Huygens as well, who at that stage was in contact with Chambonnières (Couperin’s mentor and teacher) and Jacques Gaultier (whose exact family connection with Denis Gaultier is unclear), in addition to Froberger himself. At a later date there is also a connection between Dufaut and Huygens, when, in 1662, Huygens entrusted letters to Dufaut to take to London (Spring 2001:315).

The account in WMin743 mentions the Marquis de Termes, who also seems to have been part of the same group. Blancrocher entrusted his son to the Marquis, who was also Froberger’s benefactor in Paris. Froberger wrote an *Allemande faite pour remercier Monsieur le Marquis de Termes des favours et bien faits de luy recues a Paris* (*Allemande* composed to thank Monsieur le Marquis de Termes for the favours and good deeds received from him in Paris). This particular piece is found in several sources, but the most descriptive title, quoted above, is from the Sing-Akademie MS.

As related in Chapter 2, César Auguste de Pardaillan de Gondrin, Marquis de Termes was apparently “...engaged in the intrigues of the Fronde. He was handsome, well-made, a man of wit, very lively, very mischievous and of a very bad character” (de Sévigné 1677:18). Froberger’s connection with this known sympathizer of the Fronde uprisings is a further indication that he may have been involved in a clandestine, diplomatic (spying?) capacity for his Habsburg employers.

When Blancrocher died, in November 1652, Froberger, at the age of 36, was already quite famous. Just prior to Blancrocher's death a concert was held in Froberger's honour at the *Eglise des Jacobins* in Paris on Thursday 26 September 1652. Chapter 2 provides more detail on this concert, which was testified to by Jean Loret in his weekly gazette of Sunday 29 September 1652, *La Muze Historique*.

7.1.2 Tombeaux

Whereas the word *tombeau* had been used previously by French lutenists to describe a piece to commemorate the death of a revered person, Froberger and Louis Couperin seem to have been the first keyboard composers to use the word. The term was initially a literary one, used by French poets in the 16th and 17th centuries. Tilmouth and D. Ledbetter (2010) mention that the first use of it in music was a *tombeau* by the lutenist Ennemond Gaultier for his teacher René Mesangeau (d.1638). In 1652, whereas the word was fashionable, the form was not quite as new. It had its precedents in the Italian *lamenti*, the English *pavans* and the earlier French *déplorations*.

After Froberger's and Couperin's *tombeaux* for Blancrocher, the only known 17th century *tombeaux* for harpsichord is one by D'Anglebert, in memory of Chambonnières, published in his edition of 1689 and another two by Froberger, recently discovered in the Sotheby's autograph. One of these two "new" *tombeaux* is for Sibylla's husband, Duc Leopold Friderich and the other is the already-known *lamentation* upon the death of Ferdinand III, renamed *tombeau*. To the best of my knowledge, as well as being the first keyboard composer (contemporaneously with Couperin) to write a keyboard *tombeau*, Froberger was also the first keyboard composer to write a piece called *lamentation* (or *lamento*). In addition to the one for Ferdinand III, he wrote a *lamento* for Ferdinand's son, Ferdinand IV, and a *Lamentation sur ce j'ay été volé* (Lamentation on my being robbed). I know of no other lament/*lamentation* for keyboard in the 17th century (or earlier). This is a genre that Froberger made his own and it is interesting to note that he seemed to find the two terms, *tombeau* and *lamento* (or *lamentation*), interchangeable.

7.1.3 Lamenti

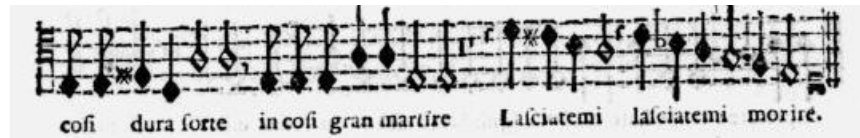
Madrigals called *lamenti* appeared occasionally in the 16th century, such as Stefano Rossetto's *Lamento di Olimpia* (1567), but "the genre assumed musical importance around the turn of the 17th

century ... theorists such as Giacomini, Mei and Galilei singled out the lament; because it expressed a height of emotional intensity” (Rosand 2010). The most famous lament from this period is Monteverdi’s *Lamento d’Arianna* from his opera *L’Arianna* (first performed in Mantua, 1608) which he later re-published as a madrigal for five voices in 1614, as a solo madrigal with basso continuo accompaniment in 1623, and as an adaptation to a religious text in 1640 (Rosand 2010). After the *Lamento d’Arianna*, there were many more *lamenti* by many more composers, including more by Monteverdi himself. There were also many madrigals which, although not specifically called *lamento*, had the characteristics of a lament.

The *lamenti* were, in general, very long (compared to most madrigals), in a very free form, in a slow tempo, were rhythmically flexible, expressed uncontrolled passion and grief, were rhythmically and melodically complex and used certain typical expressive devices such as the sighing motif of a falling semitone, dissonances, the descending tetrachord and a long, drawn-out, descending scale to express sorrow. As soon as it became fashionable, they were in the *stile recitativo*. These vocal *lamenti* have many similarities to Froberger’s *Tombeau* for Blancrocher, which, like his *Lamento/Tombeau* for Ferdinand III is not part of a dance suite (unlike most of his *meditations*, *plaintes* etc which are the opening *allemandes* of *partitas*). Compared to his *meditations* and *plaintes*, the *Tombeau* for Blancrocher is much longer. Whereas the *Tombeau* for Blancrocher and the *Lamento/Tombeau* for Ferdinand can be regarded as “proper” *lamenti* in as far as they are not part of a suite and are of an extended length, just to confuse the issue, Froberger wrote another two *lamenti* which, although called *Lamentation sur ce que j’ay été volé* (Lamentation on my being robbed) and *Lamento sopra la dolorosa perdita della ...Ferdinando IV* (Ferdinand III’s son) are both part of suites, both in the form of an *allemande* and both are shorter forms. Unfortunately, his only other known *tombeau* (for Sibylla’s husband) is not available for inspection as it was in the new autograph that was auctioned by Sotheby’s in 2006 to an unknown buyer.

7.1.4 Word Painting

The anguish depicted by a slow-moving descending vocal line was a typical expressive device of the *lamenti*. The final *lasciatemi morire* (let me die) of the tenor part of Ariana’s lament illustrates the long drawn out descent of seven notes.



Monteverdi: Lamento d'Ariana. Sesto Libro de Madrigali. (Monteverdi: 1614.)

A passage from the second half of Froberger's *Tombeau* illustrates the long drawn out descent in the top voice from d'' to $e\flat'$. This descent continues in the next bar to d' , completing the octave. As the line descends, sighing motifs of a falling semitone are formed.



Froberger: Tombeau...sur la mort de M. Blancheroche, bar 23ff. (Froberger: 2003: Vol IV.1.)

Similarly, in the last bar of the *Tombeau*, a descending line is used to illustrate the final passing away of Blancrocher. It seems that the groups of notes should be played by alternate hands, gradually getting slower, with an overlegato effect.



Froberger: Tombeau...sur la mort de M. Blancheroche, ending. (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1.)

This last bar has also been described by Schulenberg (2010:292) as “the burial of Blancrocher’s body, or worse, the damnation of his soul” or “his final descent down the stairs” none of which seem to me to be the right interpretation of the music, especially as Blancrocher was Froberger’s best

friend and therefore hardly likely to be condemned to hell by Froberger, and because his fall down the stairs would be at the wrong point in the music. To me, it seems more like a gentle depiction of Blancrocher's last breath.

As Blancrocher was a lutenist, the *Tombeau* contains several references to lute technique, such as the *campanella* effects in the beginning of the second half and the low tessitura of the *sans chanterelle* (Tilmouth and D. Ledbetter 2010). David Ledbetter (1987:xi and xii) describes the *campanella* effect as “a passage in which adjacent or repeated notes are drawn from different courses so that they may continue to sound when the following note is struck” and the *sans chanterelle* effect as “a style of playing in the first course is not used”.



Froberger: *Tombeau...sur la mort de M. Blancheroche*, bar 14ff. (Froberger: 2003: Vol IV.1.)

The above example shows the *campanella* effect in bars 14 to 21 and the low tessitura of the *sans chanterelle* in bars 14 to 16.

A passage at the end of the first section illustrates Blancrocher's fall down the stairs and the descending scale seems to require a considerable *accelerando*.



Froberger: *Tombeau...sur la mort de M. Blanrocher*, bar 10. (Froberger: 2003.)

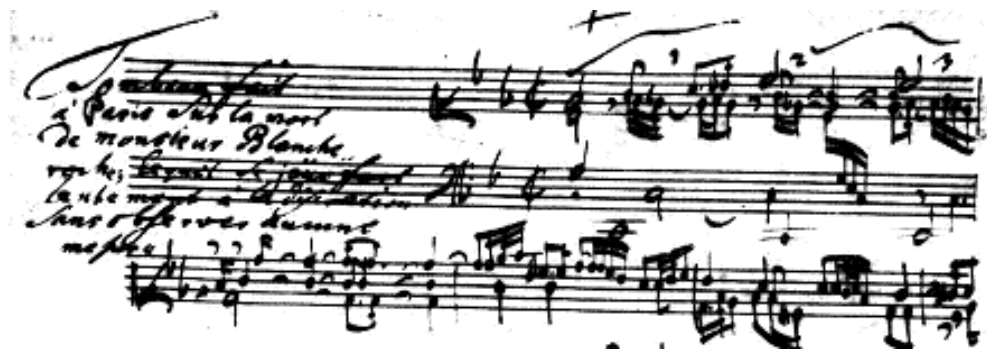
Funeral bells are portrayed by the repeated dirge-like G in the bass:



Froberger: *Tombeau...sur la mort de M. Blanrocher*, bar 27ff. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

7.1.5 *Sprezzatura*

The titles in both sources of the *Tombeau* indicate that the piece should be played with *discretion*. In the WMin MS, the instruction seems to go a step further, stating that it should be played *sans observer aucune mesure* (without observing the beat at all).



Opening of the *Tombeau sur la Mort de M. Blancheroche*. WMin 743 MS (Froberger. 3003:XLIV).

7.1.6 Dissonance

The use of dissonance to express pain was also a typical feature of the Italian *lamento*. Ariana's lament contains many tritones and other dissonances such as the tritones ringed in the following extract.

The image shows a musical score for five staves, likely representing different vocal parts. The lyrics are: "La - scia - te - mi mo - ri -", "La - scia - te - mi mo - ri -", "scia - te - mi, la - scia - te - mi mo - ri -", "La - scia - te - mi, la scia - te - mi mo - ri -", and "La - scia - te - mi mo - ri -". Two tritones are circled in red: one in the first staff (F#4-G4) and one in the third staff (F#4-G4). The score is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 4/4 time signature.

Monteverdi: Lamento d'Ariana. Sesto Libro de Madrigali, 1614. (Monteverdi: 2006.)

In the *Tombeau* Froberger uses a series of dissonances in a descending line over a repeated chord in the bass, just before the end of the piece. The effect of these dissonances, which are resolved only to be followed by a new dissonance, is one of bitter anguish.

The image shows a musical score for two staves, likely representing a lute or harpsichord. The score is in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The first staff has a treble clef and the second staff has a bass clef. The music features a descending line of notes over a repeated chord in the bass. A tritone is circled in red in the first staff, and another tritone is circled in red in the second staff. The score is numbered 32 at the beginning.

Froberger: Tombeau...sur la mort de M. Blancheroche, bar 32ff. (Froberger: 2003: Vol IV.1.)

7.1.7 Ornaments

Froberger's *Tombeau* contains written out ornaments, typical of the *madrigali moderni*.

Ribattuta, gruppo and circolo ending

The ending of the version in the Sing-Akademie MS contains extended *gruppi* in both hands that other versions of the piece do not.



Froberger: *Tombeou [sic] ...Blanchrocher [sic]*. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

A version of the piece, from WMin 743, without the *gruppi* (and without the annotation *Requiescat in Pace*), illustrates once again that ornamentation was not always written out.



Froberger: *Tombeau...Blancheroche [sic]*. (Froberger. 2003: Vol IV.1.)

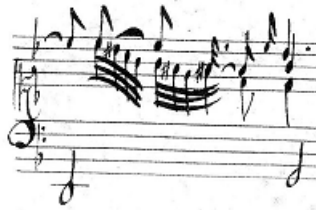
He also uses the esclamazione and the cascata :

The Esclamazione



Froberger: Tombeau...Blanrocher, bar 4. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

The Cascata



Froberger: Tombeau...Blanrocher, bar 7. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Blanrocher's fall down the stairs is not only an example of onomatopoeia as shown above, but also a substantial cascata with an accelerando.

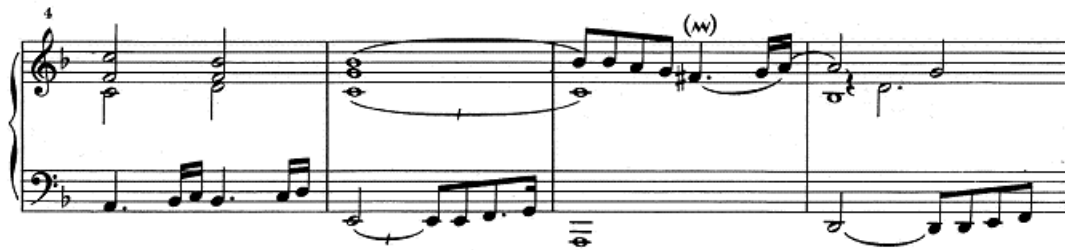


Froberger: Tombeau...Blanrocher, bars 10, 11. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

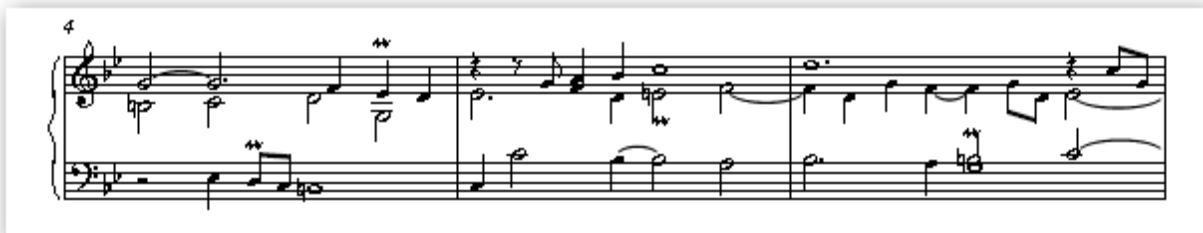
7.1.8 A Comparison with Louis Couperin's Tombeau for Blancrocher

Even though Froberger's *Tombeau* has a French title and was composed in Paris, it shows clear indications of the influence of the Italian *lamenti*. In comparison to Froberger's *Tombeau*, Louis Couperin's is quite different, illustrating the difference between the Italian and the French styles. One of the most obvious differences between the two *Tombeaux* is that Couperin's contains very little written-out ornamentation, although its slow moving tempo and drawn out chords seem to welcome some improvised ornamentation. Ornamentation in Couperin's *Tombeau* is indicated by signs above the notes as was typical of French Clavecin music. In Italian style, Froberger's ornamentation is written out or left for the performer to introduce at his/her own discretion.

Couperin's *Tombeau* has more in common with the *pavannes* of his teacher, Chambonnières, with its tri-partite structure (Froberger's is bi-partite) and the stately minim chords. A comparison of a few bars of Couperin's *Tombeau* with two *pavannes* by Chambonnières illustrates this. Although Chambonnières only published his *Pieces de Clavecin* in 1670 (just before his death in 1672), they were written considerably earlier.



L. Couperin: *Tombeau de M. de Blancrocher*, bars 4-7. (Couperin: 1970.)



Chambonnières: *Pavane L'Entretien des Dieux*, bars 4-6. *Livre Premier*, 1670. (Chambonnières: 2008.)



Chambonnières: Pavanne, bars 25-27. Livre Second, 1670. (Chambonnières: 2008.)


In Italian style, Froberger's *Tombeau* is much more rhythmically diverse and animated than Couperin's. However, contrary to the accepted *bon gout* of the times, Couperin uses a few Italianate programmatic devices, most notably to depict Blancrocher's fall down the stairs and the chiming of church bells for his funeral. It is tempting to see Froberger's influence in this, even though the portrayal of the events is completely different musically. The following two extracts from Couperin's *Tombeau* show Blancrocher's tumble down the stairs (bars 17-20); and bars 29-32, in which the repeated motif in the lower two voices seem to be the chiming of funeral bells.



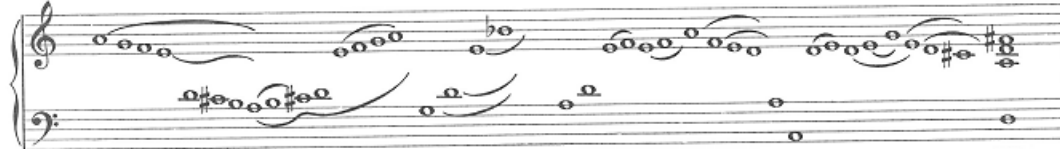
L. Couperin: Tombeau de M. de Blancrocher, bars 17ff. (Couperin: 1970.)

Another possible influence of Froberger, is Couperin's instruction *plus vite* (faster) just prior to the tumble down the stairs. This tempo change is the only notated tempo change in Couperin's entire keyboard oeuvre that I have been able to find (if you discount the *changement de mouvement* before the measured sections of some of his preludes). A further influence of Froberger is to be seen in the interesting similarity between systems 14-15 of Couperin's first prelude and the opening of section two of the *Tombeau*, pointed out by Allan Curtis.

FROBERGER Tombeau de Blancrocher



COUPERIN Prélude (N° 45)



The image displays two musical staves. The top staff is for Froberger's 'Tombeau de Blancrocher', showing a complex, rhythmic passage with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The bottom staff is for Couperin's 'Prélude (N° 45)', showing a more flowing, melodic line with many sixteenth notes and slurs. Both pieces are in a minor key, indicated by the one flat in the key signature.

Couperin: Pièces de Clavecin. (Couperin. Vol 1: XVII.)

7.2 Meditation and Gigue FbWV 620

Meditation, faist sur ma Mort future, la quelle se joue lentement avec discretion (Title in Hintze MS).

Meditation faite sur ma mort future la quelle se joue lentement avec discretion. A Paris 1 May Anno 1660 (Title in Sing-Akademie MS).

Meditation, la quelle, se joue lentement avec discretion, faict sur ma mort future (Title in Sotheby's Autograph).

Meditation on my future death, which is to be played slowly with discretion.

and

Gigue from Partita FbWV 620

7.2.1 The Sources of the Partita

There are several sources for this particular *partita*: the Hintze MS (the *Meditation* only); the Sing-Akademie MS (complete); Roger's published version in Amsterdam c.1698 (complete, but the *Meditation* is called "*Allemande*"); a copy in WMin 731 (without the *Meditation*) and a copy in Froberger's own hand in the Sotheby's autograph (complete). In addition to the *Meditation* and the *gigue*, the *partita* contains a *courante* and a *sarabande*. The *gigue* is also to be found in the Neresheim MS, where it is called *Cique del Signore Froberger*.

7.2.2 The Meditation

The Sing-Akademie MS contains the following remark after the title of the *Meditation*: *à Paris 1 May Anno 1660*. During his first trip to Paris, in the early 1650's, Froberger had been supported by the Marquis de Termes. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Van Asperen (2008:10.1) speculates that Froberger may have gone to Paris after leaving Vienna in 1658 (after Leopold I dismissed him) to look up his former benefactor. It is also possible that he was trying to get work in Paris prior to Louis XIV's marriage to Maria Theresa of Spain which took place on June 9 1660 in St Jean de Luz near the Spanish/French border and which was followed by a series of magnificent festivities in Paris.

The fact that there is also a copy of the *Meditation* in the Hintze MS, which Rampe dates to around 1653, and a copy in the Sotheby's autograph, which probably dates from his last years in Montbéliard (thus probably after mid 1662) illustrates once again that Froberger wrote out his own works at various times of his life. The version in the Hintze MS, which was definitely a copy of an original autograph, the parts of the *Meditation* in the Sotheby's autograph which I have seen (I did not have access to the entire piece) and the version in the Sing-Akademie MS are, (with a couple of very minor exceptions such as a tied note or a different distribution of the same notes on the two staves), identical to each other. This illustrates the great value of the Sing-Akademie MS, which is not only one of the largest early collections of Froberger's music, but which appears to be extremely accurate as well.

The Hintze MS, the Sing-Akademie MS and the Sotheby's autograph all contain the words *Memento Mori, Froberger?* (Are you mindful of your death, Froberger?) at the end of the *Meditation*. This reminder is echoed in a similar piece, found (as yet) only in the Sotheby's autograph: *Meditation, la quelle se joue lentement avec discretion, faict à Madrid sur la Mort future de Son Altess Serenissime Madame Sibylle, Duchesse de Wirtemberg, Princesse de Montbéliard* (*Meditation, which should be played slowly with discretion, composed at Madrid on the future death of her Most Serene Highness, Sibylla, Duchess of Würtemberg, Princess of Montbéliard*). At the end of this piece is the inscription *NB Memento Mori Sibylla*. This *Meditation* is interesting from a number of viewpoints, including the light it sheds on Froberger's relationship with his benefactress – he calls her Sibylla and composed a companion piece to his own *Meditation* – and the fact that it was composed in Madrid, which enables us to add yet another city to Froberger's extensive list of wanderings.

The *Meditation* is in the form of an *allemande*. The performer is advised to play the piece slowly and rhapsodically: *lentement avec discretion*. It starts with a step-wise, three-note upbeat, derived from the lute *allemandes* where these three notes are often slurred to indicate that the first note only is to be plucked (David Ledbetter 1987:99). This upbeat figure occurs for the first time in harpsichord music in the works of Froberger and Louis Couperin, which probably indicates that they influenced each other or that, quite possibly, Froberger introduced the upbeat first and Couperin copied him. We do not know exactly when Couperin wrote his suites (although it must have been between the early 1650s and 1661, when he died), but in the early 1650s the young composer had only recently

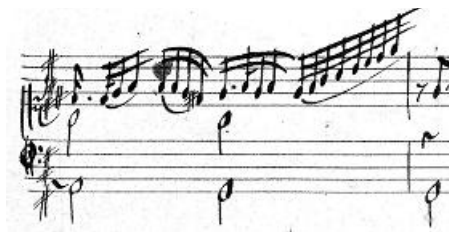
come to Paris to study with Chambonnières and he seems to have been greatly influenced by Froberger in other musical ways. This three-note upbeat does not occur in Froberger's *partitas* from the 1649 *Libro Secondo* – only in later works.

Influences of the *madrigali moderni* include ornaments, such the *esclamazione* and *trillo* in the first full bar of the *Meditation*.



Froberger: *Meditation sur ma Mort future*, bar 1. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

Expressive devices include the *tirata*, like a scream of anguish at the end of the following extract and dissonances such as the chord at the beginning of the bar, which includes a ninth (A – b) and a tritone (A – d#).



Froberger: *Meditation sur ma Mort future*, bar 14. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Like many of the madrigalists, Froberger did not stick to the “normal” pitches of meantone tuning. In the *Meditation* the use of d# is common, and Froberger also uses the even more unusual notes of e# and a#. In the following two examples, these two pitches form tritones with the note below.



Froberger: *Meditation sur ma Mort future*, bars 10 and 5. (Froberger: 2006.)

The entire *Meditation* is written in a low tessitura. The highest note is e", but even this pitch is unusually high for the piece. The notes on the top stave hover around an octave lower than this, adding to the impression of deep melancholy. Descending fourths, such as the ones at the beginning of bar 7 add to the expression of misery.

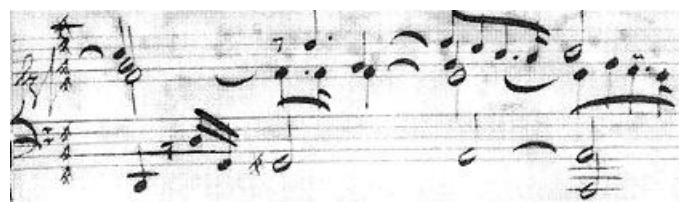


Froberger: Meditation sur ma Mort future, bar 7. (Froberger: 2005:81.)

Froberger often obscures tonality by sharpening or flattening a note, such as in the example below where c#' is changed to c' (on the *trillo*) or in the next example where G in the bass becomes G#.



Froberger: Meditation sur ma Mort future, bar 1. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)



Froberger: Meditation sur ma Mort future, bar 17. Late Autograph (Sothebys). (Maguire: 2006.)

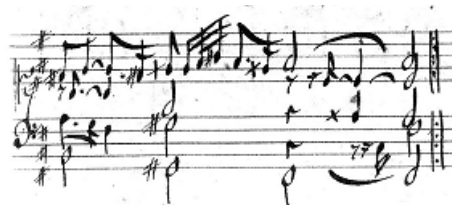
The rapid changing of tonality at the end of the first section is both disarming and beautiful. Froberger meanders through a variety of tonalities: A major, E minor, f# minor and F# major, the last two being very unusual for the time.



Froberger: Meditation sur ma Mort future, bar 7ff. (Froberger: 2005:81.)

Throughout the *Meditation* there is a wide variety of rhythmic and textural features, such as note values ranging from demi-semi-quavers to a note value that is the equivalent of almost two bars (a semi-breve tied to a minim tied to a crotchet); Froberger also uses syncopation, dotted notes and quick changes of texture.

The use of *notes inégales* seems to be appropriate in many places and there is an appropriate dropping out of voices at the end of the first section, which ends on an F# major chord. In view of Froberger's many references to the note F in his lamentation for Ferdinand III, the choice of this chord in the meditation on his own death might be significant.



Froberger: Meditation sur ma Mort future, end of first section. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

7.2.3 The Gigue

According to David Ledbetter, *gigues* appear in lute sources only after 1650 (Ledbetter 1987:49). If this is correct it would seem that Froberger might have been the first to introduce the *gigue* into the suite of dances (one appears in the 1649 *Libro Secondo*) rather than the French lutenist Jean Jacques Gaultier, who is normally credited for the innovation. As discussed in Chapter 2, it seems likely that Froberger started to put the *gigue* as the second dance (as opposed to the last dance) a couple of years later, at the end of 1651/beginning of 1652 as is evidenced by the *gigue* from *Partita FbWV 613a, nomée la rusée Mazarinique* (called Marazin's subterfuge) which probably refers to Cardinal Mazarin's surreptitious return to France on Christmas Eve 1651, (Schulenberg 2008:17).

In putting the *gigue* second, there seems also to have been collaboration with the French lutenists with whom he associated. According to Rampe (Froberger. 1993:XXXI), suites following this order are known by the lutenists Francois Dufaut and Denis Gaultier. The Hintze MS, which Rampe dates to 1653, corroborates this, as it states that Froberger now puts all his suites in this order. By the time that *Partita FbWV 620* was written this order seems to have been well established and both the Sotheby's autograph and the reliable Sing-Akademie MS present the *gigue* as the second dance.

Froberger recommends the use of *discretion* not only in the *Meditation*, but, surprisingly, at the end of the *gigue* as well. Both the printed *Suittes de Clavessin* published in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger in 1698 and the Sing-Akademie MS contain this instruction. The instruction is now definitely confirmed as authentic as it is also added in Froberger's own handwriting in the Sotheby's autograph version of the same *gigue* (Van Asperen 2008: 5.11). If the letters "NB" in the phrase *NB avec discretion* are significant, it may mean that the entire *gigue* was also supposed to be played rhapsodically, like the *Meditation*, and that the ending should be played with even more abandon.



Froberger: *Gigue* from Partita FbWV 620, ending. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

As in the *Meditation*, Froberger uses a number of Italian, vocally-inspired ornaments in the *gigue* and various “madrigalisms”. The *esclamazione* appears several times, as does the lament-style descending line of notes, the sighing motif, the descending fourth and the dissonant descending tritone (d^{''} to g^{#'}). The following example illustrates all of these effects within the space of two bars.



Froberger: *Gigue* from Partita FbWV 620, bar 8ff. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

Chains of suspensions and dissonances are apparent in the ending of the piece, where a lament-style descending line forms such a series. The extract below illustrates this, as well as the use of the *figura serpentinata* in the bass.



Froberger: Gigue from Partita FbWV 620, bar 19ff. (Froberger: 2006).

Rhythmic animation is a feature of the *gigue*, with its dotted rhythms, syncopations and wide variety of note values. The bar lines in the *gigue* are sporadic, especially in the second half, seeming to further illustrate the instruction that the piece should be played rhapsodically.



Froberger: Gigue from Partita FbWV 620, beginning of 2nd section. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

7.3 Capriccio FbWV 517

This *capriccio* comes from the 1656 autograph *Libro Quarto*, dedicated to Froberger's Habsburg employer Emperor Ferdinand III. Like the other pieces in this book, the *capriccio* has been decorated, presumably by Johann Friedrich Sautter, who in any event decorated the title page. The decorations for the *capriccio* include leaves, flowers and a cross, intertwined with a symbol that looks like the letter eight turned horizontally – a sign for infinity or eternity. It seems that Froberger made a tremendous effort to give Ferdinand III a beautifully presented volume. Not only is it decorated, but the music is written in an exquisite hand, faultlessly transcribed by Froberger himself.

7.3.1 The Background to the Capriccio

Three sets of *capriccios* have survived in Froberger's own handwriting; each a set of six. They are to be found in *Libro Quarto*, *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati* and in the Sotheby's autograph, where they are called *caprice*, the French equivalent. In addition there are several other *capriccios* from secondary sources, three of which are to be found in the reliable Mainz edition, E 1696 (FbWV 509, 510 and 512) which was probably produced from autograph originals.

The literal translation of the word *capriccio* is “whim” or “fancy” and in the 16th century it was used in connection with sets of madrigals and other vocal music. The earliest reference was by Jacquet de Berchem, who called his setting of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, “*Capriccio*”, in his madrigal collection of 1561 (Schwandt 2010). Furetière defines a *caprice* as “a *fantasie*...which succeeds mainly by the force of genius rather than by the observation of the rules of art...These sorts of compositions, which overstep ordinary rules, should be in a singular and new taste... but in general, one understands by *caprice* a bizarre composition in which ingenuity outstrips the precepts of art.”

CAPRICE, fantaisie, se dit aussi par métaphore, des pièces de Poësie, de Musique, d'Architecture & de Peinture, qui réussissent plutôt par la force du génie, que par l'observation des règles de l'art; c'est pourquoi elles n'ont aucun nom certain. *Subitus, fortuitus animi impetus.* Ces sortes de compositions qui sortent des règles ordinaires, doivent être d'un goût singulier & nouveau. On les appelle *fantaisies*,

¶ Mais en général on entend par *capricio*, une composition bizarre, quoiqu'ingénieuse, qui est éloignée des préceptes de l'art.

Furetière: Dictionnaire Universel, 1690:242.

Capriccio FbWV 517, like others by Froberger, might be expected to belong to the *Prima Pratica*. However, on further investigation the influence of the *madrigali moderni* is evident in the use of vocal ornaments, *sprezzatura*, rhythmic and textural changes and the general delight in complexity.

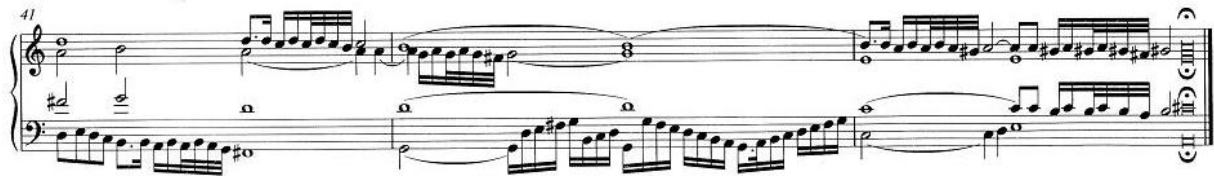
7.3.2 Tempo

The keyboard *capriccio* was one of the forerunners of the fugue, but instead of the strict tempo normally associated with this contrapuntal style, Froberger introduced tempo fluctuations. This is particularly apparent in the concluding rhapsodic section of the piece, but is obviously intended in bars 29-30 as well. The end of bar 30, (three notes on e^{''}), indicates the entrance of the main subject again and the end of the short rhapsodic section.



Froberger: *Capriccio FbWV 517*, bars 29-30. *Libro Quarto*, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

As might be expected, the rhapsodic section at the end does not contain any bar lines (once again the half bar lines are editorial).



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, ending. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

There are several notated changes of time signature within the piece, effectively splitting the work up into four thematically related, rhythmically different sections. Each section seems to represent a change in mood as the composer swings from slow chords to animated quavers to rapid flights of notes. Each section ends in a rhapsodic episode. The first rhapsodic section is very short, no more than one chord that Froberger presumably intended to be arpeggiated; the second rhapsodic section is also merely indicated by a chord, but I surmise that Froberger expected it to be more elaborately arpeggiated as he changes the time signature just before the chord. In Froberger's strange scheme of bar lines, this normally implies an extra bar line, and thus the arpeggiated chord would be at least the length of one of his shorter bars, perhaps one of his longer bars. The third rhapsodic section is slightly longer and the fourth, final, rhapsodic section is substantial. The following extract shows the change from the slow chords of section two to the quick quavers in 12/8 of section three. The momentary change from the time signature of 3 to C for the duration of one chord is thus probably intended to represent the second rhapsodic section based upon the creative arpeggiation of that chord.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bars 21ff. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

7.3.3 Expressive Devices

Froberger uses a variety of expressive devices in the *capriccio*, such as:

The Descending Line:

This double descending line forms a chain of suspensions and dissonances.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bar 13,14. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

The Tirata

In bar 29 -30 there is a tirata with a built-in accelerando and gigantic downwards leap in the bass of just less than two octaves. This is followed by the re-entrance of the tenor voice two octaves higher. The aural effect is of two enormous leaps in succession.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bars 29-30. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

Unexpected Melodic Leaps

The above tirata (bar 29) jumps nearly two octaves to E in the bass (bar 30).



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bar 30. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

7.3.4 Ornamentation

In addition to the ornamentation that Froberger might have expected the performer to introduce, he has written out various embellishments, such as:

The Cadenza



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bar 41. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

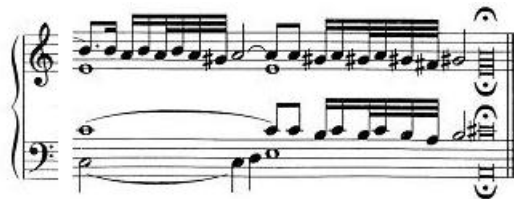
The Cascata



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bar 35. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

Ribattuti and Gruppi

The ending contains gruppi with implied introductory ribattuti and circolo endings.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517 last bar. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

7.3.5 Modal/Tonal Shifts

Froberger uses the *figura serpentinata* throughout the piece, for example in bars 31 and 32 in the alto. This figure, so beloved of the madrigalists, also had the effect of introducing modal/tonal ambiguity.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bars 31 and 32. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

Another way in which this ambiguity is achieved is by the introduction of accidentals that change chords from major to minor on the same bass note. There are numerous passages such as the following, where the notes C and C# are to be found next to each other over the same bass note.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bars 35ff. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

Similarly, in the following example, the minor chord - a (d' resolving to) c' e' a' - is followed by the first inversion of the major chord, c# a e' a'. This chord is followed by a minor triad on e which contains a cross relation: c' in the alto, with the previous c# in the bass.



Froberger: Capriccio FbWV 517, bar 33. Libro Quarto, 1656. (Froberger: 1995.)

7.4 Toccata FbWV 102

Toccata FbWV 102 is found in several sources, including Froberger's *Libro Secondo* of 1649. Other sources include the Sing-Akademie and Bauyn manuscripts, the first printed anthology of Froberger's works, E 1693 and the Muffat MS. The Bauyn MS contains an interesting annotation *fatto a Bruxellis anno 1650* (Froberger. 1993:XXXI) which must lead us to believe that Froberger made a copy of the 1649 version of the *toccata* whilst he was in Brussels. (Or that the Bauyn MS annotation is wrong.)

7.4.1 The Background to the Toccata

Libro Secondo is dated 29 September 1649 when it was presumably given to Emperor Ferdinand III, to whom it is dedicated. Shortly thereafter, in the later months of 1649, Froberger travelled to the Electoral Court of Dresden and from there went to Brussels. (Please see Chapter two for more information on this part of Froberger's life.) Presumably it was during this period in Brussels that Froberger wrote out the version of *Toccata FbWV 102* which later found its way into the Bauyn MS.

7.4.2 Tempo

The Sing-Akademie source is particularly fascinating as it seems to confirm that Froberger's instruction *à la discretion* definitely relate to rhapsodic playing. In the Sing-Akademie version, the *toccata* has the instruction *à discretion* at the beginning of each of the three rhapsodic sections. The end of the first two rhapsodic sections is indicated by the sign that is similar to the Venus sigla: ♀.



Froberger: *Toccata FbWV 102*, opening. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102. The “venus sigla” (ringed) signalling the end of the first rhapsodic section. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, ending. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

These injunctions to play with *discretion* are absent from the 1649 *Libro Secondo* version of the *toccata*. However, in the *Libro Secondo*, the typical Frobergerian disregard for conventional bar lines is more apparent, adding to the overall impression that the music should be played without strict regard to tempo.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, opening bars. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

7.4.3 Expressive Devices

The rhapsodic sections of the *toccata* contain many typical expressive devices, such as the *tirata* followed by a leap.

Tirata



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, bars 2-3. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, bar 33. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Chains of suspensions and dissonances and the descending line

The chains of suspensions and dissonances in the *toccatà* are reminiscent not only of the *durezza e ligature* style of other keyboard compositions but also of certain madrigals where a suspended note forms a dissonance with a note sung in another voice and is resolved only to form the next dissonance. In some cases, these chains form a descending line, typical of a lament.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a vocal and lute setting. The first system, starting at measure 75, features a vocal line with the lyrics "Non può mo - - rit" and a lute accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal line with "Non può... Non può..." and the lute accompaniment. The third system, starting at measure 80, shows the vocal line with "d'a - - mot al - - ma" and the lute accompaniment. The notation includes various suspensions and dissonances, particularly in the vocal line, which are resolved to form the next dissonance, creating a descending line.

Monteverdi: *Stracciami pur il core. Terzo Libro, 1592. (Carter and Chew: 2012.)*

Chains of suspensions and dissonances in the *toccatà* also form a lament-style descending line:

The image shows a single system of musical notation for a keyboard piece. The score is for bar 16, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is characterized by a descending line of notes, with various suspensions and dissonances, creating a lament-style descending line.

Froberger: *Toccata FbWV 102, bar 16. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)*

The second contrapuntal section contains descending lines in all the voices.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, bars 30-32. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The Tritone

The example below shows the use of one of Vicentino's "bad leaps", the tritone between g' and c#'.



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, bar 19. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

The Bauyn MS gives this passage as:



Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, bar 19. Bauyn MS. (Froberger: 1993.)

This use of the lombardic rhythm in such leaps is so typically Frobergerian that it underscores once again that the version of the *toccata* that the Bauyn MS scribe copied was more than likely from an autograph.

The Descending Fourth

Froberger uses the descending fourth in a number of instances. A series of them is to be found just before the final cadence.



Froberger: Toccata F#m BWV 102, ending. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

7.4.4 Restlessness and Diversity

Throughout the *toccata*, chromatic descending lines and changing major/minor chords on the same bass note give the feeling of shifting tonalities and a general restlessness that is never quite resolved until the last chord. For example, the opening has f, f#, c, c#, b, b \flat , g and g#, all of which form intervals with the repeated note d in the bass or tenor voices.



Froberger: Toccata F#m BWV 102, bar 2. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

Between the sections of the *toccata*, Froberger avoids definitive cadences, using elisions that end one section and begin the next. The use of these elisions blur the cadences adding to the impression of continuous restlessness; they can be seen in the transition from the first rhapsodic section to the first imitative section and in the transition between the second rhapsodic section and the second imitative section. In both of the examples below, a chord forms the end of one section and the beginning of the next. In the first example this chord is a d minor chord on the tonic. In the second example it is a D major chord on the tonic.



*Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102 showing the transition between sections, bars 7-8.
Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)*



*Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, showing the transition between sections, bars 19-20.
Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)*

Another effect linking this *toccata* with the madrigals is rhythmic animation: quick notes contrasting with long slow notes, rhythmic extremes and syncopation. All of these effects add to the feeling of restlessness and mood changeability which characterise many of the madrigals. If the opening of the *toccata* is compared to Gesualdo's *Gia Piansi nel dolore* in which the poetry alternates between despair and rapture, certain similarities can be found. There are slow opening

chords, followed by runs of quick notes in all the voices, starting high and ending with the low voices. Tiratas are followed by leaps to lower notes.

The image shows two pages of musical notation. The left page is titled "VENOSA." and contains five staves of music. The lyrics are: "Là pianfi nel dolore Hor gioi fce il mio core". The right page is titled "LIBRO SESTO." and contains five staves of music. The lyrics are: "re fce il mio core Hor gioi fce il mio core Hor gioi fce il mio core".

Gesualdo: Gia Piansi nel dolore, opening bars. Libro Sesto. (Gesualdo: 1613.)

The image shows handwritten musical notation for Froberger's Toccata FbWV 102. The title "Toccata" is written in a large, decorative script. Below the title, there is a handwritten instruction: "[1.] Cette Toccate se joue a discretion jusque a". The notation consists of two systems of staves, each with a treble and bass clef.

Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, opening. Sing-Akademie MS. (Froberger: 2006.)

7.4.5 Crome Bianche

The second contrapuntal section of the *toccatà* is written in white notation, or to give it its Italian name, *crome bianche*.

Froberger: Toccata FbWV 102, bars 24ff. Libro Secondo, 1649. (Froberger: 1993.)

As discussed in section 4.6.5 the flagged minims that he uses are crotchets in void notation. This notation is unique in Froberger's works and appears to indicate that this section should be played slowly, like a lament.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Johann Jacob Froberger's keyboard music is unique. It combines the then-current trends in keyboard music from the hotspots of composition and performance in Italy and France, with the word painting, tempo changes, embellishments, rhythmic diversity and dissonance associated with the secular madrigals. For much of his life, Froberger was not regularly employed, enjoying an itinerant life-style that was at least interesting, if a bit uncertain. He seems to have depended upon his ability to integrate quickly into the musical life of various courts and his reputation as a virtuoso performer. The downside of this lifestyle was, presumably, that he was not assured of a regular income, but it had many advantages as well. He associated with famous musicians and composers at a wide variety of influential courts throughout Europe; this exposed him to the latest trends. In the first half of the seventeenth century the madrigal was still high-fashion and many worthy composers lent their considerable expertise to the form, pushing the boundaries with their musical innovations. In addition, he composed for, and played before, Kings, Princes and nobles at these courts. I would imagine that this honed his skills to a considerable degree. The courtiers demanded new music, innovation and complexity together with an element of *meraviglia* that was partly composed of surprise and virtuosity. They wanted to be impressed and, in many courts they were spoilt for choice. There was plenty of competition and the fact that Froberger stands out in history is a testimony to his greatness. There are several contemporary accounts of his performances and improvisations; his music was collected and preserved and, surprisingly for the times, printed after his death. Despite his acknowledged greatness, and despite the major contributions of several historians concerning his life and travels, Froberger is still under-researched. Chapter two of this thesis attempts to put the currently known information into chronological format, but there is scope for much more research. For example, with the discovery of the late autograph, we now know that Froberger visited Madrid. This would make an interesting topic for further research. The publication of a detailed life history would be a major contribution to musicology.

Despite the major strides made in cataloguing and printing Froberger's music in a modern edition (Rampe) there is scope for more research in this area. The recently auctioned autograph (Sotheby's) from Froberger's later years is not yet available and no edition of Froberger's music can

be complete without it. *Libri Primo* and *Terzo* have not yet come to light. Perhaps they are lost forever, but the recent discovery of the late autograph, the Bulyowsky MS and the Sing-Akademie MS gives me hope. There is also an opportunity to publish a facsimile copy of *Libro Secondo*, *Libro Quarto* and the *Libro di Capricci e Ricercati* and of course, the late autograph if it ever becomes available. As described in Section 1.4, Rampe's attribution of the four partitas FbWV 653-656 to Froberger is, in my opinion, incorrect. I believe that the partitas and the preludes that precede them belong to a later Germanic composer active probably around 1700. Research to try to identify the composer would be interesting: they exhibit stylistic characteristics of Kuhnau and Buxtehude.

The madrigals are characterised by melancholy and introspection, by a continuous moaning about unrequited love and a depiction of the unfeeling attitude of the loved one. Considering the scarcity of topics, there is a remarkable diversity in the music. Composers outdid one another in setting poetry to music, expressing individual words or feelings with word painting devices, such as the sighing motif and the descending line: devices that have become so associated with the form that they are now often referred to as "madrigalisms". They are to be found in great abundance in Froberger's music. The lamentations and related forms are akin to the madrigals, expressing a variety of melancholy feelings on death, misfortune and loneliness. Froberger uses word painting devices not only in these pieces, but also in almost all his works. His extensive use of the devices in his music sets him apart from his keyboard predecessors, as does his use of the lamentation/tombeau form. There is perhaps scope for further research into the influence of certain individual madrigalists upon Froberger. I would suggest Gesualdo and Monteverdi in particular. The influence of the French lutenists upon Froberger is widely accepted. However, who influenced whom and to what extent is a moot point and would provide an interesting topic for further research. For example, it is possible that Froberger had even more of an influence upon his French friends than has previously been supposed; possibly introducing the gigue into the dance suite before Gaultier did and introducing the *stile brisé* (*stile luthé*) into keyboard music before Chambonnières.

Froberger's many instructions to play *avec discretion* seem to sum up the concept of *Sprezzatura*. Like *Sprezzatura*, *discretion* has connotations of aristocratic good taste, effortless competence and improvisation. Knowing when to play rhapsodically and just how much the tempo should be

stretched is a skill that is difficult to teach, changing sensitively with each piece and from performance to performance. Moving the listeners to tears or to joy was partially dependent upon the judicious application of tempo changes and it was an ever-moving target, relying upon the circumstances of the performance, the audience, the acoustics of the room etc. Froberger seems to have felt strongly that his music could not be played by someone who had not received the appropriate instructions, even asking Sibylla not to disseminate his music after his death. The discovery of the Sing-Akademie MS was a breakthrough in proving what Early Music enthusiasts had long suspected: the beginning, middle and end of the toccatas should be played rhapsodically. The instruction to play *avec discretion* is present in the *toccatas*, the *lamentations*, in various *allemandes* and even in some *gigues*. This instruction is given added emphasis by Froberger's sometimes erratic use of bar lines. Like many of his predecessors, Froberger used proportional time signatures and *coloratio* to further indicate tempo changes. His use of *crome blanche* in *Tocatta FbWV 102* may be an influence of Carissimi, with whom he might have studied and his barring system and use of *crome blanche* might have been the inspiration for Louis Couperin's unmeasured preludes. Certainly, Froberger's influence on the young Couperin seems to cry out for further investigation. Some interesting similarities in their music have already been pointed out by, amongst others, David Ledbetter and Davitt Moroney, but there is scope for a detailed comparison of Couperin's music with Froberger's oeuvre.

The use of ornamentation for expressive purposes was one of the fundamental elements of the madrigals. Although it was customary to improvise ornaments, composers started to write ornaments into their music, probably to try to curb the tendency of singers to show off their capabilities whether or not the addition of ornamentation was appropriate. Caccini's discussion on ornamentation in the preface to *Le Nuove Musiche* (1601/2) has provided the starting point for this part of my thesis. The performer of Froberger's music would be expected to add suitable embellishments. Although he used the occasional ornament sign, particularly in his later music, most of his ornamentation is written out. His use of specifically vocal ornaments is a peculiarity of his music. Of particular note is the use of the *trillo*, the *esclamazione* and the *ribattuta di golo*. Once again, the influence upon Louis Couperin can be seen in the use of the *trillo* which Couperin used only in his unmeasured preludes. In addition Couperin wrote out nearly all of the ornaments that he used in the preludes. This shows another link to Froberger as French *clavicinists* generally used symbols, as did Couperin himself in his other keyboard works. This thesis concentrates on the

influence of Italian secular madrigals upon Froberger, but an interesting extension of this would be research into the French *airs de cour* upon Froberger, in particular the use of ornamentation.

A sense of wonder, the unexpected, the marvellous and the new was part of the *Zeitgeist* of the times. Composers and performers were expected to provide a constant stream of new invention. Audacious dissonances, rhythmic animation, rhythmic extremes and structural complexity became, like word painting devices, *sprezzatura* and new ornamentation, part of the composers' arsenal of techniques. As one shocking new technique was invented and copied, it eventually became standard fare. To provide an ongoing sense of *meraviglia*, new techniques were called for. Old-school theorists like Artusi were horrified by the deliberate over-turning of traditional "proper" compositional techniques. In addition, composers mixed modes. If, like many of the old theorists, you believed that a particular mode evoked a particular emotion or feeling, then mixing the modes just served to confuse the audience. The music of the times is a strange hybrid of modality and tonality and Froberger's music is no exception. His use of the major and the minor third in close proximity gives his music an expressive strangeness to the modern ear as he often seems to wander back and forth from one key to another, giving many of his pieces a feeling of unremitting restlessness. Like the madrigalists, his use of dissonance is deliberate, expressing intense emotions with intervals that would have sounded harsh to 17th century ears, especially in mean-tone tuning. It is interesting to note that the gamut of notes that he uses greatly exceeds the notes that would be available to the keyboard in normal meantone tuning, leading one to think that he might have had access to an instrument with split sharps or that he espoused a different method of tuning, perhaps more similar to the tuning systems of the next century in Bach's time.

Froberger copied adventurous compositional techniques of the madrigalists, combined them with his strict South German heritage of conservative counterpoint, added a lavish soupçon of French finesse and finished off the mixture with his own flash of genius to create intensely personal, highly expressive music that seems, in many instances, to be the keyboard equivalent of the *madrigali moderni*.

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LIST OF KEY WORDS

Froberger

Madrigal

Harpsichord

Word Painting

Sprezzatura

Vocal Ornaments

Meraviglia

Early Music

Seventeenth Century